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Mika Pantzar & Elizabeth Shove
(eds.) (2005)



Photo: Yrjö Klippi

Manufacturing leisure

Innovations in happiness, well-being and fun

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TIIVISTELMÄ

Manufacturing leisure. Innovations in happiness, well-being and fun. Tuotteistettu vapaa-aika – Arjen innovaatiot.

**Mika Pantzar & Elizabeth Shove (eds.)
National Consumer Research Centre, publications 1:2005**

Kulutus ja vapaa-ajan talous ovat nousseet useissa länsimaissa elinkeinopoliittisen keskustelun huomion kohteeksi viime vuosina. Talouden kasvu on nähty yhä enemmän tapahtuvan ns. elämystalouden ja viihdeteollisuuden virittämänä. *Manufacturing leisure – Innovations in happiness, well-being and fun* lähestyy vapaa-ajan klusteria kuluttajien vapaa-ajan käytäntöjen näkökulmasta. Saksalaiset, englantilaiset ja suomalaiset tutkijat pyrkivät vastaamaan muun muassa seuraaviin kysymyksiin:

- Minkälaisia vapaa-ajan trendejä on nähtävissä kehittyneissä talouksissa?
- Minkälaisia vapaa-ajan ihanteita ihmisillä on?
- Missä määrin ollaan todistamassa aktiivisen vapaa-ajan nousua?
- Miten vapaa-ajan tuoteinnovaatiot poikkeavat muista innovaatioista?
- Voidaanko elämyksiä tuottaa?
- Mikä erottaa vapaa-ajan käytännöt muista arjen käytännöistä?

Elämystalous?

Monet tulevaisuudentutkijat uskovat, että elämystalous on seuraavan talousnousun veturi. Paradoksaalisesti elämystalouden gurut korostavat yhä vanhan teollisen ajattelutavan mukaisesti asiakasta prosessin loppupäänä – tasalaatuisen ja valmiiksi tuotteistetun palvelu- ja elämystarjonnan yksinkertaisena vastaanottajana. Elämystuotteet näyttävät irrallaan ihmisten arjesta – ja niillä on aina hintansa. Kuluttajatutkimuskeskuksessa käynnistyneen tutkimuksen lähtökohta ja myös tulokset ovat toisenlaiset: Hyvää ja rikasta elämää ei voi kaupallistaa eikä elämyksiä valmistaa kuin teollisia tuotteita. Rikkaan elämän edellytyksiä voi myydä, mutta rikkaan elämän merkitykset ja käytännöt syntyvät kuluttajien itsensä toimesta. Näin ajateltuna elämystalous on pikemminkin seuraus kuluttajien muuttuvista vapaa-ajan arvostuksista kuin sen syy.

Yksi ilmeinen tutkijaryhmän löydös on se, että tarvitaan useita mittaria ihmisten vapaa-ajan muutosten ymmärtämiseksi. Eri mittareilla ja mittaustavoilla voi päätyä hyvinkin erilaisiin kuviin vapaa-ajan suunnasta. Esimerkiksi *ajankäyttötutkimus* kertoo, että keskimäärin vapaa-ajan määrä ei ole oleellisesti kasvanut viime vuosikymmenien aikana runsaasta kuudesta tunnista vuorokaudessa. Ehdoton voittaja vapaa-ajan käytön muutoksissa on televisio, joka kaappaa useissa länsimaissa yhä suuremman osan vapaa-ajasta. Esimerkiksi Suomessa television katsomiseen käytetty päivittäinen aika on kasvanut kymmenen viime vuoden aikana noin puolella tunnilla runsaaseen kahteen tuntiin. Muut muutokset ajankäytössä ovat olleet hyvin pieniä, vaikka yhteiskunta ympärillä on muuttunut ratkaisevasti.

Kulutusmenojen muutos kertoo hieman toisenlaisesta kehityksestä. Vapaa-ajan kulutusmenot ovat kasvaneet roimasti. Se että samaan aikaan ajankäytön muutokset ovat melko pieniä, kertoo arkisten käytäntöjen radikaalista muutoksesta: Vapaa-ajastamme on tullut yhä tuote-intensiivisempää ja tuotteistetumpaa. Tarkasteltaessa vapaa-ajan trendejä taloudellisten suureiden kautta ehdoton ja selkeä voittaja on asuminen, jonka *budjettiosuus* on kasvanut 1970-luvun noin kuudenneksestä neljännekseen kuluttajien menoista. Samassa ajassa keskimääräinen ruuan kulutusmeno-osuus on laskenut käänteisesti neljänneksestä kuudennekseen. Osa asumiskustannusten muutoksista johtuu asuntojen hinnoista, joskin merkittävä syy kasvuun on asumisväljyyden kasvussa, lisääntyvässä loma-asunnoissa ja kodin sisustukseen käytetyn rahamäärän kasvussa.

Rahamääräisistä budjettiosuuksista tai aikabudjeteista ei voi välttämättä päätellä kuitenkaan vapaa-ajan arvostusten muutoksista. Esimerkiksi ruoka ja ruokailu ei ole menettänyt merkitystään ihmisten elämässä, vaikka raha ja aikamääräiset mittarit saattaisivat näin väittääkin. Tutkittaessa ihmisten ilmaisemia *toiveita ja arvostuksia käy ilmi*, että kaikkein tärkeimmät asiat eivät ole kaupan. Yhdeksälle kymmenestä suomalaisesta käveleminen luonnossa on lempiharrastus. Vapaa-ajassa on tärkeää, että saa vain olla, voi nauttia auringosta, luonnon rauhasta tai muiden ihmisten seurasta. Myös median seuraaminen on arvokas asia monille.

Vapaa-ajan arvostus on selkeästi kasvanut viime vuosikymmenien aikana. Suomessa muutos näkyy voimakkaimmin nuorten ihmisten vastauksissa, joissa korostuu erityisesti kodin ja perheen merkitys. Elämisyhteiskuntakeskustelussa usein ajatellaan, että elämykset syntyvät kodin ulkopuolella. Edellä mainitut tulokset kertovat toista: Koti on rikkaan elämän ytimessä. Julkisuudessa – puhumattakaan elämisyhteiskuntakeskustelusta – nukkumisen, unen ja levon kaltaiset arkiset käytännöt eivät nouse ansaitsemaansa asemaan, vaikka ne muodostavat tärkeän osan hyvinvointiamme.

Uni kuten muutkaan arjen tärkeät asiat eivät kuitenkaan ole irrallaan materian tai talouden piiristä. Tutkimuskokoelma siirtää elämisyhteiskuntakeskustelun katsetta tavallisten ihmisten tavalliseen arkeen ja erityisesti sen materiaaliseen ulottuvuuteen. Palveluiden ohella myös esineet kuuluvat oleellisesti elämysten maailmaan. Kirjassa tarkastellaankin mm. kävelysauvoja, puuvenettä, salibandymailaa, digitaalista kameraa, tynnyä ja sänkyä, kannettavaa radiota, kännykkää ja kivennäisvettä osana rikasta elämää.

Rikas elämä ja vapaa-ajan klusteri

Rikas vapaa-aika ei kuitenkaan ole yhtä kuin helppo ja vaivaton elämä. Esimerkiksi puuveneharrastajan tai kotipuutarhurin maailmaa näyttää leimaavan jatkuvat haasteet ja joskus suorastaan ongelmien kasaantuminen. Monet harrastukset vievät mukanaan. Niiden parissa usein aika ikään kuin pysähtyy. Uutuuksia ja haasteita ostetaan lähes hinnoista riippumatta. Tällaisten harrastusten taloudelliset seuraamukset ovat merkittäviä, mutta taloutta ei jälleenkään voi nähdä niiden käymisvoimana vaan pikemminkin seurauksena.

Aktiivinen ja tuotteistettu vapaa-aika on kasvava liiketoiminta-alue. Yrittäjille vapaa-ajan monimuotoisuus ja ihmisten autonomia on vaikea haaste, etenkin jos raha ei ole ratkaisevin seikka. Suomella on monia kansainvälisesti tunnettuja yrityksiä ja voidaan puhua useista toisiinsa liittyvistä pienistä vapaa-ajan klustereista. Olemme esimerkiksi paikantaneet yritysten liikevaihdolla mitattuna noin 2–3 miljardin euron suuruiset liikunnan sekä kodin ja puutarhan klusterit. Nämä kuluttajalähtöiset klusterit ovat rakentuneet laajojen kansalaispiirien harrastusten ja käytäntöjen varaan. Näille aloille Suomessa on syntynyt teollista toimintaa ja palveluita. Menestyneet yritykset ovat oivaltaneet, että aktiivisia toimijoita ei voi ymmärtää muuten kuin heidän omien historiallisesti muokkaantuneiden arkisten käytäntöjensä lähtökohdista – asiakasta kuuntelemalla ja häneltä oppimalla.

Käyttäjän tai loppukuluttajan tarpeista lähteviä klustereita ei ole Suomessa aikaisemmin tutkittu, vaikka muuten klusterit ovatkin olleet suomalaisen elinkeinopolitiikan keskeisimpiä työkaluja kymmenen viime vuoden aikana. Klusteriajattelulle on ominaista nähdä klusterit joko raaka-aine- (esim. metsä) tai teknologiakeskeisesti (esim. ITC-klusteri). Klusteriajattelussa huomio kiinnitetään vertikaaliseen arvoketjuun tuottajilta kuluttajille. Tällöin kuluttajat näyttäytyvät lähinnä tuotteiden ja palvelusten vastaanottajina. Kansalaisten hyvinvoinnille on annettu arvoa lähinnä vain tuotantotoiminnan välttämättöminä ehtoina. Samalla itseisarvoisesti tärkeät elämänlohkot on saatettu taloudellisen laskelmoinnin välinearvon piiriin. Kirjamme lähtökohta ja tulos oli toinen.

Vapaa-ajan trendejä koskevan keskustelun avaamiseksi Kuluttajatutkimuskeskus on tuottanut aiheesta neljä julkaisua Teknologian kehittämiskeskuksen Tekesin rahoittamana. Kansainvälisen tutkijaryhmän tuottama kirja *Manufacturing leisure – Innovations in happiness, well-being and fun* (Mika Pantzar, Elizabeth Shove, eds., National Consumer Research Centre, Publications 1:2005) lähestyy vapaa-ajan trendejä kuluttajalähtöisesti. *The Leisure Business and Lifestyle* (Tanja Kotro, Päivi Timonen, Mika Pantzar, Eva Heiskanen, National Consumer Research Centre, Publications 2:2005) -raportti avaa kysymystä enemmän liiketoiminnan kehittämisen näkökulmasta. Taustalla on OECD:n Knowledge Intensive Service Activities (KISA) -tutkimushankkeen tarpeet. Päivi Timosen Kuluttajien vapaa-ajan haaveet ja elämys-

klusteri (Kuluttajatutkimuskeskus, Työselosteita ja esitelmiä 86:2005) ja Tanja Kotron Knowledge Intensive Business Services, Users and Cultural Intermediaries (Kuluttajatutkimuskeskus, Työselosteita ja esitelmiä 87:2005) sisältävät jälkimmäisen raportin tausta-aineistoa.

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Asiasanat: vapaa-aika, elämäntapa, harrastukset, kuluttajat, yritykset, markkinat.

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Photo: Petteri Repo.

Part I



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Part II



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Part III

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Part I

CONTENTS – PART I

INTRODUCTION.....	1
Mika Pantzar, Elizabeth Shove	
THE CHANGING ORGANIZATION OF EVERYDAY LIFE IN UK: EVIDENCE FROM TIME USE SURVEYS 1975–2000	11
Alan Warde, Dale Southerton, Wendy Olsen, Shu-Li Cheng	
TIME USE AND CONSUMPTION OF MASS MEDIA IN FINLAND – THE RATIONALISATION OF LEISURE?.....	41
Anu Raijas	
SOCIAL CHANGE AND THE CONCEPT OF LEISURE	58
Mirja Liikkanen	
THE TEMPORAL ORGANISATION OF DAILY LIFE: SOCIAL CONSTRAINTS, COMPOSITE PRACTICES AND ALLOCATION	78
Dale Southerton	

Introduction

Mika Pantzar, Elizabeth Shove



This book is about the evolution of practices that count as fun.

Photo: Petteri Repo.

Defining leisure

A vast amount has been written about the definition, meaning and purpose of leisure. In sociology, economics, and more specifically leisure studies, interest in leisure has been driven by a number of dominant debates many of which are ultimately about the nature of capitalist society. For example:

Leisure as non-productive work

Leisure, defined as non-productive work, is routinely analysed as *freedom from* – indeed as a form of recovery from – *wage labour*. As such it is something necessary for the effective reproduction of the work force. Alternatively it is located as an arena of consumption, again opposed to the world of productive work, but again an important part of the system as a whole. The opposition between work and leisure and the definition of one in terms of the other underpins endless discussions like those about the work-spend cycle or about whether the substitution of technology for labour might spell the end of work as we know it. The invention of childhood as a time of play is again located and explained with reference to a relatively modern structure of a working life in which periods of economic productivity are clearly demarcated. Partly in reaction to this emphasis on wage labour, many writers – especially feminists – have developed alternative definitions. By re-conceptualising leisure as free time, this literature acknowledges the fact that although housewives are not in paid employment they are not 'ladies of leisure' either (see the long running domestic labour debate). Interpretations of leisure as free time are associated with two related ideas: that leisure is an arena in which free will is exercised, and that leisure and pleasure go together.

Leisure as discretionary activity

Free time is generally thought of as time during which people are not beholden to others and in which they have some *discretion over what they do*. Studies of how people actually fill their free or spare time are often organized around the concept of discretion. Understood in these terms, leisure is an arena in which personal identities are developed and expressed and in which consumption is distinctively reflexive. This kind of thinking plays down the extent to which identities are formed at 'work', concentrating instead on the material and symbolic construction of lifestyles through modes of consumption and activities that go on outside working hours.



Photo: Petteri Repo.

Leisure as pleasure

The foundation of contemporary economic thinking rests more or less explicitly on utilitarian economics¹ in which the pain-pleasure distinction is important: work is unpleasant - it is some kind of duty whereas leisure time is, by definition, more enjoyable. The utilitarian approach has its followers in current hedonic psychology and welfare economics (e.g. Frey & Stutzer, 2001, 2002). Very often in these debates individual well-being, literally re-creation, is associated with leisure time.

Scholars working in the area of leisure studies have taken some of these ideas further, for example, distinguishing between serious and casual leisure. The term serious leisure was coined twenty years ago by Robert Stebbins (1982). Since then, serious leisure has come to be “known by its shorthand definition as the systematic pursuit of an amateur, a hobbyist, or a volunteer activity sufficiently substantial and interesting for the participant to find a career there in the acquisition and

¹ The rise of empirical research in subjective well being could be dated to the early years of political economics. In the 16th and 17th centuries political economics radically transformed ways of thinking about ordinary life (an area until then dominated by philosophers and theologians), shifting the emphasis from normative issues about the nature of a “good and proper life” to questions about “man as he really is”. Maybe modern economists should again consult with Machiavelli, Mandeville and Smith who for instance questioned Aristotles’ view of seeing everyday life as a waiting room for eternal life.

expression of a combination of its special skills, knowledge, and experience” (Stebbins 1997, 17). In contrast, Stebbins defines casual leisure as “immediately, intrinsically rewarding, relatively short-lived pleasurable activity requiring little or no special training to enjoy it” (Stebbins, 2001, 305).

The concept of a leisure career is useful yet these analyses are limited first because they take leisure to be a pre-existing category. Time use statistics, for example, define free time or leisure time as a residual: “Free time is defined as time free from other activities”. (Statistics Finland: Time Use Studies, 2002, 10). In time use surveys free time is the amount of time in a day that remains once time spent on sleep, meals and other personal care, gainful employment, study and domestic work, is accounted for. Top down definitions of this kind serve to construct leisure as a subject or a domain of daily life, the qualities and features of which can then be analyzed and compared.

In addition, studies of leisure rarely recognize the relationship between producers and consumers or the part that businesses, clubs and other organizations play in defining and reproducing different forms of fun, happiness and well-being.

Manufacturing leisure

In the light of the traditions alluded to above, the conjunction of 'manufacturing' and 'leisure' is puzzling and intriguing. How can leisure – defined in opposition to manufacturing – itself be manufactured? How can discretion and individual welfare be combined with manufactured opportunities and collective provision?

What might a book entitled 'manufacturing leisure' be about? Various possibilities spring to mind. Such a volume might seek to demonstrate the commodification of everything, free time included. It might try to show how the tentacles of commercial interest have penetrated territory previously conceptualized as the preserve of personal autonomy, freedom and non-commodification. Alternatively, it might be about the erosion of free time and about how optional activities, like hanging around after school or going for a stroll on a Sunday afternoon have become obligatory pursuits serviced and structured by any number of dedicated organizations. Interpreted this way, 'manufacturing leisure' might refer to a process in which the apparent multiplication of choices paradoxically increases obligations to participate and consume, thereby reducing the realm of discretion.

Unusually, and despite these possible interpretations, this book is *not* about the relation between work and leisure, nor does it hinge on a distinction between commitment and freedom. Because we are not dominantly concerned with these issues it does not make sense to borrow definitions developed by those who are. As suggested above, researchers variously classify activities and practices as 'work' or as 'leisure' if they occur within or outside working hours, if they represent forms of wage labour, or if they are characterized by high or low levels of discretion.

In contrast to all these strategies, we begin from the position that 'leisure' refers to a set of practices that have in common the fact that they are defined as such by those who do them and/or by those who provide the materials (tools, toys) and

services required for their effective accomplishment. In taking this sort of constructivistic view we do not mean that leisure, fun, happiness or well-being are totally arbitrary or without real consequence. For us leisure practices are very much real both symbolically and materially.

Although we are interested in the conceptualization of leisure as a category, we are so not for its own sake but only in so far as people's understandings of leisure are made real in the way they do and in how they define certain practices.² Put another way, we are above all interested in the constitution and reproduction of specific "leisure practices" – What sustains them as forms of fun/happiness/well-being? Is fun characterised by a special sort of reflexivity? How do practices change, and how do they stay the same? For us, it makes no sense to define leisure in relation to paid work, or autonomy, or any other external criteria. Instead, the challenge is to discover and work with practitioners' own rules of coherence – these being rules that are, by definition, shared with others.



Photo: Petteri Repo.

In defining leisure in this way, we are concerned with shared meanings and understandings, with the framing of an activity or set of activities as 'leisure' (but notice this is not a property of the activity per se), and with a sense of when and where leisure begins and ends. This strategy has a number of advantages: the same activity might count as leisure – that is as fun – for some people but not for others; leisure (or fun) is defined by the practitioner, not by outsiders – hence there are no statistics on fun. For the same reason, it is impossible to reconstruct a history of fun.

In writing about the 'manufacturing' of leisure we are also writing about the intersection between what people do when they do leisure and about the activities

² It is quite likely that people at least in western societies think of 'leisure' and 'free time' in ways that are similar to those adopted by academics and specialists in time use studies. This is hardly surprising for the concept of productive labour has much cultural as well as theoretical currency - and in any case, it would be hard to miss distinctions like those between the week and the week-end. Commentators like Zerubavel have written about the development of a socio-temporal order no longer structured in terms of night and day or seasonal variation but instead constructed around standardised working hours and regular periods of 'free time' during evenings or holidays. Never mind what goes on within or outside the hours of work, or when and whether people experience time as 'free', there is no doubt that the working week is an important element in the contemporary socio-temporal order.

of organizations that see themselves as being in the leisure business. This implies a difference between manufacturing leisure (as an intersection, a process, between producer and consumer) and leisure business which is what the leisure industry does. So manufactured leisure is not a sector. It's a way of talking about the making of definitions and meanings and the (re)construction of leisure practices.

We emphasize that leisure (business and consumption) is not only a matter of experience. Leisure is stuffed. It is loaded with various, possibly contradictory, symbols and images. Fun, happiness and well-being are also defined and realized in various arenas, being constituted and reproduced at the macro- as well as the micro-level. For example, the development of so-called experience society, or of a "wellness" revolution, might really change how people spend their time and so transform the social and temporal fabric of everyday life. Whether this is actually happening or not remains to be seen but it is at least possible that movements like these have cumulative and collective consequences.

Questions and perspectives

To reiterate, we use the term, 'manufacturing leisure' to describe a distinctive way of thinking about leisure. Leisure, as a form of practice, is characterized and constructed as 'fun' by those involved. Having fun is not some abstract experience – it requires the active configuration of material stuff, images, services and competencies.³ The idea that leisure, fun, happiness and well-being are manufactured somewhere between practitioners and providers generates a number of specific questions.

How might we describe and analyze the cultural and historical specificity of leisure practices?

Relations between the consumers and producers of leisure are historically and culturally specific. It is, for example, possible to identify booms in leisure business, as in the 1920s when "beach life" was invented by Coco Chanel and other fashion gurus, or in the 1950s when the electronic entertainment industry took off. Similar examples might be found in Britain where the institutionalization of the week-end and of holiday weeks for the 'ordinary' working person coincides with an explosion of interest in sport (particularly in establishing clubs and institutions) and the emergence of new forms of popular entertainment (for example, music halls, pub and parlour games etc.). Contemporary categories and terms like "soft capitalism", "experience economy", "wellness revolution", "post-optimal goods", and "lifestyle products" – represent more recent manifestations of activity at the (leisure) consumer-business interface. But how widespread are these trends? How are leisure practices changing today, at what rate and in what directions?

³We have benefited a lot from Alan Warde's paper "Consumption and theories of practice. Draft for CRIC discussion paper (28April 2003)" in which he characterizes practice theory as an alternative to contemporary consumer theory.

In what ways, if any, do innovations in leisure industries differ from innovations in other sectors?

How does manufacturing leisure differ from manufacturing products like bread? For instance, does it make sense to think of leisure business as an industrial or economic 'cluster' perhaps equivalent to the 'forest block', described by Dahmen (1988). Does the leisure or experience cluster exist as a relatively integrated political-economic actor in its own right? While the cluster concept might be relevant, it is already apparent that it only makes sense if defined and analysed from the perspective of consumers, practitioners and end-users. It is only through their experience that products and services are constituted as elements and ingredients of leisure. This is important when thinking about innovation.

For fun providers, innovation can mean various things: attracting new cohorts of practitioners, re-defining the status of the activity, changing the equipment or the rules or perhaps inventing an entirely new practice. How do rationally organised profit-centered businesses cultivate commitments, obsessions and passions? We have already found that certain leisure manufacturers draw inspiration from images circulating in the media. Is the media a uniquely important arena in which leisure consumers and producers learn about each other? Is it also the case that there are fashions in how people spend their time? Can iconic or emblematic leisure practices become the symbols of an entire era, epoch or nation?

How is leisure internally differentiated by producers and consumers?

It is important to recognise that leisure practices take many forms including art, film, reading, knitting, bowling alone and together, sports of endless types, hobbies, stamp collecting, DIY, eating, drinking and showering.

Constellations of images, competencies and stuff are very different in various branches of the leisure industry. Activities like golf, tennis or football are clearly bounded: these are games with institutions, rules and conventions. Such situations generate opportunities for innovation and renewal unlike those associated with other, perhaps more flexible, forms of fun. What does this mean for organisations making the equipment people use when manufacturing leisure out of ingredients like birds, fish and other wildlife (e.g. bird watching or hunting), or from elements like mountains, snow, wind and water (e.g. sailing, climbing, walking)? Do companies involved in manufacturing highly organised forms of sport confront entirely different challenges? Is it the case that all such enterprises are defined by a distinctively leisurely orientation?

Certain practices, like cooking, are definitionally fluid: sometimes they count as leisure, sometimes not – an interpretation that can switch in the course of preparing and even eating the same meal. A similar ambivalence is perhaps experienced by providers simultaneously occupying the roles of food suppliers (e.g. restaurants and delicatessens), advisors and entertainers (e.g. involvement in producing cookery books, making TV programmes, etc.).

How and when do different forms of institutionalisation matter to the manufacturing of leisure?

How do consumers and producers integrate the materials and symbols of leisure?

Emotional and aesthetic considerations seem to be important in having fun. Similarly, abstract concepts of health, balance and order somehow influence the practices and practicalities of well-being. Do leisure practitioners and providers share a special sort of reflexivity and is this a defining quality of practices that count as fun?

We address all these questions from a systems perspective meaning that both structural and dynamic considerations are taken seriously. We acknowledge that the production and consumption of leisure requires the practical integration of very different elements including ideologies and visions; human beings; technical and cultural infrastructures; skills, procedures and competences; materials and artifacts.

There is no established research tradition that provides us with direct access to the manufacturing of leisure or to a better understanding of how the production and consumption of fun, happiness and well-being are integrated in and through practice. The articles collected in this book consider the manufacturing of leisure from various angles. While they adopt different methods, pursue different aspects, and reach different conclusions, all are loosely framed by the approach described above.

Time, consumption-production and practice

The book is divided into three related and overlapping sections. The first deals with statistical data about consumption and time use. How do people spend their leisure time and how is this changing? Dale Southerton, Alan Warde and Shu Li Cheng base their article on a current project that examines changes in time use in four countries. Concentrating here on changes in the UK from 1975 to 2000 they focus on three activities: traveling, eating and reading. They show that the greatest change has taken place in the time spent traveling. More generally, differences in the way that men and women spend their time appear to be decreasing.

Anu Raijas finds similar trends in her study of Finnish data on media use. She also shows that the use of free time has become more commodity intensive. While the hours devoted to media consumption have increased, the amount of money spent on such pursuits has grown even faster. Mirja Liikkanen uses both survey and qualitative data to show that the concept of leisure is on the move. In Finland, leisure is increasingly experienced as a private issue. Leisure activities seem to be organised and practiced on a more and more individualistic basis. This trend towards privatisation is curious for there has also been a dramatic increase in the number of young people who say that 'being with the family' is the most important thing in their life.

Dale Southerton concludes the first section by suggesting that different pictures of time use emerge when other aspects of temporality are taken into account. To understand changes and differences between social groups one needs to focus on the periodicity, frequency, tempo, duration and the sequence of events, not just the

average number of minutes spent on them. On the basis of his data he questions whether time use in different social classes is in fact converging given that those with more cultural capital seem to have more autonomy. Conventional methods of measuring and analysing time use do not reveal this tendency.

The second section turns the spotlight on consumer producer interaction. Is the relation between leisure consumers and producers characterised by a special kind of reflexivity? (Wheaton 2004). In the leisure sector, the development and consumption of goods and services is evidently not a matter of rational calculation and choice alone. Emotional and aesthetic considerations, themselves conditioned by infrastructures and media images, are vital. Anu Valtonen develops this argument on the basis of her PhD dissertation (Valtonen, 2004). She focuses on the marketing of sleep. In contemporary market societies, sleep has been commodified and turned into a leisure activity in its own right. The “sleep industry” has become entwined with what we might think of as “sleep culture”. Understanding this relation constitutes a theoretical challenge taken up by Mikko Jalas in his article about how consumers are represented in the leisure business. He shows that business texts deal in forms of rational argumentation (‘selling fun’) that contradict the meanings consumers themselves attach to their activities (‘having fun’).

Heike Weber's study of portable electronics helps show how leisure has been conceptualized and commodified in Germany in the 20th century. As she explains, portable electronics have blurred the spatial distinction between work and leisure – so much so that as some companies say: 'Life goes mobile'. Tanja Kotro continues this theme in her article on producing extreme experience. Based on company interviews and media studies she claims that devices like wrist top computers are increasingly seen as expressions of lifestyle. The media are important in constructing the “extreme” (for consumer wanna-bes) *and* as a source of reference material for companies involved in imagining and constructing potential consumers.

It is important to describe and characterise consumer-producer interaction, but this is not in itself enough to explain how new forms of leisure take hold. The final section deals with innovation in practice. The contributors to this part of the book share the view that practices only 'live' through their practioners and that practioners live through practices. Mikko Jalas draws on his own experience and the experiences of other enthusiasts in writing about the demands of owning and maintaining a wooden boat. As he explains, boating journals and web sites are important for the continuous reproduction of this activity and for sharing ideas, skills and fantasies. The general history of the practice relates to the histories of individual practitioners in a rather complicated way, and in a way that revolves around the changing relation between demand and commitment.

Katja Oksanen-Sarela and Päivi Timonen share this interest in practices and the interdependency of individual and collective histories. Their case is the sudden rise of Nordic Walking, an activity that has spread from a small Finnish town, Mäntyharju, to many countries in just a few years. On the basis of focus groups with those who do Nordic Walking, they claim that producers and manufacturers

have been unable to regulate the process of innovation and that consumers are themselves inventing new routines and ways of 'doing' walking.

Elizabeth Shove, Mika Pantzar and Martin Hand take a similar approach in discussing the emergence of digital photography and floorball. They suggest, on the basis of their own experiences and of a range of documentary data, that while practices require carriers, people have different careers as practitioners. What is again important is the fact that the routinization of practices, for individual practitioners, and more general processes of institutionalisation feed each other. At the same time, practices are constituted and defined by those who *do not* do them, and by those whose innovative ways of 'doing' resist routinization.

Together, the papers included in this final section suggest that leisure is a living enterprise – it requires reproduction if it is to survive. The actions and experiences of consumers are therefore as important as those of producers for the persistence and reinvention of practice. Shove, Pantzar and Hand take this idea further with the suggestion that the dynamics of practice have to do with the ways in which materials, images and skill are integrated (Warde, Endnote 3). The implication here is different elements, e.g. ideologies and visions, human beings, technical and cultural infrastructures are all important in manufacturing leisure.

The last paper by Gwen Bingle reminds us of the cultural and historical specificity of the leisure business. Gwen argues that the relation between work and leisure is expressed through the human body. In the industrial era the human body was seen as a machine, its health and efficiency being vital for the effective functioning of the industrial system as a whole. As the nature of work has changed, so has the status of the body-as-machine and the functional significance of fitness. With so many people leading such sedentary working lives, new problems of well-being arise. People have to work at keeping fit - hence the concept of 'fitness toil' – and they have to do so outside working hours.

Manufacturing leisure turns out to be a surprisingly complicated business. Whatever else, the papers included in this collection underline the point that leisure is not a ready-made category, cluster or class of activity. Together they show that having fun is a precarious and provisional enterprise. It is so because it is a creative accomplishment on the part of consumers and producers, all of whom are continuously and actively involved in integrating, inventing and reproducing the specific combinations of ideologies, materials and forms of competence of which leisure practices are formed.

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The changing organization of everyday life in UK: evidence from time use surveys 1975–2000

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The study of changing time use

Time use surveys have had a rather enigmatic role in sociological analysis. On the one hand they offer a level of micro measurement detail, almost equivalent to money in economics, because one activity can be calibrated in small units, typically minutes. On the other hand there are many suspicions, not totally misplaced, about the validity and reliability of calculations based on people's recording and reporting of their time use which always threatens to invalidate deductions made from such apparently precise data.

For the purposes of this paper we require time use surveys to be no more than comparatively crude instruments giving access to broad brush maps of the organisation of daily life. Significantly large *changes* in recorded time use are very worthy of analysis because they are indicators of profound movement in the core structuring of everyday life. The addition of a few minutes in every person's daily schedule devoted to a particular activity represents potentially enormous shifts in social organisation, with implications for social relations, lifestyles, economic activity and social policy. In our current wider project, we are interested in reading changes in time-use to understand the changing nature of consumption. Given that nowadays most social activities are dependent upon manufactured goods and services, any change in the frequency of activities will affect the deep structure of economic production and consumption – of items purchased, labour, money and materials invested, and the personal or household appropriation for use in sustaining daily lives.

In this paper we examine change between 1975 and 2000 in time use in the UK and pay detailed attention to three 'practices': travelling, reading and eating. Using primarily two studies of individual's time use, of 2,617 people in 1975 and 8,522 in 2000 (we also make occasional reference to a study undertaken in 1987),⁴ we several questions relevant to understanding changing patterns of consumption in key and contrasting areas of everyday life.

⁴ The BBC collected the 1975 time-use data. The source information can be found in 'The People's Activities and Use of Time' (1978), London: BBC. The title of the 2000 time diary study is 'The National Survey of Time Use. The United Kingdom 2000 Time Use Survey – Technical Report 2003'. The UK Office for National Statistics provides detailed information about the survey and its coding. We acknowledge the Multinational Time Use Survey (MTUS) for providing time use data for the UK 1975 and the UK Data Archive for the 2000 survey. However, the interpretation of this data and other views expressed in this text are those of the authors. The authors bear full responsibility for all errors and omissions in the interpretation of the data.

The first set of questions explores the rapidity at which the basic structural features of the temporal organisation of daily life are changing. For example, we ask whether there are a set of core activities (besides sleeping and working) which remain as central to everyday life at the beginning of the 21st century as they were 25 years earlier. Many accounts of social change – theories of post-industrial society, post-Fordism, postmodernism – would lead us to expect some significant changes in the organisation of daily life and patterns of consumption. In the case of accounts of post-industrial society we might expect to see an increase of time spent consuming services and perhaps a decline of time spent in paid work as the labour force shifts from manufacturing to services with an increase of flexible and part time work. Post-Fordist accounts of niche consumption might imply a diversification and fragmentation of leisure activities. These accounts question whether we are giving up some activities and replacing them with others.

This leads to a second set of questions surrounding whether social differentiation, or patterns in the social division of activity, are diminishing. Postmodernist accounts would expect a broad but noticeable weakening of any relationship between the structural bases of behaviour of social categories and the forms of consumption in which they participate (such as class and gender). Importantly, given accounts of consumer ‘freedom’ (Bauman, 1988) and elective lifestyles (Featherstone, 1991; Giddens, 1991; Beck, 1992), we ask whether changes in the organisation and allocation of time represent cases in which most people have control, so to speak choosing freely among alternative ways of organising time.

Finally, aiming to reconcile these theoretical debates with the broad brush character of our data, we ask what changing time use can say about, in particular three, middle range hypotheses about social change? First, to what extent are we entering a more leisured society where we might pursue, at our discretion, pleasures, rather than organise our lives around work and family and social obligations (Featherstone, 1991; Rojek, 1995)? Second, to what extent are we substituting purchase in the market for household provision of goods and services (Gershuny, 1983)? Third, to what extent are styles of life becoming more privatised (Pahl, 1984; Saunders, 1990)? These three questions allow us to address dimensions of the previous two sets of more abstract questions by exploring the organisation of time in terms of fragmentation, specialisation, commodification and social constraint.

We have two tranches of data relating to the UK. The first is drawn directly from the MTUS data base. Table 1, which is constructed using the activity variables contained in the Multinational Time Use Survey (MTUS), shows the mean distribution of time spent in 1975 and 2000 on the main activities of the British population. Second, we prepared data from the British time-use surveys such that the categories of time use are directly comparable in all three years (1975, 1987 and 2000). We analyse the data in terms of three practices, travelling, reading and eating. These are important activities, economically, culturally and socially. Each takes up a considerable amount of the time available to people once one accounts for paid and unpaid work, sleeping and personal care. Constructing these three practices sometimes conflates activities that we would prefer to keep separate – eating and drinking, most notably – but we are able to disaggregate these three

into component practices for further analysis, which we do in terms of eating in commercial premises, eating at home, entertaining and visiting, eating at work, leisure travel, obligatory travel, reading books and reading magazines/newspapers. The mean distribution of time spent in 1975 and 2000 on our three practices and their components by the British population appears in Table 2. (Definitions of the component practices can be found in the Appendix.)

Section 2 discusses the general pattern of changing time-use across all activities. In section 3 we offer some analysis and commentary on the changing distribution of time devoted to the three illustrative practices. We have examined each separately by calculating means for each activity for the population as a whole and for those who report participating (for while almost everyone ate during the recorded diary period, a fair proportion did no reading) and then by socio-demographic category (gender, class, age, employment status, education level, household size and structure, etc.) for each year separately. We describe how each of these independent variables affects time spent in activities. This is a first step in seeking changes in patterns of social differentiation and division across practices. We also calculated coefficients of variation for the practices to identify tendencies to homogeneity or heterogeneity within the population as a whole across time. Second, we have calculated correlation coefficients between different activities to examine tendencies towards substitution of some activities for others. Third, linear regression analysis and Heckman sample selection adjustments have been produced for each year and then on data pooled from each of the three surveys, where a dummy for the year of the survey controlled for the passage of time. These exercises prove a means to offer some more precise interpretations of the impact of the multiple factors which impinge upon recorded time use.

Changing time spent on leisure activities – an initial overview

In this section we provide a brief overview of the mean time devoted daily to the entire range of activities covered in the survey diaries. A contrast between the mean participation rates of each activity provides some support for claims of a shift towards a more leisured society, with evidence for increased specialisation, fragmentation and exclusivity of leisure activities. To explore these tendencies further we analyse in detail our selected practices before focusing on more general conclusions about the implications of shifts in time use between 1975 and 2000 for understanding social change.

The MTUS contains 40 activity variables. Typically, these are collapsed into 4 categories – paid work, unpaid work, personal care (including sleep) and leisure. These categories are, we contend, too generic to explore meaningfully the changing temporal structure of daily life (although, they are extremely useful in socio-economic accounts of changing distributions of time spent in formal and domestic labour for example). The 40 activity categories can, however, be used to provide a general assessment of the degree to which the basic structural features of temporal organisation have changed, particularly with respect to which activities take up

more or less of the UK population's time and whether those activities are becoming more specialised, exclusive and fragmented.

Table 1 takes 22 MTUS activity variables that can be regarded as constituting the generic category of leisure time. The remaining 18 MTUS activity variables are collapsed into 5 further categories, ensuring that all minutes of the day are accounted for.⁵ The first column describes the activity variable, the second records the mean number of minutes spent on each activity for the sample as a whole in 2000 and the degree to which this has changed since 1975. Column 3 presents the mean for those who ever participated in the activity and also indicates the absolute change since 1975. Column 4 indicates the percentage of the survey sample who participated in that activity during the days in which time diary's were recorded and change in the percentage participating since 1975.

Looking first at the mean time spent on each activity for the whole survey sample, relatively large increases were recorded for gardening, leisure travel, playing sport, eating out, hobbies and unpaid work. The activities with the greatest decline in overall number of minutes are eating at home and paid work. Consequently, and with the exception of unpaid work, the theory that we are moving towards a more leisured society whereby people spend more time in voluntary and pleasurable activities and less on obligatory activities receives some support.

One problem with analysing means for the entire sample is that the numbers can be skewed by failing to take into account the proportion of people who actually engage in the activity during the days of survey. For example, for the sample as a whole the mean number of minutes spent in religious activities in 2000 in the UK was only 3 minutes, yet the mean number of minutes for those who participated in that activity in the 2000 survey was 36 minutes. To consider only the means of those who participated in the activity shows a more detailed story. Among participants there have been comparatively large increases in time spent on the following activities: gardening, shopping, leisure travel, playing and watching sport, walking, religious activity, going to the cinema or theatre, eating out, listening to the radio or music, reading books, engaging in hobbies. Decreases in the mean amount of time spent by those who were involved on cooking, eating at home and paid work again suggests the diminishing impact of obligatory activities on the temporal structure of daily life. More important is the range of 'leisure' activities that have more time devoted to them by those who participated on the days of survey. With some caution, this suggests a degree of specialisation in

⁵ The variables presented in table 1 are drawn from the Multinational Time Use Study (MTUS). These variables were created to harmonise time diary survey data across different countries. We employ the MTUS activity variables for analysis in table 1 only. This is because the MTUS variables allow for analysis of all activities recorded within a 24-hour day. For our detailed analysis of the three practices of travel, reading and eating, and their component parts, we re-coded original survey data taking the MTUS activity variables as a guideline only. The appendix provides details of our activity re-coding. This was necessary in order to gain further detail in the analysis of the three practices. However, the consequence is that there are slight variations in the mean number of minutes allocated to different practices when comparing table 1 with the data in tables 2-8 due to the greater specificity with which we were able to code the three practices, a specificity not possible given that MTUS represents a harmonised dataset of international time use surveys.

leisure activities with those engaged in a given practice devoted more time to it in 2000 than in 1975.

To complete this broad sweep across the data it is interesting to look at changing participation rates. In addition to an overall increase in time spent on leisure at the expense of obligatory activities, if a leisure society were emerging we would expect to find increased participation rates for leisure activities. This is not the case. Cooking, eating out, gardening, playing sport and hobbies are the only activities to show an increased participation rate of the survey sample. All other activities witness a decline, in some cases very marked. Taking visiting friends as an example, we can see that for the sample as a whole there has been a 9 minute reduction in the amount of time spent in this activity, but that for those who participated there has been no change in the mean number of minutes devoted. With respect to participation rates, there has been a drop from 60% participation in 1975 to 43% in 2000. Therefore, less people are visiting the homes of others but those that did visit others in 2000 did so for the same amount of time (50 minutes per day) as did people in 1975. In the case of religious activities, we see a declining participation rate but a significant increase in time spent in the activity for those who do participate – fewer people spend overall more time now in religious activities than was the case in 1975.

Overall, from a relatively brief glance at a broad range of leisure and aggregated obligatory activities, we can tentatively suggest that the UK spends more time at leisure, but that leisure activities are becoming more specialised because those who participate in the same activity in 2000 do so for longer than did people in 1975. We also see, very importantly, greater exclusivity in leisure activities because participation rates for most activities have diminished. If specialisation and exclusivity occur together this suggests some fragmentation – if some people are spending more time in specific activities, and those activities are becoming more exclusive, then it follows that a degree of fragmentation across leisure activities has taken place.

Analysis of data at this level of generality cannot provide an authoritative account of social change. We need also to know which social group(s), for example, no longer visited others. To support claims regarding fragmentation we would need to explore whether the range of activities that any individual engaged in on the days of survey have declined (as the notion of specialisation may lead one to expect) or whether specific groups are diversifying and spending small amounts of time in many activities and specialising in only a few (as some accounts of the cultural omnivore would suggest – see Peterson and Kern, 1996)⁶. To illustrate with a hypothetical example, the urban professional middle classes might be spending only a cursory amount of time in several leisure activities (say, watching a bit of television, a little shopping, a brief read of a few pages of a book, a quick drink on the way home from work) but be significantly increasing their amount of time spent listening to music and visiting the theatre. Increased exclusivity suggests

⁶ Cultural omnivorousness refers to shifting cultural tastes away from traditional distinctions between high and low brow and towards knowledge of a wide range of cultural activities or genres. It is an empirical and theoretical question as to whether omnivorousness would translate in to engagement in a broader range of cultural activities than would have been the case in the past (see Warde, Tomlinson and McMeekin, 2000).

this is not the case for the population as a whole (because participation rates would increase in many activities). But we cannot rule out that specific groups are, or have become, more omnivorous. Yet, subject to that proviso, broad brush analysis of the data, as above, does generate an impression of a society in which time for leisure activities has increased, and that those activities have become more specialised, exclusive and fragmented across the nationally representative survey sample.

In order to shed some light on the salience of these observations it is necessary to take a more detailed look at the activities. Three contrasting practices lend themselves to detailed analysis for three reasons. First, we take time spent in various practices of travelling, reading and eating because the first is almost entirely obligatory (leisure travel for example being travel required in order to engage in leisure). Reading is a leisure activity even though it is impossible to completely discount reading for work purposes from the data. Eating is the most interesting. Practices of cooking and to a lesser extent eating at home contain at least an element of obligation, while eating out at a commercial premises or at the home of other people would in most cases be regarded as voluntary. In addition to offering an interesting mix of voluntarism and obligation, these three practices also lend themselves to detailed analysis because the component parts of the overall practice (say eating) can be extracted from the data (for example, cooking, eating in, eating out, eating at work and also cooking). Finally, as table 1 indicates, travel and eating are activities that almost everyone engage in and represent significant shifts in the amount of time devoted to them (people spending much more time travelling and much less time eating), while reading is an activity which appears relatively static.

An analysis of three practices

Travelling

Taking data prepared from the original time use surveys, rather than MTUS activity variables, time devoted to travel has increased by 23 minutes for men and 33 minutes per day for women since 1975 – for every social group show an increase in time spent (see table 3). Importantly, there has been a decline in non-participation; 11% of people recorded no travel time in 1975, and only 4% in 2000. So people not only spend more time travelling but the proportion of people travelling on any one day has also increased since 1975. We distinguish between obligatory travel (to and from work, schools, escorting others and during the course of work) and leisure travel (travel as leisure and for the purpose of engaging in a leisure activity). Taking only those who travelled on the days of survey, leisure travel increased from 31 minutes to 47 minutes in 2000, and the participation rate increased from 68% to 72%. Obligatory travel increased from 49 minutes to 62 minutes with a drop in non-participation from 24% to 11% of the sample in each year. Thus we are spending a lot more time travelling, with a greater proportion of the population participating, in obligatory travel relative to leisure travel.

As table 3 illustrates, increase in time spent in obligatory travel is most striking. Much of this can be explained by the increase of women in the labour market and the tendency for those in part-time employment to spend much more time now than in 1975 on obligatory travel. For although men also spend still more time in obligatory travel the difference between men and women is now slight. The highly educated spend more time in both types of travel than do the less educated. Travel is the only practice where social class matters significantly and systematically. Interestingly, while employment status affects the amount of time spent in all travel, especially obligatory with full and part time workers spending the most, it is the unemployed, retired and family workers who have increased time in obligatory travel most dramatically. This probably indicates the growing reliance on transport for conducting daily life and is one of the main trends indicated by our data about changes in lifestyles or the organisation of everyday life in the last quarter of the 20th century, suggesting that people found it very difficult to do any other than increase the amount of time devoted to travel for the purpose of seeing family, ferrying children, going shopping. Whether the effect is mainly one of travelling greater distances, or a consequence of congestion, is not recoverable from our data. Both seem plausible explanations and are not mutually inconsistent. However, the critical point is that obligatory travel is taking up increasingly more time per day for an ever greater proportion of people.

Table 4 describes the results of a regression analysis, using pooled data for three surveys, applying a Heckman selection model. That is to say, it is a study of the time use of those individuals from the total sample who recorded having spent some time travelling during the period covered by the time diaries. Using a full sample was shown to underrepresent women, those with children under 5 years of age, older people, lower manual working classes (5 and 6) and to over-represent those with educational qualifications at A level or above, members of social class ii, and the married. Once this was taken into account it can be seen that time spent in travel was subject to a wide range of variation by social group. Most obviously, time spent had increased substantially in the later years. It was significantly lower for those who were not in employment, also for women and for the elderly. Manual social classes spent significantly less time travelling than the base category of routine white collar workers. Those in class ii, by contrast, spent more time, as did those with A level and even more so those with a university degree. Looking at the coefficients, education, class, gender and not being employed were all characteristics making a significant difference to the minutes spent in travelling, as was the year in which the survey was conducted.

Reading

It is important to note that the data refers only to reading as a primary activity, which means that we do not have data on reading done as a secondary activity (for example, reading on the train). This is important given that studies such as Bittman and Wajcman (2000) demonstrate that women spend significantly more time reading as a secondary activity than do men. There is little change in the proportion reporting having read, 60 per cent participated in 2000, with many more having read newspapers and magazines than books. The likelihood of reading at all

increases with higher educational qualifications, with age, and is greater for those married compared to those not married. The presence of children and belonging to a lower social class reduces the probability of reading.

Table 5 indicates that for those who did report reading there was a 6 minute increase in the time between 1975 and 2000 and that employment status, education and gender affect the amount of time spent reading. Full time workers read less than those of other employment status, the most educated read more than the less educated, and men read more than women (but this largely in terms of newspapers and magazines – women spending slightly more time reading books). With respect to change over time, the gap between the highly and less educated has widened after having controlled for other socio-demographic characteristics. However, the internal differentiation of the practice of reading is strikingly static over time. Among other features, although the young read less than the old, there is no significant change in the relative proportions between 1975 and 2000.

Eating

The organisation of eating, by contrast, shows some very marked shifts over time. There has been an overall decline in the amount of time spent eating (see table 2). Table 6 demonstrates that employment status, age, gender and having children are most important in explaining variations of the overall time spent eating. Full time and part time workers spend less time eating than do other employment status groups, although in terms of change since 1975, it is both them and family workers who have seen the largest decline. Generally, time spent eating increases with age, men spend more time eating than do women, as do single households in comparison with non-single households (although the difference has narrowed over time). Those without children spend more time eating than those with young children and there is some evidence of divergence. First impressions therefore suggest that those people with the greatest domestic and employment related ‘obligations’ spend less time eating.

A detailed examination of the components of the practice of eating shows variations across socio-demographic groups. Eating and drinking out is particularly revealing. Table 7 shows there has been a significant increase in time devoted to eating and drinking away from home and participation rates also show that this is becoming a less exclusive social practice. Education, age, gender, children and household composition are all significant sources of variation. The highly educated spend more time when eating out than do the less educated in 2000, although in 1975 there was little difference. This suggests a trend in the highly educated to change their eating habits towards eating and drinking in commercial premises. Eating out declines with age. However, some caution is required when interpreting which socio-demographic variables are most significant – regression analysis indicating that sex and having children were the most significant explanatory variables followed by education and age. Those with children eat out more than they did in 1975, but the increase is small compared with that of those without children. Men continue to spend slightly more time eating out than do women, a

difference constant since 1975. Single households eat and drink out significantly more than do non-single households and this difference is growing.

Given the increase of eating and drinking out for everybody, it is not surprising that there has been an overall decline in the amount of time people spend eating at home. This decline is again varied. While full and part time workers continue to spend less time eating at home when compared with other employment status groups, the gap has narrowed showing that the unemployed, retired and family workers have decreased the amount of time spent eating at home to a larger extent than those in full and part employment since 1975. Class and education makes very little difference, but age is significant; people spend more time eating at home as they get older. As might be expected, given their sharp increase of eating and drinking out, single households spend less time eating at home than do non-single households. Women spend more time eating at home, but the difference has diminished since 1975 (women spent 11 minutes more eating at home than men in 1975, but only 5 minutes more in 2000). Finally, those with young children continue to spend less time than those without children when eating at home, the difference between the two groups widening despite an overall decline in the number of minutes spent eating at home for both groups.

Time spent entertaining and visiting others has also declined by approximately 5 minutes per day and, as mentioned earlier, the participation rates suggest that it is becoming less common. Regarding differentiation in time use, single person households spend more time entertaining and visiting than others, but the difference has narrowed since 1975. Most interesting, those with higher education have seen the largest decline in time spent entertaining and visiting, so that experience of higher education is not statistically significant by 2000. Time spent entertaining and visiting has declined more for men than women. This provides circumstantial evidence of the decline of the middle class dinner party and, given this group's disproportionate increase in time spent eating out, that middle class sociable dining has shifted from the private to the public sphere – or from homes to restaurants. Women then continue to socialise with friends more in the private sphere than do men – which, in part, answers the question posed in section 2 regarding which social group continues to spend the same mean number of minutes visiting others in 2000 as they did in 1975.

We examined cooking, even though it is a work task in a way that most of the others are not, because of its integral role in the practice of eating. The amount of time men spend cooking has increased in absolute terms, but still women spend considerably more time cooking than do men. Time spent cooking increases with age and those who have children spend more time cooking than do those without. Education, a significant variable in 1975, was no longer so in 2000.

For the practice of eating forms of substitution are important. Those for whom time spent eating at home has declined most appear to be replacing domestic meals with ones provided on commercial premises. However, this is not always the case; for those with young children the amount of time eating at home has declined while eating out has not increased to the same extent as it has for those without children. Also, as noted above, the middle class seem to be substituting commercial provision for private hospitality. There is then some evidence of a shift from the private to the public sphere. For those with fewer domestic obligations there is significantly more eating and drinking in public spaces. Overall, there is also some

putative support for claims about greater informalisation and the decline of family meal (Wouters, 1986; Charles and Kerr, 1988). Less time is being spent by all, and even less by those with dependent children, in eating at home. This may also have something to do with some social groups dropping a meal (breakfast or lunch) or taking more snacks (which would be less likely to be reported). Ultimately, we need to analyse the data by episode to shed light on these suggestions. But it does imply significant shifts in the organisation of eating which can only be the outcome of multiple causes, not forgetting pressure for changed behaviour arising from agricultural, industrial and distributive agents.

Substitution between practices: travel, reading and eating

It is a dangerous temptation in the analysis of time use data to create ad hoc explanations of the substitution over time of one activity for another. In our case, it seems reasonable to see eating out replacing eating in at some regular rate. But whether it makes any sense to suggest that there is a causal relationship between more time travelling and less time eating is highly questionable. Nevertheless, there are some clues about the nature of social organisation lying in data charting the correlations between amounts of time spent in different activities. Table 8 shows correlation coefficients for five practices in 1975 and 2000.⁷

The coefficients are in general quite small. This implies that there is not much sense in which engagement in one activity is constrained by engagement in another. The correlation matrix for 1975 shows that those who spent more time in travel spent less time cooking, eating and reading. This might be attributed partly to gender differences (see below) with men spending more time in travelling. And those who cooked spent less time in travelling and spectating. This too might be attributed to a greater degree to gender differences, for cooking was a more disproportionately female activity in 1975 than it was in 2000. There are also positive relationships between travelling and spectating (for which there is an obvious functional explanation) and between eating and reading (which might be a function of age).

The patterns change comparatively little by 2000. The negative relationships between travel and cooking, reading and eating remained, though all reduced in size and the last became not significant. This suggests that changes in the patterns of travel are some of the most important we can observe. The substantial increase in the time which women devoted to travel over the 25 year period suggest that a

⁷ Spearman's rank correlation coefficient (ρ) measures the strength of the associations between two variables. Since time use data are often with a large amount of 0s, the Spearman's rank correlation coefficient is preferred over the Pearson correlation coefficient as it does not require the assumption that the relationship between the variables is linear. A positive value of Spearman's rank correlation coefficient indicates a positive/direct relationship between the two variables, while a negative value indicates a negative/inversed relationship. The coefficient ranges from -1 to 1, with the former meaning a perfect negative relationship, the latter a perfect positive relationship and 0 as no correlation between the two variables. Other values indicate a weak relationship if $\rho < 0.4$; a modest relationship if $0.4 \leq \rho < 0.7$, and $\rho \geq 0.7$ means a strong relationship (the same can be applied to the negative values). Because social data is very unlikely to be perfectly related we note the correlation if the coefficient is around or above 0.3.

changing gender order is at the heart of this shift. The relationship between eating and reading became increasingly positive. The remaining correlations were very close to zero and changed only marginally. As a map of the way in which individuals and households allocate their time this suggests relatively limited constraints across practices.

Discussion

Interpreting practices

Identifying causal patterns from data of this sort is enormously troublesome. If we were to take for example eating we see some of the difficulties. There are some interesting and pronounced trends in time use, described above. We might advance very reasons for the changes in the time spent eating and on the shifts between locales where there has been both substitution between modes of provision and alterations in the overall allocation of time devoted. We have *prima facie* evidence of:

- further commodification of the food chain, as more time is spent eating out, with the commercial world coming to play an even greater role in food provision
- the decline of the family meal, as less time is spent at home, particularly among those households with dependent children
- increasing dependence on convenience foods and snacks, as time spent cooking reduces very substantially
- the tendency for families without children to take more leisurely meals away from home, while those with children not only go to eat out less often but stay there for a shorter time when they do – perhaps indicative of the British restaurant still being relatively unfriendly to children (though note that the data also refers to drinking in bars and pubs from which children are often legally excluded)
- the disappearance of the middle class dinner party; and more generally the irony that despite more and more resources being devoted to ‘the home beautiful’, few people other than the residents get the opportunity to appreciate it
- the pervasive impact of changing family and household type, as single people and those living alone alter their manner of food provisioning
- slow and adaptive change in the gendered ordering of food provision and consumption as the time allocations of men and women gradually converge.

The evidence is, thus, suggestive of many possible stories and accounts. Time data alone is incapable of confirming (though it might help disconfirm) any of these conjectures which arise in the literature. It is one of the benefits of examining practices one by one, and each in some detail, that one is able to know enough about each to be able to interpret the tendencies. However, there is a great danger

of this being done in an *ad hoc* manner. We can be sure of little more than that we are looking at some manifestations of the deeply structured sources of change and variation in consumption, and these need to be supplemented with much other types of information.

Structured social differentiation

The evidence suggests that there is much value in looking at each practice separately also because different social factors appear to be at work in both determining engagement in an activity and determining the amount of time devoted to it. Social position (belonging to different social categories of age, sex, gender, etc) is not equally determinant of participation and frequency across the various activities. Sometimes having children matters, sometimes not; sometimes gender matters; and occasionally so does social class. This requires that we examine carefully each different practice, so as to understand each better. And it is not just, important though this may be, that there is no simple structuring of inequalities that excludes the same people time and time again from desirable or preferred activities. (Of course, not all these activities carry positive material or symbolic status – though probably eating out, reading (cultural capital), hospitality, leisure travel and spectating are all predominantly either gratifying in their own right or capable of being used as ‘capital’ and turned to social advantage.) In other words, there is no superimposition of group inequality across every practice. But it does show the continued striation and structuration of everyday life as a function of social position. Social and group positioning is not yet defunct as a structuring principle of personal and collective experience.

Convergence and divergence

Despite the continued significance of social group positioning, there is no overall pattern of convergence or divergence of experience by socio-demographic position. We do see plenty of corroborating evidence for the thesis of convergence of time use among men and women. Gershuny’s (1992) general thesis of lagged adaptation to account for trends in patterns of allocation of domestic labour between men and women finds some support. Of course, gender divisions have not disappeared entirely, most especially with respect to cooking, but there are few exceptions to the tendency for convergence by gender. Men are cooking more, women a great deal less. Women are now spending almost as much time as men in eating, reading and travelling; in the last case the convergence is very pronounced. It is perhaps only with respect to entertaining and visiting other people that there is some minor divergence, as men reduce their involvement more sharply than women.

Part of the difficulty when it comes to analysing convergence and divergence is isolating causal variables. While, generally speaking, we see convergence in terms of gender, there are many indications of divergence in relation to the impacts of having children. With respect to eating overall, and specifically eating out, it is the growing gap between those living with or without children that is most striking. In our detailed analysis of three practices, having children resulted in reduced time

spent reading but the difference between those with and without children remained consistent between 1975 and 2000. And having children made little difference to travel since everyone increased time devoted to this activity. Evidence from other studies of time use surveys does, however, suggest divergence. For example, Bittman and Wajcman's (2000) comprehensive analysis of changing leisure time in ten OECD countries concludes that the most important variable for explaining engagement in different forms of leisure was the presence of a child under the age of 10 in the household.

Our data show convergence in terms of gender and indicate some divergence with respect to the presence of children in a household. At face value this may seem contradictory given that women continue to devote more of their time to the unpaid work of childcare than do men (Gershuny, 2000). On reflection, if the distribution of time between the sexes spent on a range of activities is converging, such that men are more subject to the constraints associated with caring for children, then divergence between those living with and without children and convergence on the basis of sex represent an important social change in the structuring of time in daily life. Of course, this is not to deny that women with children contend with different constraints when allocating practices in time than men (see Southerton and Tomlinson, forthcoming), but that patterns of divergence and convergence have changed the structural organisation of those practices in complex ways. Together with the observations that variables such as class, education, household composition and age remain significant, without being equally determinant of participation across activities, and that many practices have changed markedly with respect to the amount of time allocated to them, simultaneous patterns of convergence and divergence demonstrate that the structural organisation of time rests on the complex relationship between shifting socio-demographic constraints and the particularities of any given practice.

Tendencies in the temporal organization of daily life

The two practices which show the sharpest shifts – increased travel time and decline in eating and cooking – are indicative of a changing temporal organisation of daily life. Neither can be simply interpreted as welcome or unwelcome. The rise in leisure travel is presumably viewed positively in general, though people may not be entirely pleased if their excursions take longer times because of traffic congestion or slow public transport. Other types of travel may deliver some satisfactions, but probably are mostly sources of irritation and regret. While people say they like listening to the radio in their cars they rarely say they like commuting; and though parents opt for transporting their children from place to place, they complain increasingly frequently that this is burdensome. Yet these are presumably viewed as necessary and a form of trade-off against alternative ways of organising the complex of work, residence and leisure.

The evidence regarding substitution of time between practices in 1975 and 2000 is suggestive in relation to popular perceptions that the pace of daily life is accelerating and that there is an increasing shortage of time (Demos, 1995; Hewitt, 1993). There are many competing diagnoses of the predicament, most of which

assume that there is some substantive basis for these concerns. Accounts like those of Linder (1970), Schor (1992), Cross (1993), Hochschild (1997) and Darier (1998) present quite different arguments but reach similar conclusions that people feel time pressure because of the competing demands of substantively more activities (whether paid and/or unpaid work, the pressures of consumer culture or of contemporary workplaces) in daily life. One way of exploring such debates is to consider whether participation in one set of practices is more or less likely to constrain participation in other sets of practices.

The analysis of Spearman correlation coefficients between practices (and the evidence was much the same, perhaps more pronounced when conducted with the component practices) lends support to claims that people do have 'enough' time to conduct the practices most important to them but that a weakening of temporal constraints and greater flexibility might itself induce the sense of hurriedness (Southerton, 2003). In general, there always being only 1 440 minutes in a day, selecting one activity means spending less in some other one. Time allocation is a zero-sum game. But, all things being equal, the more flexibility people have in relation to their time allocation, the less one would expect to see systematic evidence of a negative statistical relationship between time allocated to different practices. If, for instance, those who were employed worked a 12 hour day, and spent the standard 8 hours per day sleeping, they would have very little discretionary time. We might then expect to see strong negative relationships between time spent in work and time spent in recreation. Negative relations suggest incompatible choices. On the other hand, the less that obligatory tasks impinge upon discretionary ones, the less we would expect to see high statistical correlations between different types of time use. Or to take another example, a rigid time regime (say that all shops open at exactly the same hours as employees are contracted for) will result in some strong negative correlations between activities (in this example between work and shopping). A more flexible time regime within a society would result in fewer and weaker negative relationships.

In fact, the coefficients recorded in the data are in general quite small, and moreover they are reducing in size. This implies that there is not much sense in which engagement in one activity is constrained by engagement in another. The major exception to the tendency in this data set is the negative relationship between eating out and eating in; a relationship very simply understood as direct and functional substitution. But nor do we see many positive relationships either. To the extent that some activities are supportive of others – perhaps for example travelling (leisure) to watch sporting events – then the more we would see positive relationships with increasing strength. An example found in the data is cooking and eating at home; if one cooks then one will eat at home rather than elsewhere. How these relationships change over time is some measure of the changing structure of constraints, including total time available to discretionary activity and the range of alternative *modus operandi* within practices which allow them to be speeded up or slowed down. One possible line of interpretation is that the absence of negative correlations shows a more flexible temporal regime than might have prevailed in the past. Whether this is a source of hurriedness or time pressure is beyond the scope of our data because we have no indication of how time was experienced

subjectively.⁸ However, various surveys indicate that people do ‘feel’ time pressured (Robinson and Godbey, 1997; Southerton and Tomlinson, forthcoming).

Commodification, consumer culture, the public and the private

Close examination of the data for the three practices and their component parts suggests some support for some aspects of most of the popular general theories of social change, but no overwhelming or consistent corroboration of any one. We might say, in accordance with those accounts which stress the hedonistic aspects of consumer culture, that more time is being devoted to several activities which are discretionary, recreational, essentially gratifying, and requiring no heteronomous work. More time is being devoted by most people to eating out and to leisure travel. For no social group has there been any significant decline in either of these activities. On the other hand, there has been a significant increase in obligatory travel for all groups, and there are many reasons to imagine that this is a source of discontent. Perhaps the balance swings to the former pole. The obligatory or work-inducing aspects of these three practices are not spreading too much. It seems likely that the decrease in the time spent cooking is very welcome to women but also that the increased time spent by men is not necessarily begrudged. Other research suggests that men cook mostly because they want to (though it is becoming increasingly difficult in the UK for men to avoid cooking, particularly given the increase in one person households and changing conventions regarding the domestic divisions of labour) and, since it should never be imagined that work offers no intrinsic rewards, it may well be that even the increase of men’s time devoted to cooking (about 23 minutes per day on average) may be viewed positively rather than negatively.

Equally, there is contrary evidence regarding the extent to which consumer culture encourages privatism. On the one side, most people are going out more and spending more time in public places eating and drinking. Also, and associated, they are spending less time cooking or eating at home, primary forms of traditional domestic activity. Another practice that we looked at, spectating – going to the cinema or theatre, and attending sporting events – showed no tendency to reduce over time. Indeed, as table 1 indicates, time devoted to spectating increased dramatically between 1975 and 2000 when looking only at the mean number of minutes for those who participated – an extra 25 minutes for those watching sport and 29 minutes for visits to the cinema and theatre. People are also travelling more, although it is a moot point whether being in an automobile (the preponderant experience of transportation now) should be described as a private or a public condition. On the other hand they are spending a little more time in reading, a thoroughly private activity, have reduced time spent in exchange of visits to other people’s homes, and the time still devoted to the complex of activities around food preparation and consumption in the home remains substantial. On balance, perhaps there is a slight shift towards public engagement – though that is of course subject to the fact that we chose a particular range of practices to investigate.

⁸ Although the surveys which accompany the time diaries could provide some indication.

Conclusions

While the data analysis is detailed the interpretation of it is not comprehensive. Given that our focus is on consumption, and that therefore the activities taken for analysis are more readily categorised as leisure than work, our account of time and social change necessarily minimises the importance of paid and unpaid work and how both relate to the organisation of time (see for example, Garhammer, 1995; Sullivan, 1997; Breedveld, 1995). However, the analysis does provide evidence of sets of tendencies that are revealing about structural changes in the allocation of activities within a 24-hour day. A cursory glance at the broadest range of activities (see Table 1) indicates trends towards a more leisured society with paid work declining (though unpaid work has marginally increased) and time spent in a range of leisure activities increasing. Furthermore, when accounting only for participants in each activity during the days of diary survey we find evidence of increased specialisation, fragmentation and exclusion in leisure activities. Specialisation is indicated by an increase in minutes spent in leisure activities since 1975 for those who participate when compared with the changes in mean minutes for the entire sample since 1975. Fragmentation is indicated by declining participation rates in many activities, but with more concentration of time for those now conducting them. Declining participation rates for the majority of practices suggests a growing degree of exclusivity.

Exploring our selected practices in detail reveals important structural shifts in the organisation of daily life. Travel is, perhaps, the most important given that everyone has significantly increased the proportion of their average day spent travelling whether for leisure or out of obligation. Reading represents a practice of remarkable stickiness – it has changed little with respect to the amount of time people spend reading and in terms of who reads. This is important in that it demonstrates the capacity of some practices to resist competition from others – it is notable that the amount of time devoted to watching the television has not increased very much since 1975, a practice which one might have expected to represent a significant challenge to reading for the attention of potential participants. Eating is a practice of marked shifts, some of which can be explained by the substitution of eating out for forms of domestic provisioning of food. There is, therefore, evidence of further commodification of the food chain and also of: the decline of the family meal, the impact of convenience foods on eating at home and cooking, for households without children to eat out more and eat more leisurely in general, the disappearance of the middle class dinner party, the impact of single households who adapt their manner of food provisioning, and a slow but gradual convergence between the sexes with respect to food provisioning and consumption.

In addition to being able to highlight tendencies in relation to specific practices, by exploring the relationship between practices our analysis (of correlation coefficients) suggests a weakening of mutual constraint surrounding the allocation of practices within particular or predictable time slots and lends some support to claims regarding greater temporal flexibility. This should not be read as support for claims of greater ‘freedom’ in the construction of lifestyles as a consequence of consumer choice because social structure in relation to variables such as class, gender, and age remain significant. Rather, it implies that engagement in one

practice restricts engagement in other practices to a lesser extent in 2000 when compared with 1975. Weakening constraint on the allocation of leisure practices within the diurnal cycle also lends support to claims that flexible temporal regimes may be a source of discontent. While our data contain no estimates of subjective experiences of time, when taken together with data which does show that people feel 'pressed for time', they suggest that an important source of hurriedness is the requirement to pay more attention to managing the allocation of practices within a temporal regime which provides fewer routine and taken-for-granted guidelines than in 1975.

Analysis of the three practices demonstrates that social position remains a significant determinant of the amount of time that people allocate to different activities. Eating out is a particularly good example. However, social position (such as class and gender) is not equally determinant of participation and frequency across various activities. Moreover, identifying trends of convergence or divergence in the time spent on activities across social groups is particularly problematic. Generally, we can identify tendencies toward convergence between the sexes and divergence between those who have or do not have children. These are trends in the changing structural organisation of time which are likely to have quite specific implications for how activities are allocated in time for different social groups. The data demonstrate that it would be wrong to interpret the trends of convergence, divergence, weakening constraints between practices and greater flexibility in the allocation of practices as indicating an erosion of the social structuring of time in relation to categories such as class and gender. Rather, it indicates the complexity of socio-demographic variation and its impact on the constraints encountered in the allocation of specific practices within time.

Finally, the data illustrates a set of tendencies broadly consistent with theories of consumer culture. The increasing commodification of eating lends support to claims that the market colonizes, at an increasing pace, evermore aspects of social and cultural life (Slater, 1997). Most groups have increased their involvement in discretionary and recreational activities and we see many cases of decline in obligatory activities (cooking for women, mean minutes of paid work). However, we see the increased salience of other obligatory activities – travel being the most important. It also appears that, contrary to claims that consumer culture encourages forms of privatism, people are engaging in more activities in the public sphere in 2000 than they did in 1975. It is important to note however that the forms of public engagement might remain 'private' in character – eating out typically involving interaction between people with close social ties.

In the introduction we acknowledged that time use data is often regarded as a rather crude instrument for analysing social change and that it only offers broad brush indications of trends in the distribution of activities within time. However, such a criticism can be levelled at many sources of quantitative data. The value of time use data is that it permits the identification of tendencies in the structural organisation of daily life. We can show that socio-demographic variables remain important in how different social groups allocate activities in time; we can explore complex inter-relationships between different social groups and different social practices; and we can simultaneously identify patterns of convergence and divergence, and provide evidence of fragmentation, specialisation, and exclusivity.

Time-use data point to patterns of social change at the core of the organisation of daily life.

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Appendices

Data

The time use data used for analysis are drawn from the UK time use surveys of years 1975, 1987 and 2000. The individuals in these surveys were asked to keep diaries for a certain period of time (e.g. a week) and record their activities in short time intervals (e.g. 10 or 15 minutes). However, the data used in the analysis were aggregated to the person level describing the mean time (in minutes) devoted to each activity for a single day. The data were calculated from the primary activity fields in the diaries. Some of the activities were also matched with location in order to identify where the activity took place, for example, eating at home. The 1975 and 1987 UK time use surveys collected 7-day diary data from the individuals. The mean time spent in each activity per day for the individuals are, therefore, calculated from averaging the recorded time spent in the particular activity in the course of the week⁹. Unlike the 1975 and 1987 surveys, the UK 2000 time use diaries were collected for a weekday and a day in the weekend. The average time spent for each activity per day was computed on the basis of taking the proportion of 5/7 for the weekday and 2/7 for the weekend.

In order to take account of over-sampling of specific sub-groups and non-response, weights are used to correct for the sample design. The weights used for the years 1975 and 1987 were computed by the Multinational Time Use Study (MTUS), University of Essex. These weights corrected for the distributions of sex and age and bring the sample in line with the UK population (MTUS User's Guide and Manual, Chapter 4). The Office for National Statistics (ONS) constructed the weights for the year 2000 and accounts for survey non-response. In all surveys weights correct for biases in the results caused by particular groups in the sample not responding to the survey, and corrects for differences between the characteristics of the sample and the UK population (UK 2000 Time Use Survey Technical Report, p.56). In order to make the samples more comparable across three years, weights are also adjusted to give similar sample size for the three years.

Definition of activity variables: travel, reading, eating, cooking, their component parts

Time spent on each practice is measured as average time in minutes per day. The individual is taken as the unit of analysis and data is restricted to those aged 16 and over.

For our re-coding of the original time use surveys of 1975, 1987 and 2000, activity variables are presented at two levels. Time spent on each general practices, EATING, COOKING, READING, and TRAVEL is the sum of time

⁹ It is possible that some diaries are missing for some individuals, in such case; the means are the average time spent over available diaries.

spent on the sub-categories within each practice (apart from COOKING which contains no sub-categories).

Dependent variables	Definition of activity
EATING	Sum of eating out in commercial premises, eating at home, entertaining and visiting and eating at work
Eating out in commercial premises	Time spent eating meals or snacks and drinking in commercial premises (mainly cafés, pubs or restaurants)
Eating at home	Time spent eating meals or snacks and drinking at home
Entertaining and visiting	Time spent entertaining and visiting
Eating at work	Time spent eating at work place or school – for 1975 and 1987, this variable reports the scheduled breaks (meal breaks, lunch breaks etc.) at work and educational establishment rather than the actual time spent on eating at work
COOKING	Time spent on food preparation and cooking, but it does not include time spent on dish washing
READING	Sum of reading books and reading magazines/newspapers
Reading books	Time spent reading books
Reading magazines/newspapers	Time spent reading magazines or newspapers and other general reading other than books, such as reading letters
TRAVEL	Sum of leisure travel and obligatory travel
Leisure travel	Time spent on travelling related to all kinds of leisure activity. It also includes travel for religious, community, voluntary or other social activities
Obligatory travel	Time spent on travelling other than leisure travel is included in obligatory travel. This includes travel to/from work/education, travel during course of work, travel escorting others, and travel related to shopping (not available for the 1975 survey)

For definitions of the 40 MTUS activity variables used to construct table 1 see the MTUS user guide.

Activity	Mean minutes for all respondents		Mean minutes for participants only		Participation rate	
	Means for 2000	Change since 1975	Means for 2000	Change since 1975	% of sample in 2000	change since 1975
Cooking & washing up	51	-6	59	-22	88	16
Gardening	17	9	48	16	37	11
Shopping	27	3	41	6	66	-4
Eating at home	54	-25	56	-24	97	-2
Leisure travel	31	16	43	16	73	18
Excursions	6	-2	53	7	11	-6
Playing sport	11	6	59	21	18	6
Watching sport	1	-1	47	15	3	-2
Walking	3	-3	36	10	9	-14
Religious activities	3	2	47	31	6	-2
Cinema or theatre	2	0	60	29	4	-2
Other leisure – dances/ social clubs	9	-15	46	-9	20	-25
Eating and drinking at out	25	14	58	24	43	11
Visiting friends	21	-9	50	0	43	-17
Listening to radio	4	-1	25	8	17	-10
Watching television or video	129	7	137	4	95	3
Listening to records, tapes, cds	1	-1	29	10	3	-10
Reading books	5	3	36	18	14	3
Reading papers, magazines	14	-1	31	6	47	-13
Relaxing	17	-64	38	-47	46	-50
Entertaining friends	7	-3	32	3	24	-10
Hobbies	17	9	56	19	30	9
AGGREGATED CATEGORIES						
Paid work	266	-23	359	-21	74	-1
Unpaid work	108	19	123	19	89	3
Personal care	47	-12	48	-12	99	1
Other non-work	51	16	59	19	88	2
Sleep	503	52	503	52	100	0

Table 1. Mean minutes allocated to all activity, per day, 2000 and 1975, all respondents aged 20–59.

Using MTUS activity categories

Coloured cell means increase in minutes devoted to an activity or the participation rate.

Table 2: Mean minutes allocated to three practices, per day, 1975 and 2000, all respondents aged 20–59.

	Mean minutes for all respondents		Mean minutes for participants only		Participation rates	
	means for 2000	change since 1975	means for 2000	change since 1975	% of sample in 2000	change since 1975
TRAVEL	91	29	93	25	98%	7%
leisure travel	33	12	45	15	73%	4%
obligatory travel	58	17	63	12	93%	12%
READING	20	2	37	10	53%	-9%
reading books	5	3	36	18	14%	3%
reading magazines	14	-1	31	6	47%	-13%
EATING	95	-9	96	-9	100%	0%
eating at home	54	-15	56	-15	97%	0%
eating out	25	14	58	24	43%	11%
entertaining and visiting	13	-7	30	-3	42%	-15%
eating at work	3	-1	20	-4	17%	-1%
COOKING	43	-14	51	-30	86%	13%

Table 3: Mean minutes spent in leisure and obligatory travel for participants only, 1975 and 2000.

	Leisure travel		Obligatory travel	
	1975	2000	1975	2000
Sex				
male	32	48	56	63
female	30	45	42	60
Social class				
i professional	39	64	56	70
ii managerial and technical	33	49	54	63
iiin skilled non-manual	34	42	54	63
iiim skilled manual	31	45	50	60
iv semi-skilled	27	43	44	59
v unskilled	20	39	24	60
vi other	35	51	50	57
Educational qualification				
GCSE/O-level or below	29	44	48	59
A-level + further education	36	47	55	63
higher education	42	56	58	67
Employment status				
full-time	32	46	56	65
part-time	27	44	42	64
unemployed	35	53	23	52
retired	32	52	16	45
student	40	50	52	61
family worker	30	40	30	59
other activity	42	50	42	48

Table 4: Determinants of time spent in travel (coefficients of Heckman selection model).

	Coefficient	Standard error
Year (1975) year 1987 year 2000	8.10*** 10.68***	2.02 1.63
Employment status (full-time) part-time unemployed student retired family worker other activity	-1.06 -15.43*** -4.50 -7.41*** -11.28*** -9.16***	1.11 4.09 3.55 1.94 1.71 1.83
Sex (male) female	-9.77***	1.53
Age age age^2	0.38 -0.01***	0.28 0.00
Child in household (no child) have young child have older child	-2.75 3.76*	2.27 1.85
Educational qualifications (gcse/o-level or below) a-level higher education	6.61** 12.00***	1.91 2.37
Social class (i in skilled non-manual) i professional ii managerial and technical iiim skilled manual iv semi-skilled v unskilled vi other constant	5.16 6.95** -4.68 -8.67 -13.18 4.42 78.76	4.48 2.46 2.20 2.20 4.50 2.32 6.14

***: p<0.001; **: p<0.01; *: p<0.05

note1: p-value indicates the statistical significance, with the smaller value means the more significant level.

note2: category in the parentheses is the reference group

Table 5: Determinants of time spent in reading (coefficients of Heckman selection model).

	Coefficient	Standard error
Year (1975)		
year 1987	2.69	2.83
year 2000	5.63*	2.77
Employment status (full-time)		
part-time	7.56***	1.81
unemployed	21.72***	5.34
student	26.36*	12.50
retired	25.74***	3.23
family worker	8.45***	2.19
other activity	14.57***	2.99
Sex (male)		
female	-10.66***	1.81
Age		
age	0.09	0.29
age^2	0.00	0.00
Child in household (no child)		
have young child	-6.09**	1.80
have older child	-1.77	1.80
Educational qualification (gcse/o-level or below)		
a-level	4.34	2.26
higher education	7.71***	1.84
Social class (iin skilled non-manual)		
i professional	2.51	3.73
ii managerial and technical	-1.23	2.01
iiim skilled manual	-4.50*	1.79
iv semi-skilled	-3.40	2.21
v unskilled	-7.61*	3.71
vi other	0.56	2.42
constant	27.21	6.79

***: p<0.001; **: p<0.01; *: p<0.05

note1: p-value indicates the statistical significance, with the smaller value means the more significant level. Therefore, 3 stars indicate the coefficients are the most significant; while 1 star indicates the least significant.

note2: category in the parentheses is the reference group

Table 6: Mean minutes eating per day, all respondents aged 20–59.

	1975	2000
Sex		
Male	105	96
Female	107	99
Educational qualification		
GCSE/O-level or below	105	97
A-level + further education	109	96
higher education	113	104
Age group		
16(17)-30	99	94
31-40	102	88
41-50	104	94
51-65	118	113
Employment status		
full-time	102	91
part-time	105	95
unemployed	104	105
retired	127	131
student	99	98
family worker	118	101
Child in household		
no child	112	108
have child	100	86
Household type		
single household	110	106
non-single household	109	102

Note: as almost everyone participates in eating, there is no analytic advantage in distinguishing between the survey sample as a whole and participants only.

Table 7: Mean minutes eating out and eating at home per day, all respondents aged 20–59.

	Eating out		Eating at home	
	1975	2000	1975	2000
Sex				
male	15	29	65	54
female	6	22	76	59
Educational qualification				
GCSE/O-level or below	10	22	71	59
A-level + further education	16	27	65	53
higher education	13	35	69	52
Age group				
16(17)–30	16	34	56	43
31–40	9	23	72	50
41–50	8	21	73	59
51–65	7	21	87	75
Employment status				
full-time	14	28	62	48
part-time	4	21	81	58
unemployed	9	30	79	57
retired	9	25	94	88
student	9	33	57	48
family worker	5	12	89	71
Child in household				
no child	12	31	73	59
have child	10	18	68	53
Household type				
single household	11	30	74	56
non-single household	9	19	80	67

Note – Because this table considers means in relation to socio-demographic characteristics, participation rate is of limited analytic value, for example, that fewer women participate in eating out than men is self-evident in the mean minutes recorded.

Table 8: Spearman correlation coefficients for five practices in 1975 and 2000, all respondents aged 16 or over.

1975					
	EATING	COOKING	READING	TRAVELLING	SPECTATING
EATING	1				
COOKING	0.0723	1			
READING	0.1061	0.0432	1		
TRAVELLING	-0.1113	-0.2766	-0.1522	1	
SPECTATING	0.0349	-0.0842	0.001	0.1228	1

2000					
	EATING	COOKING	READING	TRAVELLING	SPECTATING
EATING	1				
COOKING	0.0607	1			
READING	0.1499	0.1407	1		
TRAVELLING	-0.0115	-0.1414	-0.1187	1	
SPECTATING	0.0134	-0.0472	-0.0155	0.1208	1

Time use and consumption of mass media in Finland – the rationalisation of leisure?

Anu Raijas

Introduction

Spending free time requires the use of two scarce resources, namely time and money. In the long run, however, the amount of free time, as well as consumers' material standard of living, has increased. Today our free time is full of activities that require purchasing goods and services of many kinds. It depends on a person's preferences and involvement concerning her/his leisure how much time and money s/he wants to devote to leisure activities. I suggest that if the use of time is high on a certain activity, it usually means that also the use of money is abundant. Furthermore, a person's demographic factors – like sex, age, education, socioeconomic status, phase of life – have a great influence on the allocation of time and money. People have low or high availability of free time, and low or high capacity to spend money (Bittman, 2002, p. 412). The scarcity of money limits the use of free time and the scarcity of time certainly contributes to the use of money. The physical and social environment where a person lives offers services and products, i.e., opportunities to spend time and money in various ways. The use of free time and money on leisure activities is also regulated by the norms within the society in which the consumer lives. These norms change in time; what was unacceptable in time use and consumption of leisure yesterday may be acceptable today.

The purpose of this article is to describe the relationship between the use of time and money concerning commodities of a specific area of leisure, namely mass communication. I would like to find out if there is any evident link between the use of certain free time activities and the demand of goods and services (compare Mogensen & Schmidt, 1990, p. 19). The commodities related to mass media use in this study include televisions, radios, CD players, books, newspapers and magazines, information processing equipment, telephones, as well as movies, theatres and concerts. The function of mass communication appliances has become differentiated: according to TNS Gallup (2004) television and radio are followed mainly because of fun and entertainment, the Internet and newspapers because of news and information. **The main focus of this article is to describe the changes in the use of time and money concerning mass media consumption.** I want to find out how much time is devoted to enjoying various consumption goods, and whether the use of free time has become more 'commodity intensive' (compare

Linder, 1970, p. 77–78).¹⁰ Do consumers aim at being rational in their use of free time in the sense that they aim at maximising their utility? Is the utility in the use of free time greater when more commodities are consumed? Scitovsky (1976, p. 164) has stated that consumers buy time-saving gadgets to save time, but they actually use this saved time for exactly the same activity. Is this true also in the case of using mass communication products? One important question is the consumers' level of involvement when using these products: how intensively are the products consumed?

The structure of the paper is the following. The next section describes the methodology of the study. After that time used for mass communication is discussed, followed by an analysis of appliance ownership and expenditure on mass media. Finally, I draw some conclusions.

Data and methods

The article focuses on the use of time and financial resources on mass media consumption. An interesting question is whether the structure of mass media consumption has changed with time, i.e., whether less or more time or money is spent on this area of consumption.

In my study I use two data sets: the *Time Use Survey* and the *Consumption Expenditure Survey*, both produced by Statistics Finland. I employ the Time Use Survey datasets from the years 1987–88 and 1999–2000.¹¹ This examination is not very precise because I utilise the tables from the written report by Niemi and Pääkkönen (2001). The Consumption Expenditure Survey datasets utilised in this study are from 1985, 1990, 1994–96, 1998 and 2001–2002.¹² With permission from Statistics Finland I have this data in digital form and therefore it is possible to study it more accurately. I investigate the expenditure figures at 2001 prices in order to see real changes in the expenditures. The penetration figures for the mass media devices are available from 1966 onward.

Even though the nature of these two data sets is very different, I try to take a look at them in parallel with each other. The data in the Time Use Survey is gathered on an individual level and those in the Consumption Expenditure Survey on a household level. I examine time use and expenditures in certain mass communication products at two points in time. The other difficulty is that the Time Use Survey and the Consumption Expenditure Survey have not been collected in exactly the same year. Therefore, I compare the Time Use Survey 1987–88 with

¹⁰ Linder (1970, 78–79) has stated that 'the more goods per time unit are consumed, the greater the yield on the margin on the time devoted to consumption'.

¹¹ In Time Use Survey the respondents aged over 10 years old record their personal time use in detail in diaries. The data sets extend to all seasons of the year. The latest data covers the use of time on 10561 days in Finland.

¹² Consumption Expenditure Survey describes the Finnish households' use of money. The data is based on interviews, household bookkeeping and administrative material. The latest data, collected in 2001 and 2002, contains information from 9000 randomly collected households representing the Finnish households.

the Consumption Expenditure Survey 1990 and the Time Use Survey 1999–2000 with the Consumption Expenditure Survey 2001–02.

Time use in mass media consumption

On a general and average level, the amount of total free time has increased in Finland from the end of the 1970s – more among women than among men (Niemi & Pääkkönen, 2001, p. 54–55). However, a study conducted by Zuzanek, Beckers and Peters (1998, p. 5, 9) presented that in the Netherlands and Canada, the employed population's free time has declined from the 1980s. This finding has been confirmed also by Robinson and Godbey (1997) who proposed that people feel their leisure time has become scarcer and more harried. These two opposite results are due to the subjects of the studies. The Finnish finding applies to the whole population and the Dutch one only the employed population. Concerning the time use of people in full-time employment, the situation in Finland may be the same as in the Netherlands and Canada.

What has happened in the consumers' use of time spent on mass communication in the 1990s? Based on the results from the *Time Use Survey* we can see that the status of technology in the use of free time has strengthened. Especially the time spent on watching **television** has increased to a great extent among leisure activities. In addition to being a primary activity, television programmes are also followed while principally doing something else. In 1999–2000, watching television took up one-third of all free time and it has increased by 50 percent in the 1990s. In 1987–88 the average time spent on watching television was one hour 45 minutes, in 1999–2000 as much as two hours 16 minutes. (Niemi & Pääkkönen, 2001, p. 6, 33.) I have several explanations for this. Firstly, cable and satellite television connections, as well as the supply of television channels and television programmes have increased in the 1990s (see e.g. Statistics Finland, 2000). Secondly, the number of people who watch television very frequently has increased. Watching television is an everyday activity. In many households it is normal to have the television on all the evening even though no one watches it intensively. Thirdly, the number of televisions per household has increased (Niemi & Pääkkönen, 2001, p. 34), as we shall see later in this article. New opportunities to use the television have also increased the time spent in front of it. An example of this is the videocassette recorder, a device used together with the television. The primary function of the videocassette recorder is not, however, to videotape television programmes and watch them at a later time. Videocassette recorders are used mainly for watching rented video cassettes.

Figure 1 shows the change in time use for mass media consumption in the 1990s. The time used watching television is not included in the figure because its use of time is so much larger than that of the other forms of mass communication (see paragraph above). The structure of time-use among the different mass media has changed: time use in reading and listening to the radio has decreased, and the use

of a PC is a new media activity. Listening to phonograms¹³ takes more time on average than reading.

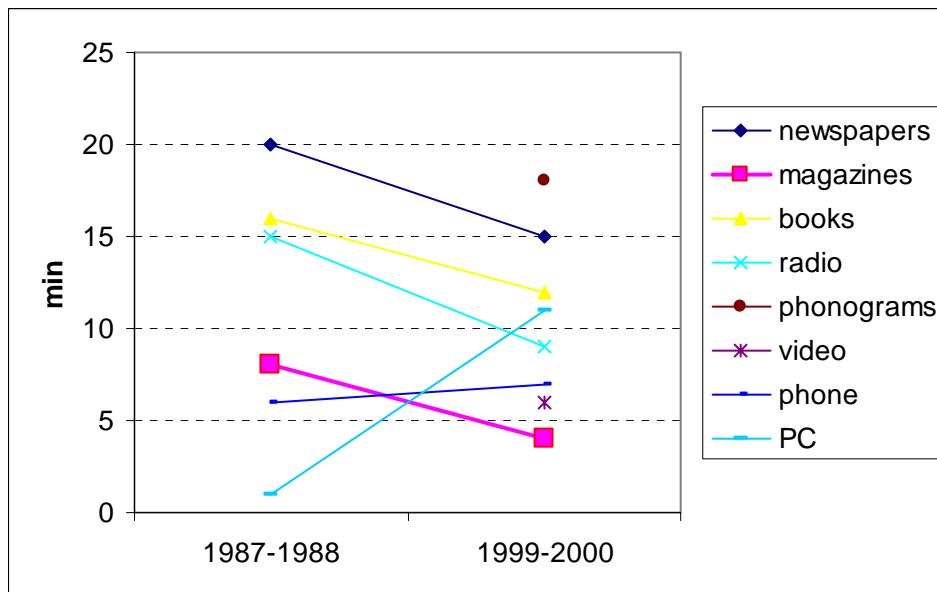


Figure 1. The average time use (minutes per day) of the 10–64 year-old population in certain mass media products in Finland in 1987–1988 and 1999–2000 (Niemi & Pääkkönen, 2001, p. 78–80; Statistics Finland, 2004a).

The time used in reading books, newspapers and magazines has decreased by one-fourth in the 1990s (Niemi & Pääkkönen, 2001, p. 33). At the same time, also the time used in active and concentrated radio listening has decreased by 40 percent. This does not mean that people do not listen to the radio any more but the patterns of listening have changed. Today it is not typical for people to settle down and listen to the radio (Niemi & Pääkkönen, 2001, p. 33), but the radio is often on as a ‘background noise’, for instance when driving a car. The situation might be the same in the case of reading, which can also be a secondary activity.

Utilising information processing equipment is a new leisure activity in which time use has increased remarkably. The time spent on computers has exploded in the 1990s; as in 1987–88, Finns hardly used computers at all. On an average, Finns today use almost as much time on computers as on books. However, it is probable that ‘book consumers’ are different persons than ‘computer consumers’. Children aged 10–14 years are heavy users of computers, but they do not read a lot. In 2000 they used one-tenth of their free time playing with the computer (Niemi & Pääkkönen, 2001, p. 34).

Talking on the phone is an activity that is familiar to people. By phoning, people have taken care of their social relations. Time spent on phone conversations has increased by 17 percent in the 1990s, which is not very much taking into account

¹³ Phonograms include singles, LPs, CDs, minidisk recordings, MCs and audio books. Most of the phonograms bought are CDs.

the high penetration of the mobile phones among the Finnish households. An explanation for this is that the phone calls made using mobile phones are very short; over the one-third of the mobile phone calls last less than five minutes (Nurmela, Heinonen, Ollila & Virtanen, 2000, p. 85). The conventional function of the telephone has changed to some extent: today, the mobile phone has a prominent role in organising free time and social relations. At the same time a fixed telephone at home has lost its role in taking care of social relations.

The diffusion of new technologies has certainly influenced time-use patterns because time as a resource is restricted. Gershuny (2003, p. 8) has stated that Web users watch less television than nonusers (see also Nie & Erbing, 2000). People who do not have a PC at home do something else instead of using a computer. And those who are capable of utilising a PC with all its opportunities very widely may move over to a new channel instead of doing things in a traditional way. In the long run the structure of time use is likely to change.

The structure of the time used for mass communication has changed in the recent years. The analysis of the time use studies showed that the time spent on the conventional forms of mass communication has decreased, whereas the time spent on the new forms has increased.

Penetration of mass communication equipment

Mass media consumption involves expensive consumer durables which are purchased at one point in time and thereafter ‘consumed’ during a longer time period. Figure 2 presents the speed at which the equipment for mass media consumption has been adopted in Finland. The penetration figures illustrate how many percent of the Finnish households own specific devices.

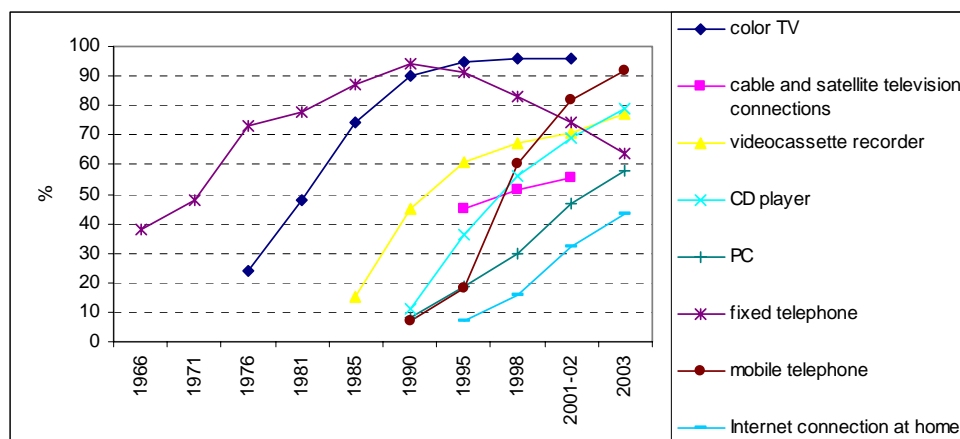


Figure 2. The penetration of mass communication equipment in Finnish households in 1966–2003 (Statistics Finland, 2004b).

Concerning the acquisition of mass communication related durables, colour televisions and mobile phones have been adopted surprisingly fast in Finland. Both of these products have been familiar to consumers for ages, because their earlier versions were in use before the newer innovations. Another common characteristic of colour televisions and mobile phones is that they were earlier used by several persons, but in time they have become personal devices for individual use. The Finnish households acquired their colour televisions mainly in the 1980s, and today almost every household has a colour television. Together with the colour television, the videocassette recorder began to become common quite rapidly in the 1980s, and it has probably reached its saturation point, because in the near future it will be replaced by DVD equipment. Cable and satellite television connections can be found in more than half of the Finnish households.

The mobile phone has been adopted fastest by young singles and families with teenage children. The mobile phone is firmly established in the everyday life of Finnish consumers, and its use is abundant and diverse especially in the youngest age groups. Finnish households began to dispense with fixed telephones in the early 1990s, and during the last 15 years the ownership of fixed telephones has dropped by 20 percent. The fixed telephone has retained its position among the elderly and families with children, whereas young households most often have only a mobile phone. CD players, as well as PCs and Internet connections are still on their way to becoming more widespread.

Mass communication equipment is very concentrated in the Finnish households. As an example of this development I have taken the ownership of a colour television, videocassette recorder, personal computer and phone in Finnish households. In 1985, only 3 percent of the Finnish households had all this equipment. By 1990 the share of these households rose to 14 percent and by 1994–1996, to 21 percent. In 2001–2002 as many as almost half of the Finnish households have all this equipment. These figures indicate that the development has been extremely rapid especially in the late 1990s.

The concentration of mass communication equipment has also become evident in the number of devices owned by households. I shall next take a look at this.

As presented earlier, the colour television was quickly adopted in the 1980s in Finland. In the beginning of the 21st century, more than half of the Finnish households owned at least two colour television sets, as can be seen in Figure 3. Families with children own the most of all television sets; merely one-fifth of them have only one television in use. This indicates that a television has become a gadget for individual use, and even children have a television set of their own. Mirja Liikkanen stated in her article in this book that leisure time is desired to be spent with family members. Could it be so that although people say that they want to spend leisure time watching television with family members, they actually do so each in different rooms?

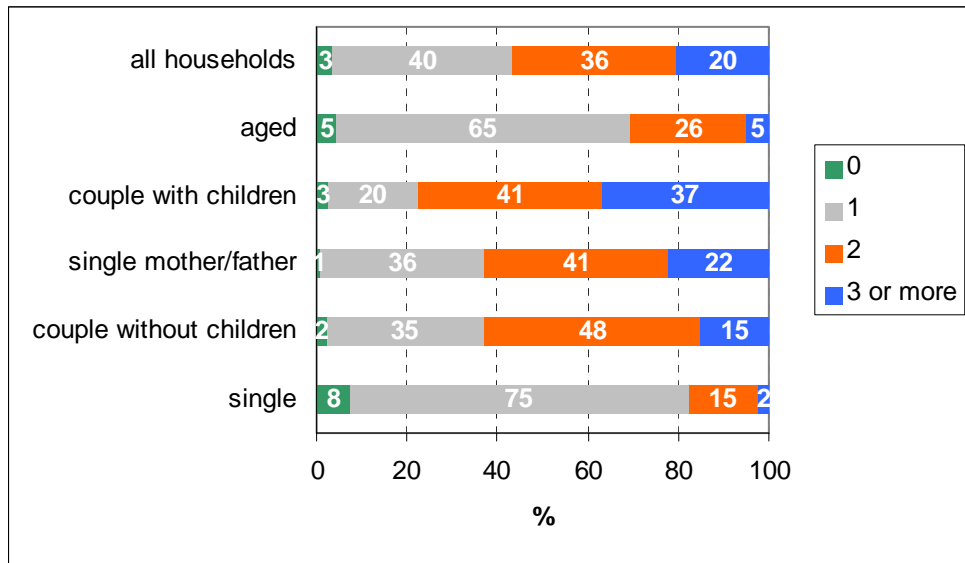


Figure 3. The number of the television sets in Finnish households in 2001–2002, percent by household type (Statistics Finland, 2003).

After the television, I examine whether the situation is the same in the case of the personal computer. Figure 4 shows that families with children have also adopted computers most widely, and one-fifth of them owned at least two computers in 2001. Figures 3 and 4 indicate that families with children own the most mass communication equipment, and they are probably the first to adopt new innovations in this area.

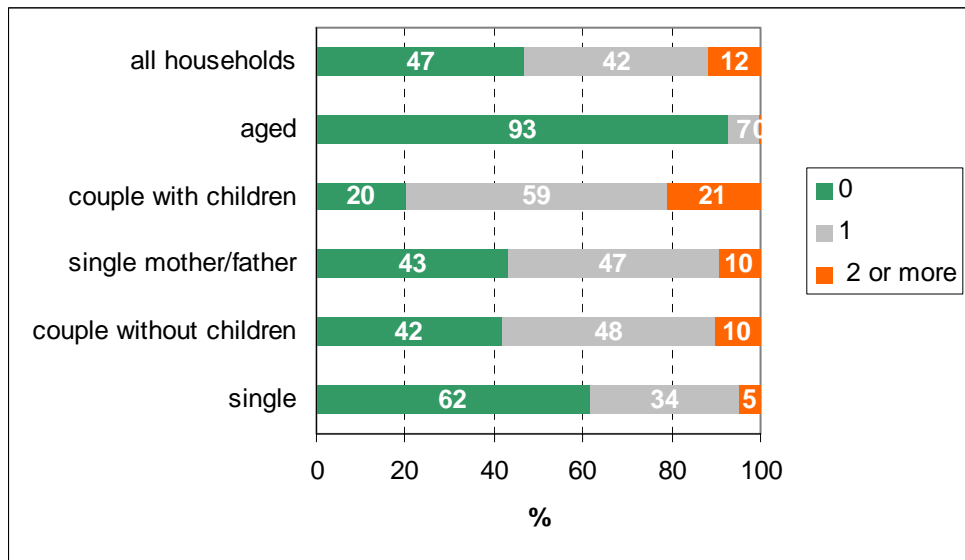


Figure 4. The number of personal computers in Finnish households in 2001–2002, percent by household type (Statistics Finland, 2003).

The penetration of mass communication equipment is very high in Finland, and especially colour televisions and mobile phones have been adopted incredibly quickly. When a certain level in penetration has been reached, households tend to acquire multiple devices, which has happened for instance in the case of a television. Consumers want to have autonomy when using such equipment. As Richins (1999, p. 85) has stated, goods are acquired because of the benefits they provide, not as items themselves.

Expenditures on mass media

It is important to take into account that the ownership of technological equipment does not tell us anything about its actual use. A household may own a specific device but do not use it at all, or use it very seldom. At the same time, in other households, the same devices may be used very frequently. By examining the expenditures on mass communication commodities, we shed light on the extent of their use. In this section, I present how the expenditures on mass media consumption have changed during the last 15 years in Finland.

The quantitative consumption of mass media, measured in euros, has increased very fast in the late 1990s. In the mid-1990s, Finnish household spent on an average almost 1600 euros on mass media, in the beginning of the 21st century, over 2 200 euros¹⁴. The increase has been mainly caused by the diffusion of new technology, namely mobile phones and information processing equipment. During the last decade, the consumption of conventional mass media has decreased both absolutely and relatively. Figure 5 shows the structure of mass media consumption in the Finnish households from 1985 to 2001–2002.

¹⁴ Both figures are at 2001 prices.

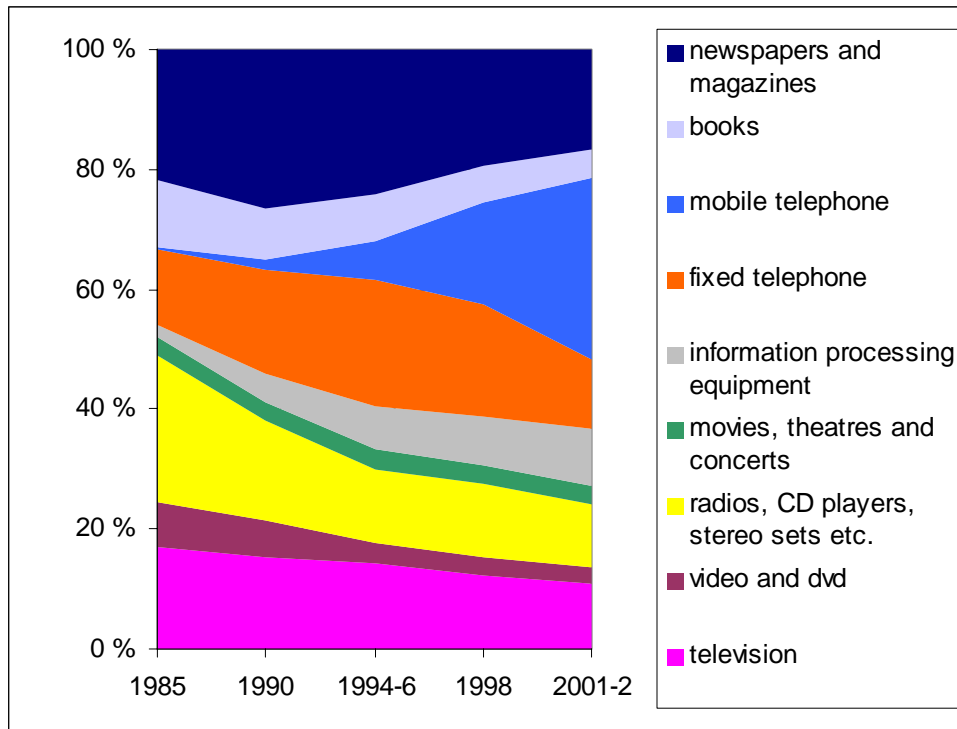


Figure 5. The average structure of mass media consumption in Finnish households from 1985 to 2001–2, percent of mass media consumption expenditure (Statistics Finland, 2003).

Next, I describe the consumption expenditure on mass media in more detail. I categorise the expenditures according to their nature of use, and thus investigate separately the expenditures on durables, services, as well as semi- and non-durables. The real total amount of money spent on durables, as well as on semi- and non-durables, has remained stable in the last 15 years, about 540 euros per household in 2001–2002, but the expenditures on services have doubled.

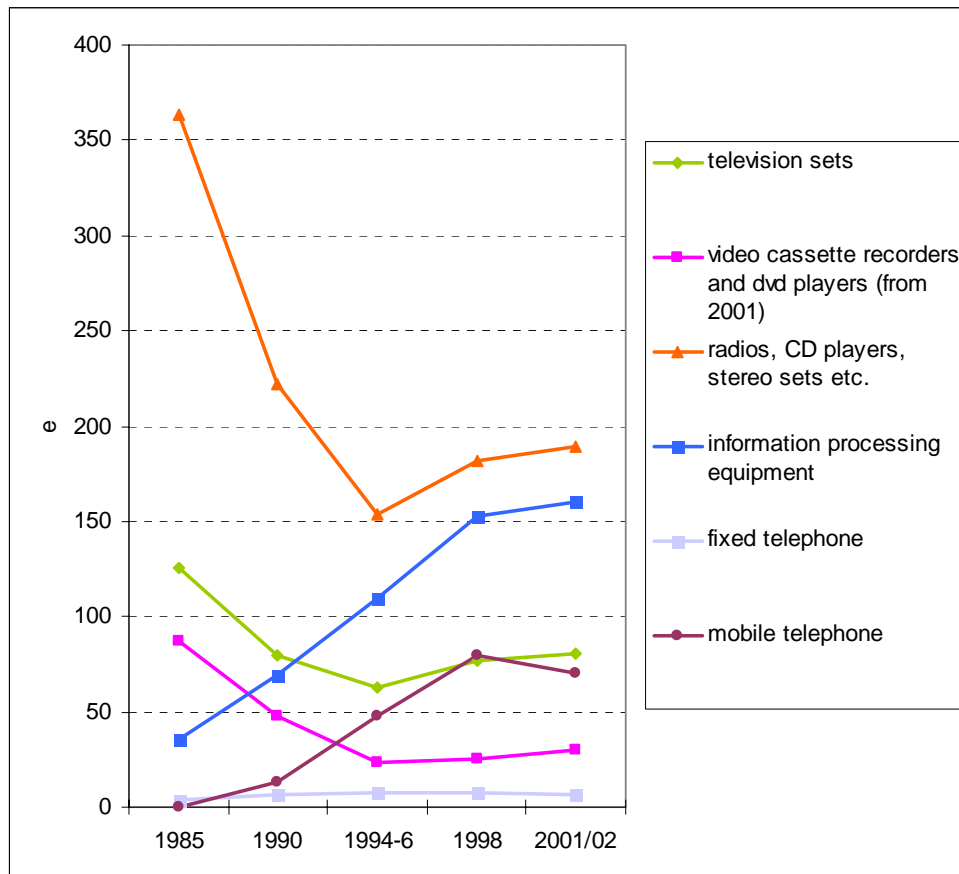


Figure 6. Average expenditures on durables of mass **communication** technology in Finnish households from 1985 to 2001–2 at 2001 prices, euros per year (Statistics Finland, 2003).

Concerning the durables for mass media consumption, the expenditures on new information and communication technology have increased the most in the last ten years, as can be seen in Figure 6. The purchase expenditures on mobile telephones have grown more than five-fold, and the expenditures on information processing equipment more than two-fold from the year 1990 to 2001–2002. The amount of money used on mobile phones is similar to that used on television sets, even though the unit price of a mobile phone is in general much lower than that of a television set.

The concentration, which I discussed already earlier, is evident also in the households' mass media investments: those households who use a lot of money on radios, CD players and stereo sets also tend to spend a lot of money on television sets and videocassette recorders. This is probably a question of quality or brand: households who use a lot of money on audiovisual equipment prefer expensive items with high quality within this area. These technological devices belong together, for as many as two-thirds of the Finnish households have a colour television, a videocassette recorder and a CD player.

From the expenditures on durables, I turn to the service expenditures. Figure 7 presents the service expenditures on mass communication in the Finnish households during the last 15 years. The frequency of using these services differs:

phone calls can be made daily but movie theaters are not visited and video cassettes are not rented as often.

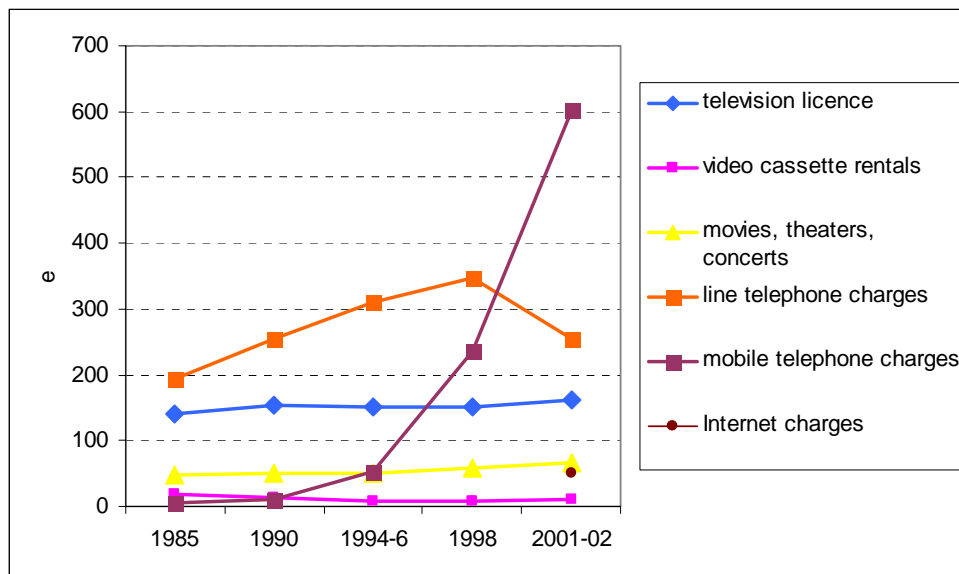


Figure 7. The average service expenditures on mass **communication** in Finnish households from 1985 to 2001–2 at 2001 prices, euros per year (Statistics Finland, 2003).

The increase in the expenditure on mobile phone charges has been huge. Furthermore, the level of this expenditure is enormous compared with the other service expenditures on mass communication. The decrease in the expenditure on line telephone calls has not been similar. So, in total the expenditure for using a phone has increased a lot. The increase in the expenditures on mobile phone charges is due to the enormous number of mobile phones in Finland (see Figure 2 earlier). Furthermore, the use of a mobile phone is much more than only connecting with other people. A mobile phone can be used for purchasing various services, like public transport timetables, movie tickets and parking fees. All this consumption can be found today in mobile phone charges. The Internet – which can be used via a PC or a mobile phone – is already today, but in the future even more, used for multipurpose activities. It is a source of information and a marketplace for purchasing commodities. The Internet can replace other forms of mass media, like books, newspapers, magazines, movies, television, video, radio and CDs.

Finally, Figure 8 shows us the expenditures on the semi- and non-durables of mass media consumption in Finnish households from 1985 to 2001–2002. Newspapers and magazines have maintained their ground as the largest item in this group. Books constitute the second-largest item, but their purchases have decreased

by 16 percent in the last ten years¹⁵. Buying discs and CD-ROMs has increased a lot relatively, but their absolute consumption is minor.

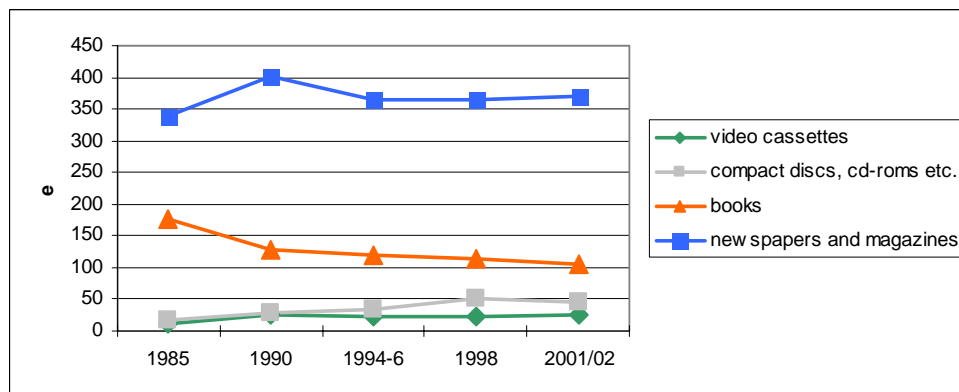
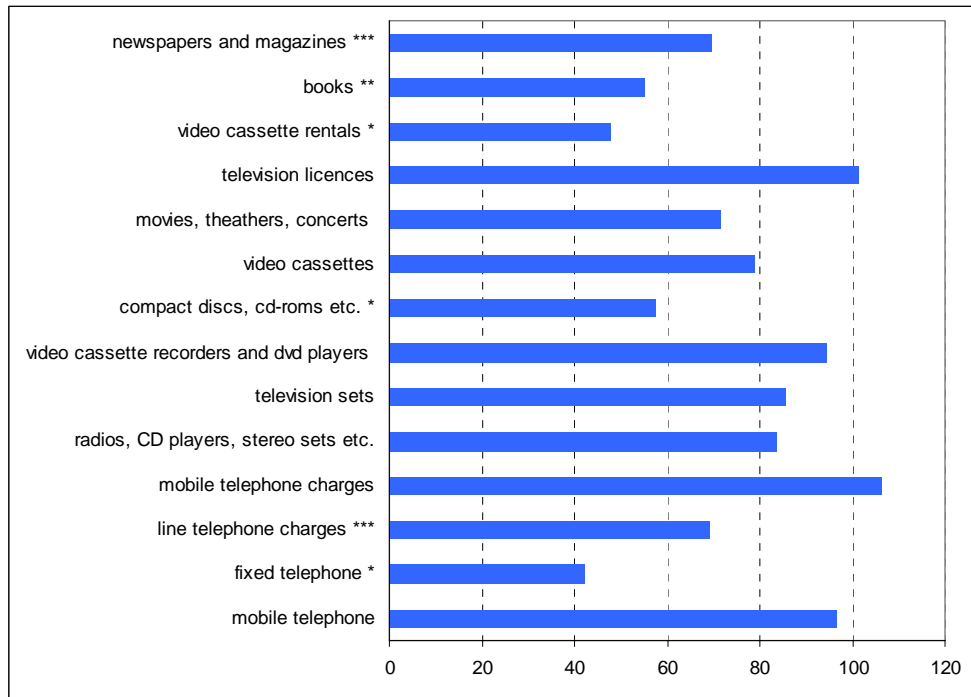


Figure 8. The average expenditures on the semi- and non-durables of the mass media consumption in Finnish households from 1985 to 2001–2 at 2001 prices, euros per year (Statistics Finland, 2003).

The interesting question is whether mass media consumption is different in the families who own new information and communication technology compared with those who do not. Today the ownership of personal computers seems to separate the Finnish households. Families with children are the most interesting type of household to study because they own the most equipment. Thus, I next pay attention to possible differences in mass media consumption between families with and without a PC, i.e., how the families without a PC allocate their disposable income in mass media consumption. Figure 9 shows that the families with no personal computer at home generally spend less money on the mass media than the families with a PC. In Figure 9, I have marked the average amount of money spent by the families with a PC with the index number 100. So, for instance in the case of newspapers and magazines the index number 70 in Figure 9 means that the families without a PC spend 30 percent less money on newspapers and magazines than the families with a PC.

¹⁵ From the beginning of 1994 to the end of 1997 the value added tax on books was 12 percent, and after that it was reduced to 8 percent. This has had some influence on the prices of books.



*** p < 0.001
 ** p < 0.01
 * p < 0.05

Figure 9. The average expenditures on mass media consumption in Finnish families with children in 2001–02; the expenditures of families with no personal computer compared with those having one (= 100) (Statistics Finland, 2003).

Almost every item in the mass communication expenditures is smaller among families without a PC than among those who have one. The suggestion of the concentration in mass media consumption is thus reinforced. Compared with the families owning a PC, the families without one use more or at least a similar amount of money only on mobile phones, television licences and videocassette recorders¹⁶. This finding is probably not caused by differences in the preferences of these two household types, but rather the differences in their disposable incomes. In other words, those households who are wealthy enough buy everything in the area of mass communication. Those whose income is very restricted can only afford the most necessary mass communication equipment and services.

¹⁶ The difference is, however, not statistically significant.

Conclusions

Based on the data I used in this article we can see that the money spent on mass media consumption has increased more than the time spent on it. However, it is difficult to compare the use of time and money on the same activities because the data concerning time-use are on a personal level but the consumption expenditures on a household level. However, one issue is evident: the expenditures on mass communication have increased a lot in the recent years whereas the changes in time-use are minor. Buying new goods and services and owning and using appliances have become more important than before in the area of mass communication. Even though the time use measured in minutes has not changed a lot, new information and communication technology has nevertheless changed the organisation of activities in our everyday life, and also the patterns of consumption.

If we take a look at the time spent on phone calls we can discover that the increase in the time use during the last ten years has been much smaller than the increase in the use of money on telephone equipment and charges. At the same time the total phone expenditure per time unit has increased remarkably in the 1990s. Concerning newspapers and magazines, the expenditure per time unit has also increased considerably in the 1990s, but this has not happened in the case of books. What does this tell us? Are we reading newspapers and magazines more quickly than earlier?

Figure 10 illustrates the changes in the 1990s between the use of time and that of money in the area of mass communication. The sign ‘-’ means that the use of time or money on these items has decreased in recent years, ‘+’ that the use of time or money has increased and ‘0’ that the use of time or money has not changed a lot. From the viewpoint of the mass media consumption today, the use of free time has become more ‘commodity intensive’. But it is impossible to say how intensive the use of mass media in reality is. Because the expenditure data are on a household level, we do not know who the real user of the commodity is, either.

		Use of money		
		-	0	+
Use of time	-		magazines, newspapers books	radio
	0			telephone
	+		television	PC

Figure 10. The changes in the use of money and use of time on mass media in the 1990s.

I propose that for consumers today, time is generally more valuable than goods. Time is so valuable, and people want to use it effectively by doing as much as possible in a restricted time. As early as in 1970, Linder suggested that the pace in our life is quickening all the time, and economic affluence has unfortunately not generated any harmony in our lives (Linder, 1970, p. 1). Fragmentariness characterises time use, which means that our day is full of activities suspended and surrounded by other activities. Robinson and Godbey (1997, p. 230) have suggested that for an increasing proportion of Americans, life is extremely busy and they feel that they do not have enough time. I wonder whether people also feel stressed in their free time?

Investments in new information and communication technology have increased in recent years. Zuzanek, Beckers and Peters (1998, p. 5, 9) have proposed that an exponential growth in the number of technological innovations will continue to increase the subjective impression of being rushed. Also Robinson and Godbey (1997) have suggested that those consumers who have everything are busy, rushed, and active in their free time. With the benefit of new information and communication technology, it is possible for us to multiply activities in our everyday lives. The use of a PC and mobile phone is multiple: it is an instrument that can be used for leisure but also for other, non-leisure activities. The appliances of information and communication technology are also needed in social interaction with other people and the surrounding community. At the same time as the channels of mass communication have increased, their function has also widened. The conventional practices are modified and diversified when they are conducted in the new channels. If new information and communication technology becomes more user-friendly and new ways of using it are developed, this expansion will continue. As a consequence of this, people may adopt a new communication channel and reject some old ones. According to the data sets I used in my study I suggest that in the area of mass communication, only the fixed telephone system and books will probably be displaced by new technology. A fixed telephone has already been replaced by a mobile one. Have books been replaced by virtual texts? In the future reading might be done mainly on the Internet. New information and communication technology has been seen as a threat to traditional forms of mass communication. It has been stated that the use of the Internet takes time from watching television and listening to radio (TNS Gallup, 2004). But new media can also be an opportunity: for instance, instead of printed newspapers, news can be delivered without any paper needed via the Internet.

The expenditure caused by information processing equipment per time unit has increased remarkably in the 1990s. Is this an example of the efficient use of free time? Robinson and Godbey (1997) have discussed 'time deepening' which means that activities are accelerated, quickly run errands are preferred and several activities are conducted at the same time. Ritzer (1999, p. 43) has written that consumption today employs new means in which speed, efficiency, self-service and limited interaction are central. New technology enables us in general to acquire commodities everyday and around the clock (see Ritzer, 1999, p. 151). If technological innovations have increased the productivity of paid work, has the same also happened to free time? In the expenditures on the mass media, we can see the central role of the mobile phone. A relevant question is, what role will the

mobile phone gain in our free time in the future? If the main part of the expenditure is caused by the use of the mobile phone, this kind of consumption is relatively immaterial and therefore ecologically sustainable.

In the past only few communication products, like books and magazines, were for individual use. The consumption of mass media has become more individual than it was earlier. The use of these products used to be collective within households, but in recent decades their user unit has changed: today it is often very personal and individual. Some computer games can be played by two persons sitting next to each other, TV can be watched by a crowd, and also a radio can be listened to by many persons. However, members in a household today have their own television, videocassette recorder and mobile telephone. The use of mass communication commodities is no longer about experiences shared together with other people. In this book, this issue is discussed in the article by Alan Warde et al. They propose that “the forms of public sphere in engagement might remain ‘private’ in character”. This kind of development isolates people from each other. The mass media have become private media.

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Social change and the concept of leisure

Mirja Liikkanen

Introduction

The starting point of this chapter is to study social change through the category of leisure (time). It is one of the basic categories of modern society, and in that way it also has a special role in its ideological basis and in the struggle over what is good and decent life (see also Liikkanen, 1994). Leisure is a concept of the waged work society, and it is difficult to imagine the emergence of such a concept in another context or in a different kind of society. Thus, leisure (time) is not only a factual concept referring to concrete everyday life, but one associated with an abstract institution, one of those that modern life is based on. (Giddens, 1994) Although society has changed, it is fair to presume that the basic nature of the concept has largely remained unaffected. Yet it is continuously mobile in character, moulded by its contexts, and may also act as a barometer reflecting and even forecasting social change.

Researchers usually take up the concept of leisure in an unproblematic fashion. In this chapter, an empirical exploration of the concept of leisure is used to trace patterns of social change. The chapter tries to identify the logic of the content and change of the leisure concept. Two kinds of empirical data are used. Qualitative interviews are used to explore the basic elements of the notion of leisure in everyday life. Survey data are then used to tell about the perceived importance of these basic elements of the notion of leisure (time) in people's own everyday lives. These two kinds of data do not reveal facts about people's behaviour, but only indirectly reflect the actual activities. The concrete everyday life is, however, lurking somewhere behind or under the data. The supposition is that the data used tell us something essential about social change in contemporary Finnish society, something that counting people's activities or the time used for them might perhaps not tell.

Many social scientists seem to think that the logic of societal change has altered. They are of the opinion that we are living in an era of major changes in the performing logic and concepts of everyday life. (Rose 1999, p. 302). For instance Beck thinks that today the largest changes no longer follow the traditional model: "... there will not be a revolution but there will be a new society" (Beck 1994, p. 3) He continues "... the reflexive modernization of industrial society occurs on cats' paws.... The insignificance, familiarity and often the desirability of the changes conceal their society-changing model." (Beck 1994, p. 3–4) The problem is the fact that politicians and researchers use and base their activities on categories that are connected to the past world, where the basic categories were relatively stable. This leads to difficulties in observing new societal changes. Another crucial question for

research is how can we know about such changes, if the essential aspect of the present changes is that they happen “inside people’s heads” in concepts, systems of belief and trust – that is, largely in something difficult to observe.

In international dialogue we are also faced with national and local contexts and their cultural specialities, on one side, and those features that we presuppose to be common for all modern Western societies, on the other. This chapter is written in a Finnish context where, as I suppose, some historical specialities have their influence also in the contemporary situation. The historical specificities include, for instance, an intense and late nation building process leading to a degree of inwardness and a special entanglement of the nation or people and the state, the “belief that we are the state and the state is for us”. This means for instance that all social classes have believed in the state and its principal fairness. One issue is also the small and ‘different’ language. Under shelter of the small, ‘strange’ language, the historical specialities may have imbued also seemingly general, internationally common categories with specific meanings and features. (see also Liikkanen, 1996, 2000).

Dictionary definitions of leisure (time)

The nature of the concept of leisure (time) makes it interesting to see how dictionaries define it. It is worth noting that in the Finnish language there is only one word for leisure: vapaa-aika, the literary translation of which would be free time (vapaa = free, aika = time).

The basic dictionary of modern Finnish defines ‘leisure/free time’ as follows: time outside (gainful) work, studying and the like, time available for actual relaxing and recreation. Had cycling as his/her leisure time hobby. Domestic chores left little time for leisure. Leisure outfit (light, comfortable) clothes worn during actual leisure time. Leisure time residence, refers to summer holiday residence, etc. Leisure time problem, problem relating to use of (plentiful) leisure time.

This is clearly a definition describing the situation in modern, waged work society. It contains a number of different aspects. One is the externality to work or the like, compressed into the expression “time available for actual relaxing and recreation.” The expression embraces positively experienced, qualitative aspects while the examples link the concept to hobbies, excluding from it domestic chores. The concept is defined individualistically. The last example, “leisure time/free time problem” additionally introduces the moral aspect of the concept.

The older basic dictionary of the Finnish language defines the term thus:

time when a person is free from work, spare time (joutoaika). Shortened working hours have increased people’s leisure time. Civil servant’s leisure and holiday times. Used all his/her leisure time for studying. Had photography as his/her leisure time hobby.

The tone of this definition differs from the newer one. It ties leisure time to work so that all time outside work is leisure time. It also lacks the closer definitions concerning quality, home or domestic chores. Moreover, it feels traditionally masculine in its acceptance that all time free from paid work is “spare time” in the sense of “free ” time. On the other hand, the expression “joutoaika” (“spare time”) would seem to point towards very early layers of Finnish history, the agrarian society that preceded the waged work society. In that context the expression “joutoaika” (spare time) could also be translated into “waste time” and it seems also to have an additional, negative and moral connotation of “needless.” The examples in this definition also link together leisure time and hobbies.

On the cultural ties of the concept of leisure time

Words and expressions are, of course, also tied to place and culture. It is interesting that at least three English-language words can be translated into the single Finnish word “vapaa-aika” meaning leisure time: leisure, free time and spare time. The Finnish-English general dictionary translates the English word leisure with the terms spare time, free time, as well as with the expression meaning “having [good or suitable] time.” Here, too, reference is made to work, but also to externality to duties: off-duty hours. Hobbies are also referred to in this context: leisure (spare time) occupations, leisure-time activities (interests), hobbies. Having good or suitable time also implies a qualitative aspect. English dictionary definitions also contain certain culturally tied expressions that are quite unfamiliar in the Finnish context and relate to the position of women – lady of leisure (woman not doing paid work, idle woman) – and to the structure and history of social classes: leisured classes (Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary). In Finnish society the housewife tradition is very thin, most of the Finnish women have worked full time throughout the modern period. Our history has also seen very few people that could be classified as belonging to the leisured class. Our word “vapaa-aika” has a very strong waged work connotation.

At least three main dimensions can be found for the concept from dictionary definitions: leisure time as the opposite of work, leisure time classified as activity related to hobbies or leisure time as a subjectively experienced and qualitative concept. The definitions also reflect historical change and are tied to culture.

It would be worth studying why more alternative expressions referring to the phenomenon of “leisure time” have not been born into the Finnish language. One does not have to be a linguist to get the feeling that the three English-language expressions capture more richly the different aspects of the phenomenon, even though the dictionary definitions do not reveal it very clearly. At all events, in dictionary definitions leisure time means many and multi-layered things.

Images of leisure time are created by traditions in leisure studies

How to study empirically a phenomenon that is so ambiguous and multi-layered? Especially in the Anglo-American world, empirical research into leisure time goes back decades (Roberts, 1997). It has largely relied on data on leisure activities and the use of leisure time obtained from extensive population surveys, and on international comparisons of such datasets. The thinking in this tradition is based on the established Western way of seeing leisure time as an activity individuals engage in outside their working hours. It is obviously natural to think that because in waged work society leisure time is seen from the perspective of a gainfully employed individual, as restoring precisely his/her capacity for work, the concept of leisure time has acquired an individualistic nature.

The consequence is that if we think of leisure time in terms of its contents rather than of its associations (where the relationship with work is crucial), it has also been defined highly individualistically in research. In studies leisure time is largely thought of as different hobbies, ranging from gardening, playing games and eating out to a night at the opera, even though for reasons of moral history the classification of hobbies has contained at least implicit hierarchies relating to their value and desirability or non-desirability.

Time use surveys, which see leisure explicitly as a time concept, have been a strong international tradition in leisure research. Time use surveys combine leisure time as the opposite of work and as “free” time of the day. In them leisure time is a residual that is left when all time taken by other assumed activities – work, studying, domestic work, personal hygiene, sleeping, eating, sexual activity, etc., is deducted from the 24 hours of a day. In this research tradition, the individuality and hobby aspects of the concept of leisure time have been taken to the extreme.

In both above traditions, leisure time narrows into a thin wedge of people’s everyday life, and hardly any or no emphasis is placed on social relationships or family. In both traditions, the researcher defines what leisure time is, while subjective definitions are of no interest.

Although the qualitative dimensions of leisure time are studied continuously, the two aforementioned traditions still carry the most weight when the desire is to produce a picture of what leisure time is. The strength of these traditions lies in the production of time series and indicators of development trends, which are particularly suited for political and media use. These are what Kenneth Roberts, for example, cites when defending the adherence to old methods in leisure time sociology, although the world around us changes. (Roberts 1998, p. 378) Experienced leisure time and the definition of leisure time have been studied especially within women’s studies. (Wearing, 1998, Deem, 1986, Wimbush & Talbot, 1988)

The three dimensions, or analyses, of leisure time mentioned above can also be seen as historical layers of which the association with work is the oldest one and the subjective experience is the newest, and perhaps the strengthening one. Attitudes to leisure time, meanings attached to it and changing definitions may

reveal a great deal of what is happening in society. Does the discussion about leisure time indicate commercialisation, people's everyday lives becoming entangled in the world of goods and media, or that an ever increasing proportion of people's feelings relate to goods, phenomena of popular or high culture, consumption of symbols and audienceship? Or does it reveal something quite different still?

How, then, can the meaningfulness of something be studied? The conventional way is to study people's "real" everyday: try to find out what kinds of different activities people's everyday life is comprised of and make conclusions about their importance according to how often or much people do a certain thing. If the time used for reading diminishes, the assumption is that reading has become less meaningful and important to people. The alternative would be to ask people what things they regard as important to themselves or in society. Either a quantitative or a qualitative interviewing method could be used here. They capture slightly different aspects of the same thing. A third option would be to study discussion, either private or public, associated with leisure time, such as discussions in the media or political documents.

Diverse ways of studying the qualitative aspects of life have been developed within Statistics Finland's Leisure Survey in connection with a questionnaire-based mass interview survey. Thematic interviews have been conducted prior to the main data collection, open questions have been used alongside questions with ready listed reply alternatives, in order to see what importance people attach to different areas of life. The following presents first results obtained using questions asking about the importance of different areas of life, and examples of extracts from thematic interviews concerning the experiencing of leisure time.

Leisure time as the opposite of work

In waged work society the purpose of leisure time has been to recharge and renew employees for their work, and it has not held any intrinsic value as such. The Finnish discussion about leisure time has also contained a lot of residue from the agrarian society. This way of defining leisure time is still the main one, although it has gradually also acquired fresh nuances. The following are examples of the definitions of this kind that emerged in the thematic interviews conducted in connection with the Leisure Survey:

*What does the expression leisure time bring to your mind? ...Well, first of all of course time outside... actual working hours, time you can spend on hobbies or doing things that recharge you for work. Recharge, recharge in that way, the charging can take many forms, it can be improving yourself in some way or elimination of tiredness, but improving yourself is what would make sense to me.
(Man 51)*

What does the expression leisure time bring to your mind?... Hobbies...Television, home, being at home. Skiing came next to my mind. What is leisure time for you, personally? When I'm not at

work. *And how do you spend you leisure time?:* Eh, most of it at home, or with the wife, and then doing hobbies. The rest I think sleeping. *And what is the most important thing in leisure time?* *The most important of all.* Mm...you mean in leisure time...the most important thing is to recover from work. Of course, it also means that it gives time to be with the wife and family. (Man 37)

What does the expression leisure time bring to your mind? Leisure time. *It's a sort of uplifting and nice and relaxing thing.* *What is leisure time for you, personally?* Well, eh, all the time I'm not at work, I mean during the week, eveni...or, well, it depends a bit, I work shifts, so ...but all the time I'm not at work. *Then it says here how do you usually spend you leisure time?* Eh, I do all sorts of things that help me relax and forget work, like reading, taking outdoor exercise, doing hobbies. *What is the most important thing in leisure time?* *It's the recovering, sort of.* (Woman 43)

First of all I'd like to ask you what the expression leisure time brings to your mind? If we talk about 24 hours, it should include work, rest and leisure. Eight, eight and eight. That'll be the day... Eight hours of leisure time. Eight hours work and ... that may be now. *What is leisure time for you, personally?* Well, it's the time that's left over when I've been to work and rested, or...quite often it's the time from four in the afternoon to ten in the evening. *And the week-end, of course.* (Woman 48)

All the above answers define leisure time relative to work, but the emphasis in them falls on different things. In the first answer leisure time truly serves work and coping in it. The answer also highlights clearly the aspect of self-improvement [for work]. Work and other daily life are interlocked. In the other two answers, again, work is seen as more detached from the rest of daily life, and the highlight is on the aspects of getting away from work and recovering. Thus, the relationship with work determines essentially how leisure time is defined. The last answer points out one further aspect in the differentiation of areas of life in modern society, i.e. the great fight of the trade unions for a right to workers' "own" time. In this response, time for rest is interestingly not associated with leisure time.

Although leisure time was not just defined as the opposite of work in the thematic interviews, this was, however, the primary way many interviewees perceived it due to the history behind the concept, and this was also commented upon in the interviews, especially if the interviewee's own life situation or definition deviated from it.

What is leisure time for you, personally? Well, it's largely, eh, what I already said ... well, at the moment I have a so-called, I mean, my work and leisure time kind of overlap a little because my work's not so regular now so I've got quite a lot of leisure time, or time when I can decide myself the pace of my work or studying or...engage in hobbies and so on. (Woman 22)

The thematic interviews also brought to light other elements that were associated with leisure time, such as:

- 1) *Hobbies, watching television, outdoor exercise and other similar activities*
- 2) *Home, being at home, being with the family and*
- 3) *Qualitative elements perceived as positive: "It's a sort of uplifting, nice and relaxing thing that comes to mind."
(Woman 43)*

Compared with the dictionary definitions, the new dimensions here are social relationships, home and family, and close family members. Some answers mention friends, in many the reference to family comes in the context of spending time at the free-time residence. In the thematic interviews, leisure time is time, quality, hobby activities, and social relationships and their presence.

Leisure time is perceived as increasingly important, the meaning of work diminishes

Because leisure time continues to be defined relative to work, I will next examine how questions concerning the importance of leisure time and work were answered in Statistics Finland's Leisure Surveys in 1991 and 2002.

Table 1. Perception of the importance of leisure time by age group in 1991 and 2002, %.

		Leisure time				
		Very important	Quite important	Fairly unimportant	Quite unimportant	NA or Don't know
Age, years						
15–24						
	1991	76	22	0	0	0
	2002	82	16	1	-	0
25–34						
	1991	59	37	3	0	1
	2002	77	20	1	-	0
35–44						
	1991	51	42	5	1	1
	2002	69	33	-	0	0
45–54						
	1991	53	39	5	1	2
	2002	63	33	2	1	1
55–64						
	1991	37	45	7	2	7
	2002	54	38	4	1	1
65–74						
	1991	26	41	12	4	16
	2002	44	39	4	2	11
75–						
	1991	20	29	8	9	26
	2002	34	36	3	2	25
All						
	1991	51	37	5	1	5
	2002	63	29	2	1	5

Source: Statistics Finland, Leisure Survey

A change has taken place in the course of a decade so that people today appreciate leisure time clearly more than before (Table 1). The proportion of those in the whole population who regard leisure time as very important grew by 12 percentage points. In 1991 around one half of the population regarded leisure time as very important but in 2002 the proportion was a good 60 per cent. Except for the youngest age group, the change is quite considerable and follows the same direction in all age groups including the oldest one. At the same time, the share of the people who regard leisure time as unimportant diminished to a couple of per cent in all age groups. Admittedly, the oldest age group has a large number of those who felt that the question was not applicable to them or didn't know.

When the same matter is examined by year-of-birth cohort, the change appears slightly less dramatic except for those born in the 1950s. A major change of attitude took place among them: whereas in 1991 one half (50%) of them regarded leisure time as very important, the corresponding proportion in 2002 was nearly two out of three (65%). The largest change seems to extend to those born in the early 1960s. This is an interesting and even surprising attitude change that may have social policy implications. These are the age groups that were at their best working age during the examined decade and who have perhaps been thought of as being able to cope with work well beyond the present retirement age.

By contrast, those born towards the end of the 1960s or thereafter already valued leisure time highly in 1991. Among them appreciation of leisure time has also remained high despite increasing age and changed life situations. All in all, the younger the cohort, the more value it places on leisure time. Appreciation of leisure time is highest among the very youngest, and has gone up further in 2002 when compared to the youngest cohorts in 1991. It is often thought that appreciation of leisure time reaches its peak during youth, before starting a family and settling into a job. However, as the cohort impact seems to prevail, it is fair to conclude that there is more involved than changes in life situations.

Meaning of work diminishes

The importance of work in defining a person's identity appears to have diminished (Table 2). The proportion of people who regard work as very important has decreased. At the level of the whole population the reduction amounts to nine percentage points, and is the smallest in the oldest age groups. Appreciation of work reaches its peak among those aged 25 to 44, of whom approximately one half regarded work as very important. However, the proportion of those regarding work as very important diminished in all age groups under 54. By contrast, the number of people in the 55 to 64 age group who regard work as very important is today even higher than before. In 2002, their proportion of the age group was 40 or so per cent.

Table 2. Perception of the importance of work by age group in 1991 and 2002, %.

		Work					
		Very	Quite	Fairly	Quite	NA or	
				important	important	unimportant	
						unimportant	
						Don't know	
Age, years							
15–24		1991	34	43	7	4	12)
		2002	27	43	3	1	26
25–34		1991	57	36	4	1	3
		2002	47	46	3	-	3
35–44		1991	67	28	1	2	2
		2002	53	41	3	-	3
45–54		1991	67	25	2	2	4
		2002	53	35	3	1	7
55–64		1991	36	30	5	12	17
		2002	39	27	2	0	30
65–74		1991	22	24	8	21	25
		2002	20	11	1	2	65
75–		1991	14	14	8	30	34
		2002	15	10	4	1	70
All		1991	48	30	4	7	11
		2002	39	33	3	1	23

Source: Statistics Finland, Leisure Survey

Could it be that society is becoming differentiated between people who appreciate work and people who value leisure time? I will next examine connections between the perceptions of the importance of work and leisure.

Two out of three of those who regard work as very important also do so with leisure time, and 95 per cent of them consider leisure time at least quite important. On the other hand, the proportion of those regarding leisure time as very important is equally large among those who regard work as either very or quite important, and among those who think work is fairly or quite unimportant. The only group who did not consider leisure very important were those for whom the question about work was not relevant.

Some differences can be found when the matter is examined the other way around. One half of those who regard leisure time as fairly unimportant perceive work as very important. By contrast, the majority of those to whom leisure time is quite unimportant or who feel that the question is not applicable in their case also think that the question about work does not apply to them either.

It, therefore, seems that some employed people are so work-oriented that their interest does not extend to leisure time. Otherwise, it appears that appreciation of work or leisure do not preclude each other. Thus, perceptions of the importance of

work and leisure continue to be interlinked, so that if for some reason a person feels that the question about work is not applicable in his or her case, the concept of leisure time also might lose its meaning.

How work is perceived depends, of course, strongly on whether a person is employed or not. A good one half (55%) of the employed respondents regarded work as very important and two out of five (42%) as quite important. Thus, the vast majority of employed people perceived work as either very or quite important while only three or so per cent regarded it as unimportant.

A clear change of climate has, nevertheless, taken place in society. However, it cannot be interpreted so that earned income would have become somehow less important to people than it was in 1991. It may be a question of an altered perspective on everyday life. It may be related to the weakened absolute moral value of work described at the beginning of this article, so that in everyday life, people's sights are increasingly set on privacy and through that on leisure time. At the same time, the absolute value of leisure time is growing.

Growing appreciation of home and family during leisure time

In the thematic interview responses, home, family and social relationships form one of the main dimensions of leisure time. I will next examine how the appreciation of home, family and friends, and eventually hobbies, has changed.

Two questions have been used in the Leisure Survey to study the importance of family (Table 3). On the one hand, respondents have been asked how important or unimportant they regard home and family and, on the other hand, how important they regard it to be able to be together with the family during leisure time.

Table 3. Perception of the importance of home and family by age group in 1991 and 2002, %.

		Home and family				
		Very important	Quite important	Fairly unimportant	Quite unimportant	NA or Don't know
Age, years						
15–24						
	1991	66	29	3	0	0
	2002	87	12	1	-	-
25–34						
	1991	80	17	2	0	1
	2002	89	9	-	-	1
35–44						
	1991	83	15	1	0	1
	2002	92	7	1	-	0
45–54						
	1991	80	16	1	1	2
	2002	89	9	0	0	1
55–64						
	1991	74	19	0	1	3
	2002	88	9	0	-	1
65–74						
	1991	74	17	1	1	4
	2002	89	8	-	-	3
75–						
	1991	71	12	1	2	7
	2002	85	5	1	-	8
All						
	1991	76	18	2	1	2
	2002	88	9	0	-	2

Source: Statistics Finland, Leisure Survey

Perceiving home and family as important seems to have gained strength in the whole population in the course of the 1990s. It becomes especially evident from the clear growth during the decade in the proportion of those who regard home and family as very important. Home and family are important values to almost everybody, including people who do not themselves live in a family. A similar, albeit not quite as strong, growth trend in the appreciation of family and home among the employed population has also been observed in Statistics Finland's Quality of Work Life Surveys.

Surprisingly, the proportion of people regarding home and family as very important has grown most in the youngest group of people aged 15 to 24. Even examined by year-of-birth cohort, this trend of change prevails, being the smallest among those born in the 1950s, whose appreciation of family and home was already highest in 1991. This is the same cohort in which the growth in the importance of leisure time was the greatest.

The second Leisure Survey question asks the respondent to think about his or her own leisure time and state how important it is to be able to spend time with the family during it (Table 4). This way of asking reveals a really major change of

atmosphere, even greater than when approaching the matter with the earlier question. At the whole population level, the proportion of people who regard being with the family as very important has grown by 26 percentage points, and the growth is of nearly equal magnitude in all age groups. Examined by year-of-birth cohort, the change is the greater the younger the cohort, reaching the 50-percentage point mark among those born in the 1970s.

Table 4. Importance of being with family during leisure time in 1991 and 2002, %.

		Being able to be with the family is				
		Very important	Quite important	Quite unimportant	Not part of my leisure time	NA or Don't know
Age, years						
15–24						
	1991	30	48	16	3	1
	2002	57	38	3	1	1
25–34						
	1991	49	36	9	4	1
	2002	75	21	1	0	1
35–44						
	1991	52	37	6	3	2
	2002	81	15	1	1	2
45–54						
	1991	51	36	6	4	2
	2002	74	19	1	1	5
55–64						
	1991	44	34	9	6	7
	2002	73	19	1	0	7
65–74						
	1991	45	30	5	7	13
	2002	70	21	1	1	7
75–						
	1991	37	20	7	10	26
	2002	59	18	2	0	20
All						
	1991	45	36	9	5	3
	2002	71	21	1	1	1

Source: Statistics Finland, Leisure Survey

Changes of this magnitude challenge the researcher with a number of questions. What phenomenon do the figures capture? What is meant by family? What kinds of mental images does the word family bring up in this kind of a context? It certainly does not only mean the nuclear family or people living in the same dwelling, because approximately one half (49%) of those living in one-person households regard being with the family as very important and almost four fifths (78%) as quite important, while only 16 per cent of them say the matter is not applicable to them and only one per cent state that it is not part of their leisure time. Mental images of family may also be highly diversified. Someone may think of his or her own nuclear family, someone else include in it parents or siblings living elsewhere, or distant relatives, while someone else still may think about their closest friends. If

may be that when answering the question the respondents do not even exactly define the concept, but have some kind of a symbolic image, idea, of a family to which they attach certain emotions.

As with the changed appreciation of work, it must also be pointed out in this context that this altered climate of attitude does not allow making the conclusion that families would spend more time together, or that married couples would divorce less often or that children would be better looked after. This may, of course, be the case but we cannot deduce it from these results.

Nevertheless, some kind of a real change is involved, but what would be the phenomenon that can or could be captured with questions like this? It would be justified to presume that the communal and social aspects are gaining strength in people's everyday life.

Riitta Jallinoja has talked about a turn to familism in the whole society so that both the media and people are being converted to privatism. She writes about the conversion she has observed and about the topicality of the subject of family thus (2000a, p. 220, freely translated): "The increased exits to early and part-time retirement in the past few years can also be viewed as escapes from work. Quite a large proportion of these exiting employees are under 60-year-olds saying they have had enough of perpetual working and now want to enjoy life. Ultimately, however, the impression of topicality is formed with the assistance of the media. A new way of thinking has to emerge simultaneously from different directions like a sudden realisation. An outsider can only guess why this happens. As with any turning point, in this case, too, a new mode of thinking, and even a new practice, have been ripening slowly below the surface and then become crystallised as a crisis sensed by everybody." Jallinoja states that often the quoted reason for the conversion into "hopeful" privatism is that people are no longer able to influence political or financial decisions. At least private life still seems to be under their own control. (Jallinoja 2000b, p. 182)

Jallinoja's (2000a, 2000b) views are based on writings about the family in the media during the past few decades. According to her, media writing about the family has increased stepwise over the last two to three decades. It accelerated in the 1990s and peaked at the turn of the millennium. (Jallinoja 2004, p. 82) In Jallinoja's opinion, the discourse of the turn of the millennium focused on the ill-being of families, especially of children and young people, workaholism, and problems in reconciling work and family life. She says (Jallinoja 2004, p. 96, freely translated) that "...the family became the Big Issue, which changed our understanding of it fundamentally."

Hobbies highlight the individualistic side of leisure time

Defining the concept of leisure time through hobbies is yet another important dimension; it highlights the individualistic side of the concept. In all the conducted thematic interviews, hobby activities emerged in one way or another as an essential part of personal leisure time.

What does the expression leisure time bring to your mind?:... Hobbies... Television, home, being at home. Skiing came next to my mind. (Man 37)

Well, first of all of course time that's outside... actual working hours, time one use for hobbies and activities that recharge a person for work. (Man 51)

Children's hobbies... Physical exercise. And... visiting relatives... Rock concerts (Man 37)

The fact that perceiving the family as important has increased does not mean that leisure time in the hobby sense would not have also become more important (Table 5). Although in 2002 the question was asked in a slightly more demanding format than before ("ability to devote time for hobbies"), the proportion of respondents regarding hobbies as very important rose in 2002 by eight percentage points to 43 per cent. Results from Statistics Finland's Quality of Work Life Surveys support his observation: according to them, the personally perceived importance of leisure time hobbies has increased since 1984 among both male and female wage and salary earners.

Table 5. Perception of the importance of hobbies by age group in 1991 and 2002, %.

	Hobbies (asked in 1991) / Ability to devote time for hobbies (asked in 2002)				
	Very important	Quite important	Quite unimportant	Not part of my leisure time	NA or Don't know
Age, years					
15–24					
1991	49	41	7	1	0
2002	48	42	5	1	1
25–34					
1991	35	51	12	1	0
2002	45	47	4	1	1
35–44					
1991	30	50	18	2	1
2002	37	52	7	2	1
45–54					
1991	31	48	17	2	1
2002	48	42	6	1	2
55–64					
1991	33	43	14	3	7
2002	43	46	5	1	2
65–74					
1991	37	33	17	3	7
2002	41	43	5	2	8
75–					
1991	26	20	16	9	29
2002	29	34	6	2	28
All					
1991	35	44	14	2	3
2002	43	45	5	1	5

Leisure is a qualitative element – freedom, fun, independence, commitment

All the conducted thematic interviews conveyed a very positive stance to the personal relationship with leisure time. It is appreciated intrinsically as an important qualitative element of everyday life.

What is the most important thing in leisure time?:

The most important, the most important thing is to reach a kind of... to me it's solitude and peace. (Man 51)

How could I put it, being with the husband and, well (sighs) just being able to be and read as much as I like or watch television if there's something good on... walk... (Woman 56)

Eh...being together with the wife (Man 50)

Well, the time's just, it's sort of free time, it's not any work people do in their leisure time. Breaking away. That kind of a thing.(Woman 48)

Unhurriedness...(Man 37)

Well, of course it's the freedom. That you don't have to do anything. Eh... (pauses for thought) You can do anything you like. That's, sort of, the most important (Man 36)

Eh...freedom of choice. (Man 26)

(Thinks) The fact that you can determine yourself what you want to do (taps table with side of hand with each word). Hmm... Your own right to decide. (Man 30)

That it's fun and relaxing. And that it counterbalances work well. I mean, to me personally it's important to have a social life. Because...at work, it's so different (Woman 22)

What does the expression leisure time bring to your mind?:

Fun (laughs). Having fun. (Man 50)

Leisure time. It's a sort of uplifting and nice and relaxing thing. (Woman 43)

It's time I can use the way I want to (Woman 50)

Sort of a rare treat... it's got so much positive and desirable attached to it and, and in the future I'd like to have more of it, and sort of time for recharging batteries. (Woman 56)

(Thinks) Well, sort of being able to decide as far as possible what you do. What you will give your... work and studying, sometimes it's important to relax... sometimes to challenge yourself... You can put three full stops after each of these or put etc., at the end. (Woman 23)

The statements emphasise fun, relaxing, unhurriedness, tranquillity, and the nearest and dearest. However, the aspects that emerge especially are freedom and voluntariness: freedom of choice, independence, ability to do as one wishes. Leisure time is an individual, personally perceived matter in which voluntariness is important, whether it be committing and being sociable, or solitude and peace. Examined like this, leisure time is not just a sector of everyday life, but an experienced qualitative element that may be associated with any moment of time in life. This may be an essential perspective to the concept of leisure time: it is a personal viewpoint and choice concerning everyday life, whether it be doing something alone or being sociable. The central aspect is that I, as an individual, choose and experience the things I do voluntarily.

The theme of concern about what to do with plentiful leisure time, which has featured strongly in the history of the concept and in the history of social morals, did not emerge from the interviews at all, although related worries, such as concern about wasting of increased leisure time, excessive use of alcohol, diminishing of

time used for reading, etc., continue to abound in public debate. The only threat of which a couple of examples could be found in the interviews was that of loss of internal voluntariness: threat of dependency, becoming hooked, or compulsiveness.

I mean, the job of leisure time is to sort of relax or entertain, so it can become compulsive, the birdwatching, and I don't know if it fulfils the job of leisure time anymore. (Man 35)

Watch television if there's something good on and...[...].... But time, I don't really watch that much TV, I haven't got hooked on any soaps, for example (Woman 59)

Towards a new kind of society

The external structures of everyday life change only slowly. They have remained very similar for decades. Small shifts, of course, take place but life on the whole appears quite identical from one year, and even one decade, to the next. People get up in the morning, listen to the radio/read a newspaper/watch television, have breakfast, go to work or do other daily chores, return from work, have dinner, enjoy their hobbies, follow the mass media, socialise with people close to them, and retire to bed. At the level of the whole population, the biggest changes have come from the increased lifespan and the consequent lengthening of the time spent on studying or in retirement.

Nevertheless, some change is taking place continuously. Even major social changes or adjustments in social atmosphere often occur unnoticed, in people's minds and as a gradual altering of thinking patterns. We are often unaware of this because we are in the middle of it. It could also be described as the spirit of the times. We may simply suddenly notice that saying something, or acting or behaving in a certain manner, which would have been unacceptable ten or twenty years ago, has become possible. Empirical research is often perplexed about observing these kinds of invisible changes in thinking and the logics of action, yet they are real.

According to Anthony Giddens (1994, p. 89-90) the essential thing in modern society is that choices of lifestyle dictate everyday life and are fitted to abstract systems. In a certain fundamental sense, detached from tradition the entire institutional mechanism of modernism becomes dependent on potentially evaporating trust mechanisms. He further states that changing of lifestyle practices may signify deep rebellion against crucial abstract systems. As an example he quotes consumption, whose drastic reduction would demolish national economies. It is precisely these kinds of "abstract systems" that are concerned when we examine work, leisure time and family. He also concludes (Giddens 1994, p. 100) that the post-traditional order does not, however, lead to the complete disappearance of traditions, which may start to flourish again in some respects and in certain contexts. However, their meanings and definitions may have altered completely in the course of the journey.

When examining the changes outlined above, it is impossible to say anything definite about their permanence or whether they relate to precisely this moment of

history in Finland or are more enduring, forming an element of global development or more universal modernisation process. They are probably both. This may be a question of a change in peoples' everyday outlook concerning relationships between the studied abstract systems – for work, leisure time and family – and a consequent change in the way of defining them. I believe that the insecurity of the world, as well as the after-effects of the economic recession Finland experienced in the early 1990s may offer some explanation. However, it is also a question of another, broader change taking place in the prevailing action logic and way of life. It may even relate to a more fundamental change of outlook, and a repositioning of the cornerstones on which human identity is built when matters are examined in a new way from an individual and private perspective. It is becoming increasingly common for people (even men) to introduce themselves in public through a cherished hobby that is important to their personal identity, and only mention their occupation later on in passing.

It may be that the experienced growing importance of family relates precisely to a new kind of weight attached to privacy, and that to a large extent the name for privacy right now – partly at least in consequence of talk in the media about threats to family – is “home and family.” After all, privacy does not bear the name of an abstract institution in the same sense as work does. In her study concerning modern architecture, Kirsi Saarikangas (2002) describes quite brilliantly how the home became the space for privacy in modern architecture, and how the home was thought to act as an intermediary between an individual and society. She also states that new architecture was not regarded as a new style but as a new way of organising society and people's private ways of life. (Saarikangas, 2002, p.476) For instance it might be that “koti” (home) has different meanings in the Finnish context from the word “home” in some other cultural context. It is possible that it is wider in scope and does not refer only to any specific house and family formation. This thought is one basis for my interpretation that in the above change in Finland the question is not only about new familism but also and especially about a transition in wider life ethics. Thus, a person's private life becomes a value in itself, and it does not have to serve the nation or some other higher value like “the Work”.

Are we, thus, moving to a society in which communality is seen as springing from privacy and individuality? Perhaps the much discussed leisure time society is not a hobby society of free individuals, but some kind of a turning inside out, in which people's own private interests and the identity derived from them increasingly determine the actions of individuals, and in which work is also increasingly defined in terms of privacy, and life is no longer thought about from the angle of work but from those of privacy, family, hobbies and identity. The suspicion of Chris Rojek (1997, p. 389) that the concept of leisure time will no longer be a meaningful category of social life would only concern leisure time in its traditional sense as defined through work. Of course it might also be that the category of leisure is really being exhausted and displaced with something else, which perhaps relates more strongly to freedom and control of one's own space, and which stresses one's own control and choice in social relations and activities. It is possible that just the borders and borderlines of this category (see Valtonen, 2004) get central place, and the dissimilarity between different kinds of activities,

work or leisure, are fading. One tendency might be that non-work-activities and these mental battles move to the realm of traditional work, as seems to be occurring according to Valtonen (2004).

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The temporal organisation of daily life: social constraints, composite practices and allocation

Dale Southerton

Introduction

Much has been written about time, about the changing distribution of practices within a 24 hour day (particularly between broad categories of work, leisure, personal care, paid and unpaid work), about how much time is devoted to certain activities by different social groups and how economic policy and technological innovations affect such distributions (Cross, 1993; Robinson and Godbey, 1997; Gershuny and Sullivan, 1998; Gershuny, 2000). These macro studies are complemented by a host of qualitative accounts which examine how time is experienced by different social groups, how such experiences change over historical time, across generations and throughout the life-course. There is considerable conjecture over the impacts of changing patterns of consumption (Schor, 1992; Reisch, 2001), shifts towards flexible working patterns (Garhammer, 1995; Breedveld, 1998) the impacts of information (Castells, 1996; Eriksen, 2001) and domestic technologies (Schwartz Cowan, 1983; Silverstone, 1993; Gershuny, 2000), gender relations and the domestic division of labour (Thompson, 1996; Sullivan, 1997; Hochschild, 1997) which place the issue of time at the centre of debates regarding, broadly speaking, quality of life in advanced capitalist societies and the capacities of different economic regimes (state regulation versus liberal free market economics) to make more or less time available for desirable or undesirable forms of social and economic activity.

As Zerubavel (1981) and Adam (1990) maintain, however, when considering 'time' it is also important to recognise the multiple temporalities within which social activities take place. Time is not simply about minutes. The rhythms of days, weeks, seasons, years, the physiology of bodies, 'economies of time' (Harvey, 1999) all contribute to the variety of ways in which time is experienced and understood. This paper develops previous work which explores the social organisation of time by focusing on the temporal rhythms of non-work practices, how they are allocated within time, how practices are co-ordinated and inter-related, and the measures that different social groups employ in order to attempt to exercise personal control over the temporalities of their daily lives (Southerton, 2003; 2004). The central questions are how do people allocate and organise practices within daily life, what constraints socially order those practices and how this affects the different temporal experiences of various social groups.

Time use, temporality and accounting for changes to time in daily life

There is an extensive literature on the changing social construction and organisation of time in daily life. In order to present an overview this literature is divided between six broad and not mutually exclusive categories. What all categories have in common is their orientation toward explaining how the distribution and experiences of practices change as a consequence of broader shifts in the social, economic and cultural organisation of time. As such, many accounts are broached within the 'time famine' debate and the apparent conundrum of why people consistently report a shortage of time in which to conduct the practices most important to them and this feel constantly 'pressed for time' (Robinson and Godbey, 1997).

The workplace

Garhammer (1995) draws on the shift toward post-Fordism in his identification of the process of 'flexibilization' whereby working times and locations are increasingly de-regulated and scattered. The consequence is a temporal shift from '9to5, Monday to Friday' to the '24hour society', from collectively maintained temporal rhythms toward individually organised temporalities. While Breedveld (1998) demonstrates that the '9to5' model remains the dominant practice in the Netherlands, his analysis of 'scattered working hours' does suggest that those with higher socio-economic status are able to utilise flexibilization and gain greater control over their own daily use of time because of autonomy over which hours they work. By contrast, flexibilization for lower socio-economic status groups tends to be controlled by employers and it is this group who suffer most from the temporal fragmentation caused by working 'irregular hours'.

The professional middle classes might benefit from 'flexibilization' but, according to the ethnographic accounts of Kunda (2001) and Rutherford (2001), they also face anxieties of increased workplace competition in the context of their commitment to pursuing a professional career. In both accounts, the importance of being seen as dedicated to the job, which was felt as the principal discriminating characteristic for upward mobility in the industries studied, led workers to adopt strategies of 'visibility' and 'working intensively' in order to demonstrate dedication to one's boss.

Gender and the work – family balance

The distribution of time spent in paid and unpaid work and leisure remains an area of wide empirical exploration. It is convincingly demonstrated that women in dual income households experience a 'dual burden' as a consequence of 'juggling' both paid employment and their continued responsibility for domestic matters (Gershuny, 1992; Bittman and Wajcman, 2000). Critically, the squeeze placed on women's time generates a requirement to 'multi-task' or do many tasks

simultaneously in order to 'fit them in' to finite amounts of daily time (Thompson, 1996; Sullivan, 1997). Hochschild (1997) draws the literature on 'working more' and the 'dual burden' together in her book *The Time Bind*. She argues that as hours of paid work increase (the first shift), time for domestic matters (the second shift) become squeezed, creating the need for a 'third shift' whereby people attempt to create 'quality time' for their loved ones (see also, Daly, 1996; Southerton, 2003). This is a process of rationalisation because the principles of Taylorization, whereby tasks are broken down into their component parts (fragmented) and re-sequenced to maximise temporal efficiency, have become applied to domestic matters. Consequently, the second shift becomes time pressured and, Hochschild suggests, the process spills into the third shift where even 'quality time' becomes regulated by the principles of efficient time use and time itself comes to be viewed as a means to an end.

Time and technology

Accounts of socio-technological change highlight how emerging technologies impact on the temporal organisation of society. Innovations in the form of labour saving domestic appliances have received most analytic attention. The basic conundrum is whether labour saving technologies also save time. Some argue that while such devices reduce the amount of time devoted per task, the frequency of those tasks have increased along with the additional time necessary for the purchase and maintenance of the technology itself (Vanek, 1978; Schwartz-Cowan, 1983). Net gains in time saving are therefore limited while expectations of time saving are high, leaving impressions that it is time which has become squeezed rather than that domestic technologies have not delivered time saving.

A second set of approaches highlight the impact of information and communication technologies. Time-space distancing (Giddens, 1984), and the network society (Castells, 1996) are concepts that emphasise the instantaneity of global communication and a subsequent intensification of the pace at which particular practices can occur. Time and space no longer remain fixed coordinates of social action, we can interact with people in multiple ways from distant spatial proximities. Such technological changes do more than present opportunities of 'home working' for some members of the labour force. They are held to fundamentally re-order social relationships across time and space (Eriksen, 2001).

Time, leisure and consumption

Linder (1970) was the first to identify cultural changes in leisure practices and associate them with shifting cultural orientations toward time use. Turning Veblen's theory of the 'leisure class' around, Linder argued that the relationship between status and leisure today rests on the volume of leisure experiences rather than on the conspicuous display of idleness. This might be one explanation as to why leisure has apparently become less leisurely. Roberts (1976) shows how the tempo of leisure practices have 'sped-up', with examples such as dancing which today consists of rapid and sporadic movements by contrast to a past in which

dancing took much practice and was conducted at a slow tempo. This basic argument is taken further by Darier (1998) who suggests that being busy is symbolic of a 'full' and 'valued' life. In his conceptualisation of the problem, reflexive modernisation and the emerging demands on individuals to narrate their identity through styles of consumption (see Bauman (1988) and Giddens (1991) for a detailed exposition of this theory) brings with it the demands of trying new and varied experiences, and it is this which leads individuals toward the infinite pursuit of more cultural practices. In short, being busy is now a necessary requirement of reflexive identity-formation.

Schor (1992) draws together, and simultaneously steps back from, accounts which connect leisure, consumption and time, arguing that the proliferation of consumer goods and the significance of increasing consumption in symbolising social status encourages, if not demands, that people 'work more' in order to 'consume more'. In a consumer society, to be symbolically accepted requires that people also spend more time in acts of consumption.

Summary

Despite the above, surprisingly little empirical attention has been paid to the temporality of practices (the specific temporal arrangements and rhythms in which practices occur) nor how the requirement of practices shape or impact on temporal organisation. Some indications can be found in accounts of how practices of consumption change which, somewhat inadvertently, provide insights into changing forms of temporal experience. For example, Wouters (1986) discussion of 'informalisation', whereby group-based norms are eroded, points to a reduction in the rigidity of institutionally timed events. A clear example is the growth of 'grazing' patterns of eating and decline of the 'family meal' (Charles & Kerr, 1988). Informalisation implies a weakening of socio-temporal structures that, in the absence of fixed institutional temporalities, make the potential for co-ordinating practices between social actors increasingly problematic (Warde, 1999; Southerton et al, 2001). These are theories that can be described as indicating a process of 'de-routinisation' of society's collective temporal organisation.

The above accounts do provide valuable insights into the relationship between a substantive sphere of social life (consumption, leisure, work, technology or domestic labour) and how the distribution of clock time within that sphere has changed. However, other than Zerubavel's (1979) fine ethnography of the institutionalised temporal rhythms of a hospital in the USA, few empirical studies have specifically focused on the way that social practices, the contexts in which they occur, the institutionalised 'template' of the 'day' (for example, meal times, times culturally associated with being for paid or unpaid work), and the range of social, economic and cultural constraints that effect how people engage in practices socially organise temporal experience. While all accounts have social practices at the heart of their enquiry, few provide a systematic analysis of how varieties of practices inter-relate and in doing so construct the rhythms of daily life.

The study and analytical approach

This paper draws on twenty households located in a suburb of Bristol, England. The sample comprised single households, couples with and without children and respondents' age varied between 25 and 65. Some were dual income households, some professionals and some retired, thus providing a range of demographic and socio-economic status groups. Respondents were contacted via letter sent to every other house in the most and least expensive areas of the town. Interviews lasted, on average, two hours. Adopting a conversational approach (Douglas, 1985) toward semi-structured interviews, respondents were asked to recount and reflect on the previous week and weekend day.

This paper focuses on accounts of how non-work practices were allocated, conducted and experienced in the two days recounted by respondents. Critical to this analysis is understanding how respondents were constrained when allocating practices within those days. Some constraints are a consequence of social and demographic position. Others emerge from the requirements for engaging in the practice (which is partly dependant on what people want to achieve or get out of that practice). The following section outlines the analytical technique employed to explore respondents' temporal rhythms of the day. By adapting Fine's (1996) five dimensions of time, it was possible to map respondents' practices and demonstrate how it is the inter-relationship between practices that shaped the rhythm of the day. Section five considers the constraints that impacted (gender, age, life-course and cultural capital) on how different people allocated time. In conclusion, it is argued that daily temporalities comprise the sequencing of fixed, malleable and arbitrary allocation of practices. In general, non-work practices that were fixed were those that involved the participation of others, and specifically others who were not spatially proximate to the respondent. Interpretation of which practices were fixed or malleable in their allocation within sequences of practices was dependant on a range of personal constraints. Fixed practices determined the sequence of the activities and the temporal rhythms of the day. Finally, employing such an analytical approach demonstrates the nuances, tensions and competing demands of different social groups when allocating practices within time.

The temporal organisation of practices

The day is the context of a composite of practices, and practices come with their own requirements and demands. Taking this premise, it was necessary to develop an analytic technique that allowed for an understanding of how practices were allocated within different time frames of the day and also how practices are organised in relation to one another. Critical here is the argument that practices come with a set of requirements necessary for competent and meaningful engagement (Schatski, 1996; Reckwitz, 2003). For example, some practices require, or at least imply a preference for, the co-presence of others. Eating out, playing sport and even leisure shopping being examples. Practices come with normative expectations regarding how they should be conducted (competitively, seriously, jovially etc) even if those norms vary across social groups. Finally,

practices do not occur in isolation from one another but are inter-related. Engaging in one practice can rule out engagement in another or require the performance of a connected practice. For example, eating requires that somebody cooks. A key question for this paper is how the requirements of different practices impact on the temporal organisation of the day.

Given the multiple meanings and range of implications associated with any practice, it was not feasible to analyse everything that respondents did in the days which they recounted. Consequently, only non-work practices were analysed. This was partly because paid and unpaid work come with sets of obligations and constraints that make allocation in time less subject to personal scheduling than non-work practices. This is not to say that non-work practices equate are voluntary but that their allocation within the day is more likely to be subject to personal scheduling. Finally, non-work practices cover the spectrum of activities that are dependant on co-participation from unknown others as well as can be engaged alone.

Fine (1996: 55) identifies five dimensions through which time can be analysed:

'Periodicity refers to the rhythm of the activity; tempo, to its rate or speed; timing to the synchronization or mutual adaptation of activities; duration, to the length of an activity; and sequence to the ordering of events.'

Adapting this framework, each interview respondent's non-work practices from the previous week and weekend day were plotted. Periodicity was interpreted in terms of whether the practice was conducted with any regularity either daily, weekly or monthly. Tempo referred to whether the experience of the practice was described as rushed or leisurely. Synchronisation was adapted to refer to whether or not a practice was pre-arranged and coordinated with other people. Duration reflected the amount of time devoted to the practice, a section of the day, two thirds (e.g. evening, afternoon, morning), one to two hours or less than one hour. Sequence was interpreted according to whether the practice was fixed within a specific time frame; allocated according to its fixed location within a sequence of inter-related practices; or, whether allocation was relatively arbitrary.

	Name	Involving others	With household members	Alone
1	Elizabeth	Golf		Gym, garden, read, TV
2	Bob		TV, excursion	Cycling
	Mary		TV, excursion	Garden
3	Sarah	Drinks, phone	Swim, excursion, eat-in	Gym, read, music, TV
4	Bradley	Eat-out	TV, bike ride, park/walk	Read
	Cindy	Eat-out, gym	TV	Shop,
5	Michael	Drinks, horse race,	TV, eat-in,	Music, read
	Louise	Drinks	TV, eat-in, shop	
6	Fiona	Eat, visit parents		Read, Inet, garden
7	Audrey	Church, youth club	Shop	Inet
8	Sam	Drinks, walk, eat		Gaming, cook, TV
9	Ron	Family meal	Gym, TV	Read
	Anne	Family meal	Gym, TV	Read
10	Kevin	Visit friends homes	Shop	TV, radio, music, read, shops
11	Suzanne	Visit family, eat out, drinks, phone,	TV, stay in bed	Home exercise, TV
12	Joanne	Drinks	TV, swim, video, excursion	Read
13	Deborah	Drinks, eat-in	Swim,	TV
14	Steven		Eat out, shop	Running, TV, PC games, TV
15	Mike	Golf, drinks, eat-in, eat out	Video, TV	
	Charlotte	Drinks, eat-in, eat out	Video, TV	
16	James	Sport, drink		Lounge, read, PC games, TV
17	Arthur	Eat out	Eat in/cook, play grandkids, shop	TV, read, email,
	Angela			Read, garden
18	Kathryn	Visit family, shop with parents		TV, read
19	Robert	Sport, child playarea, drinks,		Sport,
20	Mark	Eat out	Park/walk, board game	TV
	Amanda	Eat out	Park/walk, board game	TV

Figure 1. Non-work activities recounted by respondents for the previous week and weekend day.

Figure 1 represents the total number of non-work practices conducted by respondents in their previous week and weekend day. Figure 2 illustrates the analytic technique of plotting each practice along one of the temporal dimensions identified from the adaptation of Fine's framework. In this case, Bradley and

Cindy's previous workday consisted largely of paid and unpaid work. After taking her daughter to school, Cindy, a housewife, had gone to the gym which she did twice a week and where she arranged to meet friends. This activity is fixed in that other practices are allocated around it, typically spending the morning at the gym before returning home for lunch and an afternoon of domestic labour. It was not until the evening before another non-work activity took place. Bradley, an accountant, took his daughter for a short bike ride to 'get her out the house' while Cindy finished preparation of their evening meal (their daughter having already eaten). Once she was in bed they watch television together because there was 'little else to do, or rather there isn't much worth starting' (Cindy). Bradley then read for 'half an hour' before going to sleep, something he does in order to 'switch off' and because Cindy typically goes to sleep before him.

The weekend (in this case a Saturday) presented many more opportunities for non-work activities. As with every Saturday morning, Bradley took his daughter to the park (if the weather is bad he will do something indoors with her). During this time, Cindy 'dashed' to the shops, as she wanted to buy something for their evening out, clothes shopping being a frequent but not regular activity for Cindy. Bradley described his trip to the park as leisurely, while Cindy's visit to the shops was 'manic' because she needed to complete her assigned task (buying some clothes) and get home for lunch. The afternoon consisted of household tasks, their daughter visiting her grandparents. They described the need to complete housework in the afternoon so that once it was done they could 'properly relax' (Cindy) while dining out with friends on the evening. This was a pre-arranged event, 'the only weekend that we could all meet up', and was an infrequent activity; they rarely ate out with friends. To compound the arrangements, they could only book a table for '7.30 when really 8.30 would have been better so we can get Lucy settled properly' (Cindy), although Bradley observed a relative upside to this arrangement because 'it does mean we're not in such a rush to get back for the baby-sitter as we leave that bit earlier' (Bradley). The meal lasted all evening.

Bradley and Cindy's week and weekend day were relatively typical of the temporal rhythm of those days described by other respondents. Three common patterns were revealed which related to the degree of social involvement of others in any practice. Practices conducted with others who reside outside the household, with household members and those conducted alone presented different requirements of allocation.

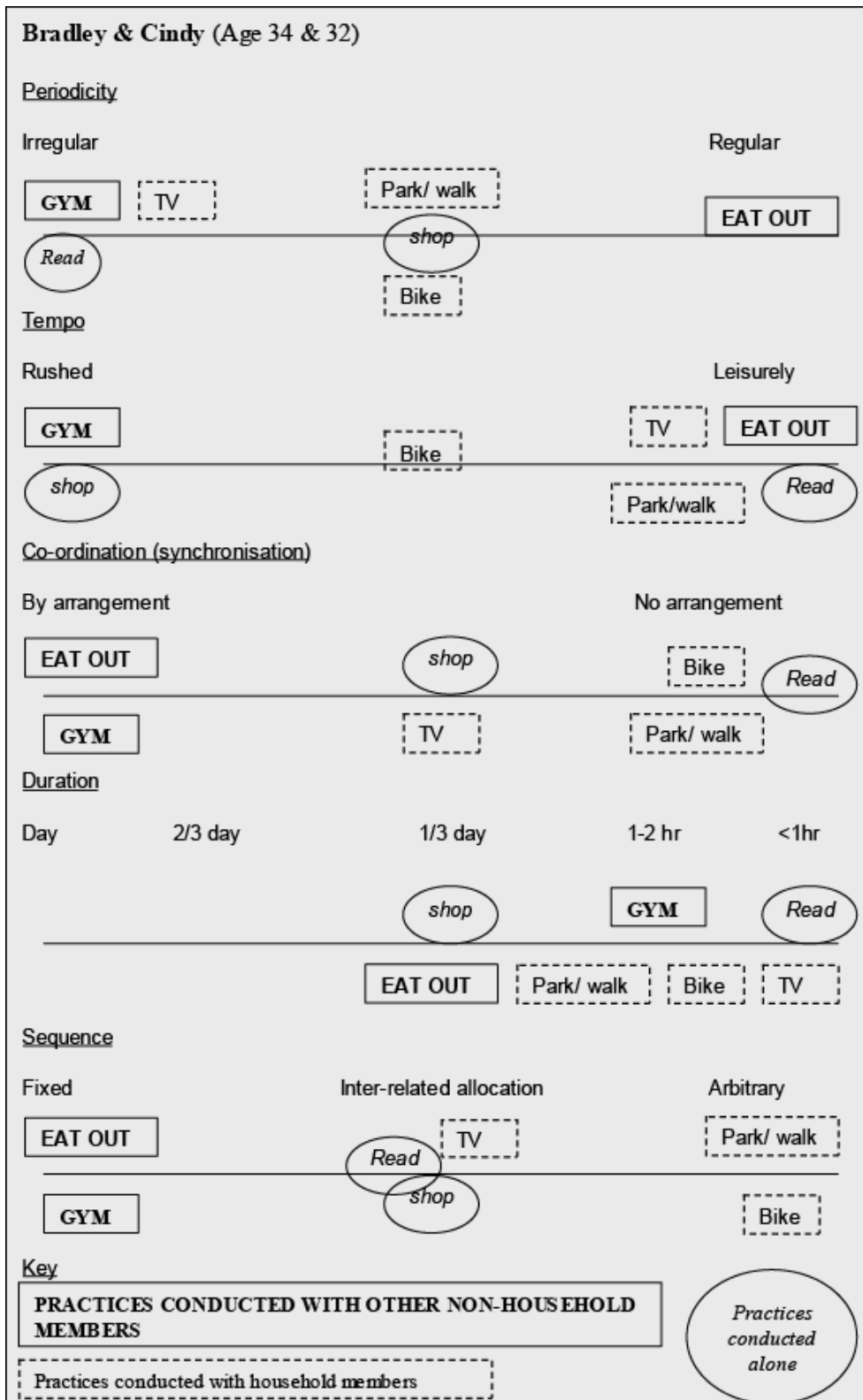


Figure 2. An example of mapping practices by temporal dimensions.

Periodicity

Practices conducted with non-household members, tended to be irregular, even if they were frequent. In other words, somebody might play golf once a week, but it was not regular in the sense that they played golf on the same day or with the same people. Elizabeth and Robert were the only exceptions. Elizabeth played golf every Sunday and Robert took his children, who he did not live with, to a children's play facility every Saturday morning. Practices conducted with household members tended to have a degree of regularity, being activities that couples and families conducted as a matter of routine. Eating a take-away meal on a Saturday night, taking children to the park, resting in bed and reading newspapers together were all characterised by their habitual location within a specific weekly or daily time frame. Yet, some activities represent 'one offs' (Sarah), such as a family visit to a tourist attraction or playing a board game as a means of 'killing an hour' (Mark). Practices engaged in alone were often done with a high degree of regularity and were either practices in which the respondent had particular commitment or practices that regularly 'filled' time, like watching the television.

Tempo

The tempo of practices was less related to whether or not others were involved and more to do with the type of practice engaged in. Tempo is a difficult dimension to analyse because what represents a 'rushed' experience for one person may be regarded as leisurely by another. It is also a contingent condition, dependent on the degree to which inter-related practices infringe on the pursuit of that practice. For example, Sarah described how a family outing to a theme park became rushed because the previous practice of swimming did not go to plan:

'we went swimming, and took a picnic so we had that, and then went on an adventure trail at Bowood. And because we had to get there by twelve to make it worth while we had to leave swimming with enough time to spare. Then we had to find somewhere for the picnic and it just went on like that. God I needed a day off after that day off!'

In this case, swimming had taken longer than anticipated because the 'pool was much busier than usual', ruining Sarah's carefully prepared schedule and making the tempo of the 'main activity' feel rushed. Examples such as this show how the tempo of practices are often a consequence of disruption to schedules. Those practices with a fixed location in time and/or with a high degree of coordination were most susceptible to disruption because any compromise to the temporal integrity of the planned practice has the effect of compressing duration but, because such practices typically have a high degree of personal commitment, not the volume of activity involved.

Synchronisation and coordination

Among the most striking features of this analysis was how practices conducted with others, particularly those which involve non-household members always required a comparatively high degree of coordination and arrangement. Seven respondents reported a practice involving a non-household member which did not require a high degree of arrangement. In four of these cases, respondents described an unexpected practice which followed a pre-arranged one. For example, Deborah described how a family lunch presented the unexpected opportunity to go for a drink when her mother-in-law offered to look after her child. Robert on the other hand, 'changed his mind' about going home after playing football, which opened temporal space for him to share a drink with his team mates. In Suzanne and Kathryn's cases, visiting family did not require arrangement because they did so with regularity, and for Audrey going to church and helping at a youth club was also a regular activity.

Practices that took place with household members which were not regular or frequent required high degrees of arrangement. Practices conducted alone typically required no prior arrangements, except in Audrey's case where the use of the internet required arranging with her daughter a time when she could 'get at the computer'. Consequently, the degree to which a practice involved others, the spatial proximity of those others (which effects the capacity for more 'spontaneous' engagement in sociability) and the extent to which the practice represents a regular or routine engagement combined to determine the extent to which the practice required arrangement and synchronisation with the personal schedules of others.

Duration

Duration was closely related to whether a practice involved the co-participation of others. Practices subject to arrangement and/or a high degree of coordination tended to have a relatively long duration, which was appropriate given that such practices required a fixed position within personal schedules. By contrast, practices conducted alone tended to have a short duration, partly because they were often practices engaged in to 'fill' time between fixed activities. Engagement in practices with non-household members varied in duration depending on the degree to which that practice was a planned event.

Sequence

As should be clear from the above discussion, the sequencing of practices was critical to their positioning in the other four dimensions. Practices conducted with non-household members were overwhelmingly fixed, largely because they were arranged and coordinated activities. Other practices therefore tended to be sequenced in relation to those that were fixed within a particular time frame. For

example, Mark and Amanda described eating out as ‘fixed’ and other practices were sequenced in relation to it: *‘we played a board game to calm the kids down ready for the baby-sitter. We have mean’t to introduce them to board games for ages and this seemed the right time’*. In a different case, Suzanne described how a ‘family visit’ was the fixed practice and within this, eating out and going for drinks were sequenced. By contrast, the majority of practices conducted alone were located arbitrarily within the day, even those conducted with regularity. Such practices might take place at the same time everyday or week, but this was more because those time frames were predictably caught between fixed practices, watching the television between eating a meal and going out being a common example. Overall, practices conducted alone had the characteristic of ‘filling’ empty time that emerged from temporal gaps between fixed and inter-related practices.

Practices and temporal rhythms

Plotting practices according to Fine’s five dimensions of time creates an immediate impression of the temporal rhythms of respondent’s daily lives and about the components that contribute to its ordering. First the range of practices that people engaged during any one day impacted on the overall temporal ordering of that day. What was striking about this analysis was the similarity of the factors which affected how respondents allocated practices. It was not the case that greater volume of practices resulted in more complex personal schedules. Rather, it was the range of types of practices (for example, practices conducted alone or with others, practices conducted with regularity) and the requirements of those practices for sequencing (for example, whether any practices ‘had to’ be conducted during a specific time frame) in time and space that shaped how the day was organised and experienced. Range of practices and their sequencing in time and space were therefore at the core of the production of routines, which emerge from the predictability that certain practices are allocated in specific frames of time and space, leaving other parts of the day consistently suitable for the ‘regular’ conduct of practices.

Second, practices which involved the co-participation of others, especially non-household members, required a high degree of arrangement and coordination and, because of their fixed position within sequence, also required a degree of synchronisation between practices. The sequencing of practices that involved the co-participation of others had a direct impact on the tempo at which practices were experienced. In some cases, a disruption or unanticipated delay made the tempo of the fixed and coordinated practices feel rushed, in other cases where the integrity of the fixed practice could be maintained those practices sequenced around it became ‘rushed’ as the respondent conducted those practices at a faster tempo in order to preserve the time frame for the fixed activity. Sociable practices thus represent anchor points for the sequencing of practices.

Third, duration was partly dependent on the degree of personal commitment to the practice. Sociable practices require a degree of commitment because of the effort that goes into coordinating them, and thus tended to be of longer duration

than practices conducted alone. Duration was also dependent on how inter-related practices were sequenced. Practices which ‘filled’ gaps in temporal rhythms tended to be of a shorter duration, often only lasting as long as was required to fill the empty time between practices with a fixed location in the sequence of activities.

Taken together, the typical day can be characterised as one coordinated around fixed events which usually involved the co-participation of others. Where those others were non-household members, the degree of arrangement was high because social proximity demanded a greater degree of coordination between actors. Secondly were practices whose location in the sequence of practices had a degree of malleability. Taking the children for a bike ride, going leisure shopping, playing sport, were all practices that in some cases were planned but had no specified location within designated time frames. In such cases, the practice was simply inserted into the sequence of other practices according to opportune moments, often being explained in terms such as ‘I expected to take her swimming and Saturday mornings are usually a good time but if I hadn’t got all my jobs done I would have left it and taken her Sunday... but then I would have had to take her Sunday otherwise we’d never have gone’ (Deborah). Third were a range of practices that can be best described as ‘time fillers’. Watching television, listening to the radio, reading books, were all practices that had a tendency to be ‘slotted into’ schedules when the sequence of practices left ‘voids’ within parts of the day

Characterising the temporal organisation of the day is a useful way of framing how practices were ordered within time, and for moving analytic focus away from the distribution and measurement of time between different daily practices towards an account which considers the inter-relationship between practices. However, the danger with such an approach is that it treats social actors as homogenous, failing to account for how social groups might differentially engage, and experience, time. The organisation of practices within the day is subject to two sets of constraints. First, personal constraints related to the socio-demographic, cultural and economic characteristics of respondents. Second, constraints related to cultural orientations toward how practices are engaged, both in terms of preferences for different practices and how those practices should be experienced in time.

Constraints and orientations toward the allocation of practices in time

There are many socio-demographic factors that effect and constrain how practices are allocated within the day. The most significant were: gender; age and life-course; and, cultural capital. It is important to note that all interviewees were white UK nationals and consequently the analysis provides no insight into ethnicity. Moreover, because analysis focused on non-work practices, the impacts of the temporal organisation of paid work (such as whether respondents worked fixed or flexible hours) could not be analysed systematically.

Gender

As Table 1 demonstrates, five of the women interviewed were mothers of young children and four mothers of older dependant children, four were living as married, three worked full-time, three part-time and six were not currently in paid work. Of the 16 women interviewed, 6 did not have a dependant or non-dependant child, all of whom worked full time.

Table 2. Socio-economic and demographic characteristics of respondents.

	Name	Age range	Socio-economic status	Education ¹⁷	Part or Full time paid work	Living as married	No. of children aged 0-6	No. of children aged 7-16	Adult children
1	Elizabeth	41–45	i	C	F	N	0	0	0
2	Bob	51–55	i	A	F	Y	0	0	2
	Mary	51–55	v	0	P	Y	0	0	2
3	Sarah	41–45	ii	A	F	N	0	2	0
4	Bradley	31–35	i	B	F	Y	1	0	0
	Cindy	31–35	vi	A	N/A	Y	1	0	0
5	Michael	26–30	i	B	F	Y	0	0	0
	Louise	21–25	ii	A	F	Y	0	0	0
6	Fiona	36–40	i	B	F	N	0	0	0
7	Audrey	41–45	i	B	P	N	0	1	0
8	Sam	36–40	i	A	F	N	0	0	0
9	Ron	61–65	vii	0	N/A	Y	0	0	3
	Anne	55–59	vi	0	P	Y	0	0	3
10	Kevin	41–45	vii	A	N/A	Y	0	0	0
11	Suzanne	31–35	iiin	A	F	Y	0	0	0
12	Joanne	21–25	iv	A	P	N	1	0	0
13	Deborah	26–30	vi	0	N/A	Y	2	0	0
14	Steven	41–45	i	B	F	N	1	1	0
15	Mike	36–40	iiin	0	F	Y	1	0	0
	Charlotte	31–35	iiin	A	P	Y	1	0	0
16	James	36–30	iiim	0	F	N	0	0	0
17	Arthur	51–55	iv	B	P	Y	0	1	3
	Angela	46–50	i	B	F	Y	0	1	3
18	Kathryn	36–40	iiin	B	F	N	0	0	0
19	Robert	31–35	iiim	A	F	N	1	0	0
20	Mark	36–40	ii	B	F	Y	1	1	0
	Amanda	31–35	vi	B	F	Y	1	1	0

¹⁷ Educational qualifications are divided as follows: A refers to a postgraduate qualification; B refers to a University Degree; C refers to 'A' levels or equivalents and vocational qualifications (post 16 education).

Consistent with previous studies, it was around the domestic division of labour that the most striking gender differences were apparent. Those women with children stood out from men and women without children (of any age) and, to a lesser extent, men who had children. In line with Thompson's (1996) study of how mothers lead 'juggling life-styles', women held primary responsibility for the care of young children, for the organisation of child-care, schooling, servicing friendships and attendance at clubs and other activities. The distinction between being working or not in the paid economy was, however, less striking. Deborah, a mother of two and not in paid employment stated that:

'lots of things are planned for me if you like, like all the things the kids do, you know, everything fits around them... once Chloe is at nursery I get some time to myself but then its like I haven't got enough time to do anything... I can read a magazine which is nice and get some jobs done but I can't go shopping 'cause there isn't the time'.

Charlotte, a working mum, narrated the same constraints of having 'empty' time despite her otherwise hectic life:

'I pick Beth up from my Mum's about three and Mike finishes early on a Friday and even if all the housework is done and Mike takes her to McDonald's so that I can have a bath or whatever I know they'll be back soon so I can't really take my time or anything. It's about grabbing the opportunities but even when you do you know you have to grab it quickly because they'll be something you have to do after like cook the tea or even going out'.

Charlotte and Deborah typified how mothers' daily practices were oriented around a range of fixed points which strongly influenced the sequence, tempo and duration of non-work practices.

This point is reinforced when contrasted with men. Without question, fathers narrated a whole host of constraints related to children. However, their narratives placed less emphasis on responsibility for the organisation of children's daily schedules. Take for example Mark, the father of two children and married to Amanda who also worked full time. They discussed an occasion where, on the day that he usually finishes work early and collects the children from school, both the children went to play at friends homes:

Mark – 'I knew I'd finish work normal time and the kids were out and Mand said she'd pick them up on the way home from work so I thought "great" and met up with a couple of old friends who also finish early on Fridays and went for a few pints'.

Amanda – 'Yeah and I got in and had to dash around, bath the kids and that because you never got back 'till gone six when you said you'd get back and get everything ready for when I got in with the kids. If that was me, I would've got back so the kids didn't have to hang 'round waiting for a bath and then be late for bed'.

This is not to argue that fathers do not care for their children. As Amanda quickly qualified 'Mark is very hands on when it comes to the kids'. Rather, it

suggests that the personal schedules and temporal organisation of children's lives were constantly on the minds of their mothers and as a result the fixed points that sequenced the practices of children had a stronger bearing on mother's temporal rhythms of daily life.

It was also interesting to note that women with adult children also described how the presence of those children impacted on their daily rhythms. Anne explained how:

'the kids usually come over on a Sunday for lunch and that so my entire Sunday is taken up by that really. Obviously I get to read the papers in the morning and watch the tele on the night but a great chunk is cooking, getting things ready and waiting for them all to arrive'.

Ron's response captured the point: 'It's just like the old days, only I get to sit here, read the papers at my leisure and watch the box instead of having to entertain the kiddos or mend their bikes'.

Gendered constraints relate to senses and degrees of obligation to children and family. Fathers did not narrate the same degree of primary obligation as did mothers. For example, fathers, especially those with non-dependant children, did not describe activities centred around children as being key coordinating or fixed points in the daily schedule to the same extent as did mothers. Of course, they 'dropped everything' (Arthur) to escort their son or daughter by car to a friend's home, but they did not anticipate and plan for that occasion and thus schedule the anticipated duration of other practices into a sequence primarily dictated by their children (women did not 'drop everything' because they had already anticipated the activity).

Age and life course

Age was important in relation to the range of practices engaged in. While the average number of non-work activities engaged in during the previous week and weekend day for the sample as a whole was 5.3, those aged above 51 averaged only 4. Indeed, those aged between 41 and 50 engaged in the most number of practices, averaging 6.8. This was because these respondents had older, often teenage, and relatively independent children and thus had more opportunity to engage in personal practices than those with young children, but also continued to engage in a range of practices with dependant children.

Age and life-course was therefore important when considered in terms of range and type of practices conducted. Those with young children, regardless of gender, engaged in a range of practices that were variously described as family or quality time. This involved playing with children, taking them places and spending time together as a family. As discussed elsewhere (see Southerton 2003) such moments of family togetherness (Daly, 1996; 2001) required a significant degree of coordination between the personal schedules of each household member and synchronisation with other practices. Sarah's account of the planning required for a

day out swimming and then visiting an adventure park, discussed in the previous section, serves as a good example.

Cultural capital

Cultural capital is a metaphoric concept employed by Bourdieu (1984) to capture the constraints and social advantages conferred on individuals by their cultural knowledge and demeanour. It has three conceptual forms: an embodied form of enduring cultural dispositions; an objectified form in terms of cultural goods; and an institutionalised form as expressed by educational qualifications (Skeggs, 2003). The impact of cultural capital on temporal rhythms relates to its embodied form that effects orientations toward practices.¹⁸ Four orientations were revealed from interview analysis: variety and specialisation; personal commitment to the practice; practices as time or task orientated; and, favouring routine or spontaneity.

Variety and specialisation

Variety of practices represent a relatively straightforward set of implications for the ordering of daily rhythms. The concept of omnivorousness (Petersen and Kern, 1996), which refers to preferences for a variety of cultural activities that draw from a diverse range of cultural genres (such as high and low brow tastes), captures the orientations of some of the high cultural capital respondents. Steven discussed how he indulged his passion for gastronomy alongside activities such as playing computer games, watching high and low brow television programmes, watching football, rugby, tennis and athletics on television or live at the event, and being an active member of the local running club. For him, it was impossible to fit in all of his cultural interests and consequently the days he described were characterised by ‘flitting from one thing to the next... [I] just have to see what’s going on, see what other things I have to do and try and fit it all together’.

While Steven was the only respondent who overtly described omnivorous tendencies, other high cultural capital respondents implied that they found switching between practices of different genres challenging, largely because ‘I have one set of friends for some things and another for other things, so that’s a lot of people to keep happy... I can’t get them altogether because they wouldn’t get on, they’re into different things’ (Fiona). Having a range of practices with different networks for each also meant that respondents moved through a variety of contexts which were often spatially dispersed, thus adding to the complexities of coordinating with other people and synchronising related practices. Managing a multiplexity of network ties (having different friends for different practices) and cultural contexts was mentioned by all respondents with high cultural capital to varying extents but implied by no low cultural capital respondent.

¹⁸ Respondents’ volumes of cultural capital were measured according to educational qualifications and occupational status. For example, high cultural capital was interpreted as possessing a University degree or higher and having a professional and managerial occupation.

Those with high cultural capital also tended to have an orientation toward cultural experimentation and novelty, as opposed to custom (Warde 1997), and actively sought out new experiences. One of the implications of an orientation toward experimentation was that the importance of trying new cultural practices loomed large in the daily lives of those with high cultural capital. Elizabeth explained that 'I feel guilty if I sit down and watch the TV on my day off because I think there are so many things I could do that I haven't done yet'. Steven, Bradley, Fiona, Amanda, Audrey and Arthur echoed this concern.

Those with low cultural capital favoured custom and preferred familiar cultural practices, such as eating traditional foods at conventional times. These respondents often had long term interests in specific cultural activities, such as Ron who had a passion for motor racing and growing vegetables, 'and that's about it really'. He had no desire to deviate and grow herbs nor watch a different sport on a Sunday afternoon. This offered a degree of predictability to schedules and the accurate anticipation of the duration of practices, and meant others around him also had a good sense of where he would be and what he was doing, making coordination of practices with him relatively unproblematic. The familiarity of customary practices favoured by many, although not all, low cultural capital respondents meant that practices were often submerged in temporal routines. This had the effect of reducing anxiety about 'fitting' practices into time, about coordinating with networks and about moving between cultural contexts. High and low cultural capital respondents might share similar rhythms of the day but those rhythms were experienced differently because of different modes of engaging in practices.

Degree of commitment to practices

Commitment to any given practice is not directly an outcome of cultural capital; the enthusiast of gardening is not necessarily the possessor of high or low cultural capital. However, some practices lent themselves more to commitment than others, sport, the arts and food being good examples. And ways of engaging in different types of practices is related to volumes of cultural capital. There are also different modes of committed. The enthusiast takes many forms, from someone commitment to frequent participation to those who engage in an activity for the purpose of self-actualisation, which Lamont (1992) describes as the continuous pursuit of self-improvement within a particular activity.

Elizabeth and Bob provided examples of self-actualisation in relation to sporting activities. Elizabeth described how 'I like the technical side of the game [golf], so I am constantly refining my swing, looking for tips and then when my handicap improves I feel like I've achieved something'. Bob used travelling to work as part of his cycling training routine:

'I don't cycle the most direct route, because I still compete cycling wise. So I use the ride in the morning and the ride home to put extra miles on the journey. But if I cycle straight in its 3.23 miles and my personal best is eight minutes 48 seconds, but it usually takes me about ten minutes 30 seconds'.

Steven discussed a commitment to acquiring knowledge about food, 'I love reading about it, cooking, different produce, it's all important to me'. Angela and Fiona presented similar narratives of gardening.

While those with low cultural capital did express commitment to practices through the regularity of engagement, they described the pleasures gained as being based mainly in participation. Contrast Elizabeth's orientation to golf with Mike's: 'it's just a laugh, a chance for a few of us to get together really'. Frequently exercising at the gym was a practice enjoyed by low and high cultural capital respondents and has an element of self-actualisation attached, most went in order to improve health and fitness. Cindy, Sarah, Ron and Anne all discussed following the same routine, not being 'overly concerned' (Anne) about improving performance and approaching the practice as 'nothing too serious' (Sarah). Again, this contrasted with the only high cultural capital respondent to use the gym with any regularity and she explained how 'I guess I'm competitive even with myself but I am disappointed if I'm not progressing'.

The consequence of a high degree of personal commitment is that it fixes a practice within a daily schedule. Having high or low cultural capital itself is not related to degree of commitment but it does affect type of practices and mode of engagement. For the respondents of this research, those with high cultural capital engaged more extensively in practices that either required or were more amenable to high degrees of commitment, resulting in more 'fixed' non-work practices within the days they recounted once practices which required high degrees of coordination with others had been accounted for.

Practices as time vs. task oriented

In his famous study of work practices, Thompson (1967) outlines the difference between task (the activity lasts for the duration it takes to complete the task) and time (the duration of activities determined by the allocation of minutes or hours) oriented activities (see also O'Malley, 1992). In this analysis, whether a practice was task or time oriented depended, first, on the type of practice and, second, on the status of inter-related practices allocated within any given day. For example, some practices were culturally defined as task-orientated, such as practices described as constituting 'family time'. In other words, those practices that involved coordination with others and which were thus relatively fixed within sequences of practices tended to be task oriented, while those that 'filled' empty time were time oriented.

Time or task oriented is again the property of different types of practices and their 'status' within the temporal context of a day. However, and partly because of their particular form of personal commitment to practices, those with high cultural capital appeared to engage in practices in a way that made them more susceptible to task-orientation. Continuing the example of golf, Elizabeth explained how 'I don't, if you like, book time out, I just turn up about 10, find a playing partner and I finish when I finish'. Mike had a different story, 'sometimes we cut out a few holes... it's a good laugh but four hours is about enough, if we're running out of time we stop early so that we can have a swift half at the 19th hole'. Time or task

oriented was a consequence of different modes of engagement and demonstrates how cultural orientations impact on how practices are experienced within time.

Routine vs. spontaneity

The final cultural orientation that influenced how respondents approached the allocation of practices relates to the valuing of routine or spontaneity. Broadly speaking, high cultural capital respondents deliberately attempted to create temporal spaces in which the potential for spontaneity was increased. This involved tactics like juggling many tasks to leave a Sunday afternoon empty of practices in the hope that one's partner might: 'surprise me, you know, take me shopping or to the cinema' (Louise). Amanda described how 'I don't like things to become too routine, it's nice when things happen unexpectedly, like a friend phoning and saying "let's go out for a drink tonight", it's those sort of occasions that always seem most fun'.

Low cultural capital respondents were generally inclined to maintain routines and clear boundaries between practices. For example, Mary insisted on a clear boundary between the work of preparing dinner, eating and washing dishes and her evening of non-work practices. She also went to great lengths to eat at the same time each day and frowned upon unexpected interruptions to her leisure: 'to my mind when you get home is when you come home, it's our time and I take a very dim view of it being interrupted... it just means our evening is messed-up'. Mary was one of seven low cultural capital respondents to explicitly narrate the personal need for preserving routines and viewing spontaneity as disruption.

Conclusions

The day is the context of the allocation of composite practices. Some activities were 'fixed' within the sequence of practices, others were more malleable and their allocation could be shifted within the sequence of inter-related practices, the remainder were arbitrarily located in 'empty' parts of the day. Practices that tended to be fixed were those that involved: the social involvement of others where a degree of coordination and arrangement was required in order for the practice to be conducted satisfactorily; a high degree of 'obligation' to others; and, significant degrees of personal commitment. Temporally 'fixed' practices also tended to have a relatively long duration within the context of a day and often had the characteristic of being task, rather than time oriented. Practices that were malleable or arbitrarily located within the sequence of practices were allocated in relation to those that were fixed.

While the structure of the typical day followed the same component form for all respondents, how practices were allocated and the experience of those practices differed according to a range of social constraints. Household composition (single, living as a couple, having dependant children) presented different challenges when it came to allocating practices within the temporal rhythm of the day. Parents narrated how children's activities took priority, acting as fixed points which limited

the range of practices in which they could engage. Mothers found themselves as primarily responsible for the organisation of children's schedules and as a result the allocation of child-related practices which impacted on the sequence, tempo and duration of non-work practices more so than it did for fathers. Gender, age and life-course therefore represent sets of constraints shape both the rhythm of practices within daily life and how those practices are experienced.

Volume of cultural capital which, by definition is closely related to social class, was influential with respect to the range of, and modes of engagement in, practices. Those with high cultural capital expressed a preference for engaging a variety of practices often with the objective of 'self-actualisation'. This had the effect of generating more 'fixed' practices either because personal commitment increased the 'status' of the practice in relation to other practices sequenced within the day or because engaging in a variety of different practices often led to a multiplexity of networks making arrangement and coordination with others crucial to the activity. By contrast, those with low cultural capital tended to favour 'customary' practices which were conducted with regularity and varying degrees of commitment. Consequently, the sequence of practices within the days recounted contained relatively fewer fixed practices.

The advantage of considering how social practices map onto Fine's five dimensions of time is that it allows for the analysis of: the inter-relationship between different practices; how practices are sequenced to produce the temporal rhythms of daily life; and, when taken together with varieties of social constraints, the nuances of temporal experience. In this study, the temporal rhythms of respondents' daily lives indicate a degree of uniformity in terms of the structure or broad organisation of practices in time, and social differentiation of how those practices are engaged and experienced. It demonstrates the tension between how respondents' exercised degrees of 'control' over their personal schedule, and also their limited autonomy in the allocation of practices within the day (obligations to others and the requirements of co-ordination being good examples).

A focus on temporal rhythms within the context of a culturally accepted time frame (in this case the day) also emphasises the relationship between consumption and the temporal structure of the day. On the one hand, the temporal structure of the day configures opportunities for consumption because it provides the context into which practices that require consumption are allocated. In this respect, thinking of consumption in relation to the volume of available 'clock time' is misleading. Time is critical to consumption but more so because it orders the contexts in which practices can occur than because of 'amounts' of time that people can devote to consuming. On the other hand, different social groups engage in practices according to a variety of cultural orientations which impact on how practices are allocated within the rhythms of daily life and how those practices are experienced. In sum, analysis of the social organisation of temporal rhythms offers a fresh approach to understanding time, whether applied to issues like consumption or to other substantive issues such as paid and unpaid work, gender, family or the impact of technology of daily life.

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Manufacturing leisure

Innovations in happiness, well-being and fun



Photo: Petteri Repo.

Part II

CONTENTS – PART II

SLEEP: LEISURE PLEASURE MANUFACTURED IN THE MARKET	103
Anu Valtonen	
HOURS WHICH DO NOT COUNT; A REVIEW OF CONSUMER REPRESENTATIONS IN THE LEISURE AND CULTURE INDUSTRIES.....	117
Mikko Jalas	
PORTABLE PLEASURES: MOBILE LIFESTYLES WITH PORTABLE ELECTRONICS.....	134
Heike Weber	
PRODUCING EXTREME EXPERIENCE AND OUTDOOR LIFESTYLE: A CASE OF A WRISTOP COMPUTER.....	160
Tanja Kotro	

Sleep: leisure pleasure manufactured in the market

Anu Valtonen

Introduction

Sleep is an event we continually prepare for and rehearse, schedule and organize, as part and parcel of our normal everyday lives. Throughout the course of Western culture and history, sleep has been fundamental to any given society, permeating its institutions, spatio-temporal arrangements and the capacities of its embodied agents. It has also been part of the symbolic machinery through which people construct their worldviews and identities. All this has just been silenced in the prevailing story of our social history as Williams (2003) remarks. Therefore, one third of the story is missing.

This silence concerns social research as well. In previous studies, sleep, to the degree it is considered at all, is primarily seen as a biological, psychological or psychoanalytical matter (Williams, 2003). In the field of economic and cultural studies, including leisure studies, sleep tends to be comprehended as a mere “necessity” that falls in between and is subordinate to the realms of work and free, and is therefore considered an insignificant research topic.

Some recent studies suggest, however, that for contemporary people sleeping does not appear as a mere necessity; rather, it is seen as an important leisure pleasure. Both Taylor (1993) and Valtonen (2004) remark in their studies that when people were asked what they like to do with their weekends or vacations many people cited sleeping as a desirable – or even most desirable – pastime. “Sleep, sleep, sleep, it’s so lovely”, one respondent pointed out. Sleeping may be used as a sign of good free time, and also to define free time. This is actually quite understandable: sleeping offers an escape route from the conscious demands of society and hence provides a symbolic realm of freedom (Valtonen, 2004).

The dominant stream of leisure research, however, has paid hardly any attention to the phenomenon of sleep. Instead, it has concentrated on addressing the wide range of leisure activities conducted during waking hours. Also in time-use statistics free time is defined in a way that excludes sleep at the very outset: free time is the amount of time that is left over when sleeping, eating and other personal needs, paid work, studying, and homework are taken away (Niemi & Pääkkönen, 2001, p. 8). Therefore, there is a considerable gap of knowledge in our understanding of contemporary leisure pursuits.

This study sets out to fill this gap by addressing sleeping as a leisure pleasure. It considers sleeping as a socio-cultural phenomenon paying particular attention to the prevailing sleep culture that guides and constrains questions when, where and how to sleep. Moreover, the study considers sleeping as an activity. Drawing on the distinction suggested by Taylor (1993) between the passive nature of “being” asleep, and the more dynamic activity of “doing” sleep, this study focuses on the latter one. It means, simply put, that sleep is not seen as any passive event but as one that is done through a vast range of practices, such as bedtime practices.

From this perspective, then, our notions of “good sleep” – that is, what kind of sleep is understood as a pleasure – are culturally determined, as are as the ways in which this “good sleep” is to be done.

According to our prevailing Western sleep culture, as reproduced for instance in how-to-sleep books, “good sleep” seems to equal eight hours of nocturnal sleep without disturbance, after which one wakes up refreshed (Heller, 2001). Importantly, this very aim of good sleep seems to be threatened in the current fast-paced society. A number of studies report of increasing sleep problems, sleep disorders, sleep debt, sleep deprivation, and daytime drowsiness (Corin, 1996; Kroll-Smith 2003). The emergence of morally loaded media discussions (e.g. “children sleep too little”), sleep websites on the Internet (e.g. www.sleepfoundation.org), and a variety of other bodies and organizations devoted to or interested in sleep disorders and deprivation also represent signs of this same phenomenon (in Finland, for instance, www.uniliitto.fi, Uniliitto is an organization for people with sleep disorders). Sleeping well may, actually, be just a wish.

How, then, do people cope with in this sort of problematized situation? What do people do in order to be able to enjoy the pleasures of sleeping? They turn to the market. Sleeping has always required instrumental and material assistance of various sorts, including mats, coverings and beds as prior studies illustrate. There are societies that have nothing to sleep on except the floor. There are people with mats and people without, there are populations which lie very close together in a ring to sleep, round a fire. There is the use of coverings, some sleep covered and uncovered, there is the hammock (see e.g. Ekirch, 2003; Wright, 1962).

This material assistance is of particular significance in the affluent Western world. The contemporary market offers a wide range of different types of beds, pillows and covers, nightwear, bedroom decorations and a whole range of other sleep-related products and services from guidebooks to sleeping pills and sleep courses or relaxing CDs. Sleep has become a consumption matter as Williams and Boden (2004) point out. Actually, an entire sleep industry has developed around dormant bodies. The market is not new, but there seems to be a newly accentuated range of offerings, which may be seen as a reflection of the problematized notion of sleep. Sleeping is a pleasure, but not an evident one.

In other words, just like any other leisure activity (cf. Nordic walking in this book), also sleeping requires a bundle of commodities and services through which it is practiced. Therefore, although at first thought one may consider sleeping a “free” pleasure, this is hardly true. Just like there are courses for tennis, there are courses for sleep; just like there are special socks for tennis, there are special socks for sleeping; both have special spaces to practice this activity, and there are specialists to be consulted for both if problems are encountered, etc. However, unlike playing tennis, one cannot quit sleeping. In this sense, sleeping is also a necessity: a necessary pleasure to be practiced throughout one’s life. This necessary pleasure is the focus of this study.

Aim of the Research and the Data

This study aims to bring to the fore the idea of sleep as a leisure pleasure, and to draw attention to the multiple ways in which this pleasure is commodified. In understanding sleep pleasures one has to elaborate them against the prevailing sleep culture that frames what

is seen as pleasurable sleep. The methodological question is, then, how to get insight into the sleep culture? One source is to rely on previous literature on sleep, as it is done here.

Secondly, as widely established, the market – in its various forms – constitutes a key space where culture is reproduced, mediated and shaped (e.g. Appadurai, 1986, 1990; Kroll-Smith, 2003; Pantzar, 2003; Penaloza, 2000, 2001). This concerns sleep culture as well. Various marketing forms, how-to sleep books, media texts and advertisements – cultural texts – play a key role in mediating and reproducing a certain sort of sleep culture and hence shaping the ways in which we understand and practice the silent world of sleep.

Various forms of popular culture are, therefore, important public fragments of sleep culture. These texts also make visible the sleep industry – the market offerings and the rhetorics used in them. This study takes a look at a set of cultural material concerning sleeping that were gathered in Finland during 2003–2004 and consist of:

- print advertisements and brochures of beds (Unikulma, Bodyform, Familan, IKEA, Hästens...)
- magazine articles dealing with sleeping and/or with beds and bedroom decorations (e.g. “Nyt nukkumaan” “Unten maille”, *Yhteishyvä* 1/2004, “Hyvää unta etsimässä” *ET-lehti* 11/2003; ”14 x hyvä sänky” *MeNaiset* 2/2004; “Uni tulee, 6 askeleen ohjelma” *Hyvä Terveys* 4/2004; ”Irti unettomuudesta: testissä neljä eri hoitoa”, *Anna* 15–16/2004; ”Näin pääset eroon painajaisista” *MeNaiset* 14/2004; ”Uneton Suomessa” *Suomen kuvalehti* 50/2003)
- media discussions on sleeping problems (e.g. “School children sleep too little”, YLE A-Studio program debating on sleep)
- how-to books on sleep (Heller, B. L.: ”How to sleep soundly tonight”)
- websites (e.g. www.sleepnet.com, www.uniliitto.fi)

Leaning on this sort of textual data does not aim to deny the role of more “traditional” acculturation process: one adopts sleep culture in families, for instance. Rather, it aims to acknowledge that in today’s society the institutional arrangements organizing and regulating people’s lives are increasingly mediated by ways of knowing inscribed in cultural texts such as the popular media and advertising (e.g. Appadurai, 1996; Dotter, 2002; Hirschman, Scott & Wells 1998; Kroll-Smith, 1993). They play a crucial role in informing and shaping people’s thinking about themselves and others and so encourage people to fashion their worlds in particular ways. This means that when people are faced with decisions, questions and dilemmas with sleep, they tend to turn to magazines, books, newspapers, newsletters, and the Internet to acquire new perspectives, facts, explanations, and prescriptions for acting. In so doing they also engage in defining contemporary standards for good sleep.

A good example of this phenomenon is the study by Steve Kroll-Smith (2003), who highlights the increasing significance of popular culture in the creation of medical troubles such as excessive daytime sleepiness. He discusses how popular media fashion stories of illnesses, and how a growing number of people are self-diagnosing with this novel sleep disorder. In the same vein, standards and practices for adequate sleep are reproduced in and through popular media and advertising. Through the meanings they attach to sleep and the practices they represent, they may also re-describe sleeping and thus give a qualitatively different picture of it. Marketers may be active in producing and shaping sleep cultures, and therefore, acquire a culturally productive role in relation to consumers. They also may shape

the way people routinely see, think and behave towards sleeping. This all signifies that sleep culture and sleep industry meet in the market and reproduce each other in a dialectical manner. The culturally constituted world of sleep is a joint production of marketers and consumers (cf. Penaloza,2000).

Interaction of sleep culture and sleep industry

This chapter aims to open up the complexity of sleep culture. It makes visible the various sorts of cultural meanings, symbolisms and patterns related to sleeping. It also discusses the multiple ways in which this culture is mediated and reproduced in the market. In doing so the chapter illustrates the ways in which sleep culture interacts with the sleep industry in a dialectical manner. The chapter starts by discussing the symbolism of sleep, and then it turns to discuss sleep patterns. These discussions pave the way for a more thorough understanding of the special kind of pleasure that we are talking about; the pleasurable dimension is the focus of the last section of this section.

Symbolism of sleep

Sleep is present in many everyday sayings, myths, and stories through which we make sense of the world (Jetsu, 2001; Taylor, 1993; Turunen, 2002; Tedlock, 1987; Williams 2002, 2003, 2004). The discourse of dormancy is, actually, present throughout our life course. One of the first questions posed to parents of a newborn baby is “how does the baby sleep?”, and at the end of the life course, s/he is hoped to “rest in peace”. This section briefly illustrates some key symbolisms related to sleeping – sleep and death, health, sex and identity – and the ways in which commercial aspects are related to them.

Sleep and death. The strong symbolic association between death and sleeping - “the big sleep” – can be traced throughout the Western world (Turunen, 2002; Williams, 2003). This association points towards the particular meanings related to sleep: it represents a dark and liminal side of life, something dangerous and mysterious, a little daily death.

This mysterious side of sleep has been mediated and reproduced in many ways in arts and literature. It also has been seized upon, marketed and sold by the leisure and entertainment industries. Think of, for instance, Disney’s version of the story “Sleeping Beauty”, which is sold throughout the Western world as books, movies and DVDs. Interestingly, this mysterious side of sleep seems to be silenced in other contemporary market forms related to sleeping, in bed adverts, for instance. This is quite understandable knowing that death is such a taboo in our society.

Sleep and health. Historically, sleep has been believed to carry a range of health benefits (Williams, 2002, 2003). The notion of sleep as nature’s cure is illustrated, for instance, in the way we are supposed to be in beds when we are ill. Today, this “sleep equals health” - discourse seems to lean heavily on medical and scientific expertise: sleep specialists make claims about the potential of sleep for human health. According to them, it is the proper amount of sound sleep that is the most essential for the well-being of humans.

Furthermore, in the contemporary discourse sleep is often related to the mental health. Sleep is essential not only for your physical but also mental health. Frequently, sleep is mentioned to be the “cheapest form of stress relief” (though, one may question how cheap it is to sleep ...), and psychologists consider sleep patterns as an indicator of mental health or illness. If one, for instance, wakes up too early in the morning and cannot fall asleep anymore, it is interpreted as a sign of depression.

This relation between sleep and health seems to be the one that is heavily replicated and enhanced by bed manufacturers (see e.g. www.unikulma.fi). This contemporary bed manufacturer promotes beds through health claims: the bed increases blood circulation; reduces reflux and snoring; provides 35% more of sound sleep and helps to achieve that state 18 minutes faster than normal beds. This all is accomplished through medical expertise and technological innovations. Beds seem to be represented, actually, as some sort of individual health care centers, rather than spaces to sleep.

Sleep and sex. The symbolic relation between sex and sleeping is a strong one. The phrase “they are sleeping together” suggests a sexual relation. This symbolic relation also suggests that couples *should* sleep together, in the same bed. It is interpreted as a sign of good relations. The director of the (American) Family Relations Institute has said in the 1960s: “This movement towards twin beds must stop. It was started by furniture dealers who make twice as much money selling two beds instead of one. The change from a double bed to twin beds is often the prelude to a divorce” (Wright, 1962: 335). Also today, this idealized and naturalized tradition of having one bed for the dual purpose of sex and sleep may be a source of family disputes. Hislop and Arber (2003) remark in their study that some women believe that better sleep and greater harmony can be achieved by having separate rooms without jeopardizing the quality of their relationship. Relocation of beds is not, however, that easy, since it may be interpreted as a sign of an unhappy relationship, or even as a sign of future divorce.

Bed manufacturers seem to enhance this relation of sleep and sex. Advertising material presents pictures of happy couples in bed, and the advertising for Hästens beds shows a picture of baby with a headline “Made in Hästens”. More and more beds are also designed in a way that enables (heterosexual) couples to sleep together despite their bodily differences. Special cushioning technique makes it possible to take into account that male and female bodies are different: “for the male body, the cushioning of Bodyform-bed is softened under the shoulders” and “often, the female middle body requires a firmer cushioning” (www.unikulma.fi).

Sleep and identity. The discourse of dormancy is also present in the ways in which we construct our identities. The duration of sleep, for instance, is an important part of contemporary image management. It is not rare to read heroic stories about successful and ingenious people who sleep only a few hours a day. Edison, for instance, claimed to need only for four or five hours of sleep a day (Corin, 1996, p. 3–4). Interestingly, in today’s culture, there is also a counter-trend that does not consider sleep as a bad habit or as a worthless timeout period. On the contrary, long sleep may become an important part of a work contract. Williams (2002, p.190) refers to recent Hollywood news: “...they’re not talking million-dollars fees. They’re talking hours of sleep. Penelope Cruz, the latest celebrity sleeper, recently boasted about a 12-hours-a-night-habit, and several of her Hollywood colleagues are

said to demand that sleep, or at least no early-morning calls, be written in their contracts.... What was once considered slothful is now the ultimate performance enhancer.”

This relation with sleep and successful identity is replicated in the popular media in various ways. Bed advertisers make claims that after a good night’s sleep “one is fresh for the following day’s challenges at work”, and cosmetic advertisements and woman’s magazines emphasize the benefits of sleep for a beautiful appearance. The market also provides a range of night-time skin care products that enable one to benefit of the notion of “beauty sleeps” or to disguise the traces of sleepless nights. Magazines may also explicitly emphasize the importance of sleep to the successful career: “Career women need more sleep” (Gloria magazine 2003).

All these sorts of meanings (and presumably many others) are hence present in the phenomenon of sleep, and the ways in which they are represented in various cultural texts, partly shape, enhance, and fashion the ways in which people understand and practice sleep and present themselves as certain sorts of sleepers.

Sleep patterns

But what are our sleep patterns like? How, when, and where to sleep? In his classic article on techniques of body Marcel Mauss reminds us that all sorts of different ways of sleeping – *techniques of sleep* as he puts it – are in fact practiced around the world ([1934] 1974, p. 80–81). In the Western world, the typical body posture is to stretch out horizontally in order to sleep, and all the beds and mattresses tend to be designed so that we may stretch out in a horizontal position. Yet, the Masai are accustomed to sleep on their feet, and Mauss himself recounts how war taught him to sleep on horseback. The sleep patterns do show considerable socio-cultural variability. They also are closely connected to the surrounding economic trends and values. The doctrine “time is money”, for instance, may threaten particular traditional sleep patterns such as mid-day napping (Steger & Brunt, 2003).

Where to sleep? In today’s Western culture sleeping is organized in beds and bedrooms. This organization is, actually, a relatively new phenomenon (for a historical review see e.g. Wright, 1962), and relates to the overall individualization process in and through which sleep has been civilized. According to Elias (1992), in the Middle Ages, sleep was a relatively public undifferentiated matter. People might sleep any where at any time, and the physical space within which sleep occurred was frequently shared with others. Gradually, sleep became increasingly privatized.

Today, the bedroom has become one of the most private and intimate areas of human life. In this sense, sleeping takes place behind the scenes of social life. In our prevailing understanding, and in how-to-sleep books in particular, the bedroom tends to be idealized as a silent place for rest and peace. The books guide people to organize the bedroom so that it promotes good sleep, for instance through lighting, furniture design, decorating and the quality of bedding (Heller, 2001). Also articles in magazines emphasize the importance of a silent and peaceful bedroom. Yet, as Hislop and Arber (2003) point out, the bedroom may well become a battleground in which partners engage in a power struggle for sleeping rights (e.g., who turns the light off and at what time), and also an invisible workplace. Gender inequalities are manifest in this context as well.

The dormant expertise tends to represent beds as privatized ones and restricts their usage for the dual purpose of sleeping and sex. Reflecting on everyday life, however, one may start to wonder what actually takes place in beds? Children play, people work with their laptops, eat, chat on mobile phones, play with pets etc. etc. Also in bed advertisements beds may be represented as places where families spend time together socializing or eating, where children have good time, where one may enjoy massages and watch television. Also in several technology advertisements, mobile devices are illustrated as being used in beds.

Moreover, the emergence of specific spaces designed for napping in the middle of urban environment is a recent and interesting phenomenon. A company called Metro Naps (www.metronaps.com) has set up a nap station in the Empire State Building. They rent sleeping pods in 20 minute increments; prices start at \$14.00 for a daily pass. In Japan there are many places which rent coffin-like sleep slots by the hour. It is surprising, actually, that there are not sleeping stations set up in other public places, such as shopping centers where shoppers could take a 15 minute nap during an intensive shopping spree.

When to sleep? In the prevailing Western sleep culture sleep and waking are more or less attuned to the natural rhythms of day and night, lightness and darkness. However, the advent of Edison's electric light bulb has fundamentally altered these natural harmonies – for better or for worse – and made it possible for people to work continuously through the night hours (Corin, 1996). The present-day life seems to be based on a 24-hour lifestyle, and the relation between night and sleep has become questioned. The night has been colonized, to use Nowotny's (1994) expression; shops, cafes, or gas stations may be open all day long, people work in shifts, or study during the night. The market, therefore, offers many possibilities to break the prevailing idea of nocturnal sleep.

How to sleep? Our prevailing sleep pattern seems to be based on the concept of total sleep. The eight-hour monophasic nocturnal sleep doctrine seems to have been naturalized as *the* sleep model. A reflection on everyday life shows, obviously, more variation. People organize a sleep pattern that makes sense in their life situation, and they sleep not just in beds at night, but also takes naps while commuting, or in boring seminars for instance. Sleeping during daytime relates often to so called liminal states – when one is liberated from the prescribed statuses of home and work – such as buses, airplanes, trains or sofas. There are also cultures that favor daytime napping (siesta cultures, see also Steger and Brunt 2003 for Asian sleep cultures). Interestingly, some workplaces have also launched the opportunity to take powernaps during workdays. This is often argued for through efficiency claims: one is more productive after napping.

Besides, Ekirch (2003) reminds us that the sleep culture of eight hours of continuous sleep has not always been the prevailing model in European history. His analysis highlights a fragmented sleep pattern: nocturnal sleep used to have two phases, first and second sleep, and in between people woke up, socialized, and discussed their dreams.

No matter when and where sleeping takes place, there seems to be a relatively strong culturally patterned role for the sleeper: a sleeping person enjoys cultural respect. This respect has historical roots that derive from the belief that when sleeping the soul left the body; if one woke up a person, there would be no soul (Turunen, 2002). This respect becomes visible in the contemporary home context, for instance, as others try to keep quiet if some family member is sleeping. Yet a study by Hislop and Arber (2003) show well how this comprehension of the role of sleeper is gendered – women's sleep is more easily disturbed.

On the whole, the overall economic context and attendant values as well as many commodified inventions (e.g., the electric light bulb and the Internet) have played a significant role in determining and shaping cultural sleep patterns. The obligations inscribed into the 24h society, for instance, may prevent people from practicing the sleep pattern they would prefer (e.g., due to the obligatory night shifts), but it also provides a range of possibilities to pursue if one does not want to follow the nocturnal eight hour pattern. The market also provides a range of products that enable one to adapt to the conditions of the 24h society: blinders and ear plugs for instance.

The pleasures of sleep

Hence, our daily necessity, sleep, clearly bears the imprints of society and culture. In today's society sleep seems to have become a leisure pleasure that seems to be, however, threatened. Accordingly, people turn to the market not only in trying to promote good sleep but also to alleviate sleeping problems. This section elaborates on these themes.

Pleasurable sleep. In a recent study on free time (Valtonen, 2004) one female respondent working in an advertising agency says: "I'm the kind of person who enjoys sleeping, sleeping is my hobby, quite often I sleep some 18 hours, that's just fantastic. It is some sort of freedom". The ability to sleep as long as one wants is frequently mentioned as an important source of enjoyment. Long and undisturbed sleep is often said to be the best part of free time, even a necessary requirement for it. It was actually used to define free time. One teenager, for instance, defined his free time in the following way: free time means that you don't have to wake up, you can sleep as long as you want.

This kind of freedom – not letting the clock-time determine how long to sleep – becomes understandable when we think how the contemporary life tends to be largely determined by clock-time (Adam, 1990, 1995; Nowotny, 1994). However, when one wakes up, very often, the very first thing to do is to take a look at the clock. Why do we so desperately need to know what time it is? Because by doing so, we rejoin the order, the society from which we have been out. This simple performative practice of taking a look at the clock reveals the crucial role clock-time occupies in the current society. It is a kind of master symbol of the social order. As Elias points out: "one looks at the clock and finds out that it is now such and such a time, not only for me but for the whole of the society to which I belong" (Elias, 1992, p.15).

Let us dig deeper into the liberating realm of sleep. In Western history, waking and sleeping have been constructed thoroughly differently (Jetsu, 2001; Tedlock, 1987). Waking represents the continuous, real, true, and rational world – all values cherished in modern Western history – while sleeping the unreal, discontinuous fantasy world, the peculiar world. As Turunen points out:

Night and sleep are in contrast to mundane labor, they constitute another world, in which our imagination starts to create the most extraordinary figures (Turunen 2002, p.17).

In stepping into the world of sleep, we enter into the opposite kind of world, into the world of dreams (Tedlock, 1987). Therefore, actually, sleeping represents a realm that frees one from the whole rational, systematic, and logical world we live in and by while awake.

Sleeping represents *another world*, a symbolic realm of freedom. If we think that “being free”, as we are led to understand, refers to time “free from constraints of all sorts” this is realized best in sleep. Then, we are free from the whole rational way of being and thinking. Then, we are able to enter a world where everything is possible: we can transgress boundaries we otherwise cannot, go beyond timelines and space lines, have powers we otherwise would not have. In particular, sleep constitutes an own world, a private realm where others do not have access. It is truly individual time, “me-time”, and importantly, without the need to manage even one’s own time. In sleep the will is given away. It is, actually, in the world of sleep and dreams that the whole ideology of freedom comes true.

Yet the pleasures of sleep seem to be threatened. Sleep disorders are reported frequently, and some authors talk about sleep-deprived society. Studies do show that there is a trend toward shorter sleep. Corin (1996. p. 250), for instance, reports a study at an American university that shows that young adults were sleeping around 2 hours less per night than their counterparts who were tested 80 years ago. In the ten years from 1978 to 1988 average daily sleep length for university students dropped nearly a half hour, from about 7 hours and 18 minutes to 6 hours and 52 minutes. This trend is commonly said to reflect the “time is money” doctrine: in an efficiency-oriented society people try to create more time by reducing sleep. Continuous sleep deprivation has been reported to be a major risk for the health (Schade, 2003), and many current problems or accidents, it is argued, have to do with too little sleep (Corin, 1996).

Pleasure marketed. Recently, many sorts of companies and organizations seem to have reacted to this newly accentuated, if not new, sleep phenomenon. The pleasures of sleep are repeated in various marketing forms. The furniture company, IKEA, for instance, advertises beds and bedroom decorations with a headline “sleeping is lovely”.

In marketing the key material assistance for sleeping, the bed, manufacturers also emphasize the pleasurable dimension. The bed advertisements show pleasurable body postures and signs of enjoyment. Contemporary motorized beds also offer extra services: a possibility to take a massage, for instance. Moreover, contemporary beds not only promote good sleep but may also actively prevent sleep disorders (www.unikulma.fi). Bodyform, for instance, is marketed as an active bed: “when your sleep, your bed guides your sleep”. The specific cushion works actively in line with the body postures, and in doing so it prevents unnecessary waking during sleep, which is a reflection of an anticipated sleep disorder.

The market is actually full of various sorts of sleep-related products that help to enjoy sleep or prevent sleep disorders. On the Internet there is sleepnet.com’s “sleep mall” for the tired shopper that provides “all your sleep needs”. Mention should also be made of a range of off-the-shelf books and self-help guides designed to educate the public to sleep well and soundly. Books such as “How to Sleep Soundly Tonight” teach us how to practice and enjoy bedtime, and their overall style comes close to a cookbook. These kinds of books also illustrate the wide range of products that relate to bedtime practices – what products and practices are found proper for falling asleep (reading, tea, hot milk, showers...) or for waking up (coffee, juices...). In doing so, they emphasize that also a pleasurable waking up constitutes a key dimension of “a good night’s sleep”.

In particular, media consumption seems to closely relate to the border lines of sleeping and waking (Valtonen, 2004). It seems to be a common practice to watch television or read books

before going to sleep, and in waking, in turn, to read newspapers or listen to radio (cf. Raijas in this book).

In the market, there are also special sleep courses available, not only for babies, but also for adults. The Neuro (Foundation for Epilepsy) in Helsinki, for instance, provides a sleep day at a price of 70 €. In the same vein, a Finnish spa, Ruissalon kylpylä, that has established a particular “sleep-center” offers three-day sleep courses. Courses include experts’ advice on managing sleeping problems and guidance on sleeping well.

This particular example illustrates how traditional companies providing sleep services, such as hotels and spas, have gone further with the offerings: they do not only provide comfortable beds but also additional sleep services. The hotel chain, Crowne Plaza, offers a good example of this trend. The hotel has designed a special “Sleep Advantage Program” that is designed to help their customers to sleep better. The hotel advertises: “We recognize the importance of getting a great night’s sleep when you travel. That is why we have developed the Crowne Plaza Sleep Advantage program with the help of sleep expert, [Dr. Michael Breus](#), Ph.D. of Sound Sleep, LLC. Our program is a holistic approach to sleep that includes the following features: comfortable new beds, guaranteed wake-up calls, quiet zone floors, sleep amenities, and sleep CD and relaxation tips.”

As the ad suggests, the program is targeted to people suffering from “sleep deprivation”. It also illustrates one key dimension in contemporary sleep management: the emergence of sleep specialists. Many sleep-related products seem to base their arguments on various forms of medical and technical expertise. As Fairclough points out, the media are full of expert advice (2001, p. 3), or perhaps, more realistically, messages embedded in the rhetorics of expertise. Therefore, also in the context of sleeping, new species of authority – “sleep professionals” – are exercised through popular magazines, newspapers, radio, and the WWW. They are all likely sources of knowledge in the identification and management of proper sleep (Kroll-Smith, 2003).

The emergence of sleep disorders and deprivation leads us to consider the other side of the coin, namely, the business related to keeping people awake. Contemporary people are reported to experience excessive daytime sleepiness (Kroll-Smith, 2003). To cope with that problem, they turn to the market that provides a vast number of products, methods and medications that serve to stay awake, caffeine being one example.

On the whole, hence, a good night’s sleep is a pleasure that seem to be threatened in today’s society. People try to either promote good sleep or prevent sleeping, and so to alleviate sleeping problems, through a wide range of market offerings.

Sleeping in statistics

We have discussed the cultural, symbolic and commercial aspects of sleeping, and concluded that there is at least some sort of increase in interest in sleeping matters. Let us turn to briefly consider the issue from statistical point of view. Do statistics indicate any change in sleeping patterns or sleeping matters? Is there any country-specific differences? Although it is somewhat difficult to find data that is directly concerned with sleeping, time use surveys and worklife surveys provide some information.

The recent European Time Use Survey (Eurostat, 2004) shows that across the ten countries covered by the survey, and for both sexes, the largest part of the day was taken up by sleep, generally a little more than 8 hours per day. This amount includes sleep during night or daytime, waiting for sleep, naps, as well as passive lying in bed because of sickness. The sleeping rhythm seems to be somewhat similar across countries covered and across sexes. On weekdays, most people are awake by 7 am and go to sleep by 11 pm. Yet, of the countries examined, Hungarians and Slovenians wake up earlier and go to bed earlier than others, while Norwegians go to sleep later than the rest. Sleeping during daytime is most common in France, Hungary and Germany. Daytime naps are usually taken between 1 and 3 pm.

Drawing on the Finnish studies, two interesting changes can be identified. One concerns the rise of sleeping problems, and the other some minor change in sleeping patterns. Both the recent survey on quality of worklife conducted by Statistics of Finland (Lehto & Sutela, 2004) and the study on occupational health conducted by Finnish Institution of Occupational Health (Härmä & Sallinen, 2004) indicate that sleeping problems are on the increase in Finland. At the European level, this seems to a problem that particularly concerns Finland, or Nordic countries. The study of the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (www.eurofound.eu.int), suggests that sleeping problems are more common in Finland and Sweden than in the other European countries covered (Do you suffer from sleeping problems: Yes, Finland 13.9%, Sweden 16.3%, average 7.9%). Moreover, as the chart below shows this rise of sleeping problems is gendered. At least in Finland, it seems to concern above all women.

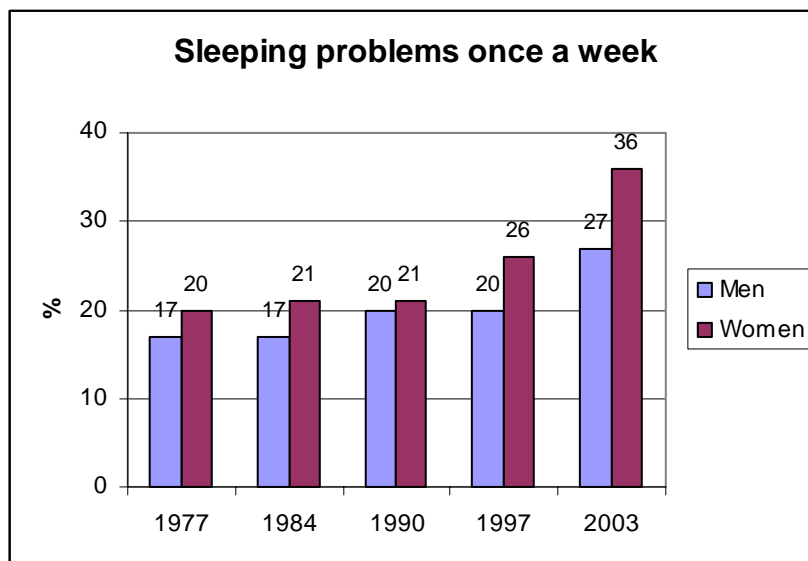


Chart 1. Sleeping problems once a week. Source Quality of Worklife Surveys, Statistics of Finland, (Lehto & Sutela, 2004).

What comes to sleeping patterns, Finnish time use surveys show some change. There can be seen an overall trend towards later sleeping rhythm. We go to bed later than 20 years ago. Then, there also is a trend of polarization in amount of sleeping between weekdays and weekends: “sleeping over 11 hours on weekends has become more popular” (Niemi & Pääkkönen 2001, p.10).

Conclusions

This study has taken up the theme of sleep. The major aim has been to bring to the fore the topic of sleep in the context of commercialized leisure activities, and so to call for more attention to this neglected phenomenon. To accomplish this aim it has drawn up on existing literature on sleep and on cultural material such as sleep websites, advertisements and how-to books on sleep.

In doing so it has highlighted that the hours of daily sleep are by no means uneventful, passive, monotonous, or without significance. On the contrary, on closer examination, our everyday life is filled with a vast set of sleep management practices that are targeted either to the promotion or prevention of sleep. They all bear the imprint of society and culture, and become commercialized in various unthinking ways. In fact, the entire sleep industry has developed around dormant bodies supplying us with everything from nightwear and medical aides to luxury beds and a range of sleep services. This industry as well as the complex sleep culture of our times requires future examination.

To conclude it may be apt to speculate a bit whether there is any area or dimension related to sleeping that would *not* be commercialized? An easy answer would be, perhaps, dreams, but a more through reflection shows that we may actually keep consuming while sleeping. The theme of consuming in daydreams has been discussed earlier (e.g. Campbell, 1987), but how about consuming in dreams at night? Do we go shopping in our dreams? Do we have nightmares about losing wallets and credit cards? Do we enjoy ourselves or feel anxious when buying something in our dreams? Do we use ICTs in our dreams? Do we drive cars or motorcycles, a BMW or a Harley Davidson? This would be quite logical, since dreams and stories about dreams are culturally constructed and conditioned, not just reflectors of a personal state of mind (Jetsu, 2001, p. 227; Tedlock, 1987), and in the current consumer society, many of our shared symbols are commercial.

In this article, we have here discussed the idea of sleeping as a leisure pleasure mostly from the market(ing) perspective, but the idea is important on the societal level as well. If sleeping were counted as a leisure activity, equal to sports for instance, this would call for enhancing conditions for a good sleep, as conditions for sporting are currently enhanced. This means, for instance, that policy makers should pay attention – and allocate money – for promoting silence: to good soundproofing of buildings, or solutions aiming at reducing traffic noise. Namely, studies that have examined conditions when noise is found an annoyance have reported that “in the evening or during the night, annoyance by noise is most significant” (Schade, 2003, p. 279). Currently, the implicit and explicit rules in apartment houses, for instance, do take the question of silence account: there are regulations to avoid noise during nights. However, the question of silence may already be taken account in the very planning phase of housing buildings as well as in urban planning more generally. Good sleep and silence go together.

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Hours which do not count; a review of consumer representations in the leisure and culture industries¹⁹

Mikko Jalas

Introduction

Consumption is a term which fares well in consumer societies. Society is increasingly conceptualised in terms of consumption and its background (or foreground) production. However, the distinction between consumption and production is problematic. If we accept that the distinction is arbitrary, a further questions follow: how is the prevailing dichotomy established and reproduced in practice? Consumer research has pointed out that the functions and meanings of what has come to be understood as consumption are complex and contested. This broader understanding of consumption has brought about notions of consumption that emphasise the less-utilitarian or subjective aspects of consumption. It is claimed that market commodities increasingly stage human life rather than serve a specific and shared function or purpose (Firat and Dholakia, 1998). Yet, at the same time, it seems that society is increasingly conceptualised in economic and utilitarian terms. The changing application of the word consumption has brought the dichotomy between consumption and production close to the one made between culture and economy. As the versatile and playful acts of consumption contest and decode the meanings of products, they constitute particular cultures. It is these broad and questioned dichotomies that frame this paper.

The debate refers to a range of fundamental changes in the relations between consumption and production and between culture and economy. Consumers are thus claimed to have gained over producers in terms of the authority over the meaning of consumption (Abercrombie, 1994). Post-modern consumers are voyaging towards sovereignty. Similarly, a cultural turn in the economy is articulated as manifesting a shift in the ways markets operate and value is created (Pine and Gilmore, 1999). However, such generalizations are also questioned. Du Gay and Pryke (2002) claim that the dichotomy between culture and economy is unfounded. Rather, they argue that culture and economy are contingent and intertwined. Producers are increasingly faced with uncertainty in terms of how their products are received, but, on the other hand, markets also frequently commodify cultures. Thus the border of the economic and the cultural exists, but only as context-specific; generalizations concerning the universal nature of their relationship are unwarranted. Law (2002) claims in the same volume that economics are performed rather than existing apart from human and non-human agents. The same idea can be found in the work by Slater (2002), in which he claims that economic activities are framed by culturally-oriented work such as marketing.

¹⁹ An earlier version of the paper has been presented at the 17th Nordic conference on business studies in Reykjavik 14th–16th of August 2003.

This paper focuses on the role of the management and marketing literature in establishing a particular relation between producers and consumers in the leisure industries. The literature that is reviewed is thus thought to participate in the making or framing of the economic in these areas. The leisure industries do not constitute a definite sphere of economic activity. However, such a vague topic definition for the analysis is motivated by the descriptives that this area identifies itself with; in the leisure industries products serve, by definition, less-utilitarian purposes. From the consumer point of view, leisure involves a deliberate contesting of accepted meanings and normality (Rojek, 2000). Thus, the strong affective components of products and services pose serious management challenges (Lampel et al., 2000; Price et al., 1995). The particular management literature is thus reviewed with an inherent contradiction in mind; on the one hand managing requires an instrumental and teleological representation of the product, but, on the other hand, such a representation is bound to be flawed and contested by the users. Essentially, I ask how the inherent incompatibility between the desire and need to manage and the non-manageable nature of leisure and culture industries is represented in the specific management literature? Furthermore, if we assume that economics are indeed performed, what are the ways in which this takes place in the management literature of the leisure industries.

The paper introduces analytical concepts from few pieces of the literature dealing with culture-economy distinction. It also utilises the sociologically oriented writings by consumption and leisure researchers. Thus, within the context of this paper, the boarder debates on the relationship between culture and economy, consumption and production, or symbolic and material economics (Allen, 2002) feed into concepts such as authority, managerialism and codification. These concepts are then used in the analysis at hand. However, these concepts as such are virtually non-existent in the practitioner oriented management literature. Thus, the paper engages in an effort to 'translate' critical conceptualisations into the vocabulary of the practitioners. It is in words such as customer satisfaction, quality, convenience and competition that the interesting and inherent contradiction of the sector is embedded.

The following text develops a few management-oriented questions, which are then posed to the selected management literature. The questions cover a large area of management interests and cannot be treated systematically in a single paper. Rather, their purpose has been to serve as an orientation in the reading of the management texts.

Questions about the leisure industry and leisure services

Do the management texts identify themselves with leisure?

There is no straightforward definition of the commercial activity that is involved in the leisure pursuits of private persons. When looked at from the point of view of time-use statistics, leisure is characterised as an opposite to work and commitment – it is the part of free time that is not used in housework. In this literature leisure is about freedom of choice in terms of activities. From the point of view of economic statistics, leisure is about as discretionary spending. In terms of industry classification, leisure activities involve property development

and management, manufacturing of various leisure equipment and the service sectors such as hospitality, tourism, entertainment as well as cultural and sports services. Thus, it seems that both companies and individuals have freedom in terms of whether or not to associate a particular activity with the term leisure. Such positioning is also relevant in terms of the writers of the management literature. The first question relating to the practitioner-oriented literature is thus the mere use of the word leisure.

What is the assigned role of the customer/consumer and the level of integration with the provider organization?

The practitioner-oriented literature on leisure is of course vast and diverse. Thus, further focusing is needed both for practical reasons as well as for the purpose of deriving apt and meaningful operationalisations. The focus of this paper is on the leisure services. Although the distinction between manufacturing and services is by necessity arbitrary, some distinctions can be made. From the point of view of this paper, the most important aspect of services is the simultaneity of production and consumption. Many services entail by definition a customer contact, which makes services context-specific in terms of their management. As customers are deeply involved in the situated production of the service, also they need to be managed (Bowen and Ford, 2002). Along these lines, it has been suggested that customers can be conceptualised from the point of view of the service providers as resources, as co-producers, as buyers, as users and as products (Lengnick-Hall, 1996). However, these roles vary in terms of the autonomy and interconnectedness of the two parties involved in the relationship.

What is the relationship between the tangible and the intangible attributes of the service?

The design and marketing of tangible products of course touches upon the realm of subjective consumption and the meanings of physical products are subject to a constant struggle between producers and consumers. However, such contesting of the meanings takes place at a distance. Intangible services are, on the contrary, physically and temporally shared by the producers and consumers. Thus the management efforts that are directed at service operations or their intangible outcomes inevitably also involve consumers in a deep and detailed manner. As was claimed earlier, within leisure such intimate and contingent relationships between producers or providers and the consumers are inherently problematic.

In what ways are individuals represented in terms of effort, learning and reflexivity within their specific leisure pursuits?

In an attempt towards further distinctions within leisure services, leisure studies themselves prove useful. Stebbins (1992, 1997) has introduced the terms serious and casual leisure. In the former the participants are reflexive; they are motivated to develop skills, to learn and progress. This serious attitude and commitment also creates tensions in everyday life. Serious leisure challenges work and family life as a source of meaning (Gillespie et al. 2002). Casual leisure, on the other hand, is a bystander. It is hedonistic in the sense of being directed at immediate pleasure. Stebbins' distinction between serious and casual leisure has been

criticised as lacking empirical basis and for normatively imputing purposeful and constructive leisure pursuits (Rojek, 2000). However, it does seem to echo reality as well. Some leisure pursuits constitute long-lasting hobbies and lead to cognitive processes and reasoning, while others are mere means for passing time. Furthermore, even if the distinction is clearly problematic from the point of view of individual participants, it may inform some management strategies of service companies in within leisure services. As such it is also a useful distinction for the present task. For example, sports services may well be addressed as serious leisure in which participants are occupied with learning and goal-directed efforts to exercise. However, it seems equally possible to produce a hedonistic account of such services. One approach to the management texts is, thus, to focus on their understanding of the role of effort, reflexivity and learning among consumers engaged in the activity.

Despite the rather arbitrary definition of what counts as leisure, this paper has adopted a point of view that leisure constitutes an area of social life which is increasingly important in terms of business, but at the same time due to its very nature contradictory in terms of management and co-operation between producers and consumers. As naive as it may appear, the decisive element of freedom and choice that is associated with leisure seems to frame an interesting and relevant area of investigation.

Management of leisure services: making consumers and performing economics

In conjunction with the theme of leisure, this paper has identified itself with the extensive literature on how economic activity is framed. Within economics the simplest framing is that of preferences. They are exogenous to the economic activity. The producers respond to the stable preferences of consumers. However, this is of course an assumption that is farfetched in terms of everyday life. Companies innovate and engage in the marketing and promotion of goods and services. On the one hand, they rely on culturally embedded descriptions of consumption and consumer needs and, on the other hand, they codify products and establish markets by describing users, relations and contexts of use (Slater, 2002). In the language of economists, preferences may be considered endogenous (Bowles, 1998).

Codification and struggle over meanings should not be understood merely as an uncertainty of whether and how products are accepted and used by the consumers. The discussion on the framing of economic activities can be problematized at a more individual level. There are feelings and meanings central to human life, which can not easily be reduced to an economic calculus. We love, lust and hate, fall short and prosper. We balance between pleasurable anxiety and plain comfort (Scitovsky, 1976). Leisure as an area of life may be particularly apt for non-economic social relations and difficult to describe and understand in economic terms. As Rojek (2000) claims, in the sphere of leisure we derive meanings from deliberately objecting to the reasoning of the economically organised sphere of production.

Despite the complexity and diversity of reasoning in the sphere of leisure, the relations seem, in principle, malleable to an economic representation as the Nobel-prize winner Gary Becker has shown in the field of home economics. Preferences never fail to explain activity, because they are revealed by activity! Formal representations of human reasoning are always possible, but not necessarily apt. John Law provides a fresh view on economics. According to

Law, economics and the relations that are thought of as primarily as economic do not exist as natural phenomena. Rather, they are created and performed constantly. Thus, the sometimes-amusing and sometimes-informative economic phrasing of everyday life is not a passive and innocent academic exercise as it may produce a biased view of human activity and rule out alternative ways of reasoning.

The management literature deploys a similar kind of linguistic representation of human activity; activity is represented as understandable and coherent. Abercrombie (1994) claims that the representations of producers are by necessity instrumentally biased, which echoes well the claim of Law about constructing markets. The similar claims can also be found in the service management literature: Shostack (1982) indeed normatively maintains that managers (personnel) in the service industry should commit to a certain description of a service, to select a rationality and act upon it when seeking quality improvements of their services. Even in the case of subjectively valued cultural services such as theatre plays, one can always blueprint processes and try to locate components of quality. It becomes relevant to ask, for example, what is the contribution of the personnel, physical environment, aural qualities et cetera – the so-called ‘servicescape’ (Bitner, 1992) – in the overall satisfaction with the service. Thus, while there may be an element of inherent subjectivity in leisure and culture experiences, it is possible to approach any activity by seeking to normalise and manage it in the same way as it is possible to phrase any human activity in economic terms. Intrinsic meanings, affective relations and expressive consumption are cornered by the rationalising management. Hence, the management literature may consider some fundamental aspects of consumption as unmanageable, but nevertheless seek to minimise their impacts through its rationalising take on human activity.

However, the influences flow both ways. In consumption sociology, products are described as consisting of material properties as well as symbolic aspects. While the material properties are more or less unquestioned, the research has emphasised the ongoing struggle over the meanings of goods (Firat and Dholakia, 1998). Thus, management (in leisure service industries) cannot be simply thought of as a deconstruction of the meanings that are inherent in the services and experiences. Rather, culture and economy remain on the scene; human life is not becoming free of economic considerations as some post-modern theorists have claimed, but the opposite is no more true (du Gay and Pryke, 2002). From the point of view of the current paper, the two spheres of economy and culture may be contradictory or contingent in nature, but their co-existence creates a tension within the management literature. This paper follows the argument made by Law (2002) and claims that the management literature actively participates in transforming relations into economic ones when addressing such issues as quality and convenience.

Clues and units of management

The previous text approached economics and management on a very broad level presenting fractions of an old story of economics and household management as opposed to meaningful life. However, the themes can be taken on up a more concrete level. If we take seriously the claim that economic thinking is not natural, but human made, how is it that this comes about and what is the role of the management literature?

Companies in the field of leisure services operate in a competitive environment. Hence, they seek opportunities to improve the efficiency of their operations and the quality of their products. Efficiency and quality are concepts that can be used in many different meanings, but from the point of view of this paper, one possible simplistic interpretation is as follows. Efficiency improvements are directed at internal operations. They seek to find efficient ways to produce the desired outcome – a service, for example. Quality, on the other hand is, oriented towards the *output* of the operation (Sureshchandar et al. 2001). Quality is about understanding, meeting and anticipating customer needs. Quality management thus expands organisational borders towards the customers. Indeed, the literature of relationship marketing, for example, contrasts ongoing, mutual co-operation with the traditional view of market transactions between sellers and buyers. Quality management thus also questions the ways the output is useful for the consumers and implicitly seeks to deconstruct utility into measurable and manageable product qualities. It aims to reveal the costs and inconveniences as well as the benefits, reasons and innovation potential associated with the acquisition and use of products and services (Wikström, 1996).

There may be several reasons why such management and managerialism is not obvious to us. Firstly, there is of course a normative point that the economic actors are legitimate insofar as they appear neutral and the authority over consumption resides with consumers. Hence, commercial actors may want to understate the ways in which the everyday life of consumers is subjected to management. The management of everyday life may also reside in the mundane decisions that relate to products. Product development, marketing, pricing, special offers and customer service are such self-evident parts of our social reality that we may overlook their arbitrary nature. Hence, sincere and open-minded questions towards the management texts seem appropriate:

How is price and pricing addressed in these texts? What are the frames of cost-benefit analysis? What are the sources of revenues? Why do people spend money in these texts?

What is the essence of the service, who is the user and what are the competing services?

Is it possible to measure the quality of the service?

What are quality attributes?

What types of innovations are conceivable?

Quality can be further decomposed. While quality is about meeting customer expectations, it is also about the services being useful in solving problems the customer has. Especially in the area of leisure, however, benefits from services are not only related to problem solving. Services can be inherently beneficial, pleasure-giving, interesting, challenging, amusing or fun. On the other hand, acquiring a service or participating in an event implies costs in the multiple dimensions of money, time, timing and effort (Berry and Seiders, 2002).

This paper attempts to include an analysis of time perception as a seamless part and an outcome of notions of the usefulness and quality of products. Two distinctions are used to disentangle the temporal notions within the analysed literature: the first distinction delves into the value of time and time as a commodity or scarce resource. The second and related distinction concerns the way time is experienced: whether as an objective measure or a subjective experience.

The distinction between instrumental usefulness and intrinsic value in leisure activities is a matter of time also in a different meaning. Attention needs to be drawn to the time horizon that is being applied; activities appear to have intrinsic value when they are observed as such within a short time horizon. However, when the time horizon is expanded, activities get a more instrumental label as many intrinsic activities can also be conceived as contributing towards such long-term goals (Vallacher and Wegner, 1987). Thus, a longer time horizon – similar to an emphasis on the cognitive side and learning aspects of activities – emphasises a more instrumental view of leisure services and activities. The notion of time, then raises the following questions:

Is time a cost-factor?

Is the consumption or service time thought to be experienced as objective linear time or as subjective time in which personal perceptions of time vary individually?

How are consumers represented in terms of their time horizon?

The identified, relevant topics cover a vast area within management discipline, which cannot be treated systematically in the analysis. However, the purpose of previous discussion has rather been to raise sensitivity towards the different ways that the text may participate in the performance of the economic and manageable nature of human activity. Decision-making, quality perception and means-ends – chains are all context specific. Even concerning one single individual, the goal or the time horizon that an activity is identified with, depends on the situation. This is precisely what makes them interesting and the management (literature) so potent in configuring relations of economic nature.

Leisure in the management literature

Reading leisure management

The focus of this review is on practitioner-oriented management journals. The focus is partly due to the notion of performed economics: this is the literature that is most likely to influence the way companies perceive their customers, the users of their services and the participants of the organised events and experiences.²⁰ The following service management and marketing journals have been included and scanned on the level of the titles and abstracts of the papers published in the years 1995–2003.

Journal name	ISSN
International journal of service industry management	0956-4233
Journal of retailing and consumer services	0969-6989
Journal of service research	1094-6705
Journal of services marketing	0887-6045
Managing service quality	0960-4529
Service industries journal	0264-2069

²⁰ Throughout the paper I have had difficulties with selecting among the words customer, user and participant and respectively among service, encounter, event and experience. It seems that they are partly mutually exclusive.

These journal abstracts were searched using the words *leisure, tourism, recreation and hospitality*. All together 77 articles matched. In addition, more academic marketing journals, namely *Journal of Marketing* and *European Journal of Marketing*, were reviewed for the similar themes more cursorily.

The previous text introduced a number of attributes of management that are essential and controversial in managing the provision of leisure services. These aspects of management are outward-oriented. They address customer satisfaction and put forward teleological assumptions of consumer activity. The introduced questions form the frame of the analysis. They have oriented the scanning of relevant articles and the more detailed reading of the selected articles. However, the results are presented within a more limited number of headings. The first two sections deal with the rhetoric of the management texts. The second two address the quality management practices that are used and advocated by the researchers. The last two of the headings deal with hedonistic and intrinsically motivated action and the possible managerial and methodological solutions of such 'dead-end situations'.

Parallels to manufacturing

One of the salient characteristic of the reviewed literature is that it attempts to draw parallels towards other services and even tangible goods. This applies especially to the more general literature dealing with the management and marketing of services. If services are not analysed as if they were goods, the particular and limited ways in which they differ from goods nevertheless receive extensive interest. One of the outcomes is that the management practices that have been used or proposed within manufacturing are on trial also in the service sector (Shostack, 1982; Sureshchandar et al, 2001).

One example of such parallels can be found within relationship marketing (Wikström 1996). This management fad, which emphasises long-term and mutually beneficial relationships between organizations is being conceptually tested within the consumer markets. One of the identified implications of applying the concept of relationship-marketing within consumer services is that consumption can be regarded as a production process that creates value for the individual or for the family. Instrumentality and reflection are coupled with innovation and learning in the text of Wikström; "learning presupposes reflection, resulting in new ways of acting according to the insight gained by reflection."

While writers such as Wikström are critical towards a straightforward application of business-to-business concepts on consumer markets, the text is in any case an attempt to represent consumption in instrumental, production-oriented terms. Furthermore, even if the academic writers are careful and sceptical against undue parallels between business-to-business and the consumer markets, it does not follow that practitioners are. O'Malley and Tynan (2000) argue that, in practice, marketers have been too uncritical in the appropriation of the relational language. Such mediating role of the coinage of new terms and experiments with production-oriented representations may thus be one source of instrumentally biased consumer representations in business and one avenue of performing economics of leisure.

Instrumental vocabulary

The vocabulary has other sources than the direct parallels between consumer and business-to-business markets. Another, related source is the language of economics. For example, when Lengnick-Hall and her colleagues (2000) report on a study of a YMCA organization, they do mention that the organization has members and other participants, but quickly change over to discuss them as customers. This is in fact striking in their article, which on the outset aims to consider the consumer point of view. They study ‘a human service organization’, which aims at ‘human change’ – learning, improved physical health etc. There is a normative tone in the article towards listening to the voice of the consumers. They write, for example, that “the results present clear evidence that customers can influence the outcomes they experience”. However, the authors do not extend the scheme towards the intrinsic values of participating in sports activities. Rather, for them it becomes relevant to consider “the link between the time and breath of participation in service (i.e., *service investment*) and perceptions of personal benefits” (emphasis added). The notion of membership and participation is thus reduced to a rational investment decision. Even though the paper does return to interpret investment as spending time and participating, the formal language is rationalising. Thus, Lengnick-Hall and her colleagues hypothesise that “there is a positive relationship between the level of service investment and the perceived level of beneficial outcomes achieved”. The rationalising scenery, or should one say plateau, that the writers paint is first drafted when they define that human *change* is the primary deliverable in a human service system. It is the possibility of learning and change that powers instrumental representations. However, what counts as this kind human service system? It is disputable of whether or not to include sports activities within such an instrumentally biased description. Hence, economic relations are established where alternatives exist.

There are, of course, many examples of such vocabulary. Szmigin and Carrigan (2001) have studied the innovativeness of the elderly within tourism services. What appears is, again, a rationalising view in which management is possible. Consumers, when making new innovations, are seeking improvement. Change and learning are the norms. They write:

“Schiffman and Sherman [1991] refer to the cognitively young ... as the ‘new age elderly’, they have more self-confidence, are willing to accept change and personal challenges, indeed probably actively seek new experiences. They are described as more likely to try new products, switch brands and generally be more venturesome than older people in general. Such people may be the most likely purchasers of new products and services and as such should be an appropriate segment for many companies to target.” (Szmigin and Carrigan, 2001)

“Hirschman [1980] suggested that, without innovativeness, consumer behaviour would be no more than a series of routinised buying responses to a static state of products.” (Szmigin and Carrigan, 2001)

Management and marketing (literature) are dependent on change, and thus a stagnating market is associated with decay. Innovation is promoted as a norm for consumption. However, it is not obvious that consumers are reflective and innovative by nature when engaging in such leisure services as tourism. Rather, innovation may be the by-product of management and quality improvement efforts, which rely on a deconstruction of utility and

usefulness, that is, on a particular description of the means-ends structure of action in everyday life.

Shostack (1982) makes parallels between service design and engineering language. Service blueprinting, which refers to a management- and marketing-oriented description of the service, deploys the methods of time/motion engineering, Pert-charting and software design. Obviously, such methods put forward ideas of goal-oriented processes.

The notions of time as such are few in the reviewed literature. Time is mainly treated through the concept of convenience (Berry and Seiders 2002, Brown 1990). When time and the value of time during the service encounter is not particularly problematized, it is addressed in economic terms; it is a scarce resource that is invested with care (Fache, 2000; Lengnick-Hall et al., 2000). Even when discussing the intrinsic value of service time (so-called time-investment services) Berry and Seiders (2002) bluntly state that “Most services, however, are timecost services rather than time-investment services”.

Finally, leisure as a word seems poorly fitted with the economic representations that are present in the analysed literature. Mostly consumer services are about convenience; if the notion convenience is not applicable to all activities, then these activities are labelled as pleasure-seeking and hedonistic, emphasising the individual over the collective notion of the word leisure (Berry and Seiders, 2002).

Research and deconstruction; quality attributes

Many of the central questions of this paper pivot around service quality. Quality is a user-oriented term, which emphasises a consumer point of view on the interaction between producers and consumers. Thus quality improvement efforts presuppose knowledge of customer needs and quality attributes.

If a service can not be completely and objectively dimensioned at the outset, how can it be adequately compared to other services, or intelligently planned or effectively changed or controlled. (Shostack, 1982)

Organizations should not guess or go with their premonitions about the customer wants and expectations, but should try to harmonise customer expectations and the management perceptions of it by asking customers directly (about their quality perceptions, satisfaction, values, etc.) through surveys, focus groups and so on, and effectively use such quality data to improve the service quality and customer service. (Sureshchandar et al., 2001)

The factors of customer satisfaction are at the centre of the marketing profession. On a very simplistic level, this work includes survey research and quantitative analyses of an existing or targeted customer segment and further market segmentation based on the obtained results. Furthermore, the quality attributes, which resonate with the ‘overall quality’ are distilled from a given range of possibilities; the SERVQUAL model of Parasuraman et al. (1985, 1988) seems to be a popular point of departure within the study of leisure services (Thwaites, 1999). The original model distinguished five quality dimensions; reliability, responsiveness, assurance, empathy and tangibles. The model has been iterated by the original writers as well as by many others seeking for specific applications within leisure services (Johns and Tyas, 1997; Wong Ooi Mei et al., 1999; Thwaites, 1999). The notion of servicescape (Bitner, 1992) is a further deconstruction of quality, which focuses on the surrounding of the core service or

experience. The servicescape concept is used to isolate a series of manageable components out of the subjective core of the service. Designing services and evaluating their quality thus implies inquiries that deconstruct service experiences and establish rationalities as well as means-ends chains. While this general claim seems acceptable, it is also obvious that the various research methods have different implications in the terms of performing economics.

The SERVQUAL model and related quantitative research has been criticised for not being able to capture the perceived quality attributes. Thus, more detailed research is needed – preferably in-depth, open-ended interviews and associated interaction between researchers and their subjects in order to help consumers to articulate what they mean by quality (Johns and Tyas, 1997). At this point at the latest, it seems obvious that the research activity into the quality perception of the users of leisure services is an agent of reflexivity. Consequently, and based on the connections between learning, reflexivity and innovations, one might also suggest that consumer research is an agent of instrumentality because it deconstructs experiences and meanings.

Kelly and Storey (2000) claim that innovation and screening for new service development is not an adequately systematized practice and propose a normative classification of firms in terms of service development. There are ‘Prospectors’, ‘Analysers’, ‘Defenders’ and ‘Reactors’. For example, Falce (2000) describes a *procedure* to use when seeking for new innovative service design. Focus-group interviews are used to locate real customers needs and possibilities for service innovation. If we accept that preferences are partly socially negotiated, the focus-group interview seems like a prime example of such social constructions. While discussing, the participants exchange ideas of the meanings of the service. The providers record the conversations and design alternations that reflect the commonly shared opinions about the meanings (Falce, 2000).

Apart from the deconstruction of the service encounter and servicescape, the research has also addressed the temporal aspects of quality. Gallouj & Weinstein (1997) suggest that service managers should distinguish between the direct or immediate experiences, the actual delivery of the service and the indirect and subsequent results. Temporal deconstruction can also be used in managing the delivery process. Holiday services, for example, may be decomposed into a sequence of encounters. Thus, the management literature refers to techniques such service blueprinting (Shostack, 1982), service mapping and sequential service processes (Chadee and Mattsson, 1996, for criticism of the approach see Gyimothy, 2000)

Methods: close to the nose

There is another phenomenon in the literature, which is related to research, knowledge creation and deconstruction. It touches also upon the difficulties that service users have in expressing their notions and perceptions of quality. The leisure management researchers produce close-up images of the experiences of the users of the services. Thus, O’Neill et al. (2000), for example, document the experiences of scuba divers just before and immediately after a dive. They argue the following:

“Evidence suggests that successful organizations are able to diagnose their customer expectations fully and satisfy them completely, during each and every service encounter (Zemke and Schaaf, 1990). In an attempt to delight their customers, dive tour operators must attempt to get as close to them as

possible so that they are better able to anticipate and thereby meet their needs, wants and expectations during each and every service encounter.”
(O’Neill et al., 2000)

The above quote is fully in line with the quality literature. ‘True’ quality stems from being able to anticipate the needs of your customers. However, the crucial question from the point of view of this paper is, how does such research impact the perceptions of activity and the related meanings? Imagine being asked to speak to a microphone after removing your mask; what was best in your dive, in what respect did the dive meet your expectations? Again, one would tend to think that research in general, and particularly specific research methods, fragment meanings and establish isolated quality attributes and means-ends relations where they, following Law (2002), naturally would not exist.

Distancing

Some writers acknowledge needs to distance from the experience. Gyimothy (2000) proposes a narrative research approach towards the experiences of tourists. She claims that a close focus on individual service encounters may not produce understandable outcomes if the narrative frame that the tourist identifies him/herself with is not recognised. Thus, Gyimothy has conducted interviews, which address the entire tourist experience and acknowledges the extra-ordinary and hedonic nature of the tourism offerings. Unlike the close-up images of the divers, these interviews are carried out on a ferry ride taking the travellers back from the Bornholm Island. Gyimothy advocates such a discrete approach by claiming that the visitors experience the destination product in a holistic way and not in the sequences that appear when the same service is approached from the provider point of view.

Such an integrative method seems to empower consumers and allow for rationalities that differ from those of the providers. This is in contrast to the deconstruction methods reviewed earlier. Instead of analysing episodes, the method focuses on stories and experiences that span the temporal dimension. Within such a method, time is constructed as meaningful as opposed to the deconstructing methods that construct time as useful and as a scarce resource. Of course, also such narrative approaches can and will be used to plan better quality products – and to this end such research contributes to the same ends as the deconstruction practices. However, the first-hand image that Gyimothy delivers to the managers of the leisure industry is significantly visitor-oriented.

Dead-end strategies – hours that do not count as costs

Some human activities may be granted autonomy in terms of reasoning. They are, then, ultimate forms of leisure and such sources of utility that do not serve any ‘higher’ purpose. Some, but surprisingly few, articles admit that there are some activities that have intrinsic value. For example, Berry and Seiders (2002) distinguish between timecost services and time-investment services. They label the latter categories as hedonistic and mention cruises as such a category. People just want to cruise and the time they spend on cruises has a positive label. There are thus no convenience cruises. However, such aspects of consumption do not seem to be interesting to the authors. Is hedonistic pleasure then a dead-end for management?

Many of the quality management processes and approaches aim to understand customer expectations or the recipes of satisfaction. Yet and rather paradoxically, engagement in activities that appear as intrinsically motivating, fun or pleasurable constitutes a problem for management. There is no room for management and indeed the providers or the front-line employees may find their position as prostituted (Price et al., 1995). It should thus not be surprising that such management dead-ends are latent by their nature. Be it for the competitive advantage and survival of the firm or for the self-worth of the providers, experiences must be decomposed: what makes a good cruise?

Wakefield et al. (1996) provide another view of the management of hedonistic services; if it is not possible to understand and disentangle the reasons for hedonistic activity, the management could focus on the how to make consumers stay longer in the facilities. Relating to the hedonistic nature of services such as spectator sports, restaurant dinners and casinos, they neatly tie up thoughts of time and money; the longer people stay at the service facility, the more they spend money. Thus, time is the product of the hedonistic service provider. In such services, quality resides in peripheral parts of the servicescape, in architecture, seating and electronic displays etc. (Wakefield et. al., 1996), while the core of the experience is a black box for the providers

However, many services involve a direct contact between participants and the providers. Hedonistic service encounters have been labelled as EAI-situations referring to extended, affective and intimate relations between the providers and users of the services (Price et al., 1995). In the description given by Price and her colleagues, service personnel such as river-rafting guides work to develop a personal relationship with the participants. Guide-led services of course are extreme in this sense. They both allow and require subtle, incremental construction of the experiences. The guide identifies the capabilities of the participants and – balancing between excitement and risk – takes them to limit experiences. Close calls, identified threats and stories of previous exciting events are used to bring customers excitement. Price and her colleagues also describe the guide as a facilitator: he or she facilitates hedonistic experiences and orchestrates uncertain outcomes. The guides are expected to be responsive and reach authentic understanding of their customers. Hence, also they need to participate in an intimate sharing of the experience. Good guides come to be treated as friends, as with Price and her colleagues, within a few hours. However, the guides face role-conflicts while trying develop friendships with the clientele and at the same time remain professional. The conflict is not only personal but also managerial; the participants may want to emphasise risk-taking, for example, while the managers stress the functional goals such as safety and customer care-taking.

A more general interpretation relating to hedonistic, affective or intrinsically meaningful activities might be that the front-line employees in general act as buffers and as interpreters between functionally-oriented management and experience-oriented customers. Management is practised at arms-length via the recruitment and training of the front-line personnel, who construct servicescapes and negotiate the conflicts that are created by the efforts to manage hedonistic services.

There are a number of hints for the managers facing the dead-end of intrinsic meanings and the units of action that cannot be deconstructed. To begin with, the same question is addressed by the vast service management literature, which deals with the management of intangible services (Lampel et al. 2000, Bowen and Ford, 2002; Ruston and Carlsson, 2001). Ruston and

Carson (2001) claim that for products high on credence qualities (qualities which cannot be verified beforehand or at the point of usage) marketing tends to focus on the more tangible aspects of the product. Intangibles are made tangible. As mentioned earlier, Wakefield et al. (1996) also advance a claim that within hedonistic services the focus should or could be on the servicescape. Similarly, Thwaites (1999) argues that the problems of the intangibility of service outputs can be partly alleviated by establishing tangible evidence of the output, such as certificates at the end of training period. While the use of tangible signs to market the intangible is in these writings suggested as a means to communicate service quality, it also clearly attaches to the main question of this article. The intrinsically motivated hours are surrogated with tangible signs which may turn into important attributes of service quality and goals *per se*.

Other solutions appear in the management literature on small leisure industry organizations. Byers and Slack (2001) point out that the leisure industry consists of large multinationals and small-scale companies. They claim that the managers of the small companies may value independence and autonomy over growth and that such a value judgement is also present in the strategies of such companies.

“the owners’ business objectives are strongly influenced by their personal values and social aspirations simply because there is little distinction between ‘professional’ and ‘personal’ objectives” (Byers and Slack 2001).

According to their results, many of the interviewed small-business owners regarded the business as contingent with their hobby. They were (happy to be) able to make a living out of their hobby. Byers and Slack also claim that small business owners are less capable of engaging in systematic, sophisticated forecasting or rational decision-making. These claims can then be summarised in that there may be both normative and practical reasons for many leisure industry actors to resist change and retain the prevailing description of their products. On the other hand, those small-business owners for whom their hobby was a starting point for the business claimed to possess intimate knowledge of the products in terms of quality. Hence, they feel at home in facing the intrinsically motivated hours, which are dead-ends for conventional management efforts.

Conclusions

This paper has taken aboard the claim that preferences and indeed economic relations are not naturally-occurring but human made. Consumer preferences are malleable to change and companies participate in creating preferences. The paper has aimed to shed light on this rather often stated critical claim by focusing on the role of the management literature on the leisure service industry. Rather than being neutral, this literature was thought, at the outset, to participate in the making of particular relations between leisure service providers and their customers.

Leisure activities include by definition various types and modes of being different and seeking limits. The selected leisure management literature has thus been analysed with an inherent contradiction in mind: on the on hand, management clearly requires a description of the service and the customers, but on the other, these descriptions seem to face a turbulent environment in which meanings are contested continuously. The paper developed a few

orienting questions to guide the reading of the literature. They address practical issues of price and product quality and consumer and market research. With the help of these 'topics', six practitioner-oriented journals were scanned for articles relating to leisure management.

Firstly and most obviously, many writers tentatively suggest to adopt or try out management practices that have been proposed or successfully used within the manufacturing industries. Thus, Pert-charts are suggested for service design and relationship marketing for establishing a close and mutually-beneficial customer contact. A second, related mechanism is the use of economic vocabulary. Leisure affairs are addressed as investments and the participating people as customers and potential innovators.

A third broad category is constituted by writings that seek to decompose the quality of leisure experiences. Being true to the quality movement, writers are seeking for the ultimate determinants of customer satisfaction: what is the underlying or ultimate need that motivates customers; what is the role of the surroundings or the peripheral elements of services encounters? It is these questions that establish and impose manageable and economic versions of the relations within leisure.

A further interesting and related category deals with research methods. The texts include a debate on how to best study, or reveal, quality attributes and customer satisfaction. While some writers emphasise the need to sequence services into smaller units and study such units with close-up images of experiences, others recommend distancing and a more narrative approach. While both seek to understand the leisure activity of individuals, it seems that the former is more managerial in stripping the existing implicit meanings of the activity and imposing new ones. In the latter methodology, service managers are left with a notion of narratives that cannot fully be managed.

Finally, there are texts that seem to approach leisure activities as intrinsically meaningful activities and which allow for the possibility that management of such relations is very difficult if not impossible. Some texts state this very bluntly by saying that these activities are not interesting in terms of the literature; some services, such as cruises, are dead-ends for quality management literature; people just want to cruise. However, other texts emphasise the role of the front-line personnel who are in a key position of producing service experiences for their customers. One of the journal articles thus includes a description of the work of river-rafting guides who balance between and mix the roles of participants, experts and employees in their work to facilitate enjoyable and exciting experiences. However, it is a minority of the texts that really conclude that, from the management point of view, the experiences can not really be understood; it is few of them that suggest that the providers have to settle for providing the scene for the consumers or to rely on abilities skilled front-line personnel to orchestrate such experiences.

The texts that were reviewed originate mainly from practitioner-oriented journals and address the quality management and marketing of leisure services. Thus, it is no coincidence or surprise that they seek to deconstruct quality attributes of such experiences. It is also obvious that they deliberately seek to provide a teleological description of the activities for the managers of service companies. This does not imply that the consumer representations within the companies themselves would have a bias towards an instrumental view of consumers' activities. However, considering the very few papers that raise critique against quality management and the applied methods, it would seem fair to say that this particular literature works towards an instrumental view consumer activity during their leisure pursuits.

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Portable Pleasures: Mobile Lifestyles with Portable Electronics

Heike Weber

Introduction

During the 20th century, communication and leisure were vastly shaped by technology. Portable electronics enabled the ubiquitous use of radio or TV, records or cassettes, videogames or phones and brought about new leisure concepts. In the following, these portable entertainment technologies will be put into their historical context by analysing their designs and the relating concepts of “fun”. Over the last fifty years, producers changed the design and functions of portable electronics from leisable travel companions to indispensable everyday companions that help today’s urban nomads to experience instant fun and well-being. Accordingly, the aspiration for fun and recreation is not constrained to domestic, family or specific leisure spaces any more, but becomes ubiquitous. Furthermore, it is pursued in both private and public, work and free-time settings and often individually.

This is shown with the following examples: the portable radio, which brought about “alongside” and ubiquitous listening; portable phonographs and cassette recorders which both realized individual music choice and emphasised mobility and youthfulness over technical refinement; and the walkman which introduced discrete leisure consumption in public. The cell phone, in several points, could draw on these previous portables. In all cases, teenagers were lead users to realize the emerging new patterns of leisure, because they, in the decades after WW II, pursued the most mobile lifestyles. As there are hardly any historical studies on consumer electronics, the following material mainly stems from my own research on portable electronics. It will show rather qualitative differences than those of quantity since – in contrast to domestic, stationary electronics – reliable statistics on the usage and distribution of portable electronics are not available. As a general conclusion, some remarks on technology, fun and innovation will be given.

Background: Blurring the borders between work and leisure

During the last decades, “portable Pleasures” seem to have conquered our minds and everyday routines, and in particular East Asian companies have been offering a whole product line of different-sized portable electronics to meet this demand. This article focuses on the design and consumption of such portable electronics from the 1950s onwards, and mobile audio technologies are presented as main examples. “JVC’s portable music pleasure – for any time and any way”, JVC e.g. introduced a boombox in an ad of 1980, and continued: “With JVC’s portables you can enjoy the stereo sound you wish for anytime and anywhere”¹. The

boombox was arranged with the photograph of a female roller skater sitting on a stool and just taking off her skates. She was dressed in jeans and T-Shirt which, in combination with the skates, connoted mobility, leisure and youthfulness. By that time, also in the German language, the English term “portable” was used as a name for this particular part of consumer electronics. This reflects the importance of the American market in this field up to the 1980s. The American society had a lead position in valuing mobility. Furthermore, since the 1970s, individualized entertainment was gaining the forehand over collectively spent leisure activities (Putnam, 2000), and the West-German society followed this pattern with some time lag. Hand-tailored electronics meant both, mobility and individuality. Reports on them thus were regularly featured in popular and audio journals, and they stressed their private and mobile fun dimension. “Portable Pleasures”, e.g., was the heading chosen by the audio magazine *Stereo Review* to inform its readers about the “hottest, neatest little gizmos” for their “personal entertainment”². The idea of “personal entertainment” “anytime and anywhere”, however, has a longer history in the 20th century. Furthermore, it confronted traditional conceptions of leisure which had its place either in the privacy of the domestic family or at specially designated collective public spaces, e.g., parks. Leisure also was geographically clearly demarcated from places of breadwinning. By the use of portable electronics, these borders became blurred, e.g., when listening to the transistor radio while at work. Accordingly, with portable electronics, people have created new concepts of “well-being” and “having fun” which disrupted the traditional leisure idea. The term “Portable Pleasures” can be interpreted as an attempt to name such a new concept. It states that pleasures can be carried along, where-ever one heads – the user of a portable is not bound to any specific leisure area to experience pleasure. Instead, s/he will just use a portable somewhere and through the use of a technology, this spot – be it work connoted or leisure connoted – turns into a place of pleasure.

By questioning previous leisure concepts, portable electronics automatically also question the other side of the coin, namely work concepts, which, however, I will hardly mention in the following. In parallel, the practice of multitasking and in-between activities increased, and rather than doing one at a time, users of portables mix activities of both work and leisure and at both leisure and work spaces, e.g., by chatting via SMS while working in the office. Also, we today experience a situation where many portable electronics integrate work and leisure functions to be used in either space. Such designs reflect the discussions of post-industrial societies on flexible working hours, teleworking or teleshopping, homebanking, shopping hours, in sum, on the so-called 24-hour society.

Besides, portable electronics are intertwined with and both cause and enable two other huge socio-technical changes of the 20th century: an increased spatial mobility and the growing individualization of the society. Like leisure and work, mobility is a historical concept and being mobile meant something different in the 1950s than nowadays. Five decades ago, mobility referred mainly to the non-everyday travelling – the German dictionary *Brockhaus*, e.g., defines it mainly as residential mobility (1955). In the 1990s however, mobility is defined in an encompassing way, including social and spatial mobility; mobility is valued as a basic anthropological experience (Brockhaus, 1998). Along with other entertainment technologies like multi-channel-TV, portable electronics enabled a growing individual control of one’s emotions, as they allow for instantaneous and self-controlled consumption. Firstly, portable electronics, in their hardware, are often used by the individual and besides, at any place one chooses. Secondly, when considering the dimension of the

software, some portables offer a fixed programming whereas others allow for a self-chosen one. In the case of radio and TV, the personal entertainment is yet bound to a fixed programme at fixed times while only the place of consumption is not fixed. In the case of cassettes or other self-chosen and sometimes even self-arranged software, portable electronics render a nearly complete self-control of the fun experience with no fixed places, programmes and times. However, some portables are still orientated at a collective fun feeling, e.g. the boom box. Here, partying with others on the street is the fun experience. Thus, the underlying story of portable entertainment cannot solely be told as one of individualisation at the cost of collectivity. Instead, it is one of the "public-ization" of (individual and family) domestic leisure consumption where informal connectivity to others substitutes former tight family and spatially-bound (e.g. neighbourhood) bonds.

The above-named tendencies merge in today's vision of the so-called "digital nomad" and "urban nomad" respectively, who do not have a fixed home any more but are at home/at work on the whole world through their digital and portable equipment. In contrast to the nomadic caravans of previous times or remote areas however, these nomads travel mostly alone. In particular the cell phone with its leisure and work functions and its sudden and wide popularity, is firing current imaginations around this figure. "E-topians" like T. Makimoto and D. Manners, authors of the book "Digital nomad", interpret it as the first tool for the "biggest lifestyle change for 10 000 years", the new nomadic age. Whereas the "digital nomad" travels the whole globe in real or virtual reality, the "urban nomad" travels its metropolises. In a book on mobile, flexible architecture, we can read the following description – which is half ironic, half reality, and half a future vision: "What has been the habit to the monk, to the urban nomad is his equipment with laptop, discman, and cell phone as mobile communication-, entertainment-, working- and gaming tools, shoulder strap, backpack or cargo trousers with many pockets attached as mobile storage, maybe also a jacket which can be turned into an armchair or tent, a wristwatch with integrated television and Global Positioning System, a pocket ventilator and a pocket oven as mobile air conditioning, a credit card and a pocket knife that not only cuts but also integrates functions of hygiene, work, leisure or basic survival purposes. Lastly, on his feet, this "NeoNomad" does not carry shoes any more, but inline skates." (Schwartz-Clauss, 2002, p. 130) The urban nomad needs the portables because of constant commuting, which, at the same time, s/he only can pursue because of them. In this vision, most portable electronics are wearable and can be used while on move. As the nomad might not reach any destiny, s/he also carries along her/his own home, a tent-jacket, which, by the way, designers of flexible architecture ("mobitecture") have already created. In the utopian tools of this neo-nomad, survival and fun lurk next to each other. Even if we are yet unfamiliar with the described universal pocket knife, we are already accustomed to the sketched usage of laptop, video game, discman or cell phone for both pleasure and work. At the beginning of the 21st century, it is common practice that, e.g., students take their cell phones everywhere and might phone a friend from the library toilets or while in company with others. Business men might brighten up dull conferences by playing a game on their palmtop. Some decades ago, such everyday behaviour would have been unthinkable, and this not only so because the technological base was missing, but most notably because of other social and cultural norms linked to another concept of leisure. Today, in contrast, such everyday practices are nearly too familiar. I put the "too" in the previous sentence, not because I want to ring the same bell as many cultural critics who fear for the social norms or the "civic health" of our future like, e.g., Putnam (2000), but because

our rootage in our everyday culture often prevents us from realizing that any practice is not per se natural but on outcome of social negotiation. “Ordinary consumption” is remarkable and meaningful, even if we take it for granted (Gronow & Warde, 2001). A historical retrospect helps us to illuminate how practices like Walkman listening were established over time in a kind of “normalization process” in which both producers and consumers took their share. It also illuminates the oddness of the first use of some technologies. Adeptes of a new practice were objects of criticism and debates, which we have forgotten about but which in retrospect clarify what traditional concepts of leisure were at stake while consuming mobile and instant fun.

The heuristic value of Portables for Leisure Studies

In the following and in accordance with the common outset of this book, “leisure” is seen to refer to a set of practices that have in common the fact that they are defined as such by those who do them and/or by those who provide the materials and services required for their effective accomplishment. This stands in stark contrast to normally applied definitions where leisure is defined via exclusion, e.g. as “free-time” not being spent with money-gaining activities, or as time not spent in the work sphere. Portable electronics prove a fruitful case study for the theme of “manufacturing leisure” as they question the traditional dichotomous work/leisure-definitions with their portability. Their portable design favours a ubiquitous, “anytime” and “anywhere” use. From a technical perspective, portables can cross the commonly drawn border line between work and leisure spheres if their users take them along to do so. Furthermore, also the “realm of discretion”, which often is named as a main characteristic of leisure, is subverted inasmuch as portable electronics are often used in public. Via the Walkman or the Gameboy, they brought the intimacy of private fun anywhere. In sum, users can realize their (semi-discrete) private leisure spaces anywhere both at home, in public, or at work. In this, the resulting new leisure concepts can be compared to the theory of “personal space” or “my space” that the feminist Betsy Wearing argued for in order to incorporate women’s experiences of the world in leisure concepts. As she argues, such a “conceptualization is not dependent on the paid work/leisure dichotomy redolent of much male theory and incorporates the ideas of resistance, relative autonomy and the enlargement of the “I” ” (Wearing, 1998, p. 141). Besides, the impetus for a portable design stems from the fact that society has defined that certain technology as a very important for everyday life, namely so important that producers design and market a portable variant and consumers *schlepp* it around. Portable electronics aiming at fun then should tell us a lot about which leisure practices are valued as indispensable. E.g., today’s consumers listen to their favourite songs everywhere, be it in public transport, in their cars, or back home, and in the average German household, five radios wait in the wings to connect its users to a public radio broadcast. Listening to music became indispensable from everyday life and is often done in such a subtle “alongside” way that we hardly can count the hours of doing so. Thus, portables also defy traditional statistics which often only account for stationary sets and stationary usage.

While such new practices like “alongside” radio listening or headphone usage in public were gradually taken up by the mass consumers, society had to negotiate if or if not and in what places such practices was seen as appropriate. By analysing public discourse of such

negotiation processes, the case of portable electronics thus also tells us something about the social norms connected to the mobile “manufacturing of leisure”. In sum then, portable electronics provide the researcher with an elegant case study to identify contemporary leisure concepts. It forces him/her to transcend dichotomies just as their users transcended them. However, even when we constate the transcending of dichotomies like in the case of the mobile use of portable electronics, we yet have to name the two dichotomous poles that are blurred as ideal entities. Accordingly, in the following, I will still talk ideally of “leisure” and “work” spaces even if in reality such clear lines were becoming less clear. “Fun” however is the better term to refer to leisure when it is not situated in traditional leisure spaces and leisure times any more. Similar to the definition of leisure given above, fun ultimately is defined by the person who experiences it. Fun happens when we consciously perceive “good vibrations” while the underlying bodily emotions might stay unconscious. Whereas the term fun connotates the active mode of having joy while doing something, the term well-being connotates the end result, like, e.g., recreation is seen as one purpose of leisure. Some experience fun / well-being / pleasure by sharing good moments with friends while others have fun when tuning in to their favourite songs.

The manufacturing of leisure on the move

With growing possibilities of the population to spend time and money on commercial leisure offers, the West German consumer electronics industry took off at the end of the 1950s. The first “boom gadget” of this industry was the radio, which soon was overtaken by the (costly) television in the 1960s. Accordingly, the consumer electronics industry was referred to with the term “radio and television industry” or “broadcasting industry”. Broadcasting itself was public broadcasting, and only in the 1980s were private TV and radio channels allowed. The 1970s was the age of the domestic Hi-Fi set, but – as far as counted in numbers – the mobile and rather cheap cassette recorders outsold them. Incidentally, since the 1970s, the term “entertainment electronics” has prevailed to term all the different electronic offers for leisable purposes. The worldwide hit of the 1980s was Sony’s Walkman which demonstrated the globalization of the producer’s side but also that of worldwide patterns of consumption. Radio recorders in “boom box” form, which in the German slang were called “Ghettoblaster”, still sold solidly. Besides, the VCR found a wide distribution. But the 1980s even saw more “new media”– videotex, private TV and radio channels, and computer games among them, and LCD technologies lead to the introduction of handheld video games, digital cameras and tiny TVs. In the 1990s, the Gameboy was introduced and domestic play stations gained an increasing share in the turnover of CE industry. At the end of the decade, the cell phone had turned from a business tool to a consumer technology sold to the average customer.

In the following, I will discuss the portable radio of the 1950s and other music players (record, tape, cassette) of the 1960s and 1970s, and the walkman of the 1980s. In the end, I will draw some parallels to the portables of the 1990s, i.e. the Gameboy and cell phone. Along the way, I will briefly mention portable electronics that were constructed and marketed as “tools for work”. I will concentrate on the development in (West-) Germany, well aware of the fact that for the last two to three decades, the global scene should be studied since the field of consumer electronics became dominated by internationally acting corporations. The widespread usage of the different portable electronics led to new concepts of “portable

pleasures” and a reconfiguration of the spatial and temporal divisions between work and leisure. Looking at the design, the mediation (namely, advertising, marketing and reports in popular journals), and the actual usage of these electronics, I will consider the following questions:

- How was leisure “manufactured” on the producers’ side in the variety of the offers, the material designs and in advertising and marketing? Which functions did certain portables integrate? Given the trend to multifunctionality in those appliances, which functions did producers define as important for experiencing leisure?
- How was leisure “manufactured” on the users’ side? Did this overlap with the producer’s constructions or were there tensions? How did non-users react?

I will present the different portable electronics in a chronological order by highlighting its main contribution to the development of new concepts of “portable pleasures”. Each portable introduced a certain skein which today’s “urban nomads” ultimately can spin together while enjoying their “leisure on the move”. As the portable radio was the first mass distributed portable electronics, it will be looked at first and also, in more detail.

The portable radio of the 1950s and 1960s: From travel companions to universal receivers

To understand the transforming of radio listening habits by the portable radio of the 50s, we first have to understand the contemporary “ideal” conception of radio listening. Radio started in the 20s as an amateur practice of a few – and rather male – listeners with their crystal sets and headphones, but, with the 1930s loudspeakers, was transformed to a family leisure activity. Compared to today’s programme formats, public broadcasting provided extensive, mostly hour-long programmes. Radio listening was seen as an educative and contemplative family activity which afforded attention to be rewarding. Accordingly, domestic sets were designed as big furniture pieces fitting the domestic cosyness of the living room where the family should gather around the set. In practice, many families of the 50s had already left this ideal behind, and practiced an “alongside” listening. While housewives since the 1930s had been enlightened their duties with the radio, many men did their early morning shaving with radio so that the stations jokingly re-labelled their morning programmes as “shaving music”³. On an average, people used the radio for three hours a day, declining to two hours around 1960 when TV sets became more affordable and widespread. Since 1954, in their regular listener questionnaires, the German broadcasting station SDR (“South-German Radio”) also asked about “alongside” listening practices, e.g., if the radio was used during breakfast or dinner, housework or body care activities, and their results showed the growing dominance of such practices. However, this new habit conflicted with the conservative and family oriented mentality of the 1950s and thus did not stay without criticism. To make apparent what was at stake, I quote a book by Grete Borgmann with the title “Man and home in the technical age” from 1957. Fearing the negative consequences of “alongside” listening for the “play and recreation attempts” of her contemporaries, Borgmann wrote: “When incessantly music sounds off over us, while we are engaged in something different, our inner ear is blunted for a real music experience. But also that activity that we engage in, does not have our full concentration any more.”⁴ The author was afraid that the “realness” of the listening experience would suffer, besides, she stated a desiderative concentrativeness among students

because of too much radio listening. For Borgmann, it was the responsibility of the housewife and mother to care for a responsible TV and radio usage of her family which meant deliberately choosing only a few programmes and avoiding distractive ones. Despite such criticism, “alongside” listening became the common way of listening to the radio, while the sets became ubiquitous. Already in the beginning of the 1960s, the West-German radio industry produced more portable than stationary sets. These sets not only reinforced “alongside” listening, but introduced this practice also to non-domestic spaces. Nevertheless, as we will see, the designs of the sets and their technical features were still aligned to the ideal of a collective listening rather than to portability.

Designing “travel companions” for outdoor leisure

The West German radio industry introduced its first mass produced, post-WWII portables in 1950. Given the recovering situation of industry and society after the war, its main users were seen in travelling business men who did not want to miss their favourite programs while travelling. With prices around 250 Marks and average monthly wages of 600–700 Marks, only a few families could buy a portable set in addition to the domestic radio. Thus, in the beginning of the 1950s, portable radios accounted hardly for 5% of the radios produced. Nevertheless, the German radio industry already envisioned a leisable mass consumption of the portable radio as it was in place in the U.S. (Schiffer, 1991). E.g., Grundig advertised its portable called “Boy” (1950) as a “happy companion for sport and travel” for everybody: “During the rail journey, sports and the weekend excursion - nowhere one will want to miss him (the “Boy”, H.W.), since he bestows entertainment independently of each electricity plug and in his company, there is no dullness”, an advertising text promised⁵. In their designs, most portable sets reflected their promotion as a “convivial companion” for outdoor activities which in the 1950s also meant group activities like having a picnic, group sporting, or family vacations. Besides, engineers designed the portable sets with as much hearing comfort as possible as they emphasized that the German consumer wished for a so called “natural reproduction”. “Natural” here referred to the claim that the technical reproduction should sound like being in the concert hall oneself. Tiny radios were produced, but had only a small market share. The average portable was quite heavy (3 to 5 kg) and had about the format of a big pocket book or larger.



Picture 1 shows a typical set of the mid-50s, the Grundig *Teddy Boy* from 1957. With its rounded design it resembled rather a fashionable than a functional bag, just like the domestic radio was more a cosy furniture than a functional tool. On top, there were the many different push-buttons to choose the different stations and to change the volume, sometimes also the sound itself could be adjusted to different sound styles like e.g. jazz, speech or orchestra music. The front itself was covered up by a loudspeaker big enough to entertain a group or fill a whole room. In advertising, such sets were called “partners” or “travel partners”, while iconographically, they were placed in a nature or beach setting; sometimes we see a travelling situation. In the technical journals, they were called “travel receivers”. The Grundig ad also connotes the *Teddy Boy* in this way, as we see a young woman dressed in a bikini; she is placed on grass and behind her, a beach hat is placed. The same semiotics of “journey” and “vacation” was called upon by those models which were named “Lido”, “Riviera”, or “Weekend”. Until 1957, portable sets were accordingly sold during the warmer seasons, and the new models were introduced in spring when the picnic and vacation season started. Even after the introduction of the transistor (from 1956 onwards), the average size of the sets did not shrink. The space saved by substituting the tubes was compensated by bigger loudspeakers or more buttons. This orientation towards ambitious and high quality listening also led to the fast integration of ultra short wave (called “wave of joy”) into the portable sets. It was enforced by market research, the importance of which the technical press began to

highlight. The *Funk-Technik*, e.g., presented it as the "basis of progress" and claimed that it had its place next to the activity of the engineer⁶. And the results of market research studies attested the engineers in their valuing of hearing comfort over utmost portability.

Music to take along – Advertising the "universal receiver"

Whereas the portable designs did not change much during the 1950s, listening practices changed as the radio became a taken-for-granted part of everyday life. With growing prosperity and a wide diffusion of domestic sets (in 1958, already 87% of the West German households were registered as radio listeners), portable radios became a desired mass consumption technology and a "constant" partner for a nearly ubiquitous "alongside" listening. This change becomes also apparent in the term "universal receiver", which around 1957/58 substituted the term "travel receiver". The adjective "universal" referred to the spaces where the radio was to be used. Spelt out in, e.g., advertising and the technical journals, these were the following spaces: back home, while travelling, in the greens, and in one's car – the work context was yet missing. In advertising, the portables are mainly represented as music tools and less often as informative tools for picking up the news. Here, people have fun with their sets, articulated in the contemporary terms. "Take music along on the journey", Philips advised in an imperative tone, as "music animates, music relaxes, with music, everything goes better."⁷ Portable radios were connected to the feelings of relaxation, joyful entertainment, distraction and cheering up. The main advertising argument consisted not only of the fun of listening per se, but also of the many spots of use. The texts and pictures of advertising ads and brochures mainly suggested leisable or domestic use contexts, i.e., sports, outdoor play, picnic, vacation, do-it-yourself-activities, and any domestic rooms or the car which can be considered as a mobile private space. Thus, the conceptualization of the "music to take along" (Philips slogan) followed the traditional dichotomy of work / leisure. Strikingly, the visualized user of a portable set which at the beginning of the 50s often was a couple, now was rather a female than a male user which might be connected to the more profound traditional dichotomous thinking of the public and private sphere as a rational versus an emotional sphere. Thus, apart from its sex appeal, it is no coincidence that Grundig pictured a woman holding the set. The female icon in a public sphere branded this more clearly as leisable and emotional (Weber, 2005). In practice, radio distraction in places conceptualized for leisure, e.g., parks, sporting fields or the beach, was indulged in by both sexes. Yet, radio usage on these sites was discussed as it changed the taken for granted outdoor soundscapes.

Appropriate places and activities for radio listening

Both in advertising and the technical journals, we hardly get an idea of Borgmann's cultural criticism of listening anytime and anywhere. Yet, her hint to the loss of realness and concentration went down as terms like "listening with one ear" or "to have oneself sprinkled" ("sich berieseln lassen"), which were used up to the 1980s to criticize a passive and "alongside" mass consumption of music. The questionnaires of the SDR suggest that listening while doing other leisure activities like eating, sporting or the like were soon considered normal. However, using the radio in the great outdoors and also in the car were discussed,

although sources are rare. In the first case, the leisure experience of being in nature was valued as a contemplative, authentic and rewarding leisure activity in itself, and radio listening, e.g., in the forest or mountains thus was considered as diminishing the “realness” of the nature experience. An author of the *Funkschau* called for a prudent use of the portable radio with the following words: “Don’t let the appliance turn also outside into a music sprinkling equipment and into background noise. Don’t deaden and drown the voices of nature by a loudspeaker but also hark once and devoutly to the bird twitter in the morning, the swoosh of the trees, the ripple of the waves!”⁸ “Alongside” listening became a critical issue in particular while driving as the radio distracted the driver’s attention to the traffic. Car radios thus were designed with an easy to grasp user interface. However, wasn’t also the music itself distracting? After some discussion, in the beginning of the 1960s, the radio was finally valued as a helpful tool for drivers, as it kept them awake and in good spirits. Besides, broadcasting began to produce traffic news for drivers.

From around 1960 onwards, gradually also work spaces were iconographically associated with radio listening, e.g., an ad pictured an office situation where one secretary presented her portable to her colleague. The explicit textual naming of a work space however was yet rare. Only in the 1970s, an advertising text quite naturally promised “mobile radio listening in leisure time, at work and when on vacation”⁹. In contrast to this, housewives had always been pictured together with the portable radio. However, in this case, the practice never was questioned since it was not considered as a merging of work and leisure. Housework was not paid and measured in hours and Marks and thus not defined as a productive breadwinning activity. Besides, it was done back home, i.e., in the geographical space of (male) leisure and recreation.

In 1963/64, the production of car and universal receivers outnumbered that of domestic sets. Also, portables began to replace the stationary sets back home. The “universal” receiver was used to enlighten many, yet mostly leisure-connoted, situations as also the slogan of “with music, everything goes better” implies. Consumers did not want to miss their favourite programs any more, and listening to news, weather or sports reporting had turned into a regular routine practiced independently from one’s whereabouts. Radio programs changed as well, namely in the direction of more entertainment, more pop music for younger listeners and a magazine format where one could listen in between (Dussel, 2000). However, in the portable designs themselves, hearing comfort ranked higher than portability. Only teenagers and young adults – which in the 60s represented the main buyer group of portable radios – valued portability as such, as we will see in the next paragraph.

Teenagers and portables in the 1960s

In 1953, a questionnaire by a German radio station (NWDR) showed that the radio was hardly used by youths aged 15 to 24 years¹⁰. Asked about their favourite leisure activities, most youths named sports, followed by reading. Among those aged 15–18 years, 6% owned a set, among those aged 19–20 years, 14%, and among those aged 21–22 years, 31%. In 1960 the numbers of young radio owners were already higher: 13 to 14% of those aged 12–16 years had a set and among those aged 17–20 years, 37% of the men and 26% of the women had one. In the beginning of the 1970s however, listening to records and cassettes and to the radio was the top leisure activity of teenagers, far ahead of sports and visiting friends¹¹. Over just

15 years, the significance of (radio and recorded) music for the leisure construction of teenagers had completely changed, and, as we will see, industry offered them music players designed and marketed for this purpose.

The emergence of a specific teenage market

In the years around 1960, the so called “teenager” was discovered as a new and promising target group for the music and consumer electronics industry. Accordingly, young people were increasingly pictured in radio and phonograph ads. With increasing amounts of pocket money, teenagers were able to spend more and more on their individual consumption. In the mid-1960s, those aged 14–21 had a median of 101 German Marks to spend.¹² Teenage products were mediated, among others, in special magazines. In Germany, the most popular magazine was the *Bravo*, followed by *Twen*, which was aimed at older teenagers and young grown-ups with a demanding lifestyle and had substantially fewer readers (Koetzle, 1995). *Bravo* regularly raffled portable electronics while both also indirectly gave consumption advice, e.g., *Twen*, in the October 1960 issue, suggested pre-arranged Christmas presents. The package for females, e.g., contained, among others, a pullover, fragrance, and a small phonograph by BRAUN, whereas the male one included a pocket transistor radio. This growing importance of consumption for teenagers’ leisure time and their identity was seen critically by pedagogues, psychologists and youth functionaries (Schildt, 2000). Also, the teenage listening practices seemed far away from any “sophisticated” music experience, both in regard to the music listened and to the equipment used. As young people did not have much money but wanted to be independent from the parental audio equipment, the cheap and thus mostly portable music players were attractive to them. Industry, for example, marketed the small pocket receivers with tiny loudspeakers and a rather low sound quality for bargain prices and in special gift sets to the teenage market. Youngsters valued the sound quality as less important than portability and independence, a low price, a hip design and loudness. Besides, teens and “twens” listened differently and to different music than adults, namely pop and rock – a fact which contributed to the widening gap between the teenage listener and the so called “serious” listener whose demands grew in parallel to new technical possibilities of the hi-fi audio industry.

Marketing the teenage urge for mobility and shindigs

With portables, teenagers could take their beloved music outside in the public and also to their friends’ places. Several studies have already pointed to the particular importance of the portable radio in constructing a youth identity and in claiming their own spaces in public (Marbolek, 2001). But teenagers, in their everyday habits, can also be seen as the most mobile group up to the 1970s, and they were the first mass group which valued mobility in music players. Besides, for the case of students, the work and leisure distinction of the adult world is less obvious, and on a more general level, fun is mostly associated with being young. “Young people want to be mobile. Thus, also the things and artefacts which they use day-to-day, should be as transportable as possible. When one surveys it more closely: What is the value of record players, radios or tape recorders, when firmly installed somewhere? To tell the truth: exactly the half. One wants to take one’s music along – to a friend, to a party, on a journey or

just in the adjoining room”, stated a *Twen* article in 1961 whose whole argument was to praise music equipment with handles while scoffing at parental reproaches¹³. Industry, in its offers, catered to these teenage needs. In the following, some examples will be given to illustrate how the portable pleasures for youngsters (or young-at-hearts!) were constructed in advertising around 1960. I will concentrate on phonographs which on top of their portability allowed for a self-chosen music repertoire.

Some sets indicated their target group explicitly in their – often English – naming, like “teenagerboy” or “Teeny Weeny”. In most ads, the leisure experience was described with the words “good spirits” or “good humour” and associated with a party. A phonograph by Elac was called “Mirastar” and in advertising, it was emphasized that it was designed “for the



lifestyle of young people”: wherever they are, be it “at camping or at a party – MIRASTAR delivers spirits, it conjures good humour.” The “party 300 BV” by Dual was “for all who are young and feel young!”. In an ad, it was placed in a party atmosphere which was described as follows: “Kindling rhythms, exhilarating dance steps, talks about the latest “hit” – that is the prickly-fresh atmosphere of young people.” One year later, Dual chose the slogan “Transistors ask for a dance”¹⁴. With transistors, phonographs did need much less battery power and also battery-only phonographs could be used for long, loud parties. Many phonographs however had both plug and battery. Iconographically, besides a setting in a party or in the greens, advertising also used the motif of a (female) teenager outside with or on her scooter and accompanied with a radio or phonograph which emphasised her mobile lifestyle.

Picture 2 is an advertising for a scooter and clearly indicates this intimate link of mobility, portable music and teenagers.

The teenage “noise mills” confront (male and domestic) hi-fi aspirations

Interestingly enough then, industry – by realizing its chance to sell a cheap article in mass – and teenaged consumers – in their urge for mobility and the least possible cost – shared similar concepts of “portable pleasures”. In contrast, traditional mediators like consumer and technical journals acted as pundits of the portable players which they labelled as “noise mills”. In the 1960s and 1970s, they were contrasted with high-end audio technology, while hi-fi, as a hobby, became extremely popular (Gauß, 1998) and the audio industry produced expensive high end audio equipment to cater for it. At a time when television had replaced radio as the lead – and still family oriented – medium and radio had become a secondary medium, middle- and upper-class male audiophiles discovered music listening as a new domestic leisure practice. This not only demanded economic capital, but also some technical know-how and a highbrow cultural knowledge, all aspects which were reflected in the expression “the serious music friend”. In 1966, the German DIN 45500 “Hi-Fi Norm” even laid down technological criteria to evaluate the so-called “natural sound reproduction” that the

hi-fi hobbyists were striving for. Special interest journals gave advice on how to choose the appropriate equipment while totally neglecting the cheap portables that young pop and rock listeners used. But also the average consumer journals like *DM* educated consumers about the "right way" to experience music by referring to the Hi-Fi Norm – and portables never fulfilled this norm in their sound testings. *DM* even stated that there was a vicious circle of bad sound quality and listening habits: "Industry offers appliances which will deteriorate the sense of hearing of the buyer with average claims. As these buyers have a deteriorated sense of hearing, they are satisfied with the cheap appliances"¹⁵. Audiophiles however underlined their sense of hearing and they stood out from the mass. Thus, we can discern two different user groups connected to different listening equipment and practices. The hi-fi adepts listened individually as well as for a longer timeframe, shared a technical identification and emphasised both the technical and cultural exclusiveness of their hobby. Younger music fans listened both consciously and "alongside". They did not care too much about the technical details of their players but rather about the popularity of the music heard and its meaning for their own identity construction in relation to the prevalent youth culture. Music took a share not only in their private leisure life, but in their identity as a whole. For them, music was not a (domestic) hobby, but a (ubiquitous) lifestyle.

Leisure time with portable tape recorders

Today, listening to self-chosen music is associated with the compact disc or even MP3 files, but previously, the most widely used medium was the compact cassette introduced by Philips in the mid-1960s. It's forerunners, the tape recorders of the 1950s, came in different standards and using them was quite difficult. Furthermore, leisure time with a portable tape recorder meant more than just a mobile listening to music: It meant creating one's own tapes (e.g., by recording radio broadcasts, by taping a so called "voice family album", by "hunting" for sounds outdoors) and was connected with a technical experimentation due to different frequencies, tape velocities and tape tracks. While manufacturers and promoters of the tape machine saw it as a versatile tool for mostly leisure and occasionally also work purposes and heavily tried to market the so called "tape hobby", tape recorders in this design however did not catch on (Bijsterveld, 2004). Obviously then, the tape recorder is an example in which the manufacturing of leisure by the producers did not fit the way, consumers wanted to manufacture their leisure. In particular the technical press was well aware of this problem, and called for a "licence-free" tape recorder system. Thus, in the beginning of the 1960s, Philips was not the only company introducing a compact cassette system. In contrast to its two German competitors Saba and Grundig however, and despite its low tape quality, Philips was successful in marketing its snap-in cassette. This was due to a good marketing, a clever licensing of the cassette and a continuous technical advancement of the sound quality of the tape. Furthermore, the compactness and the thus achieved mobility of the cassette was a main factor of its success. In the end, the Philips cassette became an international standard and in the 1980s, even outsold records.

From “sound hunter“ to “hit hunter”: The Philips cassette changes the tape hobby

The Philips cassette recorder (“taschen-recorder 3300”, i.e., “pocket recorder 3300”) was introduced at the Berlin radio show in 1963, at a time when an accompanying offer of pre-recorded tapes was yet missing. Thus, at first, it was referred to as a recorder for mobile taping and – due to its compactness and automatic recording level – as a dictating machine, a “speaking notebook”. In 1965, Philips began to massively market its re-launched recorder (“cassette recorder 3301”) which now was conceptualized as a music machine rather than as a speaking notebook. It was delivered with connecting cables for radio or record player so that one could make one’s own recordings or copies. Besides, users now could buy pre-recorded cassettes. The recorder cost 300 Marks, a blank cassette roughly more than 10 and the pre-recorded one over 20 Marks. The target group was the average customer who did not tape yet, while the ambitious “taping friend” only used such a low-quality tape for reasons of mobile outdoor sound hunting.

Following the tradition of the previous tape equipment, advertising for the cassette recorder emphasized its versatility, while also highlighting the foolproofness of the cassette and the smallness of the recorder. The Philips cassette was stylized as “the modern way to listen to music”, as the cassette offered the “modern opportunity” to record every sound one could hear, be it music or talk or sounds. The modern way was not seen predominantly in mobile music listening, but more generally in the ubiquity of both recording and playing. Suggested uses were the listening to pre-recorded tapes, the taping of memories, the creation of a voice-family-album or the usage as an aid to memory. Later on, Philips also offered special cassettes with language courses so that the owner could use “any opportunity” for learning when s/he could “spare a minute”¹⁶.

More and more, also the available music software was emphasized. In 1965, in an ad in the teenage *Bravo*, the text asked: “Do you want to listen to hits? Musicals? Hot rhythms?”, and stated that “(i)mportant producers in the music industry have assembled a wish programme for you in form of the modern compact cassettes. Jazz, Evergreens and dance music in an awesome quality. For your entertainment. For your relaxation (...).”¹⁷ In the same issue, *Bravo* had a quiz competition in which readers could win the Philips recorder. With the “MusiCassettes”, as the pre-recorded cassettes were named in Germany, music fans could take the songs of their favourite music stars everywhere. This wish reflected the creation of pop stars through the radio and TV hit parades. By the beginning of the 70s, new record titles were naturally accompanied by the respective cassettes. These however were mainly bought and heard by teenagers and car drivers while audiophiles remained aloof.¹⁸

In general, the advertising of the 1970s emphasized the “fun” dimension of the cassette recorders, be it in stressing the simplicity of recording from radio, record or tape player or with a microphone, or in connection to the music listening. When radio cassette combinations were put on the market, in particular young users developed the practice of assembling own tapes from the radio hit parade. At the end of the 1970s, the German catalogue company “Quelle” even advertised its stereo radio recorder as a tool “for the young hit hunter”. By then, 40% of the teenagers owned a cassette recorder, 38 % had a radio, and 30% had a radio recorder¹⁹. Thus, recording was not the hobby of – the mostly male – “sound hunters” any more, which had been valued as “serious”, “creative” as well as technically sophisticated, but that of the young “hit hunters”. They did not share the technical expertise of the tape hobbyists, but had fun while creatively assembling songs or voices, while re-listening to them

or presenting them to friends. Some even taped voice (love) letters as presents (Herlyn, 2003). In contrast to this, grown-ups did not pick up the recording functions which producers had suggested for leasurable documentation purposes. Rather, they used the pictorial archive for this purpose, even if photographs had to be processed in a lab before one could watch them. Thus, it was not only the Philips cassette, but also the – young – users in their concrete leisure practices who "manufactured" the cassette recorder the way we know it. They turned it from a multifunctional tape recorder for both work and leisure to a mobile music player and recorder for fun. And in contrast to the radio, ads never visually embedded recorders for "alongside" listening in a work context, although discursively they emphasized its ubiquity. As an "alongside" activity, radio had gained a special role as an accepted secondary medium.

Hi-fi listening becomes mobile, cassettes become hi-fi

Listening to self-chosen music gained a growing popularity and became a "normal" part of everyday life in the course of the 1960s and 1970s, and at the end of the 1970s, the two sides of the music market, i.e., the teenage (mass) market and the audiophile high-end market, converged. This happened due to the better sound quality of portable equipment as well as shifting adult leisure practices. Now, also for grown-ups, mobility and the concept of "instant fun" became a leading life concepts.

The cassette reflects this shift to a great detail. Around 1980, the tape quality now was up to the hi-fi norm, and stationary cassette recorders were included by audiophiles in their domestic sets, often substituting a reel tape recorder. Accordingly, the meaning of the cassette changed from a makeshift of teenagers and car drivers to a flexible hi-fi-technology. Already in 1975, the German music firm "Deutsche Grammophon" had decided to produce a classic series on cassettes. In particular classical music with its changes in volume and its many silent parts had been sensible to the noise of the tape. This series was promoted as "classics on the way". Appraising the cassette's "advantages of mobility", an ad showed Claudio Abbado as a car driver using cassettes and mentioned also other classical music stars as users of mobile recorders. The text even stated that "by the MusiCassette, also the classical music was able to conform to the modern, i.e. mobile way of life of today". Five years later, a trend research of the technical journal *Funkschau* came to the conclusion that cassettes were commensurate with the increasing "life-, lust- and fun orientation" of society. Records, in contrast, were seen as reverential²¹. Supposedly, they had this conservative image due to the audiophiles of the 60s and 70s, as records - in particular the single- also had been the medium of the young and rock music scene.

Around 1980, industry reacted to these socio-cultural changes and began to market "portable pleasures" that catered for the strive for mobility as well as that for hi-fi sound. JVC for example designed high end hi-fis that looked like stationary sets but had a handle and were thus carry-able. An ad from 1981 emphasised, "JVC shows you yet another path to modern living. An active, sporty and mobile path." On the other side of the audio offers, the teenage boom boxes not only gained size and weight but also technological refinement. The audio industry produced boom boxes with stereo loudspeakers, buttons, displays etc., so that the designs matched the technological basis of the domestic audiophile hi-fi sets. Boom boxes were the democratization, or rather, the proletarianization of hi-fi-technology which now was ostensibly carried along in the urban streets. However, it were still mostly young and male

users that publicly showed off with these sound machines. By this, they caused some discussions among contemporaries who – again – were annoyed by a changing public soundscape, while the domestic usage was hardly talked about and thus, was hardly documented. Around 1980, 60% of the German households owned a combination radio recorder. By then, also the dispute between the generations had narrowed as the contemporary parents had been yesterdays beat and rock listeners. They often bought their kids simple radio recorder as a kind of first “electroacoustic basic equipment”²².

Leisure on the move: The Sony Walkman

Between 1979 and 1980, Sony introduced its first Walkman, the so called TPS-L2, in Japan, then the U.S. and in Germany. It was soon followed by a stylish and compact update, the “WM-2” which was to become the icon for the Walkman. In the first years of its appearance, among music fans, there was a wave of enthusiasm about this new music listening technology. However, it was also accompanied by a loud – and well documented – public voice of cultural criticism. In Germany, the latter identified the Walkman as a “technology for a generation which has nothing to talk any more”²³. In its first report on pocket stereos, the leading German news magazine *Der Spiegel* pictured youngsters eating and shopping together while individually listening to their Walkmans. The underline read: “Will the remainder of interpersonal communication die out?” Already one decade later, this strong cultural criticism of non-users had lost its influential voice, and on its twentieth birthday, the conservative German newspaper *F.A.Z.* unanimously called the Walkman a sign of “freedom”, “individualism”, and “pleasure always at call”²⁴, all of which were described as positive values. How did this change in the meaning of Walkman listening come about?

Public, yet discrete headphone listening: Sign of autism or autonomy?

The distinctive feature of the pocket stereo is that it can be used everywhere while on the move as it is worn rather than carried. Moreover, via its headphones, Walkman listening creates an individual, discrete space around the listener which circumjacent people cannot penetrate. This very feature of a private “leisure on the move” was both the object of the enthusiasm and the cause of the criticism. While users defined it as a tool to reach autonomy (Bull 2000, Hosokawa 1984), many cultural critics read the public headphone usage as a form of autism and civic retreat.

For this particular experience of a public, yet discrete listening, users later on coined the term of the “Walkman feeling” which was compared to being the star in a movie set. Walkman usage led to a new perception of both the music heard and the environment seen while moving around. For the users, these moments of merging discrete sensations with public everyday life, can be experienced as singular and by this, boring routines or passing situations like commuting and shopping become more bearable. Besides, many Walkman users had not experienced stereo headphone listening before and now were overwhelmed by the sound of the mini players, even if they did not fulfil the Hi-Fi Norm in the beginning. Walkman users mainly listened while doing other mobile – and thus rather public than domestic – activities like jogging, shopping, biking, skating, skiing, commuting. In the first wave of enthusiasm even car drivers drove around with headphones. At first, contemporaries

interpreted this as a passing fad, comparable to the skating boom. However, and in contrast to this, the fad turned into fashion and became a habitual practice in particular for teenagers. In 1984, 30% of the 12–15 year olds in West Germany owned a pocket stereo, shrinking to 5% of the 25–29 year old (Schönhammer 1988). Whereas the first walkmans had prices around 400 to 500 German Marks and thus, mainly were bought by adult music fans, cheap sets now were available for about 100 Marks.

In particular the Walkman use by teenagers affronted the public mind, and the criticism was mixed with a general debate about the so called “Zero Zest” (“Null Bock”) generation, i.e., teenagers who felt frustrated and seemingly were not motivated for any active social engagement any more. Also, the incipient social and political trends towards singlehood, individualization and economic liberalism with their emphasis on individual rather than group achievements were viewed critically. In the West-German debates of the early 1980s, the “yuppie” (i.e., the young urban and upwardly mobile professional) was the negative hero of the so called “elbow society”, a term which was chosen as the most popular word of the year 1982 and which refers to the rat-race society where the individual only wins by stopping the others with her/his elbows. This led to a climate in which the non-domestic usage of a headphone was read as a sign of reclusion, if not escapism.

The Walkman as icon of the mobile and flexible society

This interpretation of the Walkman as a sign of atomism and autism stood in stark contrast to the semiotization of the Walkman as a technology of fun by its producers. “Walkman doesn’t isolate people – it makes them happier”, the head of Sony, Akio Morita, was quoted in *People Weekly* when interviewed on the invention of the Walkman²⁵. Sony’s advertising showed Walkman users in a group situation, e.g., two teenagers listening to Walkmans while enjoying a beach walk. Besides, in their material designs, Walkmans were produced with two headphone jacks up to the mid-1980s. To convince both popular and classical music fans, Sony had distributed Walkmans among the whole music scene. In 1980 and 1981, mass media reported on the many famous users who had become fond of the technology like, e.g., the conductor of the Bayreuth Festspiele Pierre Boulez, Cliff Richards or Udo Lindenberg. In public discourse however, the critical voices had the overhand for at least the first half of the decade. Also the mediation discourse in consumer and audio journals contained critical side-hints to a potential anti-social effect of the Walkman, even though the accompanying photographs spoke a different language and showed happy and active users like skaters and joggers.

When in the course of the 1980s, the public attitude towards the neo-liberal trends shifted, also Walkman listening could change its meaning. Now, it shifted to the side of autonomy, and the Walkman lost its ambiguous semiotics oscillating between anti-socialness and teenage toy. However, this development started rather timidly, and the *Funkschau* began its first (!) test report on walkmans in 1984 as follows: “Granted, it takes a bit of courage to appear as a no longer young person with a cassette player and mini headphones in the street or in public transport”²⁶. More and more adults decided to be courageous and became walkman users. In West-Germany then, teenagers – through their ubiquitous appearance with walkmans – had paved the way for adults to dare to wear headphones in public, while in the domestic setting, audiophiles had already worn them for a long time to practice their music hobby. The

walkman continued to be the symbol of individualization and private leisure in public - however, this was not equated with atomism any more, but with a semantic field around the words mobility, flexibility, activity, and youthfulness. The jogger was and is the paradigmatic icon of this new lifestyle.

The existence of technologically refined walkmans helped adults to pick up this new practice of private mobile music listening, and the discman from 1985 gained a fast popularity among them. Because of its laser technology, it seemed to guarantee a hi-fi listening experience. Besides, the equipment was expensive enough to not be mistaken with a kid's toy. In 1991, the consumer journal *DM*, which by now aimed at a male, upper-class readership, described the portable CD-player as a lifestyle symbol for the mobile yuppie: "The traveller of the world has his favourite record in the luggage: the compact disc, to listen to on tour as well as back home in the best sound, without crackling and hissing, with a full tone from the deepest to the highest note, piano and fortissimo like in the original concert"²⁷. With portable discmans or stylish and high-priced walkmans, travelling business men could create their own "comfortable listening climate" (quote from *DM*) where-ever in need of this. *DM* even reported on one user who explained that he could best concentrate on his music in the railway as in this mobile public space nobody disturbed him. With portable music player, yuppies carved out an intimate space in public, e.g. while travelling, commuting or jogging. With a changing urban soundscape, people intentionally use the mobile music players to fade out unwanted soundscapes by replacing them with one's own one. Besides, audio books and even manager courses were sold. These were marketed for an in-between use, as to not waste any time. And in contrast to the efforts of Philips in the 1960s, now, language cassettes and also audio novels became increasingly popular. By the end of the 1980s, "alongside" and mobile activities as well as doing things "in-between" and in a multitasking mode were not the domains of housewives and teenagers any longer, and increasingly even are constructed as affordances of the post-industrial society. In contrast, the slogan "For Beethoven and the stock-market prices" met with no response at the end of the 1970s. It was used to market a small recorder ("Pearlcoder") which, due to its high tape quality, could be used for dictation for listening to music²⁸. However, both the hybrid design of the "Pearlcoder" and the mobile music listening it incorporated were no success as they did not fit into the concepts of work and recreation of the users of such high quality dictation equipment, i.e. businessmen. In its design, the first walkman refrained from such hybridity of work and leisure activities and materialized the idea of private mobile music listening while abandoning the recording function altogether. Thus, the walkman reduced the manifold functions of the tape recorder to one. In this, it can be interpreted as a "technical devolution" (Hosokawa 1984). But Sony's designers also culturally (re-)invented the tape recorder as a mobile headphone listening tool. With this, it became the most successful product so far in hi-fi history.

The Gameboy follows the steps of the Walkman

It was the walkman users themselves that, through their wide adoption of mobile listening, had the key role in the changing attitude towards discrete leisure in public spaces. The recent meaningfulness of "leisure on the move" for the mass consumers is also reflected in the fact that those generations that grew up during the 1980s are called the "Walkman generation". In many ways, the Gameboy and the respective "Gameboy generation", i.e., those that grew up

during the 1990s, paralleled the story of the Walkman. The first Gameboy only had a simple black and white display, a few buttons, and a design conceptualized as a “leisure on the move” tool for kids. Adults ridiculed the low quality of the screen. Even if Nintendo, in 1992, began to market its Gameboy to adults, namely with the slogan “Switch it on and tune off” to get away from it all after a hard working day (“Anschalten und Abschalten”), German adults dared to use it publicly only at the end of the century. Again, the technical sophisticated design of the so called “Game Boy Advanced” gave the adults a push. In its year of introduction (2001), nearly three million kids aged 10–17, i.e., 40% of this age group, had a Gameboy. Oscillating between irony and honesty, in 2001 the *F.A.Z.* constated that “(t)he gameboy is by no means an infantile toy, but an important civilizing contribution”, as it could be used against dullness on planes or trains or even in restaurants or during a congress or lecture²⁹. The cell phone might be the next iconic signature to name for yet another shift in everyday life practices connected to portable electronics. However, this time, the mobile technology not only serves as a tool to have mobile or in-between fun and relaxation, but also as an instrument to organize and coordinate work and leisure time.

Cell phones seen in the light of previous portable electronics

The cell phone of the 21st century is not only a tool to phone but also a portable music player, a radio, gameboy and organizer in one. Whereas the previous integration of work and leisure functions in one gadget, as e.g. in cassette recorders or dictating equipment, did not prove to be a success, cell phones nowadays are conceptualized as both working and leisure tool. In contrast to this, the portable phones up to the 80s were purely seen as business tools with the surplus of being able to connect to one’s family in case the work schedule changed. In design, advertising and also the visions of portable phones, leisure and fun aspects meanwhile even outweigh any work context, and it is mobile gaming which currently fires the hopes and visions of the wireless business (Paavilainen 2003). This fun orientation is also reflected in the designs. Whereas the portable phones up to the second half of the 90s had been angular, mostly black boxes imitating the user interfaces of pocket calculators, today’s cell phones have frisky buttons and rounded colourful designs imitating a Gameboy or a piece of jewelry. Some interfaces use jog-dials or joysticks to navigate through the programs, i.e. interfaces which users know from pumping up the volume in their hi-fi sets and video gaming respectively.

Comparable to the Walkman users, those of the cell phone create their own space while phoning in public. However, they give up nearly all discretion as everybody standing around can take part in half of the conversation. The only remaining discreteness lies in the fact that the communication partner only can guess about the whereabouts of the phoner. Besides, in the example of the cell phone, it becomes apparent that its original informative communication function turned into a social function and a means of recreation and having fun. The same had happened in the first decades of the 20th century with its stationary forerunner which was discovered mainly by female users as a tool to keep up social links, even if by exchanging gossip (Fischer 1992). Time statistics on leisure thus also should include the time spent on phones. However, it will be increasingly different to collect time data as multitasking and in-between activities increase.

Whereas, in practice, the use of cell phones during work remains a main aspect of its usage, this does hardly appear in today's advertising. It is mainly in ads for laptops, and also for palmtops and organizers (that however, are less and less discernable from cell phones!) that work is mentioned. In particular in the U.S., where the distinction between work and leisure never was as strict as e.g. in Germany, the industry advertises offensively with the argument that portable communication tools enable the user to take along the work into leisure spaces. As the heading for a handheld by T-Mobile and Blackberry promotes, the user can "(b)lur the line between "the office" and "the beach"". ³⁰ The main motif of this ad was a close-up view of shoes seen from below which belong to a businessman. He lies in the sand of a beach, crossing his feet and stretching his arms. Even if German advertising does not (yet?) promote the blurring as aggressively, today's users in their phoning habits actively blur the lines of private and work related phoning, often without even thinking too much about this.

The fun dimension as main advertising argument

In contrast to the mentioned American ad, German advertising of the last years increasingly has emphasised the fun dimension of cell phones. Recently, the German provider "T-Mobile" intensively used such a fun semiotization in its offer "T-zones". This is a service which bundles MMS, music, news on sports, movies and TV, and gaming and runs on certain cell phones by Nokia, Panasonic and Samsung. In the advertising brochures, it is presented as a "mobile experience world" ³¹. Not only can the user "experience" news or entertainment, but s/he can also share her/ his personal (fun and family connoted) "experiences", "impressions" and "feelings" by the visual documentation via photo and video camera. Gaming is presented as a possibility of "gaming in-between" and of experiencing "time and again excitement and fun purely". In sum, the cell phone is constructed as a tool to generate and to communicate (positive) emotions. And this is no singular case, as also Trium introduced its cell phones of 2000/1 under the heading "The zest for entertainment", and straightforwardly stated: "People want the fun that technology offers them. Trium cell phones offer that what you really want. The zest for entertainment." ³² Technology here just serves as a buzz word without any further mentioning.

Summary of the case study: Urban well-being through instant and mobile fun tools

Schulze's imperative to "experience one's life" (Schulze 1992) is not new per se, but it is already found in the advertising and the designs of the portable radios, tape recorders and phonographs of the 1950s and 1960s, however in the contemporary wording such as "good humour" and the imperative to take along music. However, the fun dimension gained prominence and support since around 1980 by both consumers and producers. Quantitatively, towards the end of the century, not only the design increasingly stressed the experience dimension, but also the mediation and advertising discourse which, since the 1970s, used the term "fun" and since the 90s, "sensation" ("Erlebnis"). Qualitatively, fun has been extending into more and more spaces of both leisure and work. The "music to take along" of the 1950s concentrated on leisure resorts like the private home, parties, or the public camping site or beach. Besides, the designs themselves were not yet conceptualized as an individual "leisure

on the move”, although, e.g., in form of the small pocket receivers, they would have allowed for this. Furthermore, in the 50s, individual fun of men with portable electronics was envisioned only in the role of the technical tinkerer or the tape amateur. Thus, even if the portables of the last five decades were advertised with the “anytime, anywhere” rhetoric, in which also today’s “wireless revolution” promoters so overduely engage, portables were not used anytime and anywhere, and besides, not by everybody. Rather, social norms and cultural values of the respective consumer culture influenced who – woman, man or teenager – manufactured her/his leisure where and how. E.g. the cheap phonograph was a fun-tool for young people whereas the (mostly male) grown-up consumer tended to define the “real” music listening as a domestic activity.

Teenagers then might be seen as the precursors of today’s mobile and fun oriented lifestyles, and it was on the teenage market where industry rehearsed the emphasis on design and lifestyle marketing in mass consumption products. Up to the 60s, teenagers were the ones who had – apart from some few travelling business men – the most mobile lifestyles, their life lacked a clear distinction between periods of leisure and those of economic productivity, and they valued the mobility of portable music players. They thus could be identified as the modern nomads of the post-WWII-decades gadding about in the clique.

“Leisure on the move” and instant, in-between pleasure became commonly accepted and valued practices only during the last two decades. This then took three forms: to accompany individual active sporting, to enable the individual to relax for a short period of time in his/her hectic, mobile lifestyle and besides, to not waste any time. In particular the walkman and the wider changes of society in the 80s did prepare the ground for the fast reception of the cell phone one decade later. The previous negotiations around “music to take along”, “portable pleasures” and “leisure on the move” gave way to today’s fun concept in which portables

serve for private fun anytime, anywhere. In the end, we are confronted with a situation of multitasking and short-term activities in which the spaces of production and reproduction are blurred as well as their previously clearly distinguished logics (rational vs. emotional; productive vs. recreative). In this hybrid situation, portables re-emerged as necessities to organize the hybridity and besides, as a vested claim of the individual to carve out her/his own space of fun or relaxation in everyday life. Listening to music became the most common way to do so. Portable music players by now are by themselves symbols of fun, well-being, and relaxation and are used accordingly even in advertising for other consumption offers. An example for this is a – rather clumsy – advertising for the cookie “LaViva” by the German brand “Bahlsen” (Picture 3). Under the heading “Feeling good now is eatable” we see the



picture of a woman who lies comfortably on a cushion placed on a wooden floor. Her head cannot be seen as it is covered with an oversized LaViva-cookie in close-up view. However, we can see the discman which is placed next to her and to which she is wired. Below this, we see a close-up of the package. A rather tiny text at the bottom margin explains its reader that the cookie contains “natural ingredients like fruits, milk and raw cane sugar (...)”. Like the pre-fabricated cookie – a mass product which is specifically designed to indulge in in-between, on a break or even alongside some other activity – we can consume music in between, as instant fun.

Did thus an encroachment of production into the leisure sphere take place, as cultural critics since Adorno and Horkheimer state who wrote that “Amusement under late capitalism is the prolongation of work” (Horkheimer, Adorno 1999, p. 137)? When taking into consideration that technology is applied on both consumers and producers side as an effective way to produce fun, the answer might be yes. When seeing ads that feature laptops on the knees of fathers placed in the garden and working while watching their kids, we might be tempted to also answer yes. However, one should keep in mind that in such advertising pictures, finally at least also the business man can be envisioned as a caring family father. In previous decades, it was only and always the housewife who practically had to deal with a hybridisation of work and leisure, of emotional and rational family work, and of multitasking and in-between activities. The distinction between work versus leisure and work-place versus home is a product of the industrial world itself and it might be time to think over these dualisms, in particular when seen in a gender perspective, as the distinction was also connected to dualistic gender concepts, be it in form of the housewife just mentioned or the idea of the creative-productive male hobbyist.

General conclusions on fun innovations and technology

What however is the specific part which technology takes up in the manufacturing of fun? As we have seen, different user groups have different aspirations towards technology and the way they experience fun with a technological product. Teenagers pursued their fun with portable electronics in a different way than hi-fi adepts. For the former, technology was just a means to ubiquitously listen to pop music while the latter also had fun by experimenting with that technology. For the latter, technological feasibility and techno-charged “rationality fictions” (Wengenroth 2004) like measurements for hi-fi norms and amounts of watts played a main role in constructing their fun experience. The successful innovations in consumption and leisure technologies then seem to be characterized by a creative “manufacturing” of a “fun experience” by which the producers attempt to suit a certain lifestyle – be it the pop culture oriented lifestyle of teenagers or the high tech and hi-fi aspirations of male grown ups. The main challenge lies in the materialization of the immaterial experience “fun” in those interfaces with which the consumer interacts and in trying to attach the right “fun semiotics” to the product / technology. Producers have to anticipate the – upcoming – consumer culture (Wengenroth 2001). Audio industry managed to do so in the case of the portable music players of the 50s and 60s aimed at the teenage market, with the cassette at the end of the 1970s, and with even more immediate success, Sony did so with the Walkman.

By suggesting certain leisure practices which the consumers might follow or not, criticize or subvert, producers thus take part in the creation of the consumer culture. For the consumers, the active co-construction of "having fun" apparently became the main characteristic of many consumption technologies. On both the consumers and the producers' side, aesthetics, emotions and socio-cultural aspects are gaining importance at the expense of the "hard" technological facts. Even in male lifestyle magazines, at the end of the 90s, high-tech portables were presented as fun tools. For example, the German pendant to *Wired*, a journal named *Konr@d*, presented such gadgets under the heading "objects of lust" ("Lustobjekte") and described them accordingly. The question then is, how producers "semiotize" technology as "experience" and "fun", and how consumers relate to the science-tech-basis of their leisure consumption. For Mr. and Mrs. Everybody, a too deep "involvement" into the technical functionalities might hinder the feeling of pleasure, as e.g. the many complaints about "too difficult" tape recorders around 1960 or those about VCR interfaces suggest. Producers, on the other hand, do not just "blackbox" the science-tech-basis of their products. Certain technical aspects are named, while only some might be actually explained. However, other technical features are "colour boxed" rather than black boxed, as cultural and emotional attributes are associated with them. E.g. in the beginning of the 1960s, the transistor was described as "modern" – it let "men's hearts beat higher", as one ad emphasized. When spaceflight became hip and entered popular culture in the 1970s, the integrated circuits of the cassette recorders were "colourboxed" as space tools and some recorders were even designed in a military space look. Thus, producers only "blackbox" those elements of science and technology which they expect to be non-relevant for the consumers, e.g. because consumers are already used to them or they do not or even should not get in contact with them. To the other science-tech-aspects they discursively attach a colourful semiotics which fits into the lifestyles of the users and facilitates their experience of fun and pleasure.

Notes

1. Cf. ad in the journal *Hifi-Markt*, No. 3, 1980, p. 2.
2. Cf. *Stereo Review*, Aug. 1994, pp. 58–63. Also with the heading “Portable Pleasures”: *Stereo Review's Sound & Vision*, July/Aug., 1999, pp. 72–81. In 1970, a report in *High fidelity* was titled “The Pleasures of Portables”. May 1970, pp. 47–52.
3. Cf., also for the following: Eberhard, Fritz: *Der Rundfunkhörer und sein Programm. Ein Beitrag zur empirischen Sozialforschung*. Berlin 1962, here p. 75f.
4. Cf. Borgmann, Grete: *So wohnt sich's gut. Mensch und Heim im technischen Zeitalter*. Freiburg i. Br. 1957, p. 38.
5. Cf. ad in *Funkschau*, No. 4, 1950, back of the journal.
6. Cf. *Funk-Technik*, 1954, p. 433 (“Marktforschung, eine Grundlage des Fortschrittes”).
7. Ad in *Funkschau*, No. 7, 1960, p. 165 (“Nimm Musik mit auf die Reise”; “Musik belebt, Musik entspannt, mit Musik geht's eben besser.”)
8. Cf. *Funkschau*, 1954, No. 7, p. 123.
9. Cf. brochure “Nordmende Programm-Illustrierte”, 1977/78, p. 56, in: Deutsches Museum, Archiv, FS Nordmende.
10. Cf. Repräsentativbefragg von ca 1000 Jugendlichen zwischen 15–24 Jahren, angestellt vom NWDR, Abt Hörerforschung, im Frühjahr 53, p. 32.
11. Cf. e.g.: Schilling, Johannes: *Freizeitverhalten Jugendlicher. Eine empirische Untersuchung ihrer Gesellungsformen und Aktivitäten*. Weinheim u Basel 1977; Burger, Johannes: *Freizeitverhalten Jugendlicher im peripheren Raum – Beispiele aus dem Landkreis Tirschenreuth*. Univ. Bayreuth, Bayreuth 1983 (which concentrates on rural leisure activities).
12. Cf.: *Jugendwerk der Deutschen Shell* (ed.): *Jugend. Bildung und Freizeit, dritte Untersuchung zur Situation der Deutschen Jugend im Bundesgebiet*. Bearb. von Viggo Blücher. Hamburg (around 1965).
13. Cf. *Twen*, no. 2, 1961, pp. 30–33 (“Ein Handliches Thema mit 14 Variationen”).
14. Cf. teenagerboy in: *Funkschau*, No. 6, 1959, p. 227; other ads in: *Twen*, namely: Mirastar: in No. 4, 1961, p. 87: (“... auf der Reise, beim Camping oder bei einer Party - MIRASTAR S 15 bringt Stimmung, er zaubert gute Laune.“), Dual in No. 6/1961, p. 13. (“für alle, die jung sind und sich jung fühlen!”; “Zündende Rhythmen, beschwingte Tanzschritte, Gespräche über den neuesten ”Hit“ - das ist die prickelnd-frische Atmosphäre junger Menschen.”); and No. 4, 1962, p. 85 (“Transistoren bitten zum Tanz“). The Teeny Weeny in *Funkschau*, No. 9, 1962, p. 491 (“Teeny Weeny macht Musik in jeder Lage – aus dem Äther, von der Platte”).
15. Cf. *DM*, Nr. 8, 1967, pp. 26ff, here p. 27 (“DM Test Stereo Plattenspieler”). As an example for the hearing loss, *DM* even referred to its own testing experiences, and confessed that in its practical tests of phonographs, the 18 test listeners hardly could realize the strains, noises and sound deficiencies that the special lab instrumentation very well pinpointed! Thus, the technological measurement served to measure the expected human experience.

16. Cf. brochure "Cassetten Recorder", undated, in: Deutsches Museum, Archiv, FS Philips.
17. Cf. *Bravo*, No. 37, 1965, p. 36f; quiz: p. 12.
18. Cf. the newspaper report: "Show aus der Schachtel. Kassetten auf dem Vormarsch". In: *Rheinischer Merkur*, Nov. 1, 1974, p. 19.
19. Cf. Kinder, Medien, Märkte.
20. Cf. Zeppenfeld, Werner: Tonträger in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Anatomie eines medialen Massenmarktes. Bochum 1978, p. 25f.
21. For the ad of the classical cassettes cf.: *Stereo*, H. 22, 1975, p. 19ff. This advertisement was four pages long and covered as a "special issue" on classics; it stated that already 1,5 million cassette players are installed in cars and that experts have found the positive effect of self chosen music on the driving behaviour. For the trend research on cassette vs. record cf.: *Funkschau*, H. 2, 1979, p. 69 ("4. Trenduntersuchung", p. 69f).
22. Cf. for statistics and parents buying their kids boomboxes: *Test*, No. 12, 1980 ("Billige Kombis für junge Hörer"), pp. 21-27.
23. Cf. *Stereoplay*, H. 2, 1981, p. 13. For the following Spiegel-quote, cf. *Der Spiegel*, H. 24, 8.6.1981, pp. 210-213 ("High und fidel").
24. Cf. *F.A.Z.*, July 27, 1999. p. T1 f ("Als die Töne laufen lernten").
25. Cf. *People Weekly*, 1981, p. 85 ("Inventors. Akio Moriat`s Walkman lets everyone march – or boogie – to his own drummer").
26. Cf. *Funkschau*, H. 16, 1984, p. 29 ("Gebrauchstest: tragbare Kassettenspieler. Jeder ein Meister auf seine Art.", S. 29-31).
27. Cf. *DM*, 1991, H. 12, p. 58-61 ("Walk, Don't Run": tragbare Cd-Player), here p. 58.
28. Cf. the PearlCoder ads in the journal *ffh*, No. 3, 1980, p. 9. Cf. also the ads from 1979 (*ffh*, No. 7, p. 2) and the journals report on recorders in: *ffh*, No. 7, 1979, p. 20.
29. Cf. the following reports on the Gameboy: *Wiener Zeitung*, Nov. 16, 2001 (here the sentence: "Mit dem neuen Game Boy Advance kann man sich nun endlich auch als Volljähriger sehen lassen."); *Wirtschaftswoche*, March 27, 1992, quote from *FAZ*, Dec. 27, 2001 ("Der Gameboy. Unterwegs mit Super Mario").
30. Cf. ad in the *Washington Post*, Febr. 10, 2004, p. E 12.
31. Cf. brochure of T-Mobile: "Entertainment pur: Erleben Sie die Welt von t-zones!"
32. Cf. advertising brochure "Trium. Mobiltelefone 2000/2001. Die Lust auf Unterhaltung".

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Producing extreme experience and outdoor lifestyle: a case of a wristop computer

Tanja Kotro

“Suunto’s Wristop Computers offer the outdoorsman all features necessary to get maximum pleasure out of the outdoor experience” (www.suunto.fi/wristop).

Introduction

This article is based on a study of the product development process of a wristop computer product line. Wristop computers are watch size equipment held on the wrist, combining functions such as the altimeter, barometer, compass, watch and heart rate monitor, designed for diving, sailing, hiking, mountaineering and other outdoor sports. The study was conducted during 1999–2002 for the author’s doctoral thesis (Kotro 2005).

The case company

Suunto was established by outdoorsman Tuomas Vohlonen in 1936 in Helsinki, Finland, for producing liquid-filled compasses. Compasses were important for armies. Suunto had supplied 100 000 compasses to the Finnish army by 1944, when the Continuation War with the Soviet Union came to an end. International markets became important with the coming of peace. By the year 1950, Suunto was exporting compasses to 50 countries including Canada and the United States.

An important new product line was started in 1997, when the first wristop diving computer “Spyder” was launched. The Spyder and Stinger wrist-held diving computers are today well-known products among divers around the world. In the year 1998 “an entirely new product category”, wristop computers, was generated partly based on the know-how gained in manufacturing diving computers.

Until recently, the Finnish corporation Suunto was known mainly for field compasses and diving instruments. Today, it is the world’s largest manufacturer of field compasses and a leading manufacturer of diving instrumentation, and it is also known for wristop computers for outdoor use.

Wristop computers and diving instruments were the fastest-growing product categories in Suunto still in the year 2001. Suunto net sales were 83.4 million euros. In 1998, Suunto net sales were 40.3 million euros, when the first wristop computer for outdoor use (“Vector”) was launched in August.



Picture: Vector Wristop Computer.

The invention of a new product category

In 1996 Suunto began to develop a new product category: a watch-size computer with an altimeter, barometer, compass and watch for demanding outdoor use. At first, the new product development process was driven by the company know-how in making small equipment with numerous technical details and functions, gained through the manufacture of compasses and diving instruments.

Soon, however, the issue of emerging lifestyles was raised alongside the more technical considerations. Today, Suunto's diving computers are market leaders, appreciated by professionals and coveted by amateurs. As managing director Dan W. Colliander points out, "Our largest product in the USA in terms of turnover is our top-of-the-range titanium dive computer, which costs \$1400. Before we joined the market, the average price for the dive computer was \$250. ... Many find it important to be not just divers, but titanium divers". Market growth is constrained only by a lack of components (Bluewings 2001).

Thus, in the final years of the 1990s, the product development process was converted quite rapidly from a technically-driven effort into a market-driven project. The meanings connected to the product became more and more important. The most significant of these, it turned out, had to do with the product environment of watches, on the one hand, and the needs and values of outdoor culture and the human being challenging him/herself in outdoor life and adventure, on the other. The image of the product became as important as its technical performance. Thus over ten per cent of the product development expenses were dedicated to the design of the product.

Wristop computers as an expression of lifestyle

The wristop computer can be seen as a lifestyle product. What I mean by this is that a product is desired for its “sign-value” rather than simply because of its use value. A product can thus be seen as part of the aestheticization of everyday life and the creation of identity through consumption.

The trend towards the aestheticization of everyday life is widely acknowledged in studies of consumer culture (Baudrillard 1998/1976; 1999/1970; de Certeau 1984; Davis and Gregory 2003; Douglas and Isherwood 1980; du Gay 1997; Featherstone 1991; Jameson 1991; Lash and Urry 1994, Lury 1997; McCracken 1988). The *Zeitgeist* is described as heavily aestheticized and stylized. In these analyzes of consumer culture, lifestyle products play an important role in social groupings and the shaping of identities.

For Holbrook, status and esteem are important components of consumer value. “Consumers choose the products they consume and the consumption experiences they pursue, in part, as a set of symbols intended to construct a persona that achieves *success* in the form of *status* in the eyes of others” (Holbrook 1999, 16).

Suunto’s wristop computers are made for demanding outdoor sports but as watch-size and watch-like equipment held on the wrist, they can be used as accessories. Used as such, these products tell about the sporty, challenging and therefore sexy lifestyle of their owner.

Producing lifestyle

The desirability of wristop computers can be understood in relation to “extreme” and outdoor culture becoming fashionable in general. Life style magazines and advertisements for, for example, mobile phones and sporting goods indicate that extreme sports (mountain climbing, ice climbing and so on) are widely used as visual images in the media.

The specific desirability of Suunto wristop computers is related to the context of adventure sports. In the US, where outdoor culture is not merely a hobby but more of a lifestyle, this means that the product environment includes things like clothes with special features for difficult weather conditions and unique devices such as knives and tiny, powerful flashlights. The outdoor lifestyle is covered by strong brands such as North Face, and manifested in movies like *Vertical limit* (released in the USA in December 2000) where a group of mountain climbers falls into a gap in K2, the second tallest mountain in the world. Suunto, for its part, has created a strong brand by appealing to the market through professional climbers – for example, a Finnish mountain climber who has climbed many of the 8000 meter summits of the world, K2 among them. During his expeditions, this climber tests the wristop computers and presents his feedback to Suunto’s research and development team. Together with the test results, his appearance in the media gives visibility and credibility to the product. Recent advertisements for the outdoor wristop computer product line carry images of cliffs and climbers, bringing Suunto closer to the current fashion trend also in watches, clothes, mountain bikes and rucksacks at a more general level.

Emerging markets for the sporty lifestyle

During the product development, several different representations are created of the product, its users and their culture. Where do representations of users and their culture come from? There is no single author for the representations. If “things” have authors, they are collectives (from their distinctive viewpoints see Barthes, 1993; Latour 1987, 1999). These collectives, or collective authors, are formed of persons as well as of material objects. An important source for representations is the diversity of cultural artefacts, the mediating objects, linked to a certain lifestyle, as can be seen in the extract below:

“What would be an interesting feature in this kind of device – ideas come from everywhere. You read magazines, watch television, visit fairs, talk with other people or you see something and suddenly you think: we [the company] are already doing this, and this could also be used for this and that...” [...]

I, for my part, follow American outdoor and lifestyle magazines, everything from Men’s Health to skiing and outdoor and also trade. I think the focus should be more on lifestyle magazines. [...] Men’s Health is a lifestyle and health magazine, it is not about health alone but more about lifestyle and certain identity. And American magazines, Vogue and Elle and that kind of magazines for women, that are up to date on what is trendy and on sports and fitness.” [Product manager, February 2000]

Advertisements often present the sporty lifestyle, but there seem to be new variations of the sporty lifestyle now and then, and therefore also new product opportunities.

At the same time as Suunto was developing the outdoor computer, the sports gear manufacturer Nike launched its “Triax” collection of digital watches with an exceptional, diagonal form. There was an efficient marketing campaign, and Triax attracted a lot of attention at the Salt Lake City outdoor retail fair of 1997 and in trend magazines. Even though the digital sports watch and the multifunctional computer for outdoor use were not considered to fall into the same product category, Suunto’s management and marketing people noticed that a new market, the market for fashionable comparatively expensive watches, was emerging among Western consumers – also for Suunto’s new product. Influenced by the launch of Nike’s Triax, the design concept of Suunto wristop computers was shifted in a more fashionable direction. The first outdoor computer, Vector, was launched in 1998. In the following year, Suunto’s Vector wristop computer was awarded in the Pro Finnish Design competition for its innovative combination of technology, design and user friendliness.

An important role is also played by mediators – different persons, images and products that are linked together – introducing new cultural landscapes into product development. The concept of the “cultural landscape” of a product was developed in our article *Product development and changing cultural landscapes -Is our future in “snowboarding”?* (Kotro and Pantzar 2002), meaning the cultural interpretations and meanings that are related to a specific product. In that article it was noted that when mediators, such as consultants or media persons, move a cultural landscape (through speech, text and images) from one industry to another, they simultaneously often simplify the existing representations. “Extreme” is this kind of a simplification that has been popular in recent years.

Linking people and products: selling “the extreme”

The word “extreme” is a marketing term (Lopiano-Misdorn & De Luca 1997, 22–23). In the interviews for my study in Suunto I noticed that “extreme” and “fashion” are not words used by the people working in Suunto. Engineers favored technological terms and premises, while marketing people talked about “wanna-be”-users, who use wristop computers as fashion items.

But what does the “wanna-be” – user of a product want (to be)?

TK Why is this product attractive, what is your opinion?

Interviewee: [...] It [the wristop computer] is attractive to professionals. They are not interested in images of the product. The product has also developed into a wanna be –product for those who want to communicate that they sometimes dive and they therefore need the functions of the product. I think it is the same thing as in the States, where there are these city jeeps, huge cars, which are probably never used in the conditions they are made for. They [cars] are those SUVs, what’s the word, sport utility vehicle [...] [Marketing sector, March 2001]

Wanna-bes are associated in this interview with the users of other “oversized” or “misused” products that are in fashion especially in the US. Even though their features and capacity are designed to meet the needs of extreme conditions, SUVs and wristop computers are mainly used as part of everyday activities, within the city life where *extreme* is only an image – though a powerful one, as a Finnish mountain climber describes:

Mountain climbing is considered a hero’s act, it is only done by brave young men. And when you do these dangerous things, you are noticed among women in the night life. [...] Mountain climbing excites because of its false image. In fact it is not a sports achievement at all but more about planning and patience. [climber Veikka Gustafsson in television talk show 4.6.2001]

From the marketing perspective, users are understood primarily as representing different lifestyles. In the Suunto case, central questions are where they prefer to buy products, what they wish to communicate with the products they use, whom they wish to identify with and what are their “dreams” and “wishes”, as an interviewee expressed it. The “user” in the Suunto case, is articulated either as a “professional sportsman” or a “wanna-be”.

By the time wristop computers became popular, the lifestyle of “bourgeois bohemians” was a fashion trend that started in California and had some trendy followers in Finland, too.

It is said that the bourgeois bohemian lifestyle connects money with the values of freedom and creativity of the information age. Feeling free requires a great variety of different products. Flower power, which was manifested by singing and playing the guitar during the 1960s, has its manifestation nowadays in the Volkswagen Beetle. This unity of the “free-wheeling spirit of the hippies and the entrepreneurial zeal of the yuppies” is an ideology that is “achieved through a profound faith in the emancipatory potential of the new information technologies. In the digital utopia, everybody will be both hip and rich.” (Barbrook and Cameron 1999).

Brooks (2001) describes that bourgeois bohemian lifestyle as a mixture of bourgeois and hippie attitudes:

“It used to be easy to tell a bourgeois from a bohemian. And the bourgeois were the straight-laced suburban types, went to church, worked in corporations. And the bohemians were the arty free spirits, the rebels. But if you look at upscale culture, at the upper middle classes, the people in Silicon Valley, you find they've smashed all the categories together. Some people seem half yuppie-bourgeois and half hippie-bohemian. And so if you take bourgeois and bohemian and you smash them together, you get the ugly phrase “bobo.””

Bourgeois bohemians, “bobos”, buy things that they consider “tools” rather than “luxury”. They admire Range Rovers instead of Corvettes, and Gore-Tex instead of silk. And possibly a Suunto wristop instead of a Rolex?

Thus, at the time when the wristop computer became a market-driven project, it was linked to this free spirit of hi-tech in advertisements. Importantly, wristops were also used in this manner according to my observations: using a mountaineering wristop with a suit to communicate the mountaineers’ lifestyle. Both the producer and some users captured something that was in the air that time, even though “fashion” is not a word that many of the organization members are willing to link to their products.

Extreme is part of the rise of the “outdoor culture”

What is the way of life of outdoor culture? The interviewees see it as a culture with differences in different countries. One of the interviewees, from the marketing sector, explains that

In the US, outdoor is a lifestyle, it is technical and there are powerful image brands like North Face, which has lots of products and mainly technical clothing and then there are other technical equipment like Leatherman and Mag Lite and [...]. Outdoor is not a trend for us [in Finland] because for us it is evident that we have nature and we can go jogging or walking in to the woods in peace. [Marketing manager, January 2000]

What is interesting is that the technical equipment described in the extract above makes walking “power-walking“:

If we speak about outdoor activities here [in Finland] and if we ask people what do you think, what do outdoor activities mean to you, they say [it means] that you put on a shell suit and go for a walk. For Americans it is power-walking [laughing]. [Marketing manager, January 2000]

Outdoor activities enter the realm of *efficiency* through the use of technical devices. In fact, walking is not always “just“ walking. In Finland today, it is walking with poles, which were formerly used only for skiing – now they are used to make walking more efficient fitness-wise (discussed more in the article by Timonen and Oksanen-Särelä in this book).

The media form an important mediator for creating an understanding of users and articulating them from this perspective. The Suunto employees’ habit of following different

media has an important role for understanding what is up-to-date. Together with the media, there are of course more formal techniques of market analysis – surveys, studying other products in terms of image and functions, and conducting design concept analyses with user groups – but the role of the media is crucial in linking together people and products.

Different perspectives on selling the sporty lifestyle

From a research and development perspective, the process of developing wristop computers for outdoor use started from technological premises. Important issues from this perspective are “ergonomics”, “usability”, “display” and “user needs”. The user is articulated as a “slalom skier”, a “mountaineer” or a “sailor”. Users are “sportsmen”. Ways of building up a picture of the user include technical research, studying other products and doing user tests to study usability and user experience. Product development as a whole is a multi-phase process, which is influenced by many unforeseen actors.

The design perspective combines the previous two: the perspectives of marketing and research and development. Images, technical solutions and usability issues are all discussed from the design perspective. The user is understood and articulated mainly through visual images and by studying other products. The designer’s professional experience, “common sense” and ability to put oneself on the line are referred to as resources for work. As an outsourced activity (as it was at that time in Suunto), design encounters the product development process as a outcome of an ongoing negotiation between different perspectives inside the organization, so that at one time, the marketing perspective overrides and at another, engineers have more voice.

How to find an appealing story?... sports as a strategy in marketing communications

Telling stories has recently been seen in the business literature as a key to success . Rolf Jensen, a Danish futurologist, claims that we live in “dream society”, in which people thrive on stories. Stories make products or services into symbols of freedom, individuality and success. (Jensen 1999).

In the Suunto case, when it was studied how people in the product development team create an understanding of users and buyers, it was found that they themselves are enthusiasts in “extreme” sports. In the study (Kotro 2005) it was found that sports communities are an important reference for understanding users in product development, which is referred to with a concept developed in the study, the concept of “hobbyism”.

Interestingly, what happened in the product development process of wristop computers from the marketing perspective, was that the “hobbyism” of the employees became an important story for marketing the lifestyle product carrying an image of extreme outdoor sports . Let us look at this development more closely.

Towards the end of my research project in Suunto, the importance of the sports orientation of the employees turned into a more explicit strategy, as the company’s sports background

became an argument in marketing communications. For example, in a job advertisement in newspaper in April 2001, Suunto announced three open jobs: an interface designer, a software developer and a component engineer. In the advertisement there were factual descriptions of each job.



purjehdus sukellus kiipeily tennis golf...

- haluatko ammattilaiseksi?

Suunto Oy on Suomessa vanha ulottuvuilla tulevaisuuden urheiluurheiluun. Kehitämme maailman halutuinta urheiluvälineistöä vaatilla markkinoilla. Yhteistyökumppanimme on huipputeknologian jaloittaminen tuotteen ja käyttöjärjestelmän tuotteen. Loppukäyttäjämme kavaa jatkuvasti - sillä heidän olemme maailman johtava sukellus ja ulkoilatuotteiden valmistaja.

Suunto Oy on osa Alton konsernia, joka on yksi maailman johtavia urheiluvälinevalmistajia (Atmos, Wilson, Suunto). Uudet, modernit toimintamme ovat Vantaan Tuusula, jossa työskentelee n. 250 alansa huippuammattilaista. Suunnolla on työntekijöitä ympäri maailmaa. Yrityksellä Suunton palveluksessa on noin 550 henkilöä. Tuotantomme on 90 % markaa vientinä. Liiketoimintamme vuosina 2000 oli 420 Mln€.

Haemme tuotekehitykseen:

Käyttöliittymäsuunnittelijaa
 Minkäläinen muotoiluamme laajaa vahvistukseen määrittämisen käyttöliittymän perusteiden graafisiin. Tällä suunnittelijalla on laajaa urheilu- ja vapaa-aikaa käyttöä - kokenut ja näkösi vahvat. Suunnolla tuotteen, ulkoilun taidot auttaa sinua sukelluksen tuotteen suunnitteluun.

Ohjelmistosuunnittelijaa (sukellus- ja järjestelmät)
 Olet koulutukseltaan ohjelmistojen suunnittelija ja koodaaja. Sinulla on muutama vuoden kokemus sukelluksen järjestelmän ohjelmistojen ja mikrokontrollerien. Olet yhteistyökykyinen ja viihtyvä työssäsi. Kommunikointi sujuvasti myös englanniksi ja olet toimittanut kansainvälistä toimintaa.

Ohjelmistosuunnittelijaa / koodaajaa
 Tule mukaan suunnittelemaan PC-rajapintaa ja samalla kehittämään urheilu- ja vapaa-aikaa ohjelmistojen ohjelmistojen. Pääset työskentelemään erittäin mielenkiintoisissa urheilu- ja vapaa-aikaa ohjelmistojen kanssa. Ohjelmistojen koodaaminen C++:llä ja Java:lla, joihin kokonaisuus kytkeytyy työhön ja komponenttien suunnitteluun.

Komponentti-insinööriä (sukellus- ja järjestelmät)
 Tavoitteenamme on suunnitella ja kehittää sukellus- ja vapaa-aikaa ohjelmistojen osat. Olet koulutukseltaan insinööri ja koodaaja. Sinulla on muutama vuoden kokemus sukelluksen järjestelmän ohjelmistojen suunnitteluun ja koodaamiseen. Olet yhteistyökykyinen ja viihtyvä työssäsi. Kommunikointi sujuvasti myös englanniksi ja olet toimittanut kansainvälistä toimintaa.

Liikettäjä Kimmo Pentti, puh. 020 8758 7132, ma ja ti 11-16.
 Liikettäjä Kauko Herronniemi, puh. 020 8758 7144, ma ja ti 13-15.
 Liikettäjä Markku Seppälä, puh. 020 8758 7150, to 12-17.

Hakemukset 25.4. mennessä
 Suunto Oy / Leena Heimonen, Välnäntie 7, 01510 Vantaa, leena.heimonen@suunto.fi

SUUNTO
 www.suunto.com

Picture: Job advertisement in newspaper Helsingin Sanomat 8th April 2001.

The interesting thing was the layout of the advertisement, as well as its appealing title. In the left column there is a picture of a sailing boat sailing in stormy water with the crew on deck. The picture takes up almost half of the advertisement. There is list of words added to the picture: “sailing”, “diving”, “climbing”, “tennis”, “golf”. The title is “Do You Want to Become a Professional?” The association, because of the layout, addresses the question in this form: “Do you want to become a professional in sailing, diving, climbing, tennis or golf?” Also, the “embeddedness” of sports in this organization is articulated on an even more explicit level; the advertisement suggests that if one wishes to become a user interface designer in Suunto, “a background in sports helps you to dive into our challenging world”.

Being a sportsman and working in Suunto were also linked together when the company website was opened for the public (in the beginning of 2002), and a story of the company history was written for that site. Before that, company communications had focused on future developments, rather than the history of the firm.

The history of the company is build around the founding father of the company:

“Tuomas Vohlonen was an outdoors man and a keen orienteering enthusiast, and had long been bothered by a problem: the inaccuracy of traditional dry compasses and their lack of steady needle operation.

An inaccurate reading meant that he could often miss a control point on an orienteering route. This bothered Vohlonen big time. Being an engineer with an inventive turn of mind, he decided to make the problem go away.

His solution? To fill a field compass with liquid. The result? A much steadier needle, better readings, and a new level of accuracy.

Vohlonen's invention also gave birth to Suunto Oy. The year? 1936.”

(www.suunto.com)

The launching of a net community (suuntosports.com) in spring 2002 acknowledged the employees' sports background on a more explicit level by publishing records the employees have broken in sports.

Together with that, an article in a Finnish business magazine in June 2002 turned the sports background into an explicit marketing strategy for the firm. In the article, Suunto's managing director emphasized that it is important for the brand that both sportsmen within the company and sports professionals outside the company participate in the product development. The title of the article was “Knowing sports and knowing oneself are the corner stones of the Suunto brand” (Kauppalehti, 2002). In 2003, hobbyism is still an important part of the company's communications. When the managing director is interviewed, the sports background of different employees is also presented:

Elite troupes at your service!

Suunto, a company manufacturing diving computers, compasses and wristop computers, currently employs 280 people. The products, which are assembled by hand, are manufactured in Finland. Key positions in the company are held by former top athletes and passionate sportsmen.

The managing director, Dan Colliander, is a seasoned yachtsman. Sales director Ian Crichton is a former officer of the British army. Designer Topi Lintukangas is a former triathlete, and up to the present, has won the world championship in free diving three times. Product manager Sten Stockmann, who is responsible for the line of diving products, is a champion in cliffdiving. Controller Jukka Hartonen has competed in cross-country skiing on the national and international level.

Orienteers in the company include the director of the design department, Kimmo Pernu, who has done orienteering together with the Finnish champions in the sport. The product manager in camping and endurance sports, Terho Lahtinen, practices orienteering on the national level, and participates in adventure competitions together with the world champions.

Network applications manager Antti Kärävä has competed in freestyle moguls at the World Cup level. Markus Kemetter, who works on the software team in product development, takes part in world-class triathlon events. Satu Rahkonen, working in the same department, is a swimmer who has

participated in national championships and been on the Finnish team in international events.

(Taloussanomat 12 March 2003)

The importance of a sporty lifestyle as an appealing image for selling the story of “extreme” is clear to Suunto, but it can be also argued that sports is an important cultural reference in general. In this specific case, it seems that having sports oriented employees working in product development turned out to be crucial for marketing, as well as important for developing new products through an enhanced understanding of users.

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MIKA PANTZAR & ELIZABETH SHOVE
(eds.) (2005)

Manufacturing leisure

Innovations in happiness, well-being and fun



Photo: Petteri Repo.

Part III

CONTENTS – PART III

THE ART OF LOVING WOODEN BOATS.....	173
Mikko Jalas	
DIVERSIFICATION OF PRACTICE – THE CASE OF NORDIC WALKING.....	198
Katja Oksanen-Särelä, Päivi Timonen	
INNOVATIONS IN FUN: THE CAREERS AND CARRIERS OF DIGITAL PHOTOGRAPHY AND FLOORBALL.....	214
Mika Pantzar, Elizabeth Shove, Martin Hand	
WORKING OUT FOR WELL-BEING.....	235
How fitness and wellness have reframed the paradoxes of body leisure	
Gwen Bingle	
POSTSCRIPT	256
Mika Pantzar, Elizabeth Shove	

The art of loving wooden boats

Mikko Jalas

V and P live in Helsinki. They have acquired a 30 ft wooden sailboat. The sloop was built in Finland in 1935 for racing purposes, it belongs to a popular class with more than 300 boats built with the same design and has had various owners across the country during the course of the 69 years of its life. On average, the ownerships of the boat have lasted 4 years. V&P have owned and been in charge of the boat for 4 years. The previous owners had the boat for 6 years and sold it because it lacked room for the newborn child in the family. The preceding owners had the boat for 5 years and sold it to buy a newer boat in the same design.

The first summer of V&P involved learning the basic skills of sailing, as neither of them had really sailed before. Minimum safety rules concerning mooring and winter storage were imposed on them by the yacht club they joined, which was the one in which the previous owner had been a member. The national inspection rules pointed out lacking equipment and provided a checklist of new products to purchase. After a few tries together with the previous owner to grasp the basic skills of handling and steering the boat, the couple took off by themselves. The amounting experiences at sea have been complemented by a navigation lecture series in which both of them have participated during the following winters. In addition, V&P subscribe to a boating magazine called 'Vene', as well as a specialised wooden boat magazine Puuvene. V also daily checks the Internet discussion page for wooden boats.

Aside from learning how to maintain and use the boat, especially V has devoted time to documenting the history of the hobby on the web-site of the boat, which includes the available information on the prior owners, a description of various renovations from the past history of the boat and collected written and film material of boats in the same class. The website is also linked to the various other sites of wooden boats and particularly to the boats in the same class. V is proud of the fact that the site has once been selected among the top ten boating sites by the Vene-magazine.

Both of the current owners have a design education. V is working as an industrial designer and P has a degree in clothing design. Hence, both of them share an interest in working with materials. During the first winter they undertook no major reparations. Shelves were added, storage facilities were improved and new equipment, such as navigation lights and a GPS navigator, was bought and installed. During the second winter, they stripped the paint from the bottom, repainted the bottom after first impregnating the surface, and rebuilt the transom.

Such maintenance procedures involve extensive planning and engage a large number of commercial and non-commercial actors. A good example is given by their efforts during the following winter, when the deck cloth was replaced. This work was initiated by the small cracks in the seam of the canvas and the

sideboards. The replacement effort was started by reading available practical texts about doing such work. In the fall, they removed all the metalwork on the deck, the centre-board and the side-boards as well as the cloth covering the deck. During the winter, the removed metal parts received a new surface treatment according to advice from colleague K. After viewing the available commercial Internet catalogues for additional deck ventilation parts, V decided to post an add on the Internet discussion page. He soon received e-mails on available used parts from other hobbyist.. Another colleague, J, provided help with acquiring new interior lights from a 1950's car to be installed on the new centreboard and a friend, J, who is an electrician, promised to install the lights. AM, the wife of still another colleague, was to be responsible for the printed name signs to be installed on the deck. Besides the new metal parts to be installed, V&P needed to acquire many special materials: A-4 stainless steel screws, the new cloth, the nails for installing the cloth, paint, which 'glues' the cloth to the wooden deck, and the new timber.

V had read on the Internet discussion site about a Stockholm-based shop selling cotton cloth for various traditional maritime purposes. After making a paper model of the deck, they thus undertook a journey from Helsinki to Stockholm and selected a special, thick deck cloth. The problem of attaching the cloth proved troublesome. V had planned to use a pressure-air gun and stainless rivets. However, after contacting the importer of the staplers, he was able to conclude that none of the rental companies rented a stapler that was compatible with the available stainless rivets. Refusing to buy such a stapler, V&P decided to use small copper nails. A box of 1000 nails was acquired from a maritime antique shop in Helsinki.

The timber choice was regulated by the class rule. V&P decided to stick with the original choice and selected oak. Oak in proper dimensions was only available in a special shop 100 km away from Helsinki, the location of the boat and V&P, who possess no car. It was also not available in the right thickness. Thus, V agreed with a carpenter N, whom he had met earlier during the sailing season at a gathering of the class, that N will buy the timber, German oak of class A, plane it to the right thickness together with his wife E and deliver it to Helsinki. In order to cut the right shapes out, V bought an electric table-saw.

Work on the boat was started in autumn and continued during the weekends during the winter. In the spring, both V and P took an additional one-week holiday to work full days on the project. The most critical part of the work was the cutting and installing of the new cloth. V&P had made a test piece in their apartment to try out the properties of the cloth and the selected paint. They had also agreed with the previous owner, M, on a date when all three could work to install the cloth.

The workday started at 10 am. V&P had made sure that all the necessary materials were in place. M had taken his son to day care and brought with him two more small hammers. After all the preparations where finalised, the three first had lunch and then took up the work. It appeared that the cloth could not be stretched in the same way as in the illustrations V had been reading. However, after five hours of work, the cloth was cut and fastened in the proper form. At 4 pm M went to pick up his son from day care and V&P

stayed on the island to apply the first coat of paint on the attached canvas. In the evening, V inserted photos of the work in the photo-gallery of the website of the boat.

The details of the above story reveal a committed couple employing their previous skills and developing new ones to support a very particular relationship between themselves and the 69 year-old boat. The story also highlights how they familiarise themselves with, use and further develop a network of private persons and commercial suppliers to support their efforts. However, what is less visible is how the standards of such work have developed and how they have started to make sense and get a grip on V&P. There would have been other, by far easier, ways to fix a leaking deck. For example, synthetic deck covers are in wide use, easily available and could have been simply laid on top of the existing deck. Or was the deck in need of repair to begin with? They choose, however, a different orientation towards the task at hand. Yet they both also feel the grip of the demanding practice; they agree that they would rather spend their holidays sailing the boat than working on it, and that if there will be a next boat, it has to already be in good condition. They say that they have done their share of renovations and V, looking tired, admits: *'I am exhausted. Launch the boat and sell it'*.

Introduction

Harriedness and the speed-up of human life is vividly present in the public discourse either as a celebrated phenomenon of modern life or as yet another dark side of it. Academic texts have explored (the making of) the scarcity of time: Thompson (1967) argues that the notion of the value of time and the moral dissension with idleness is connected to industrialization and the labour markets; Robinson and Godbey (1997) point towards scientific management and the way it has been adopted in everyday life; Stahel (2004) argues that the capitalist system is dependent on an instrumental and abstract concept of time. Furthermore, Linder (1970) compellingly prognoses that productivity growth will only increase the efforts to economise time use in all spheres of human life in modern societies.

These critical claims about the capitalist imperative can be made more specifically in relation to consumption and leisure time; markets mobilise consumers in a particular manner; they put forward certain practices and ways of being and constrain others; they work to commodify cultures and manufacture leisure (e.g. Firat and Dholakia, 1998). In short, ideas of usefulness and of the scarcity of time then substitute for and altogether eschew the intrinsic meanings of consumption and leisure. In the same vein, a move towards the level of consumption practices also helps to understand the resources that are being used to resist such tendencies.

In this text, I elaborate on how social practices fragment, but also reproduce the imperative of economising time use. By exploring the practices that relate to the vitalising interest in wooden boats in contemporary Finland, I want to bring forward a practice which praises piety in material relations, a non-instrumental concept of time and alternative ways of being. However, this rosy façade of wooden boating raises many questions; I ask whether this is a valid interpretation of the phenomenon, what are the critical resources that have been used to establish and articulate such an orientation and, finally, in what ways are the market imperatives reflected and reproduced in the phenomenon.

The scope and the nature of the phenomenon of wooden boating vary. To begin with, 45% of the population of Finland have a small boat or a canoe at their disposal, and 6% have disposal of a cruising boat (Sievänen et al., 2003). The actual number of boats made out of wood is not available and would make a rather questionable proxy for wooden boating. Enthusiasts are much fewer: the distribution of the dedicated Finnish magazine *Puuvene* is about 1300 pieces, the dedicated Internet discussion pages have 450 registered users, the same Internet discussion pages list 30 dedicated associations, the largest single association for wooden boat owners has 370 members and the largest race for wooden sailboats in the Helsinki area gathers about 200 boats annually. On the other hand, the consumption of the symbols of wooden boating is much more common; the visitors at the wooden boat summer festivals are counted in tens of thousands, media coverage of the phenomenon is versatile and extensive, and the wooden boat department at the annual Helsinki Boat Show has been repeatedly voted as the best section of the fair.

A first glance at the enthusiasts reveals dedicated individuals who seek alternative ways of being. However, a deeper look through – or a deliberate tack around – the individuals also reveals a social pattern of action and a shared practice of boating or boat-owning, which regulates the ways of thinking, speaking and acting around boats. But how is it that people become stay gripped and what are the implications of being caught by the practice? Furthermore, why is it that the engaged individuals frequently find themselves exhausted and boats move from one to the next very frequently?

In such a collectively shared practice, the objects assume a central role. Wooden boats are not merely tools for getting around or summer residences for the short season. Rather, they are objects towards which action is oriented and onto which individuals project their desires and future prospects, but which at the same time place demands on the individuals. Boats are not only used, they are also appreciated and worked on. Furthermore, the activity encompasses acquiring the proper skills for such work and proper knowledge to discuss the practice. Thus, with the term boating I refer not only to the use of the boat on waters, but to all the activities that take place around boats year-around.

The description I present is based on my personal career as a boat-owner, on more deliberate participant observation during the years 2003–2004 and on interviews with hobbyists and professionals within the practice. A set of secondary data consists of the articles on wooden boating in the boating magazine *Vene* in the period from 1967 to 2000 and in the major daily newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* from 1990 to 2004.

This text is structured along an attempt to gradually enter the practice of wooden boating. Firstly, I take a historical detour in the boating literature and describe how wood became a particularised material in boating, and what kind of orientations towards wooden boating have become available to individuals. Secondly, I discuss the contemporary infrastructure of sharing the wooden boating practices in Finland. Thirdly, and based on the interview material and observations at the sites of practicing, I sketch pictures of the doing of contemporary wooden boating. Finally, as a way of concluding, I consider the reach and the internal workings of the practice of wooden boating.

Leisure boats

The emerging contemporary practices of wooden boating can be related to numerous other developments. Obviously, the new practices revolve around the history of leisure boating, concerning which I discuss two points below. The first is the development of the very idea of

leisure boating and the second important development concerns the substitution of fibre-glass for wood as the dominant construction material for leisure boats. However, and as will be shown later, wooden boating co-evolves with and draws on other, more distant developments such as the wide acceptance of the need to preserve the material objects of (maritime) history, the economic recession in the early 1990's, and finally, the use of the Internet as a medium for organising social activity.

Tools and toys on the water

Waterways and vessels are intimately connected to our ideas of culture, and boats as artefacts seem timeless. Different types of vessels have developed to serve various purposes and to perform in various conditions. In short, boats have been highly practical tools. It is thus an interesting question of when and how they become the subject of romantic feelings; when did the boat become a way of escape and adventure and when was it aesthetised; when did it become possible and acceptable to ponder whether a boat was beautiful or not? And finally, when did the most tool-like traditional vernacular boats become toys *par excellence*.

Sailing for fun was invented in late 17th century Holland and England and the first yacht club, the Water Club of the Harbour of Cork, was founded in 1720 (Janhem, 1975). In Finland, similar developments can be distinguished. The first yacht club was established in 1856 in the town of Pori (Rovamo and Lintunen, 1995). The first Finnish leisure boating magazine *Frisk Bris* was established in 1903. The boat designs gradually evolved from the vernacular designs and materials into more specified designs for various types of leisure. The farewells to the old vernacular designs were warm but definitive. As an editorial in the magazine *Frisk Bris* stated in the newly founded magazine in the beginning of the 20th century: the sport of sailing must grow out of the old vernacular vessels with which we started to sail in childhood.

Yacht clubs and later also national organizations were founded to organize racing activities, and boat designs evolved according to the racing rules. Indeed, the sport of sailing was highly disciplined both at waters and in harbors with rules and codes of conduct, which imitated the professional sea-fare and masked the playfulness of pursuits. The less disciplined, romantic idea of cruising was took up in late 19th century and promoted by such famous travel diaries such as xxxx This mode of boating applied first to sailboats, but later increasingly also to motorboats. It put forward a notion of adventure, solitude and self-sufficiency aside of the more organised social activity of racing.

Material transitions

The use of fibre-glass-reinforced polyester as a boat-building material has constituted a major change in the boat-building industry and to a great deal also the foundation for the current practices around wooden boats. The substitution of wood and wood composites with other materials in the hulls and the interiors appears as a gradual evolutionary process, in which some manufacturers resisted the new materials while others went along, and in which new fibre-glass designs replicated the wooden era for a long period of time. The intensive phase of the transition took place during a 10-year period starting from the mid 1960's.

The imports of small fibre-glass motorboats from the US started during the 1950's, and the new material became widely used in the domestic manufacturing of small boats during the 1960's. On the other hand, the *Vene*-magazine quotes a well-known builder in 1970 arguing

that wood will remain competitive in building large boats of over seven meters in length . In the early seventies, the annual sales catalogue of *Vene*-magazine still included a number of relative large boats made out of solid wood or marine plywood. However, if judged by the catalogue, by the mid 1970's no commercially available new wooden constructions existed aside of a few rowing boats.

The transition in the design and appearance of the new fibre-glassboats was incremental and less rapid than that of materials. One of the last large commercially offered solid wood hulls was Marina 75, a 30ft motor-sailor with a dock-house, which also featured in the export catalogue of Finn-Boat, the boat manufacturers' organization. In the year 1974, the commercial advertisement of Marina announced that the trusty and seaworthy Marina 75 is available also with a fibre-glass hull. In the following year this was the only choice available. However, the new Marina 75, like many of the contemporary fibre-glass designs, replicated both the shape and the details of the wooden era. In some cases, the wooden hulls were replicated by making the production mould directly out of them and in other cases new hulls merely had, and still continue to have, a clinker- or carvel-built surface pattern on them.

The second round for wood: evolving ways of thinking, speaking and acting around wooden boats

By the end of the 1970's the gradual substitution of fibre-glass had virtually abolished wood as a material in building hulls or deck-structures for commercially available boats. On the basis of the annual sales catalogue of the *Vene* magazine, one could argue that the situation has not really changed; wooden boats remain outside the commercial catalogues. I suggest, however, that it is not fruitful to look at the phenomenon as a reversal of the 1960's and 1970's. Wooden boats are not (merely) becoming more competitive against fibre-glass boats, albeit this is the aim of the commercially interested constituents of 'the new culture of wooden boating' (Skogström, 1994). Rather, I claim that new practices have evolved around the old boats, old designs and in more general around wood as a particular material. Wooden boats have become highly meaningful objects rather than being merely the cheapest way to start a boating or sailing hobby. Hence, there is a particular but also diversified practice of wooden boating, in which one can distinguish different and even opposing genres, which all make sense of wooden boating on differing terms: those who sail replicas from the Viking era, those who sail vernacular copies from the late 19th century, those who are committed to the restoration of existing old boats from the 20th century and those who commission and build new wooden boats.

Replication of local history

Eric Laurier (1998) distinguishes *replication* and *restoration* as relevant, culturally-oriented approaches to maritime history. According to him, replication refers to the rebuilding of old designs and the remaking of past history, whereas restoration refers to the practice of conservation or rebuilding of existing objects of maritime history.

The rebuilding of wooden boats according to old drawings or models took on first in the Åland Islands, the archipelago between south-western Finland and Sweden.. There, an association for vernacular boats began its activities in 1968. By 1975, when the association was officially registered, the members had build three new boats according to old vernacular designs (Ålands Skötbåtsförening 2004). The *Vene* magazine published its first description of

replica-building activities in 1978(9). The smaller vernacular replicas have been a success for the professional boat-builders. In 1983, the *Vene* magazine reported about a commercially available replica, Malin 21. In 2004, one of the leading builders of vernacular replicas says that he ended up specialising in them quite coincidentally. Presently, he has three models, 'lengthy' delivery times and orders from distributed places all along the coastline of Finland

The association in Åland also initiated the building of the galleon *Albanus*, the first larger Finnish replica of the wooden sailing ships, which was completed in 1989. Since then, the replication has spread and major constructions have taken place along the Finnish coastline (Hytönen, 2004). Many of the building projects are based on voluntary work and the activity appears to be a way to connect to local history, to get a sense of a place as Hytönen argues, and to maintain traditional skills.

The mission to preserve maritime history; restoration and renovation

The majority of the Finnish fleet of wooden boats originated from decades ago. The fleet requires increasing maintenance efforts and constitutes the clientele of most of the contemporary professional boat-builders. Within such efforts there are different orientations. *Restoration* practices do not replicate history, but rather claim that it cannot and should not be replicated. It is the original and unique objects that have the immeasurable value and it is the patina on them, which make them particular historical objects. Thus, restoration practices are concerned with maintaining or constructing a strain of originality in the objects and seek to carry on or reconstruct the history of the unique objects (Laurier, 1998).

Renovation is another term that is needed. Aside of restoration and replication, which both pursue authenticity in designs and materials, there is a much more liberal approach to wooden boating. Accordingly, old existing boats are of value and need to be maintained. However, authenticity is not pursued as such, but rather there is a constant negotiation between authenticity, the requirements of present day use and the enhanced properties of new materials. At one extreme, the acceptability of synthetic materials in sails may be disputed, while at the other, an over-coat of fibre-glass may be a totally acceptable way of extending the useful life of an old wooden hull.

Some of the vessels are claimed to be of historical value, especially the old racing yachts, and consequently they are subject to fine-graded and rather stringent restoration principles. For example, a historian and museum chief writes about the Int5m-class in a manner that emphasises traditional materials and methods: '*Converting a canvas deck to a teak deck is perhaps a matter of maintenance. But is it a good enough reason to alter the weight balance and radically change the overall appearance of the yacht. The pious yacht-owner of course chooses to stay with the original solution.*' (Nordlund, 2004a, translation from Swedish by the author). Another description of different types of reasoning is given at the website of a 6mr-yacht named *Maybe IV*:

In the beginning of the nineties May Be IV was thoroughly renovated with ten lowest planks changed and most of the frames repaired. Everything in the hull was built as close to the original as possible with oregon planking on oak and ash frames attached with silicone bronze screws, the steel frames and floors being repaired and hot dipped as originally etc. Above the deck everything is modern to make tough racing possible, a Proctor rig with Navtec rods, Harken hardware, WB sails of dyneema and dacron, spectra for running rigging. (<http://www.6mr.fi/DAS/yachts/981119-213345.html>)

Restoration and renovation practices cohere under the mission of preserving maritime heritage. The export of wooden yawls from the early 20th century had raised a cry for keeping such national heritage in domestic hands already in 1974 in the *Vene* magazine. In 1994, the National Board of Antiquities established a register for the existing large historical vessels and a fund for their restoration. At the same time, the historical dry-dock at the Unesco site of the Sea Fortress in Helsinki was dedicated to the restoration and winter storage of these vessels. The Maritime Museum of Finland began to acquire a collection of leisure boats in the beginning of 1980's.. These national efforts parallel an international focus on maritime history. The first European Maritime Heritage Conference was held in 1992 and the fourth congress issued the so-called Barcelona Charter in 2002 (Hytönen, 2004), which '*set out a Code of Good Practice for owners and operators of traditional vessels along the lines of the Athens Charter drafted by architects and museum technicians in 1931 (as amended in Venice in 1964) to give guidance on the restoration of historic monuments*' (<http://www.heritageafloat.org.uk/barcelona.htm>).

However, restoration and preservation concerns are not confined to the museum institution, but this orientation has also been increasingly adopted outside it. In 1981, in the Helsinki International Boat Exhibition, Aatos Erkko, a significant owner of the major daily newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat*, presented a restoration project of an old motorboat, which had been used by presidents of Finland from 1929 to the 1970's. Later, in 1986, *Vene* magazine published the first report of a thorough renovation of an old SK-yacht – a type of a project that had ten years before been doomed senseless in the same magazine (Selänne, 1975). This project was not legitimised by a glorious history or celebrities of the past, but rather celebrated the current practitioners. Altogether, it seems that the preservation and the restoration of existing maritime history, regardless of the uniqueness and size of the vessels, was appreciated and made sense to a wide array of constituents by the end of the 1980's.

Regardless of the preservation approach chosen, there is a striking difference between the contemporary practice and the era from which many of these material fetishes originate. Vernacular boats were tools to be used and then left ashore to decay; racing yachts were to be short-lived attempts to twist the construction rules and beat the boats of the previous season. Thus, the lifetime of boats were supposed to be short. Contemporary practices, however, celebrate the anniversaries of old boats and claim that one of the best features of wood as a construction material is the possibility to practically rebuild the boat bit by bit. The notion of the lifespan of a wooden boat, which was still used in *Vene* magazine in 1984 (2/84), lost meaning.

Aesthetic superiority

Wooden boats were not valued merely as unique historical objects. After the introduction of fibre-glass as a dominant boat-building material in the late 1960's, it did not take long for the boating discourse to allude that the *aesthetic qualities* of wooden boats are superior to fibre-glass.

The claim of superior aesthetic qualities was first attached to the race yachts of the first half of the 20th century (*Vene* 8/78; 7/80; 6/89; 7/92). They were praised as distinctive and *blue-blooded* (*Vene*7/80). However, during the 1990's, wood as a material received increasing interest and positive evaluations. The contemporary practices hence celebrate also the tactile properties of wood. Not only the looks, but the feel and the feeling of wooden boating is superior to the fibre-glass era. As Skogström (1994, 47, translation from Finnish by the

author) spells out, *'the smell of wood, the looks and the warmness and the sounds of water touching it, emphasise the joy of building and owning wooden boats'*.



Photo: Yrjö Klippi.

A spiritual orientation

Putting aside the most technical parts of the arguments for the competitiveness of wooden boats, most of the orientations towards wooden boating seem to suggest new ways of being in the world and valuing it. Whether it is a connection to local history via the replicas, the missionary restoration projects of grand yachts, the aesthetic appreciation of wooden boats, the tactile contact with the material and a state of flow while doing wooden boating, or the environmental friendliness of wooden material, they all imply a new way of being and appreciating. Hence, the constituents of the various genres of wooden boating unite in saying and writing that it is a matter of commitment and lifestyle.



Photo: Pekka Lehmuskallio.

The experienced builders are celebrated as specially gifted master craftsmen who create, carve and force boats out of difficult, living material. They are, typically, men who (are thought to) have a special, deep understanding of wood material, trees and nature as a whole. It is not only that they possess such skills. Just as the *Vene* magazine commented on the

winners of the competition for the most beautiful wooden boat in 1990 claiming that the boats have been build and maintained with *love*, the language of emotions suggests that designers, builders and dedicated owners convey their life forces to the boats.

It comes then as no surprise that boats are suggested to be alive. Ownerships are described as relationships or companionships; boats are thought to deserve good maintenance and at point of sales, dedicated new owners. Boats are described as carrying the features of their designers (Whynott, 1999) and owners (Nordlund, 2004b). And to take the issue further, boats are thought to be able to sense their environment, to sense in beforehand a big wave from a small wave and to speak to each others during the long dark winters in the boatsheds (Whynott, 1999). Thus, on her website, Silene, a 6mr-yacht explains herself:

Independent of any race success my old hull has always been taken a good care. A few years ago I had all my keel bolts checked and re-zincd, my wooden keel was inspected, found healthy and impregnated, and I got a new rudder, lighter than before. Four boards on each side of my under-water planking were replaced and a number of spars were also repaired. Every year my bilge has been impregnated with a sweetest natural linseed oil and all varnished parts have been looked after, not forgetting my dear rig and sails.

Sometimes I truly feel that I am getting younger year after year. I hope, however, that I can keep my classic beauty.
(<http://www.6mr.fi/DAS/yachts/981119-125927.html>)

The invited epoxy revolution

Nostalgia, animism and the aesthetization of wooden boats mix with more technical ingredients in contemporary wooden boating. During the recession of the early 1990 it had become commonplace to wonder about the incapability of Finns to develop high-value products out of the domestic supply of wood material. Consequently, wood as a material was living a strong renaissance during the early 1990's in Finland. A technology program 'Nordic Wood' was launched in 1993 and followed by more programs, Nordic wood II and Wood Wisdom. Wood-construction was added to academic architecture curricula. The producers of wooden raw material and semi-finished products organised design competitions and disseminated information through specific organisations such as the Woodfocus. Finally, to attract public interest in wood, the year 1996 was declared the Year of Wood.

Wooden boats received also specific, albeit more modest interest. A committee was set in 1992 to evaluate the state of boat-building and to consider educational measures to promote this new, potential field of high value-added mechanical wood processing. The committee sought ways to connect with the new era of wooden boat-building, which had started in the US in the 1970's. In short, it sought to establish a new culture of wooden boating in Finland.

The committee suggested that the dispersed training initiatives, which were in place in the beginning of 1990's, need to be co-ordinated and that the education must gain depth to accomplish the aim – the modernisation of the wooden boat. Traditional local knowledge and the inter-generational mechanisms of transferring such knowledge do not suffice to catch up with the international development and to establish a competitive boat-building industry, it was suggested (Skogström, 1994 p. 46). As the most concrete measure, the report suggested that one of the available textbooks on wooden boat-building be translated into Finnish.

Many of the suggested measures were realised, even with haste. The Polytechnic at the city of Hamina started to offer a 2,5-year program on wooden boat-building in autumn 1993. A

few years later, the program was extended to a four-year program, which includes teaching the traditional skills of the craft but also entrepreneurial skills and languages. The Hamina Polytechnic has also employed an American teacher starting from 1994. At the same time, the first Finnish students to study abroad went to boat-building schools in Maine. In 1995, the practical boat-building handbook of the Norwegian Ole-Jacob Broch was translated into Finnish to serve as a course book. Thus, this new educational curriculum, which was established around wooden boat-building in early 1990's, has been active in importing new construction methods and designs from abroad, especially from the US.

The new culture to be created depended on few central tenets. According to Skogström (1994), the most important thing was to build new boats that demonstrate the breakthroughs in the available technology. The previous public opinion was regarded as outdated and wrong in many respects, but most of all it was the assumption that wooden boats are troublesome to maintain and not water-tight which was called into question. It soon became common wisdom that it is possible to make competitive, easy-to-maintain and yet unique boats out of wood with the aid on the modern gluing technology, mainly with various epoxy-resins.

A second and related tenet was that wooden boats should be understood as handicraft. Put into such a frame, it was possible for Skogström to claim that wood is a competitive material and that indeed it is cheaper to make unique boats of wood than of fibre-glass. Thirdly, boats belong in the same category as furniture and log-houses, which, together with other wood products, undergo constant development and communicate the technological competence of the essentially wood-based economy of Finland. At the time when Finland was about to join the European union, the committee report argued that such wooden objects constitute a unique contribution of Finland to Europe.

Many of the tenets of the new practice were in strong contrast with the prior practices. For example, the replication practice embraced tool-like, rough and traditional models if not leaking per se, and the restoration practices were conservative and suspicious about new materials. Thus, while the pursuits to create a culture of wooden boating relied on the established particular status of wooden boats, they paradoxically undermined it by promoting the use of new technologies and the vision of a competitive wooden boat industry. However, this far these attempts have been rather fruitless; the professional boat-builders mainly conduct renovations and build traditional boats with rather traditional materials.

Sites for sharing ideas and practicing wooden boating; the infrastructure of practicing

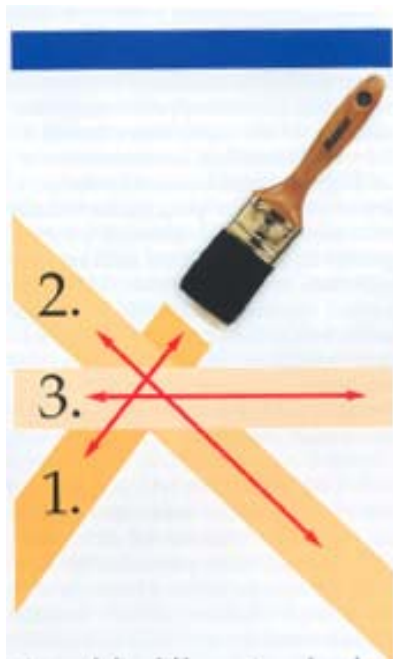
Practices are collective and shared structures, which orient individual action. Hence apart from describing the shared orientations that are available in the boating literature, there is another and related important issue, which should be addressed. That is the ways and places of developing understandings, sharing knowledge, adopting and teaching novices, acknowledging expertise and negotiating the criteria for the efficient and the proper within the practice.

The boatyards, where the boats are stored side-by-side for the wintertime, are sites of dense interaction. In these yards, tools, methods and materials are discussed, tested and disputed. However, interaction and sharing is perhaps at its densest at the point of changes in ownership. Dedicated owners explain in detail how the boat has been taken care of and also make lists of what needs to be done. In short, together with the boat they hand over a project

and an orientation. The changes in ownership occur relatively often and thus the sharing of knowledge both in the interaction and through the object itself is highly relevant.

The use of the boats also implies social contacts at races or other gatherings. The vernacular boats have many local races, which fill the few summer weekends, each having local constituencies (Hytönen, 2004). The first national association for wooden sailboats was established in 1984 and an annual race for wooden sailboats has been organised since 1985. In 1996, a new active association for all kinds of wooden vessels started its activity and currently has 370 members. As many of these boats are motorboats, they do not race, but socialise as squadrons. Since 2001, the association for small crafts has organised an international competition for rowable sailing boats.

In addition to organising the summer events, the associations organise events in the winter-time to distribute and share knowledge of boats and sea-fare. Sometimes the advocating takes rather strident forms; for example, the chairman of the largest wooden boat association writes that *the mission of the association is to fight wrong beliefs and procedures*. (Nordlund K., 2004).



Source: Puuvene 1/2001.

The Internet has changed the way the practice is available to outsiders and the way the practitioners interact among themselves. Within the practicing itself, at least two changes seem to have taken place. Firstly, the private Internet pages document and represent the hobby in such minute and subjective detail that one can claim that the practice is indeed also performed and reproduced on the web-pages. The competence of a practitioner is increasingly evaluated on web-pages. Guest books are filled with mutual support and praise, and for individual practitioners, the status of their website is important. The second Internet-related development is that the community of practitioners of wooden boating is now interactive not only at the physical sites of practicing, but through issue- or problem-oriented discussions on the web. The dedicated Internet discussion page 'puuvene.net' has over 3 500 clustered messages from the two years that the forum has been available. In other words, the infrastructure of discussing the efficient and the proper has itself become much more efficient.

The media and dedicated fairs disseminate images of wooden boating. In 1990, the organisers of a maritime fair in the town of Kotka declared a competition to name the 'Most beautiful Finnish wooden boat'. The competition was supported by the local newspaper *Kymen Sanomat* and the major national newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat*. Later, the town of Kotka organised a dedicated wooden boat fair in 1992 around the 'results' of the competition. Wooden boat fairs have since then been organised during almost every summer in one of the coastal towns.

The proliferating wooden boat literature addresses the technical question of building and maintaining wooden boats (for example Broch 1995, Larsson 2002). However, such literature also addresses the philosophy of wooden boating and teaches how to live with and appreciate wooden boats, or 'The Art of loving and taking care of wooden boats' as Malmborg and Husberg (1998) have titled their book.

Dedicated magazines form another literature genre. The magazine *Puuvene* was established in 1995 by a practitioner and enthusiast who had prior expertise in publishing. The circulation of *Puuvene* has remained around 1300. Just as the other wooden boats magazines such as *Wooden Boat* (US) established in 1974 and *Classic Boat* (UK) established in 1987, *Puuvene* has published and distributed images of wooden boating in a particular and favourable light. Laurier (1998) argues that reports of (re)building and using boats are skilled photo-narratives, which construct and tell stories of boats and claim and convey their picturesque quality. Furthermore, such narratives collapse time and underplay the other resources needed in such projects, he argues. Provided such leverage of photos in imaging and understanding wooden boats, *Wooden boat magazine* (4/2004) advises how to take good quality pictures of your boat: *Use 35mm slide. Take the pictures in the morning or in the evening to avoid ambient light and to produce sharp contrasts. Keep the background simple and/or scenic. Preferably take photos without people in them.*

The boat-building schools are nexuses for accumulating and sharing practical knowledge of boat-building. They echo the international tones in wooden boating and are the source of the reformists forces, while at the same time facilitating the traditional orientation – restoration and replication – by collecting and maintaining drawing archives and documenting oral knowledge about boats. Two vocational schools at Savonlinna and Perniö have continued to provide education in wooden boat-building in Finland practically through the whole transition period. In addition, there are numerous new vocational schools and a polytechnic in Hamina offering education for the profession of wooden boat-building. However, what might be even more significant in terms of institutionalising the practice of wooden boating, are the short courses offered to dedicated hobbyists. These courses vary in length. Some may be for a few evenings, some for a weekend or a week. There are also courses for one or two semesters for those who embark on the aspiration to build a boat of their own.

Enacting and reproducing wooden boating

According to Warde (2003), practices evolve through the variety in the ways in which individuals enact and reproduce them. In the above, I sketched different available orientations towards wooden boating. However, much more variety exists in the very doing of the practices. The tales of the practicing of the individuals and the trajectories through which their careers have evolved thus further elucidate the collective structures at play around wooden boats.

In the following, I discuss the enrolment and practicing of individuals based on my own experiences, field notes and the interview and visual material I have collected during the years 2003 and 2004 of boat owners in the cities of Helsinki and Turku. I start by considering the recruitment to and departing from the practices of wooden boating. The discussion then proceeds along six themes, *learning, emancipation, social bonds, distinction, crossing borders and professional boat-building*, all of which emerge from the material and characterise different ways of making sense and organising the doing of wooden boating.

Doing in and doing out

The question of recruitment is two-sided. Firstly, one can ask how these people have engaged with boating and, secondly, ‘why wood’. To begin with, boating in general is often inherited and shared by two generations; many state that water, as an element is familiar for them from the very childhood. However, couples and families who engage in boating do not share this equally. Often it is the men who claim to have such a deep relationship with water and the women who either adapt to or withdraw from boating. In addition to families, other social encounters in youth organizations, in schools and universities and at work expose the recruits and trigger initial encounters with boating.

Wooden boating as a practice recruits new practitioners in much of the same ways. However, each of the orientations towards wooden boating also has its particular mechanism of making itself available; racing the classics requires crew and new members are recruited based on sailing skills and commitment to training and racing; replicas and larger heritage vessels are often built and operated by associations, which allow a more gradual enrolment (Hanifi, 2003), and the appealing wrecks waiting for new dedicated owners are the lures of renovation practices. Furthermore, just as the story of V&P in the beginning showed, such projects engage a large number of other people besides the owners, and wooden boating spreads in social networks.



Photo: Mikko Jalas.

Boats are on sale for different reasons. Most often the departure is framed as a question of time resources or space requirements. However, health reasons are also common. The body, the back and the knees, is no longer apt for the practice of wooden boating. However, I suggest that whatever rationalising reason presented to oneself and to others, the departure hinges on the ability of the practice to make sense to the individual.

Learning

Wooden boating is rich in details that can be discussed, learned and disputed. For some of the practitioners, it is the mastering of such knowledge at which they aim. Such an orientation implies that they are eager to engage with different and demanding projects, but once having learned the skill, would rather not repeat the procedures. The trajectory of the career is towards increasing expertise. Just and V&P in the story in the beginning argue that the deck renovation was the first and the last they will perform, these practitioners avoid routine work and look for challenges; they acquire wrecks to take on a demanding project or engage or plan to engage in building a new boat on their own. In the interview, V states that:

There is nothing better than to be out with a boat, which is in good condition and which one has thoroughly renovated oneself ... of course the best would be to have built the whole boat oneself (V, male).

The learning-oriented practitioners are performance-oriented. They have plans on what needs to be done to the boat and hurry to achieve those targets, which little by little lead the way towards the envisioned perfect boat. Thus, for example V scheduled his first winter seasons with the help of a calendar. The project then often follows the modern consumption ideology; accomplishments are followed by new targets and future tasks, which in fact act as desires, motor a wheel of consumption, and produce anxiety (Campbell 1987, Belk, Ger and Askegaard 2003).

However, alongside accumulating their own expertise, the practitioners grow critical towards outside advice. A woman, who has previously taken a half-year leave from her work and built a day-sailor, explains that she has tried out many partners and co-owners but has not accepted them. She confesses that especially men tend to think they know more about boats and start to give advice to her without any substantial knowledge of wooden boats. Similarly V, when asked if he would be willing to let professionals take care of his boat, replies:

Professionals are a mixed bunch, I have learned. It has to be one hell of a guy for me to just trust him and let him decide and take care of the boat. (V, male)

Another clip from the discussion pages is informative. In an ongoing discussion about proper impregnation chemicals and the availability of a traditional brand called Aspergol, a frequent, known and critical commentator claims authority based on substantive knowledge. (puuvne.net on October 13 2003, translation from Finnish by the author):

Please do forget the Aspergol-brand. The Aspergol brand was used to sell a basic impregnation chemical, but the present Aspergol does not have anything to do with the old Aspergol. The Aspergol brand is now used to sell a basic impregnation chemical for industrial use.

The impregnation chemical by Teknos [another company] has the same elements and proportions, only the name is different. You can get Aspergol in small quantities as well, only the price is double.

In fact, I would not put any normal impregnation chemical on my boat, if I were to impregnate it. Rather, I would buy zink-aftenate from for example the company Sateenkarivärit, and mix it with linen oil and pine-turpentine (3-5%). In this way one does not need to evaporate the industrial solvents out of the hull.

Mika

Against boredom and flatness as well as unnecessary formalities in boating

Emancipation

For many, wooden boating is an emancipatory practice and a locus of a imagined, different identity. As a woman in my field notes says: *I hate my job and this [working with wooden boats] is what I really want to do. In May, I come here every day after work. The boats are my family.* For these people, wooden boating is a way to claim a personality and to denounce and disagree with whatever they regard as normal. My field-notes document a practitioner in Turku in a newly painted fishing-type boat:

He has used the boat in fishing with fykes and nets, which he said was his profession. But the boat did not appear as having been in such a use, it did not have a radar, for example. He explained that he is a traditional fisherman. He is not so much for the money, but tries to do things he feels good about. Thus, he explains, he has also studied wooden shipbuilding. The next project is the renovation of a large fishing vessel from the early 1900's. I asked when the new project will be ready. 'Soon' he replied 'if I go and resign from my job at the ship right away'.(Fieldnotes 26.4.04)



The images of individuals who take charge of their own life, make radical career changes and act differently matches the learning orientation. However, there is a different tone in the activity. Means and ends are less clearly distinct and rather merge into a flow-experience, which praises the skills of hand and craftsman-like orientation. The founder of the dedicated magazine *Puuvene* mentioned joga as a single particular source when asked about the orientation of the magazine. Indeed, there are practitioners who refuse to commit to goals, targets and schedules concerning the material facet of boating and concentrate on the action itself as if meditating. For them, the proper pace and experience of the doing is more crucial than learning the specifics of technical skills, following occupation health instructions or proceeding towards a perfect boat. Consequently, the emancipation-oriented persons object to plans and calendars. As S notes:

My husband at one point of time during the spring, makes a plan on a calendar on which date the boat will be launched. From there on, we are in a rush, and I have to do the varnishing, which is the only thing I know how to do and enjoy, in whatever weather condition. Last year I had to varnish the main boom, although it was 7 degrees [C] and the humidity was close to 100 [%]. This is why we never get it [the varnishing] right. (S, female).

It is not only calendars which are rejected, but also the formal and the underlying rules of proper conduct. The practitioners may, for example, accept quick-and-dirty reparations just to keep the boat the floating and the niche, which they have created for themselves, open. They may state that their boat is not in such a good condition without continuing with a list of planned renovations. Many feel guilty and admit that they are doing only a cosmetic upgrading ‘this spring’, but promise to devote more attention to the boat next spring. However, the springs are often alike and the cracks and the rough, plagued finishes tell the story of a particular orientation or a lack of commitment – as the learning-oriented would phrase it. Altogether, seafaring, the natural element, wood as a traditional material for constructing boats, self-sufficiency in terms of knowledge and skills all contribute to that wooden boating appears as a wild frontier and escape in modern societies.

Social bonds

The bonds of the practice can be more social than what appears in the previous descriptions. Wooden boats are frequently owned, used and worked on by a group of people. Such groups are often organised around men rather than couples or families owning a boat, and there is indeed a striking absence of women in wooden boating. Women are either physically absent or denounce the internal logic of the practice. The English word male bonding is actually the description one group gives about their group ownership. On the other hand, boats also solidify family relations; couples agree that boats are important ways of being together and, furthermore, boat-owners dream of intergenerational boat relationships and initiate the participation of their children.

The sharing of money and time demands is one obvious reason for the common group ownership. In the same vein, groups also create tensions. As a part owner and the initiator of a group of joint owners comments:

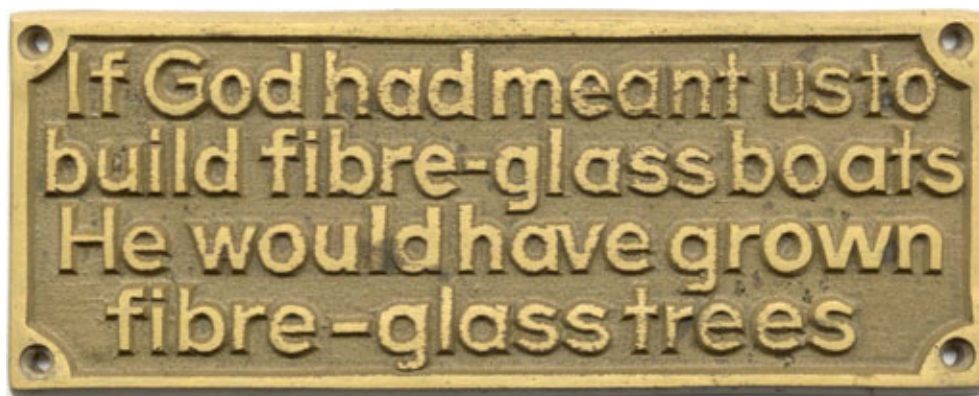
Our objectives grew apart. I was initially interested in the traditional boat as such and committed to restoring it. However, the co-owner who had joined the boat-project was more interested in racing and more willing and able to spend money on the boat. This was so evident that I had to sell my part. (P, male).

Similarly, M (male) states that their group dissolved when the boat was in clear need of extensive renovation. M and his co-owner (male) had to purchase the shares of two additional owners (a male and female couple) of the boat in addition to paying for the renovation.

Distinction

Within the proliferating fleet of new fibre-glass boats, wooden boats are distinctive, positional goods. As a novice notices after a short encounter: *After sailing a week with a wooden boat, I understood wooden boating. Just because of the boat, everyone was looking at us when we entered harbours. We didn't have to have a big and fancy boat to attract attention (U, female).* To reinforce this identity the histories of the boats often attract increasing interests. To locate the designer, the yard and the previous owner serves to place oneself in a course of history, especially if the history includes celebrities of the sailing sport or members of distinguished social strata. Such distinction employs symbolic resources outside the practice. The current status of the specific boats is based on the status of those persons who were engaged in the practices in the heyday of the classical boats.

Another more experienced practitioner notes similar, but also emphasizes the maintenance skills involved; The boat is a huge burden, but it is difficult think of switching to fibre-glass. No more comments on the nice boat we have and the fine work we have done with it. (S, female) Furthermore, the images of wooden boating are related to seamanship; boats as such require a skilful and weathered crew as opposed to the 'floating summer cottages of the fibre-glass era', an image that the practitioners happily reinforce. It is, for example, customary to enter harbours with sails whereas this is seldom done with the fibre-glass boats. To be engaged in wooden boating is to be of character. As an owner of INT5m-yacht explains at the website of the class association: There is of course a set of common denominators of those persons who buy an old leaking hull, fix it to top condition, restore, maintain and enjoy the sailing of a yacht of tradition, professional craftsmanship and sailing performance (Nordlund, 2004b, translation from Swedish by the author). The contemporary practice of wooden boating thus makes distinctions also based on its own merits.



There is yet another, more introvert way of distinguishing a sect of wooden boating. Wooden boating is particular because it is thought of as particular by a sufficient number of people. A reflexive male practitioner admits that he does not like the wooden-boats-only gatherings because they strengthen the spirit to an anxiety-raising degree.

Crossing borders

While doing wooden boating, the practitioners employ their other skills and capabilities, and, in the same vein, the doing of wooden boating radiates to other doings. Expertise is transmitted both ways and the practicing of wooden boating grows contingent to the other spheres of life. On the one hand, those involved in doing wooden boating using the hobby as a source of ideas and report about their hobby in newspapers, dedicated magazines, books, TV-programs, and research reports. On the other hand, the doing of wooden boating relies on the conceptualisations, the skills and the material artefacts of other practices. The professionally delineated restoration principles of how the merging of new and old should be thought of are an example of involvement on a conceptual level. On the level of the skills and the material resources, the recent brochure of the Int5m-class provides a nice example; the layout of the brochure was done by an AD; the text by a copywriter and the printing was organized in an affiliated print-house by yet another member of the rather small boat class, which only has 29 registered boats.

The brochure also portrays another phenomenon which is present in wooden boating. The professions of visual and spatial design are well represented among the practitioners. Consequently, the praised aesthetic qualities of wooden boats, which are appreciated as facts by the practitioners, are articulated, enhanced and constantly reproduced with professional skills.



Professional boat-building

Professional boat-building is yet another way of practicing wooden boating that has become available through the state and local efforts to increase boat-building education and to convey the traditional knowledge from the hands of the few old builders to the heads of the younger generation. Professional boat-building is distinct in that practitioners are financially dependent on the doing of wooden boating. However, a growing share of the younger boat-builders have chosen their profession on much the same basis as the other practitioners have got and stayed involved in the practice. Furthermore, the skills and orientations of the schools are effectively spread also among the amateur-practitioners.

Elovirta (2003) describes the business culture of boat-builders as non-competitive and essentially individualistic. The builders have various motivations for their activity, but they are not in the business for money, ambition or competition and rather to make a living in a free and independent way. In more material terms, some see it as their mission to carry on tradition, transfer knowledge to younger generations and keep the old classics floating while others do aspire to small-scale batch production and aim to develop manufacturing technologies. These persons are not financially independent or secure in any particular way. According to Elovirta, the need and ability to earn extra income aside farming and forestry are common and the concerns about the profitability of the boat-building activity prevalent. He also reports that the builders feel forced to redirect their activity towards renovation and subcontracting and other activities such as maintenance courses, rental services, tourist services, which all take place more at the conditions of their customers.

The views on the potential customers are diverse. On the one hand, the builders lay their hopes on the environmentally-friendly image of wooden boats and the raising environmental consciousness. When the boat-builders were asked what should be done to promote wood as a construction material in boat-building, they turn towards the notion of unique handicrafts and hope for attitude campaigns which would educate the public to value handicrafts. In this context they also emphasise the notion of luxury (Elovirta 2003, p. 27), which is vividly apparent in the international wooden boat magazines. For example, the US based *Wooden Boat* magazine illustrated the differences in the maintenance costs of a few US boats. At the top end, the annual maintenance costs account for a third of the boats' value and an owner of a 40-foot boat is reported to annually pay 15 000 \$ for a superior varnish finish on his/her boat (Rappaport, 2004). It is thus of no wonder that the boat-builders welcome the new rich and hope to catch some of them. On the other hand, some boat-builders also seem irritated by the lofty future visions. They request that the 'bubble of wooden boating' be exposed, because those who can afford new wooden boats do not commission them and those who aspire them, completely lack the required financial resources (Elovirta, 2003, 28).

Discussion: is wooden boating the practice and how does it work?

The above discussion has elaborated on the new ways to understand and appreciate wood as a boat-building material and sought to connect these developments to the ways of acting around wooden boats or doing wooden boating. Guided by a theory of practices outlined by Schatzki (1996 and 2001), Reckwitz (2002) and, concerning consumption studies, by Warde (2003), I have focused on the links between the symbolic content and the material content of the practice and the very doing of wooden boating.

To take a practice approach has many implications. A practice constitutes a nexus of doings and saying (Schatzki, 2001). It outlines an autonomous sphere of social life with internal criteria for the desirable, for the proper and for the effective, which guide and constrain the actions of individuals within the practice.²¹ Understood in this way, practices empower individuals. They establish meanings and goals, approve of ways for striving towards those goals and, finally embody tacit know-how. They also grant rewards. In short, practices create social and cultural niches for individuals to live or to be in, and hence it is their ability to recruit and to make – or cease to make – sense that is of focal interest.

Another implication is that practice theory and its post-humanistic versions propose that non-humans have agency to reproduce and renew practices (Reckwitz, 2002). These thoughts call for analysis that goes beyond the notion of the material and social embeddedness of human action. Rather analyses within a practices approach should seek to take seriously and understand the nature of non-human agency.

Wooden boating offers different orientations and opens up different niches of being. In making distinctions, the orientations oppose each other; one praises the vernacular and the other the noble; one seeks originality while the other seeks functionality and technological advance. The meanings of the related objects are different and refer to different symbolic categories. Yet, to conclude that the differences in the ways of thinking and speaking about and appreciating boats distinguish separate practices within the phenomena of wooden boating does not correspond to the idea of practices being a nexus of *doings and sayings*.

In the case of wooden boating, it seems that doings are shared by a much wider constituency than sayings. Many tenets of proper doing are accepted by a wide community of practitioners regardless of the type of the boat; restoration work does make sense and should be directed towards authenticity; wood as a material requires a impregnation treatment every 15 years; mahogany hulls need to be taken out of the water before the pine hulls. Contrasting to these widely accepted and applied, but nevertheless rather recent tenets, there are very detailed and different views of how boats are beautiful; some argue that they could never think of owning a clinker-built sail-boats with their vernacular taste and feel delighted to dismantle a dock-house from a racing boat, while others regard the ‘pure’ racing boats as toys not good for the conditions of the sea. The conflicts and alliances are manifest in the wooden boating practice mainly on the symbolic level. On the level of doing these different camps unite into a practice of wooden boating.

What is the role of the “stuff” in the practice of wooden boating? Firstly, it could be argued that boats are in the focus of the practices and fetished by the practitioners. Secondly, it could be argued that physical tools are, just like skills, investments, which maintain a trajectory and reproduce the practice. However, the material artefacts can also have a more active role in defining the practice. Boats are not mere mirrors of the individual desires, but have some agency of their own; the fact that old boats are few, make humans behave certain way; corrosion and decaying wood place very concrete demands on humans and schedule their action and establish projects; in replication practices, history, even if read selectively, replays itself and assigns certain roles to humans.

How do practices recruit? Based on my findings with the wooden boating practice, I argue that explanations of recruitment often lay outside the practice itself. Initial exposure seems

²¹ Warde (2003) has uses many different notions to describe the emotional and teleological contents of practices. He uses words desires (p3), goals (p10), values (p10), objectives (p10), aspirations (p10), orientation (p15), beliefs (p16), motives (p16) to describe the teleo-affective structures, which Schatzki (1996, cited in Warde 2003) refers to as embracing ends, projects, tasks, purposes, beliefs, emotions and moods.

coincidental or at most it is based a vague idea of its external benefits or in the symbolic content recognised by the wider audiences, rather than being based on the internal characteristics of a practice. Coincidental exposures are, however, also structured. Many have, for example, been exposed to the practice through family relations or social relationships in educational institutions. The practice of wooden boating is also extremely gendered; men and women have different ways of practising and the latter, in many cases, do not practice at all although being continuously exposed to the practice. Such an observation leads to the question of who is eligible to enter the practice and who is good for the practice. Furthermore, it also points out that the entry or the enrolment into the practice is already more determined by the practice itself than the initial exposure.

Practices do have different, inherent capabilities to create moments of exposure, which may affect the recruitment aside of the obvious class- or family-based continuity. For example, digital photography contains a highly visible component, which is relative easy to detect and understand especially in association with increasing computer literacy. Encounters with wooden boating are less frequent and 'co-incident'. The reach of practices thus differs; some spread like an epidemic, while others are accessible by invitation only.

The initial exposure might take place in another, related practice, and thus it is necessary to consider the ways in which practices ally. Such kin-of-the-practices explanations are suggested by the mixture of different classes and lack of or deliberate undoing of social stratification apparent in wooden boating. Nevertheless, the way by which wholly 'incompetent' and 'fresh' novices have been introduced to the practice through their work- or schoolmates indicates that both the class-based recruitment and the explanation of the kin-of-practice are feasible and do not merge.

Schatzki (2001) claims that both individuality and social order arise from practices. I argue that understanding practices as social niches for individuals to be in, is one way to understand and incorporate this claim. What follows is that individuality does exist within practices and furthermore that individualistic explanations are useful in trying to understand why and how practices reproduce themselves, or as Schatzki phrases the issue, practice theory '... appropriates in transfigured form a variety of individualist *explanantia*, while grounding these in a supra-individual phenomenon ...' (Schatzki, 2001, 5).

How is it then that the collective structures around wooden boats help or make the individuals desire and dedicate themselves to boating? What are the mechanisms that constitute orbiting trajectories for individuals and what is the centre of gravity within a practice of wooden boating? The notion of competition among practitioners seems false in the case of wooden boating. I would like to suggest that it is more about learning, becoming more skilful in making distinctions within the stuff of the practice. Surely, as Warde (2003) suggest, improved procedural skills and new gadgets enhance performance and yield increased satisfaction for the practitioner, and thus make the practice constantly re-appealing. However, 'performance' is also highly dependent on understanding the teleo-affective structures of the practice. Thus, the various ways of improving the cognitive skills are of relevance. On the other hand, it is also possible to learn emotional skills. Distinguishing, for example, different boat types and classes, eras of construction and even the peculiarities of individual designers is part of developing understandings, and may enhance the possibilities of pleasure-yielding day-dreaming.

Sailing is such an obvious area of illusory day-dreaming that Colin Campbell is one good starting point to elucidate the careers of carriers within wooden boating. Campbell (1987) claims that frustration and a desire for novelties are permanent states of modern consumers, because of the developed day-dreaming skills. This applies in the case of wooden boating as

well. Practitioners constantly learn new ideas of how to improve their boats and develop skills to evaluate different boats and designs. The dreaming is in fact very elaborate; there are the dreams in the case money did not matter, and the ones in which resource constraints, be they money, time or skill, are attended to more seriously. But whereas Campbell stresses the role of novelties stemming from the fashion institution, the novelties of wooden boating are, to a large degree, makings of practitioners themselves aided by a set of books and magazines and the Internet, by a fashion institution of a different kind.

Finally, there is the question of resistance. It is paradoxical that while the practitioners of wooden boating often seek to resist the technological and the economical imperatives of the market system, they frequently find themselves exhausted and exploited by the practice. Insofar as the practice fuels day-dreaming and creates needs, it seems merely to repeat a pattern, which characterises market-driven consumption. It is also obvious that class and gender systems are often merely reproduced within wooden boating. Furthermore, the deliberate efforts to create a 'new culture of wooden boating' are in line with and to significant degree driven by commercial interests. However, obligation, dedication, flow-states and group identities blend in. Many practitioners think of boat-ownership and boat-building as a trusted position and even a mission. Put in such terms, the imperative is different from the market imperative. Wider symbolic resources of the heritage movement, the understandings of restoration professionals, the skills of visual and graphical designers and new entrepreneurs within the craft have all fed a new practice of wooden boating. With such resources, doing wooden boating has claimed an autonomous position and started to make sense to individuals and groups also on its own terms.

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Diversification of practice – the case of Nordic walking

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Introduction



Photos: Petteri Repo.

Walking is a prime example of an everyday activity which requires neither specific skills nor specific equipment. This has changed in the past few years, however, as a market has emerged for different kinds of walking (e.g., power walking, race walking, treadmill walking). One could view the diffusion of innovations for different kinds of walking as an example of the commodification of yet another area of life. We take a broader viewpoint, concentrating on the process in which an everyday activity is being re-named and re-framed by different actors. We look at this process of conceptualization through a special case: the spread of Nordic walking (walking with sticks). By reviewing the frames that the manufacturers, mediators and practitioners of Nordic walking have produced, we find both discrepancies and similarities between the frames created by the institutions and those created by the walkers themselves – the dominant framing being the transformation of walking into a sport. We view Nordic walking as a practice in a wide sense; concentrating on images built around walking, as well as in walkers' own descriptions and sense-makings of their walking practices and the material that has emerged around them.

Walking as practice

Nordic walking has been a commercial success in Finland: according to the latest sport surveys, 20% of the population walk regularly with sticks. The concept of Nordic walking has been actively promoted by stick manufacturers and has been widely shared by mediators like sport institutes and recreational associations, and, in varying degrees, by the walkers themselves. When studying the introduction and spread of Nordic walking, we view it as a practice in a wide sense. According to Reckwitz, a practice is a routinized type of behaviour which consists of several interconnected elements: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, “things” and their use, as well as background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge. (2002, p. 249). Bearing in mind Reckwitz’s interpretation of practice, we are interested in the habits of walking as well as in the sense-makings and know-how and stuff connected to walking.

Nordic walking is an interesting case of creating a sport out of an ordinary, everyday activity. As the head of Exel (a company manufacturing walking sticks) puts it: “this has been an exceptional case, as the main emphasis throughout has been on selling the sport. Health facts and well-being have been prioritized, and the product has followed accordingly.” In the case of Nordic walking there has been a process of creating a new kind of practice by re-naming and framing an activity into something new. This encompasses, first, recognizing an activity by taking it out of its everyday context and labelling it as a specific kind of activity. In the process, walking is made “visible” by various actors. This has meant raising walking as a topic in the media, especially in the context of health, organizing different kinds of courses and happenings around walking (organizations), and presenting equipment designed solely for walking (firms). The second step of re-naming is introducing walking of a specific type like “Nordic walking”, which includes a certain kind of frame around it.

According to Goffman (1986), frames are clusters of norms with which people make sense of events, states of affair, and what others do. They are normative as there is an understanding of suitable and non-suitable actions within a particular frame. Acting inside a frame is typically unreflective, but frames can be also be worked on intentionally. We follow Goffman’s argument as we are interested in both the sense-makings of different actors and the processes of framing. Creating a frame means introducing certain ideal conditions for walking of a particular type, which in the context of Nordic walking means defining how, where, and with whom walking should be carried out as well as the proper material conditions connected with it – defining ideal conditions for walking of a particular type. Framing an activity has to do with images as well as the actual material preconditions of a given activity.

It is claimed that even though Nordic walking has spread extensively, the publicly presented frame of Nordic walking has not been fully accepted among users as such, as they have created frames of their own. Thus, we see that walkers are not just adopting the sticks and various modes of using them, but in doing so they are actively involved in (re)producing Nordic walking (see also Pantzar, Shove, forthcoming). “Reproducing Nordic walking” does not only refer to the symbolic dimension of the activity, but to an active process in which the frame or some parts of it are adopted as part of the user’s own walking practices. The concept of adopting a practice thus encompasses both the ideas and the activities adopted.

We started looking at the practice of walking by focusing on how Nordic walking is presented by the developers, mediators and practitioners of Nordic walking. We were curious about why people walk with sticks, where they walk, with whom they walk and whether there are any differences between different actors in this account. We started by browsing through the Finnish Internet pages about Nordic walking, which helped us to understand the actors

and the themes surrounding Nordic walking. After this we selected the companies and organizations that have been actively involved in creating Nordic walking. We focused on the actors that were already active in the years 1997-98, when Nordic walking was first introduced in the media. They are *Suomen Latu* (The Central Association for Recreational Sports and Outdoor Activities), *Hiihtoliitto* (Finnish Ski Association), *Suomen Urheiluopisto* (Sports Institute of Finland) and Excel, a company manufacturing skiing and walking sticks. After selecting the actors, we systematically worked on the promotion material like brochures, video tapes and articles on Nordic walking. Altogether we had about 30 items of written material, two videos and interviews with 3 core persons. After recognizing that the user was missing from the data, we arranged seven focus group discussions on Nordic walking. As the practice was our starting point, the discussions were structured along the themes of why, how, where and with whom one walks. As we were interested in possible changes in walking, many questions were constructed accordingly. The participants were from the consumer panel of the National Consumer Research Centre. We looked for participants who defined themselves as somehow physically active. In all, there were 39 participants, who varied a lot in their orientation to physical activities, the other extreme including former competitive athletes, and the other including persons who “didn’t want to sweat while walking”. Most of the discussants were Nordic walkers, while some had only observed them.

Creating Nordic walking

Extensive surveys have been conducted on Finns’ interests in sports and physical activities, e.g., in 1997–1998 and in 2001–2002. Most Finns do a lot of exercise and the most popular form of exercise is walking. Almost seven out of ten Finns exercise at least twice a week intensely enough to get out of breath and sweat. Walking was the most common form of physical activity among women, people aged 50 or more, and working-class people (Finnish Sports Federation, 1998, 2002; Helakorpi et al., 2003). In the 1997-1998 study, Nordic walking did not yet exist, but the second survey four years later found Nordic walking to be the seventh-most popular form of exercise in terms of participant numbers. According to a more recent survey (2002), the popularity of Nordic walking has continued to grow. Earlier, walking was characterized as an independent form of physical activity, which does not involve sports organizations or commercial service providers. How did the change from a self-organized activity to a commodified kind of walking occur, and how is it possible that Nordic walking has spread so intensively? It has been claimed that the emergence and demise of practices has to do with forging and severing links between material, images and skills (Pantzar- Shove forthcoming). In this process new integrations are made as some links are created, some broken. In the case of Nordic walking, this means linking the competence, the image and the equipment in a novel way.

In promoting the concept of Nordic walking, the main actors have been *Suomen Latu* (The Central Association for Recreational Sports and Outdoor Activities), *Hiihtoliitto* (Finnish Ski Association), *Suomen Urheiluopisto* (Sports Institute of Finland) and Excel, a company manufacturing skiing and walking sticks. The main business actor, Excel, has very actively constructed walking with sticks as a brand “Nordic walking”. In this article we will not discuss the role of Excel as it has been covered elsewhere (Shove - Pantzar, forthcoming). The spread of Nordic walking in Finland has not been only a purely commercial venture. Three of the key actors are associations for the public good which are partly funded by the state and membership fees, partly commercially provided. Sports institutions have been important in instructing the users and providing advice on Nordic walking. In autumn 1998, *Suomen Latu*

provided Nordic walking trainer courses for 200 local association employees, and established regular Nordic walking groups in order to promote the diffusion of the sport. Vierumäki Sports Institute organized the first group walks with sticks, the groups being typically workplace teams or athletes. *Suomen Latu* also actively marketed the new sport in the media. For example, Nordic walking was presented a number of times on a “morning exercise” television programme in autumn 1998. If Suomen Latu has concentrated on introducing the sport to the public, Vierumäki Sports Institute has been actively promoting the physiological aspects of Nordic walking. The Vierumäki Sports Institute organized the first group walks with sticks, the groups being typically workplace teams or athletes. *Hiihtoliitto* (the Finnish Ski Association) has taken up the sport as part of its exercising programs aimed at active exercisers.

When looking at the material produced by sports organizations and the manufacturers of the concept of Nordic walking, one may notice there are different emphases concerning the nature of Nordic walking, with contesting orientations toward either health or sports. The user groups have been, thus, of a very different nature. For athletes, Nordic walking is a type of endurance exercise, whereas for the workplace teams it is part of preventive occupational health care. For the general public it is a sport for all. All the promoters have different histories which partly explain the different images they attach to the sport. Suomen Latu has presented Nordic walking as exercise for anyone and everyone. Developers like Vierumäki and Hiihtoliitto, with a sport orientation, have had an interest in positioning Nordic walking within the sports sphere by utilizing the imagery of exercise.

First images; attended and unattended

As regards the image attached to it, Nordic walking has undergone some changes in its short period of existence. These changes are apparent in the brochures made by *Suomen Latu*. The first brochure on Nordic walking is from 1999, and the last, revised version from early 2004. In the beginning, there was some inconsistency in the framing of Nordic walking, as the idea was to offer something for everyone. These four-page brochures present the idea of the sport both in pictures, and in the advice given to walkers. The pictures in the earliest brochure present three different kinds of walkers. The pictures include a group of fitness trainers going uphill at high speed, some people keeping fit by walking with sticks in a town park, and a group walking with sticks along a Mediterranean beach at a much slower pace, obviously getting some healthy exercise. In the brochure pictures, Nordic walking is a sociable group activity, and the text offers as motives for Nordic walking the encouraging company and the expertise and enthusiasm of group leaders. In the 2004 brochure, the pictures focus on presenting Nordic walking as an effective way to maintain one’s health, and the early links to serious fitness training and sports practice have weakened. The sports and fitness aspect is still apparent, as Nordic walking is represented as a sport requiring a special kind of technique. The pictures include technique presentations on both Nordic walking and stretching with sticks. The sociable activity of walking together has turned into a health-promoting form of exercise.

The presentation of Nordic walking as a health-promoting activity is very detailed in the descriptions of Nordic walking. Nordic walking helps improve one’s basic condition, improves muscle tone, increases one’s oxygen uptake compared with ordinary walking, improves muscle endurance, and helps keep one’s shoulders and back loose and supple. In the later representations of Nordic walking these attributions are bunched under the concept of effectiveness. Effectiveness relates to the recurring claim that with the sticks, also the upper

part of the body is activated, which makes walking more efficient exercise. This is also something walkers themselves would bring up in discussions about Nordic walking, often presenting the actual percentages with which sticks improve the efficiency of walking. Effectiveness was not only unquestioned, but was the main reason to walk with sticks for many practitioners. Thus, practitioners have strongly adopted the reasoning mediators represented as part of their own reasoning.

As previously described, Nordic walking was first presented as a social activity practiced in a large group. The idea of the group was transferred from existing guided sports activities such as fitness exercise groups. Also the institutional setting of the sports institute contributed to the image of a guided group activity (Picture 1). Mediators (trainers) were used to guide groups rather than individuals. There are still a lot of organized walks but they are more about promoting the activity than something in which walkers would habitually take part. According to an interviewee in Suomen Latu, these organized walks have not established themselves as a regular hobby. In user interviews, those who had attended organized walks had usually been there once or twice at the time they started Nordic walking. Walking in large groups, which means attending organized, common walks, does not seem to fit in with the existing patterns of walking as the interviewees usually preferred walking alone or with one friend. Walking with a friend was considered preferable as it provided the opportunity to talk and be sociable. In introducing and guiding the sport, institutes have had an important role, but an equally important role has been played by friends. Friends' existing walking routines with regular durations and walking routes (like "the evening walk") were transformed into walking with sticks when one of the walkers adopted Nordic walking. Without these informal networks of practitioners, Nordic walking would probably not have spread and gained acceptability so fast.



Picture 1. Nordic walking presented as a sociable and health-promoting group activity by Suomen Latu in 1999.

Some problematic conceptualizations have also attached themselves to Nordic walking. From some commercial viewpoints, Nordic walking has been seen as attracting the wrong kinds of practitioners, which makes it difficult to spread it into new user cohorts. In the

beginning Nordic walking was introduced as summer training for skiers and it was conceptualized accordingly. This has made it easy for the user to comprehend and learn, on the other hand, but this proximity has also led to problematic conceptualizations (“skiing without skis”.) The image, as well as the reality, of Nordic walking is also that the majority of the Nordic walkers are middle-aged or older people, for whom walking with sticks is a way of maintaining physical condition. It is, thus, not anything extreme or even very dynamic, attributions which often are related to sports in commercial contexts. It is illustrative that in a TV dating show called “Mother-in-law” the mothers of the competitors, being middle-aged women, are given a bouquet of roses and walking sticks at the end of the show.

In the introduction stage there was some discrepancy with the existing images and patterns of walking, which made Nordic walking something of an object of ridicule. Both the developers and practitioners of Nordic walking refer to a certain kind of social stigma attached to Nordic walking. The user interviewees, however, mentioned that being ridiculed is not common anymore, though, as Nordic walking has become commonplace. The changed image was a viewpoint that was largely shared by the users, as can be seen in the following excerpts from the focus group discussions²²:

H: In -98 or -99, when I set out to walk with sticks for the first time it was like by coincidence, I had seen it somewhere. Like when this sport came to Finland, people would sneer at it, like my father said that I had lost my skis. These kinds of comments. T: Demented people use them ‘cause they have forgotten their skis. H: A dementia sport. (Int 4)

P: It was laughed at five years ago Q: That was when you started? P: Right in my face, like I almost had to be dragged outside and then I carried them, like I didn’t start using them in the courtyard but I carried them around for couple of blocks, it was really awkward. It doesn’t bother me anymore but this is how it was at first. (Int 7)

P: Old people have taken to the sticks quite admirably. M: Yes, but that’s not Nordic walking, what they do with them is like they have two sticks and one can say...if young people look at how grannies and grandpas go, they get the wrong picture. (Int 7)

Another image that was not actively produced by mediators is one of sticks as a safety device for older people. This was brought up in the user interviews where people told stories on how they had seen old people carefully walking with sticks. In these discussions the role of the sticks was to bring safety for the walker, especially on slippery roads. In this context acceptance for using sticks as safety device was widely shared. But Nordic walking is many-sided. In addition to being a kind of moderate exercise for middle-aged walkers or something which makes walking possible for those with limited capabilities, for many practitioners Nordic walking is real sports exercise; speedy walking with clear goals. Here the framings of mediators and practitioners could be seen to conjoin. But walkers have not taken the presented sportive frame as such. Nordic walking has been introduced as a comprehensive workout which builds up as a session including various parts such as walking and stretching (Picture 2).



Picture 2. Nordic walking included stretching in a brochure by Suomen Latu in 1999.

Despite the fact that stretching with sticks has been introduced as an integral part of Nordic walking from the beginning, users have not taken it as part of their walking routine. From the sportive schema, walkers have taken only the part which suits their existing patterns of walking, which means adding the sticks to the walking practice, but not including any extra stretching elements.

Leisure activity or a sport?

Kuntolehti.com (a web-based fitness magazine): Corporate communications manager of *Suomen Latu* (the Central Association for Recreational Sports and Outdoor Activities) Sirpa Arvonen emphasizes planning.

“People have to set goals for Nordic walking. One should think whether one is seeking help for shoulder and back conditions or does one want to lose weight? Or does one simply seek for a nice out-door activity.(...) People shouldn't be advised but motivated. In this way they learn to walk goal-orientedly and understand that Nordic walking is fun.”

In time-use studies, one faces some difficulties in interpreting walking. Is it recreation, exercise, sport or something else? The different genres of walking can also be seen in walkers' own definitions on their walking practices as well as in representations made of walking and the material world built around this. In this chapter we take a closer look at how these interpretations are made by the practitioners themselves, and how they intertwine with the actual practices and material of walking. What kind of definitions do the walkers themselves make of the genres of walking, and how do sticks fit into this?

According to ethnomethodologists, interpreting the world is based on different schemes of recognition and classification, which we use reflectively and actively in everyday life. However, using the schemes is habitual in a way that the presumptions and rules of interpretation are neither contemplated nor publicly brought up. (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). Also in the discussions it could be seen that walking is not typically something people would reflect on in their daily life. It is like many other daily, habitual activities which become visible only when asked about. Still, there are quite sophisticated schemas of both performing (doing) walking and recognizing different patterns of walking (Ryave & Schenkein, 1974). This could also be seen in our data. When asked, discussants made quite distinctive

classifications (“walking a dog”, “shopping-walk”, wandering in nature and so on), and it became apparent that there is not just one kind of walking but several, which differ in many respects. In the discussions three more extensive frames around walking came up, which differed as much in motivational aspects as in regard to walking sticks and other “stuff”.

Firstly, there was a practice of walking which might be called walking for a purpose. It means walking to the store, going to work, etc. It is, thus, not something that is done just for its own sake. When walking is combined with some other useful activity, it is part of some other, more meaningful scheme (walking to the store to get groceries), which made the whole activity more meaningful. Walking for a purpose was highly esteemed among the interviewees. The “automatized” way of life, such as taking the escalator instead of walking up the stairs, as well as artificial ways of exercising, such as driving to the gym, was criticized in this regard. In this frame, walking – as all kinds of moving around – should be a normal part of everyday life.

L: This naturally-occurring exercise, luckily it is recognized, so in a way one doesn't need to have a bad conscience if one turns the soil or saws wood and there is no such feeling that “now I have to go and exercise”. (Int 1)

P: I read somewhere that there is some kind of term for moving around which is done without meaning to exercise. What is it, moving for a purpose, or.... So, I don't do anything like just going for a walk. I had two dogs until last summer, they of course kept me going. Now I still have this old dog, and we move around with him. (Int 4)

A: I think a brisk, normal going to the store or something like that, it has decreased when I look at people at my age or my friends. People, say, in their thirties (...) for them the equipment is important like my daughter who goes to the store by car, she wouldn't walk, but then she does downhill skiing and things like that and it may take 10 hours. (Int 6)

Walking with sticks does not fit very well into this particular frame. Taking sticks to the store, for instance, was considered inconvenient because of the carrying involved or because sticks get in the way when shopping. Even though one might think walking to work would be an ideal occasion for using sticks, they were not used in commuting, either. The prime reason would be the inconvenience because one needs to shower and change clothes, and take care of one's appearance. It could also be seen that as walking for a purpose is seen as useful anyway, there is no need to add any extra stuff to the practice.

There was walking which the discussants didn't consider as proper walking and which became visible only when asked about one's daily routines. This kind of walking is not very conscious or planned, it just “happens” during the day, like when walking at the office or walking around in the city. It was not considered as walking partly because it was, like walking for purpose, just “part of normal life” which was not thought of as particularly anything. Walking was part of some other, more meaningful scheme (walking in the city while shopping) or it might be also part of different classification scheme (walking around when cleaning the house). Thus, the “normality” of practices as presented by the practitioners does not refer to the frequency of the action but to the practitioners' awareness of the act, whether walking is lifted out and recognized in the pattern of everyday life. When this invisible walking was made visible it was usually by referring to the time used. The amount of time spent is something which was brought up even without the interviewer having to ask about measuring. But there were also other criteria through which practitioners recognized this type of walking.

T: I often walk from Otaniemi to Tapiola so it's like, what could it be, one and a half kilometers, I don't count it as sport or walking but if one would multiply it, it adds up to some amount of walking per week. (Int 5)

J: ..Window-shopping walks R: But there is not much energy consumed there, maybe some money. M: And nowadays (there are) huge shopping malls, there kilometers cumulate R: If you go there for hours, you are worn out. T: Yes, but its not... (Int 4)

The interviewees were somewhat interested in making this kind of “invisible” walking visible and recognizable as walking by presenting it in some calculable form, whether in distance or in calories consumed. There was, for instance, interest in acquiring a pedometer which tells the exact amount of steps taken on a given day. Nowadays there is a health recommendation of taking 7000 steps a day, which was quite well known among the interviewees and which seemed to be a motivating factor. In measuring walking, even though heart-rate meters are gaining popularity, a pedometer was more appealing, probably due to its understandability. When measuring heart-rate there are different factors affecting the outcome but measuring the number of steps is a clear concept as there is a seemingly unambiguous norm behind it. Thus, using a pedometer on a walk doesn't require the user to adopt new concepts, it is just a more accurate way of measuring the length of one's daily walks, something the users were familiar with already. By definition, “invisible walking” is something sticks do not fit into as no-one carries the sticks around all the time. Unlike using a pedometer, taking the sticks requires planning and knowing in advance one is going to walk, i.e., to perform walking.

On the contrary to walking for a purpose, performing walking is something which is done for its own sake and usually if there is some other purpose for the activity, whether something considered as useful or fun, it is not considered walking as such. So one would not typically consider either walking to a store or random walking in the park “walking”. Proper walking involves some kind of premeditation which implies a certain amount of planning. This typically involves certain equipment, like shoes – or walking sticks, which seemed to cohere with this frame of interpreting walking as well as with the actual practice of walking.

H: When I walked systematically, I went for a walk at six o'clock in the morning, it was then, I purchased, I borrowed a heart-rate-meter and then I had the sticks... (Int 1)

J: But I try to make this kind of real fitness walk once or twice a week, with the sticks, about one or two hours, well the minimum would be actually an hour. I have very regular routes, quite regular... (Int 4)

It is noteworthy that walking with sticks was often defined in terms of methodicalness and goal-orientedness, attributes which were not brought up when discussing “ordinary” walking. Thus, the practice of walking with sticks has elements which usually have been connected with sport. According to a dictionary, sport is “an individual or group activity pursued for exercise or pleasure, often involving the testing of physical capabilities and taking the form of a competitive game”. Sport has also been defined by bodily action, competition and performance (Eichberg, 2002). The performative aspect of sport refers to the improvement and measuring results, whether it is by points, grams or seconds. Thus, even though the popular game “tug-of-war” fulfills the first two criteria of sport as such, it was defined as “something of a joke” when it was presented in the Olympic Games in Paris 1900. It was unfit for the culture of achievement as it was not measurable but also in another respect as it is characterized by popular laughter and grotesque carnivalism (Eichberg, 2002). There is a certain “serious” undertone in sport. Thus, sport includes a degree of methodicalness from the

practitioner's side, which differentiate it from any pastime recreation. Stebbins (1997) has a similar classification of free-time activities as casual and serious activities. Casual leisure is defined as immediately and intrinsically rewarding, relatively short-lived pleasurable activity requiring little or no special training to enjoy it. Serious activity is something in which the practitioner seeks to improve in what he or she is doing, having a career of some sort with stages of achievement. In the discussions it became apparent that even though not all the Nordic walkers were serious practitioners, all the serious ones used walking sticks. Reversely, if the aim of walking was not exercising, the sticks were not brought along.

In the Finnish Sports Federation survey (2002) exercisers were asked to define themselves according to what kind of exerciser they consider themselves. The types of practitioners were defined on the axis of activity/passivity, a competitive athlete and a physically passive being at the opposite edges. Nordic walking was typically an activity for attaining good condition or maintaining health. Nordic walkers are thus not typically sport enthusiasts but more like regular exercisers. Still, practicing Nordic walking is something else than going for an occasional evening walk. If we follow further the definitions of serious activity, Nordic walking is a kind of activity which requires special knowledge, training and skill. Practitioners also identify themselves with their chosen pursuits and present themselves as practitioners (Stebbins 1982, p. 256–258). Traditionally being “a walker” is not something people would identify themselves with in a similar way as being “a skier” or “a golfer”. But now, with the sticks, the situation is changing. Interestingly, the identification of being a Nordic walker is made through competence and skill to perform real Nordic walking.

Real Nordic walking: defining by competence

In the material promoting Nordic walking, the main focus is in introducing, both textually and visually, how walking should be performed: how the arms and legs should work together in order to do the exercise using the right technique (see Picture 3).



Picture 3. Visual introduction of how walking with sticks should be performed by Suomen Latu in 2004.

Even though Nordic walking has, in principle, clear formal instructions, the practice itself may be performed in various ways. This creates insecurity among practitioners and makes them observe other walkers, comparing different ways of using the sticks. Walking without proper skills is something walkers recurrently brought up in the discussions both as something which is bad for one's condition and something which simply looks silly. "Formal" explicitly presented instructions are thus widely acknowledged and shared by the practitioners. This debate has even a kind of a normative tone. By drawing a clear distinction between those who can and those who cannot walk, walkers define the proper kind of Nordic walking – and themselves as proper kinds of walkers – as they see it.

E: I have noticed that, one can say that two-thirds of the Nordic walkers do not use the sticks in the right way. K: I agree completely. Yes, that's true. E: They are of no use. K: Yes, one just gets more stiff using them. (Int 5)

M: It's important to learn the right kind of technique. Often one sees that people don't have a clue on how to use the sticks (...) They just can't do it. (Int 4)

In the promotion material, in addition to instructions on the technical skills and know-how needed to practice walking, the potential user is introduced to the more general framework around the practice. There is a vast body of instructions and codes of practice like for whom Nordic walking is aimed, how to choose the sticks, what are the benefits gained from it, suggestions for preferred surroundings, etc. In the material the proper setting for Nordic walking is nature. Also for the practitioners, even though most of them lived in relatively urban areas, nature (jogging paths in the woods) was seen to be the most preferable surrounding for walking, and most commonly these were the places in which walking also took place. There was a certain kind of social stigma attached to walking on the city streets as it was not considered fitting with the idea of Nordic walking. It was only the practitioners' need to walk extensively that made them break the boundaries of location and defy the codes of walking.

Thus, practices are normative as they include not only the specifics of how the actions should be performed but also the idea of proper conditions for performing the activity. In addition to the technical skill to perform Nordic walking one needs to acquire special know-how and competence in a broader sense. Also in this regard the discussants presented themselves as competent, knowing how to perform inside the frame. The rightness of a given practice is not governed only by explicit rules but by unformulable understandings (Schatzki 1996, pp. 101–103). As presumptions and rules behind action are usually neither contemplated nor publicly brought up, the right frame of walking becomes apparent and recognizable on the occasions where it is broken, an idea widely shared in ethnomethodology. In the data these disruptions of the frame became apparent in descriptions of occasions where Nordic walkers disturb other walkers by flailing with the sticks on jogging paths, or of situations where using sticks is not appropriate. For instance, going to the church or going to a formal visit, or a pub, were mentioned as unsuitable contexts for using sticks. The participants did not mention any occasions in which they themselves felt they had broken the code, but the descriptions pertained to other walkers. If there were feelings of not being in the right situation with walking sticks, they were connected to the earlier-mentioned social stigma associated with walking with sticks, which was not presented in the context of walkers' competence in recognizing a proper situation.

The role of material in framing a practice

In the creation phase of Nordic walking, special walking sticks were not considered as necessary, as normal skiing poles would do. But soon after the invention of the sport there became a consensus on the need for special kinds of sticks, designed for Nordic walking. This naturally has to do with skiing pole company's active participation in creating the sport. The idea was quickly adopted by the other promoters. In the promotional material, training shoes and sports clothing are seen as essentials (Picture 4), a view shared also in the group discussion data. In commercial contexts, walking sticks have been connected with several other commodities and services like health insurances and weekend holiday in a health spa. Special shoes and also a special clothing line for Nordic walking have been developed. Thus, in creating Nordic walking, mediators have not defined the practice only through the technique and the proper settings, but also through the material connected with it. Defining and classifying walking by the equipment connected to it is also something individual walkers do. Earlier it was stated how Nordic walking is defined by walkers as a sport by referring to its methodicalness. In framing walking, stuff like walking sticks or sports clothes also mark walking as a sport.

J: It's like, when you have the sticks with you, you know that aha, now you are Nordic walking. But if you don't have the sticks, then you are just walking. Then you can go to places ex tempore, like to a gallery or anything that comes into sight. (Int 2)

K: I have noticed that if I go Nordic walking, I dress a bit sporty in a way, I put these exercising clothes and stuff. But for a night-time walk I put on trekking shoes but otherwise I can have regular clothes. It is, because when Nordic walking I, at least, get sweaty, it is a performance after which I go and take a shower.... (Int 5)

The material aspect of framing is an issue Goffman has not widely discussed in his studies about framing an activity. The material side of the experience is mentioned as something which may or may not break the illusion of realism in a staged setting, as in a case of written subtitles in a movies (1986, p. 238–9). He doesn't treat material as part of the frame, though, but more as something which may disturb being in the frame. The material side of frames can be also found in examples of occasions where the organization of activity is disrupted, as in cases where an individual appears in unsuitable clothes or a child knocks over a vase (1986, pp. 347–8). However, Goffman himself connects these disruptions with the unmanageability of the human body, not discussing in more detail the role of the material in the situation. For him, material is back-stage, offering a background for the actual happening, a situation where the frame is under threat, and the experiencers are trying to cope with these inconsistencies. In this account, Goffman is not alone as typically in the studies of social shaping or in more general studies in sociology, material has been considered as something through which the more important "social" phenomena occur. Unlike for Goffman, for Schatzki material is an elementary part of framing a practice. Practices build up as integrative nexuses of entities such as objects, people and events. Getting involved in an integrative practice presupposes a shared understanding of interrelated equipment (1996, pp. 114–5). Thus, for the participant, understanding and carrying out a practice does not only depend on the symbolic side of the practice, but also on the stuff connected to it.



Picture 4. Training shoes were actively created as essentials for Nordic walking by sports companies and Suomen Latu in a brochure from 2004.

In the field of practice theory, the role of material is acknowledged. Practices are viewed as materially mediated networks of activities, in which things are as important as other mediators. However, most practice theorists do not see humans and nonhumans (material, images, organizational systems) as equally emergent in the formation and reproduction of practices (Schatzki 2001, p. 11). In contrast, actor-network-theory and some “social shaping of technology” oriented research has called into question the priority of the social over the non-human, as well as the whole conceptual difference between social and material (Akrich 2000, p. 206; MacKenzie & Wajcman 1999, p. 23). Following an actor-network-theoretical approach, it could be seen that in the creation of Nordic walking, new kinds of bonds have been created – and are constantly created – between different materials and human practices. It can be argued that as these linkages multiply, the practice of Nordic walking as such is strengthened, the most enduring practice being the one which encourages the creation of bonds of different kinds. As also discussed elsewhere in this volume (Shove et al.), certain forms of bonds become stronger over time with use.

A frame could be interpreted in terms of its flexibility, where it may be seen as both enabling and restricting certain actions inside it, whether considered on an individual or on a more general level. A certain frame may be seen as setting preconditions for the actor (Ilmonen 2004, pp. 32–3), which in the case of Nordic walking could be seen in the users’ comments on how with the sticks some of the spontaneity of wandering around is erased, or in the comments on suitable surroundings and occasions for Nordic walking. The experienced limitations have as much to do with the imagery attached to walking (Nordic walking is sport, so the idea of popping into a gallery while walking does not fit in) and the practical-material side of Nordic walking (walking makes one sweaty, which limits the range of possible places of destination). However, we have taken more of an approach where the (re)mouldable nature of the frame of practice is emphasized. To begin with, frames are not total entities in a way they would completely determine the course of action. In the words of Goffman, inside a frame there usually is some latitude for the person to express himself, something that might be called a “style” of doing things (Goffman 1986, p. 288.) As seen in the case of Nordic walking, the linkages around the practices are also dynamic by nature. Thus, practitioners as well as mediators and the media have been constantly co-producing the practice and the frame around it. In the context of Nordic walking, the frame connecting the practice with sport has become predominant and largely shared by the actors. Still, the sportive frame around Nordic walking has been quite flexible, as the walkers have acquired only certain parts of it. Also material-wise, walking sticks are more flexible than, e.g., snowboard or golf clubs as they

easy to carry around and fit into the existing patterns of walking. We are claiming that alongside the diverse linkages that strengthen Nordic walking as a sport, the flexibility which makes it easy to fit into existing practices accounts for the rapid diffusion of Nordic walking.

K: Yes, I also bought that exercise bike and sold it away then 'cause I wouldn't bother using it, but the sticks are different since one wants to go outside anyway (...) for me this is the easiest way to go for a walk and I think the sticks make it more effective. It is just because they won't necessarily stay unused, they are connected to the walking. But an exercise bike, I would never purchase one anymore or other gadgets with which I have to engage in something, like "now I'll start doing something". I go out, it's a bit different. (Int 6)

Conclusions: Framing Nordic walking

We have been looking at a process in which an everyday activity is being re-named and re-framed as it is transformed into a sport through a special case; the spread of Nordic walking. We have looked at the process of conceptualization by reviewing the frames that the manufacturers, mediators and practitioners of Nordic walking have produced and the discrepancies between those frames created by different actors. The images different mediators have created have been quite different and consisted of several linkages. We have tried to reveal the "big picture", creating an overview of how the images link to each other as well as to existing practices. As seen in the case of Nordic walking, creating practices is a process which cannot be regulated or steered in an anticipated direction. Practitioners acquire some parts of the images, ignore others, and sometimes an image or practice that is unintended occurs.

Nordic walking would not have become so popular if there had not been multiple linkages among the image, competence and equipment, i.e., the material side. In the process of becoming established, the more connections there are among image, competence and material, the stronger the practice of Nordic walking becomes. This has happened on many levels. On a level which might be called imaginary, Nordic walking has been broadly recognized and accepted as a certain kind of categorization, as it has been officially defined, e.g., in statistics on free time, and accepted as a sport in accordance with more conventional sports. This, alongside with discussions in the media, which highlight the importance and effectiveness of Nordic walking, has raised Nordic walking to a status worth practicing for an individual practitioner. In the case of creating Nordic walking, the role of equipment has been essential as using sticks is the only thing which seems to differentiate it from ordinary walking. Connections have also been made with other material such as sporting gear, which further establishes the role of Nordic walking as such, and strengthens it as a sport. But in order to be "real" Nordic walking, the equipment needs to be used in a proper fashion, a view which is broadly shared by the different actors. Technical competence – how to use the sticks – is something through which Nordic walking is defined both by the mediators and by the walkers themselves.

The instruction provided to (potential) walkers has been effective both on the institutional and on the personal level, spreading the practice into wider cohorts of practitioners. There is also another kind of know-how attached to performing Nordic walking, which defines the proper conditions for walking in a broader sense. This, alongside with the technical instructions, has been introduced by the mediators as the proper kinds of situations (e.g.,

alone or with others) and surroundings for Nordic walking. In all, it could be noticed that the more general frames on proper conditions are not as widely shared as the technical rules of walking by the practitioners, which tells about the flexibility of practice.

In the introductory stage, several frames were offered, as even the nature of Nordic walking was not quite clear even for the developers. In the course of time the frame got narrower as the connections with health and individual sport strengthened. Health as a rationale for Nordic walking has been widely accepted and taken up as a part of walkers' own reasoning. The idea fits well into the existing Finnish tradition of governmental or semi-governmental health promotion, as there have been well-known campaigns about reducing fat in nutrition, for instance. The frame of walking as sport also resonated with walkers' existing patterns of conceptualizing certain kind of walking, as well as with their existing practices of walking. There were quite stabilized walking routines as most of the discussants had had walking as a regular hobby for a long time. Nordic walking fitted into existing patterns of evening-time walks alone or with friends; the sticks were simply added to the practice. As such, using sticks seems to fit with walking practices which would be performed anyway, but using sticks has also partly reinforced a view of walking as sport. This could be seen in the user discussions where it was seen that using poles brings effectiveness into walking and makes one consider it more as a sport. It is noteworthy that not only developers and mediators, but also practitioners have been strengthening the linkages which define Nordic walking as sport. However, not all parts of this sportive frame have been acquired into the routines of walking. For the developers, Nordic walking is a comprehensive workout, which builds up from various parts such as walking and stretching. From this sportive schema, walkers took only the part which suited their existing patterns of walking and discarded others. Walkers, thus, have created walking practices of their own.

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Innovations in fun: the careers and carriers of digital photography and floorball

Mika Pantzar , Elizabeth Shove, Martin Hand

For practices to persist and survive they need to attract and retain suitably committed followers or as we term them, 'carriers'. So how do new leisure pursuits acquire recruits? In this chapter we suggest that there are different modes of recruitment, and that these have implications for who is drawn into an emerging practice and for the nature and strength of their commitment to it. This is important since the careers of individual practitioners determine the fate and future of new forms of fun. Leisure practices are dynamic and unstable. As more or different people become involved and as the meaning of involvement changes, so the practice evolves. This has further consequences for future recruitment and retention. We explore these ideas with reference to two recent innovations in fun: digital photography and floorball. From this discussion we draw two conclusions, first that recruitment and reproduction are related and second that the nature of this relation is of practical consequence for the careers of practices and those who 'carry' them.

Introduction

Leisure time is generally thought of as time over which we have some discretion. So how is it that we devote spare energy and resources to some activities but not others and how do *new* forms of fun arise? In this chapter we ask how practices attract and retain recruits – something they need to do if they are to persist and become established on any scale. As this formulation of the problem already suggests, we examine the development of new forms of fun from a somewhat unusual point of view. Rather than focusing on what people get out of participation we concentrate instead on what it is that leisure practices demand of those who do them. Specifically, how are people persuaded to make the kinds of commitments required to keep leisure practices alive?

Reckwitz (2000) suggests that people are the 'carriers' of practices, much as human bodies are the carriers of genes. In taking this idea seriously, we explore the theoretical potential of putting the practice centre stage. In its most extreme formulation, such an approach leads to a view of people as 'carriers' unwittingly 'captured' by a population of vampire-like practices the survival of which depends upon a steady supply of time, money, equipment, skill and commitment. Staying with this idea at least for the moment, innovations in fun can only take hold if they attract new recruits and draw people away from other activities that compete for their attention. In other words it is through recruitment, a term derived from the French 'recroître' meaning to 'increase again' (Fowler and Fowler, 1990), that practices endure, transform and extend themselves. This sounds plausible enough, but what of the detail? How do practices recruit, what are the means and mechanisms involved and how do they differ? In this chapter we consider the forms of adherence and types of 'stickiness' that bind people to

activities they do for fun. As we go on to explain, recruitment and retention are important not just for the survival of a practice, but for what it *is* and for what it might become.

In trying to show how processes of renewal actually take place, and how practices – as entities – are reproduced through performance, our aim is to concretely examine important abstractions of practice theory. We have chosen to do so with reference to leisure practices on the grounds that participation is largely discretionary: in these situations, practices are under particular pressure to attract and retain attention. So how do they do it?

The leisure studies literature provides a number of ready-made answers. One is that new leisure practices take hold because they provide experiences and qualities that people desire and require. Psychological research suggests that human beings need opportunities for play, relaxation and recuperation. By implication, successful sports and forms of recreation are those that fulfill needs not already being met in other ways. Taking this argument a stage further, writers like Shoham (2000) conclude that individuals select leisure activities which meet their own psychological requirements and that this is why some engage in sport, in reading or in trips to the theatre, and others do not. People are unlikely to persist with (discretionary) practices from which they get no positive feedback. However, explanations that focus on the 'needs' of practitioners are of limited value in explaining how new forms of leisure develop, how some disappear and how contemporary opportunities come to be as they are.

Other commentators argue that leisure practices succeed not because of some intrinsic quality but because of their institutional positioning and the social significance of participation. For historians like Walvin (1978) Anderson (2002), Blackburn (2002) and Switzer (2002) the popularity of sea bathing has less to do with the psychological rewards of sand, sun and salt water than with the emergence of a distinctive cultural form. In Walvin's account, town councils, developers and entrepreneurs had an active and influential role in deliberately cultivating the concept of the seaside holiday and in crafting the image of individual resorts.²³ Yet the history of British seaside towns like Brighton, Bournemouth, Blackpool and Morecambe provides a fine illustration of the point that reputation is mobile, depending as it does upon who goes where and on what participation consequently 'says' about social position. Working with similar ideas, Furnée (2002) uses a history of ice-skating in the Netherlands to show how hierarchies of gender and class are transgressed and reproduced through leisure practices. In this case, ice-skating, once a 'democratic' pursuit involving all social classes became the preserve of different sorts of elites before being 'recaptured' and organised by local municipalities. These writers have in common an interest in tracking the symbolic meaning of specific pursuits and in using this to explain their rise and fall in popularity over time and between one sector of society and another.

While agreeing that the careers of leisure practices are intimately connected with those of their actual and potential carriers, we approach this relation from a particular point of view. In what follows we make selective use of ideas developed by Giddens (1984), Pred (1981), Warde (2003) and Reckwitz (2000) in an attempt to think again about how new forms of fun emerge and how they are reproduced.

The position we take is informed by three core propositions. One is that practices like football or ice-skating represent recognisable relatively enduring entities. They exist as sets of norms, conventions, ways of doing, know-how and requisite material arrays. In other words

²³ The view that that leisure is a vehicle for the expression and realisation of an assortment of social, cultural and commercial goals and pressures is also shared by those who whose top down analyses of sport emphasise the defining roles of elites and the media (Cashmore, 2000; Mahoney and Howard, 2001; Westerbeek and Smith, 2003).

practices figure as something that actual and potential practitioners can participate in or withdraw from. At the same time, practices are constituted through performance. To borrow Reckwitz's example, football would not exist if people did not play it. And if people played differently, or if they invented different rules, the game would change. Gomart and Hennion put it this way: a rock concert, sculpture exhibit or session doing digital photography does not bring together 'already existing objects, subjects and social groupings... – rather, this is a conjunctural event in which the relevant objects, subjects and social groupings are co-produced' (Gomart and Hennion 1999: 228). On one side of the coin, practitioners are 'captured' by practices that make demands of those who do them. On the other side of the coin, practices are constituted through participation and defined by the activities of those who 'do' them.

A second proposition has to do with the relation between the development of a practice over time, and the careers of individual practitioners. At any one point, a practice is given shape and meaning by the actions and inactions of past, present and potential practitioners. Following Pred (1981), we are therefore interested in how the career of the practice (as entity) intersects with the careers of individual practitioners. At the level of the practice, this raises questions about convergence (how do marginal activities become mainstream?) and about differentiation (how and why do populations of practitioners and practices fragment and divide?). For individuals, relevant questions have to do with changing forms of commitment and allegiance and with what it means to defect from or subscribe to different practices. This is important for there is a social and temporal dimension to 'doing'. As Becker's (1963) work on the careers of marijuana users and jazz musicians reminds us, the relation between practice and practitioner is constantly changing. Though the steps and stages of career development vary in ways that are themselves interesting, jazz musicians and marijuana users both experience moments of irreversibility as their practitioner-identities evolve. Continued membership and defection are always in tension but exactly how this works out differs depending upon how and why practitioners adhere to some practices and not others and on the types of 'glue' involved.

Our third proposition is that the reproduction of practice involves and requires the co-production and integration of objects, competencies and images. The social histories referred to above do a good job of demonstrating the dynamics of image and meaning but pay less attention to competence – for instance to how people learn to enjoy a day trip to the seaside, or to how they become habituated, addicted and impassioned about what they do (Becker, 1963; Gomart and Hennion, 1999). Theories of practice and histories of leisure also tend to overlook the materials and assemblies of stuff that are so often implicated in the conduct of daily life (Latour 1992; 2000). Countering this tendency, Schatzki writes that 'understanding specific practices always involves apprehending material configurations' (2001:3). Taking heed of this we are interested in analysing the devices and objects through and with which actors 'put their passions into practice' (Gomart and Hennion, 1999:221) and that are themselves implicated in the making of 'passionate' practices. In what follows, we explore the possibility that objects, images and competencies are variously important in recruiting and retaining practitioners and hence in the reproduction of different forms of leisure.

Putting these pieces together, we argue that the always fluid trajectories of practices are shaped by the 'doings' of changing populations of newly recruited, persistently committed and ex- practitioners. If we are to understand the careers of fast developing practices we need to examine the careers of actual, potential and previous practitioners. We suggest that new and existing practices require practitioners to make certain commitments, including the commitment not to defect. So how do leisure activities command attention, what are the

mechanisms and circumstances of enlisting and defection and how do these influence trajectories of normalisation, de-stabilisation and diffusion? Rather than searching for external explanations as to why some forms of leisure develop and others do not, we home in on the details of what participation involves. We do so with reference to digital photography and floorball.

Digital photography involves taking and sometimes also manipulating, storing, viewing and displaying digital images. Floorball is an indoor sport in which players equipped with lightweight sticks try to hit a small ball into the opposing team's goal. Digital photography is an essentially solitary activity organised around an assortment of high-tech devices including a camera, computer, printer, storage system and so forth. By contrast, floorball involves a minimum of basic equipment, some friends and a place to play. While digital photography can be enjoyed almost anywhere and at a moment's notice, floorball can only happen when people agree to meet together for an hour or so at a designated location. Major corporations stand to make really large sums of money from the global promotion of digital photography. This is not the case for floorball. What, then, can these contrasting cases tell us about how different forms of leisure take hold?

It is difficult to quantify the scale and rate at which these two activities are developing but there is evidence that both are attracting new recruits. Over a third of US households now own a digital camera (Rand 2003). According to a recent Mintel report, (Mintel, 2002: 22), UK sales of digital cameras account for 41.4% of the camera market by value, and some 40 million digital cameras were sold worldwide in 2003 (Photo Trade News, 2003). Since the foundation of the Finnish Floorball Federation (1985) the number of members has increased by an annual rate of 30-40% and the craze' has now spread to another thirty-one countries, including the UK (International Floorball Federation, 2004)²⁴.

In trying to explain how floorball and digital photography have managed to capture effective carriers we begin by describing the recent history of the two practices, treating each as if it were a coherent entity. In this we make use of a range of secondary material, existing documents, web sites and published literature. Our next step is to review the experiences first of an enthusiastic follower and then of someone whose interest has waned. In order to gain access to the sort of detail required we needed to document the careers of real-life practitioners. It turned out that we were ourselves suitable subjects for interrogation. In what follows we therefore make use of our own personal histories and of the floorballing career of one of our colleagues.²⁵ This was an expedient and effective strategy and one that provides some insight into the way that personal careers develop and into the routes of recruitment and forms of 'stickyness' at stake. Although not necessarily typical, the purpose of these four practice-histories is to reveal something of the *relation* between keen and defecting practitioners and what this means for the trajectory of the practice as a whole.

²⁴ The International Floorball Association, established in 1986, has 31 member Associations, 3500 clubs and 200 000 registered players. There is a world championship every year. In 2003 the International Floorball Federation applied for International Olympic Committee (IOC) recognition.

²⁵ Elizabeth Shove is a keen digital photographer, Mika Pantzar is a resistant one. While Mika Pantzar has played floorball for many years, Mikko Jalas has only recently returned to the game.

Digital Photography

Where does the story of digital photography begin? We might start with the birth of optic ways of thinking in fourth century Greece, with Newton's conception of the white light spectrum, or with the *camera obscura*, each being relevant moments in the history of the very idea of 'taking' pictures. Alternatively we might focus on technological developments like *Daguerreotypes* (1837), *Ambrotypes* (1855) and *Tintypes* (1856), all of which represented new methods of *fixing* positive images. On the other hand, and with hindsight, we can now see that the introduction of *flexible film* (1889), in combination with the first mass marketed camera, the Eastman box-camera, the *Brownie*, paved the way for the invention of photography as a popular pursuit. Previously the preserve of professionals or a handful of dedicated amateurs, these developments shaped the qualities and characteristics of a practice to which *digital* photography is closely related.

Brownie cameras were simple to use and Kodak sold 150,000 of them for \$1 a piece during the first year of production (Kodak, 2004). The 35mm still camera, (1914), along with colour film, first marketed in 1935 (Kodachrome), constitute a system of colour photography that dominates today. Technologically, the process is one in which light comes through the camera's lens and strikes emulsion on the film. The brighter the light, or the longer the exposure, the darker the image. Film is then developed using chemicals, creating a slide positive or a negative from which prints can be made. The institutional separation of taking and developing pictures, a move made possible by flexible film, transformed what it meant to 'be' a photographer. Subsequent inventions like the Polaroid instant camera (1948) instant colour film (1963) one-step instant photography (1973), and the first point-and-shoot camera (1978) package the complex business of producing pictures in slightly different ways. At one end of the spectrum, 'serious' practitioners retain control of every stage. At the other, snap happy amateurs delegate all but the click to the camera, the film and those who process it. As Kodak's slogan runs "you press the button, we do the rest". One result is that there are, in effect, many forms of photographic practice.

It is tempting to associate the successful recruitment of millions of practitioners with the declining cost and complexity of taking pictures. However, the routinisation of amateur photography also supposes widespread acceptance of the very *idea* of constructing and viewing 'family' or 'holiday' albums (Spence and Holland 1991; King 1986). Beliefs about the possibilities, qualities and purposes of photographic images tap into multiple genres of representation including portraiture, still life and landscape art not to mention journalistic values of authenticity and truth. There are correspondingly multiple understandings of success. Competent professionals are expected to capture, manipulate and develop convincing representations of 'reality'. On the other hand, amateurish and technically defective images may still be prized if they illustrate key moments of success and family unity, for example, birthdays, weddings or holidays (King, 1986; Bourdieu, 1990; Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, 1981).

Pre-digital photographers inhabit territory marked out by distinctions between art and science; family commitments and private enthusiasms, automation and craft skill (Bourdieu, 1990). Despite or perhaps because of this multiplicity of form, technique and style, photographs have become an important medium through which people represent and in a sense create ideals of family, self and the past (Hirsch 1997, 1999). Their public display – in frames, on fridges or pin-up boards – provides a *permanent* representation of what are literally snapshots of life, moments written in light. These genres and expectations are active

ingredients mobilised but also transformed in making what digital photography has become today.

Rather than going right back to the Greeks, we could take a short cut and trace the story of digital photography to computer science, governmental and militarized spying technologies, astronomy and video imaging in the television industry during the 1950's and 1960's. Like their analogue cousins, digital cameras have a lens, aperture and shutter. The difference is that they use a charge-coupled device (CCD), developed by researchers at Bell Labs in the late 1960s, (NASA, 2004) to collect light and convert it into digital information which is then compressed and stored on a hard drive or memory card. Texas Instruments patented the first film-less electronic camera in 1972. Kodak developed a sensor that could record 1.4 million picture elements (mega-pixels) in 1986 and the first 'professional' digital camera was produced in 1991. The contemporary world of digital photography is one in which the camera is part of a technological system, effective use of which requires new skills. It is also a world in which new formulations of 'doing' digital photography are emerging all the time. We return to this point shortly but first let us consider what is involved in becoming a digital photographer.

Becoming a digital photographer

Acquiring a digital camera is a necessary and in a sense irreversible step. New personal computers and mobile phones frequently include some form of digital camera (Koskinen et al., 2002), but it is important to remember that the camera is only part of the kit required. In technical terms, the development of consumer level digital photography is only possible because of the widespread use of computers in the workplace and the home during the 1990s and because of a by now established bedrock of experience with them.

Although the equipment is of defining importance, new forms of competence are also required. There is a sense in which digital technologies have simplified amateur photography still further: there is no need for film and no need to engage with others to get pictures developed. On the other hand, competent performance involves combining and manipulating multiple artifacts – camera, computer, cables, software, and so on. As represented in specialist magazines, handbooks and instruction manuals, digital photography involves endless permutations of requisite expertise. While some features are familiar, like the idea of filing, sorting and organising images into albums, users of software packages such as *Photoshop* need little prior knowledge of photographic principles.



It is possible to send digital photographs to be 'developed', i.e. printed or stored on CD, but digital photographers can also do this for themselves. As with the analogue version, digital photography can be practiced at very different 'levels'.

But whatever the level, the *immediacy* and *malleability* of digital images challenges values of authenticity, permanence and objectivity previously associated with picture taking. Rather than embodying qualities of *fixity*, *permanence* and *stability* digital photography seems to be about *translation*, *disposability* and *mobility*. While digital images can be printed out and preserved on glossy 'photographic' style paper, very few – less than 15% – are. Many more have a brief yet transient life: those which make it past the 'click and delete' stage may be multiplied and circulated through e-mail, ending up in electronic folders, on the web, perhaps on a CD, or discarded as digital refuse. Recent market research shows that 'the most popular use of digital photos is sharing them via the internet' (Business Wire, 2000).

Digital cameras moved into a world in which conventions of amateur photography were already well established (Slater, 1995; Gustin, 1998). However, the practice of digital photography is changing and challenging existing 'rules of the game'. New subjects and situations like seminars, dinner parties and trips to a restaurant are becoming photo-worthy in ways they have never been before. The results may not be preserved for long, but the moment is captured all the same.

To summarise, becoming a digital photographer is a matter of acquiring an integrated set of devices, including a camera; a certain level of competence and a willingness to figure out, for oneself, what the practice involves. As we are about to discover, digital photographers assemble these defining ingredients – objects, competencies and conventions – in very different ways. For some, being a digital photographer is interesting precisely because this practice is *not* equated with photography. For others, their experience with analogue photography is the yardstick by which the digital experience is judged. What it means to 'do' digital photography is important for the development (or otherwise) of personal commitment to the practice. And as we argue later, patterns of persistence and defection have cumulative consequences for the enterprise as a whole. With these issues in mind we now review two practitioners' tales, first considering a willing and then a resistant recruit.

Box 1: Digital photography – the willing recruit

I first held a digital camera in 1998. At that time I owned two 'ordinary' cameras. One was a quite nice but heavy Minolta bought to replace my first and favourite camera, an Olympus OM1 stolen in 1989. The other was a lightweight plastic 'point-and-shoot' camera acquired when the Minolta once failed. I like taking pictures and I like the idea of 'being' a photographer but to be honest I have probably taken more pictures on holiday with the little plastic camera than at any other time.

In 2003, I bought a digital camera, an Olympus Camedia 4000. From the start it was both a toy and a tool, bought for 'work' but really used for 'fun'. The more I have used it the more fun it has become. For me, its use does not count as photography, or at least not photography of the kind with which I was familiar.

Although I took care to buy a model that offered manual control so as not to lose potential that I thought important, it turns out that what matters to me most is the ability to play with images once they have been 'taken'. With the digital camera and the computer and now a CD writer and a new colour printer, I can indulge all kinds of latent artistic and creative inclinations. There is much more to discover, and learning is itself exciting. I now take the camera with me almost everywhere and am often thinking of projects through which to explore its potential - or to be more accurate, to explore the potential of digital photography, broadly defined.

I still plan to have my heavy Minolta repaired. It is a 'real' camera in a way that the new digital device is not. It is important for me to have a proper camera that works but to be honest I am not really sure when I will use it. This is but one of a range of problems the digital technology has engendered: in becoming a digital photographer, I have had to resolve new questions about authenticity and quality, and about storage, display and viewing. Despite acquiring a good printer, I find that prints no longer matter. Instead there is a buzz of anticipation each time I download a new set of images and each time I am thrilled by their quality on the computer screen. I would say I have been captured partly by the technology, but perhaps more by the challenges of creating uses and in a sense negotiating new practices with the technologies that I now own. These practices, which involve playing with colour and composition, bear some resemblance to photography but they are not at all the same.

Box 2: Digital photography – the unwilling recruit

I bought my first digital camera in 1993. It was much reduced in price and I saw it, from the start, as a toy. It was a new gadget and a new technology to play with, but one that had hardly anything to do with photography or with making videos, both of which I had some competence and interest in. This first digital camera, a Canon, had to be connected into the television. There was no way of downloading the images to a computer and there were hardly any controls to master. The results were of poor quality, far below those I could achieve with my ordinary camera, and the Canon soon fell out of use.

In 2003 a second digital camera, also a Canon, was acquired for my daughter – not for me. I postponed getting a digital camera as far as possible but in the end my daughter won the battle. She did so because my friends in media research were always telling me how important digital images had become for young girls in particular.

As far as I am concerned, the digital camera does not count as a proper camera and I am unwilling to invest the time required to figure out how to use it or work with the results on the computer. In fact the idea of creating, let alone manipulating, such huge data files is itself a major source of anxiety. I notice that I postpone downloading images from the camera as far as possible. I have no interest in learning how to do these things and in any case, I already have a camera that works perfectly well. For these reasons my career as a digital photographer is simply empty: there is no story to tell.

But that is not the end. Just recently, I have been forced to borrow my daughter's digital camera not for fun, but as a tool for work. There are times when it has been really very useful to take digital images that can be shared and incorporated in talks and presentations. I can therefore imagine a future in which I use my 'real' camera for some purposes and the digital version for others. On the other hand, the more I have used the digital model, the more I dream of using my old camera. The better I get at taking digital pictures the more I appreciate the quality of 'old-fashioned' slides and the unharried pleasures of composing, taking and viewing images in this form. I cannot ignore the fact that the meaning and significance of photography is changing within my family. My daughter is using pictures in quite new ways, putting them on the web rather than in an album, and taking many more shots - as many as ten a day – as a matter of course. For her, photography is a form of social interaction. For me it is still about art and memory.

Persistence and defection: experience and expectation

Although the paths of the enthusiast and the unwilling recruit diverge, they are organised around similar considerations. In both cases, comparison between digital and ordinary photography is of defining importance. The process of becoming a digital photographer is one of negotiating with the past: which routines are retained, which concepts abandoned and what new configurations arise? People use 'ordinary' cameras in various ways but whatever the nature of their previous experience, digital photography is framed in terms of it. One result is that narratives of recruitment are also tales of replacement, displacement, duplication and redundancy. Interpretations of quality and of what digital photography is good for are consequently 'negotiated' between digital technologies and their users, but always in the shadow of prior experience. In practice, some people use a digital camera in conjunction with a PC but never produce 'real' prints. Others produce prints, as before, but store and manage them in a new way. Some reproduce analogue-based methods and practices as best they can while others exploit computer-oriented ways of doing and thinking.

It seems that recruitment to digital photography is initially a matter of acquisition - getting a camera is a defining move. Beyond that, the relation between analogue and digital experience is extremely important for trajectories both of positive engagement and of resistance and ultimately defection. It is important to notice that this relation is dynamic and unstable. Active digital photographers are creating new conventions and genres: they are effectively extending the reach of what photography might become. Within *digital* photography new practices are developing and new associations are being formed, for example, between computer and camera, or between phone and computer and camera, as well as between one camera and other. As this goes on, so the conditions and circumstances of 'doing' digital and ordinary photography change – and as these change so new recruits are likely to be drawn in, so some defect, and so others pursue increasingly established variants of the practice. As the range of producers and genres expands, so the routes of recruitment multiply.

As our second example we take a practice that is also developing fast but in which modes of recruitment, persistence and defection seem to be rather different.

Floorball

People have been playing games with balls and sticks for a very long time yet the specific variant known as 'floorball' has a relatively short history. Some trace its origins to the United States of America where street hockey was first played in the 1950s and where the Schaper Manufacturing company in Lakeville Minneapolis began making plastic sticks under the name of Cosom in 1958. The Netherlands, where toy sticks were used in the 1960s, Finland and Switzerland also figure in informal histories of the sport but most agree that the game, as it is played today, derives from a version developed in , Sweden in the early 1970's. The story is that Carl-Åke Ahlqvist, a student at Gothenburg University, brought some plastic sticks in a toyshop in Holland. On returning home, he and his fellow students tried playing floorball and discovered they liked it. Carl-Åke Ahlqvist began importing plastic sticks through his father's hardware store and a few years later founded a company to manufacture them. Ahlqvist's floorball kits, including twelve sticks and a ball, were in turn exported to Finland.



Photo: Floorball in Barcelona (Elizabeth Shove, spring 2004).

So much for the equipment, but how did the practice take hold? In many cases, people turned to floorball from some other ball game. Ahlqvist, for instance, took his sticks along to handball training sessions. Bit by bit, the handball team spent more and more time playing floorball, finally abandoning handball altogether (Liljeroos, 1996). Somehow floorball proved to be the more tempting alternative. In its loosest form, in Finland, 'sähly' (early floorball), is as much a social as a sporting event, often played by workmates of both genders. The fact that floorball now also exists as an internationally recognized, formalized, codified and standardised sport makes it an interesting case to follow.

Sähly was brought to Finland by students visiting Sweden and the first games were played at Helsinki University in 1974. In the beginning, sähly was an anti-institutionalised sport, as indicated by its name, which means 'mess'. For the first ten years or so, there were hardly any rules and men and women of different ages played in the same teams. The founding of the national association (1985) marks the end, or rather a new beginning for the 'messy' version of Finnish floorball. From this point on, Finns began to play floorball on a larger court and with bigger goals in response to pressure from other countries. The size of the goal and the court was finally standardized when Sweden, Finland and Switzerland together founded the International Floorball Association (1986). This narrative of progressive institutionalisation is not unusual. As with many other sports, codifying rules and standardizing equipment goes hand in hand with record keeping. Rationalization, specialization, professionalization and bureaucratization soon follows. One result is that Finnish floorball matches even in junior level tournaments now require four officials: two referees, one to watch the clock and another to record the game.



Photo: Floorball in Barcelona (Elizabeth Shove, spring 2004).

Over the last thirty years there have been other developments both in the equipment that people use, for example, in the design and styling of the sticks, in the range of accessories like gloves, goggles, protective clothing etc., and in the places in which the game is played. But these are minor compared with the ways in which the game has evolved as a recognised 'entity'. Floorball is easy to pick up and novices and casual players can have a good time. However, more devoted practitioners have acquired experience and an array of techniques that make them 'better' players. This personal and collective accumulation of competence reminds us that formalising floorball is not simply a matter of setting rules. It is also important to establish and share relevant skills and to define a hierarchy of competitions, leagues and championships through which players and teams progress. On a number of counts, 'becoming' a serious floorballer is a more organised and a more public process than that of becoming a serious digital photographer.

But not all floorballers are serious. Many have continued with older versions of *sähly*, taking no notice at all of new-fangled regulations. For them the game is defined not by the rules but by the cohorts of friends with whom they play. The two accounts provided below provide some insight into how the recent history of the game has influenced the ways in which its followers have fun. They also illustrate some of the routes through which new practitioners are recruited. In this case, more obviously than with digital photography, the career of the practice depends upon who continues playing and who defects, and on the types of commitment and competence that develop amongst the population of practitioners as a whole.

Box 3: Floorball - the willing recruit

It all began in 1976 when I was in my second year at the Helsinki School of Economics. At that time I played football in the gym once a week. One week our coach brought in six yellow and six red plastic hockey sticks and a plastic ball. We immediately began to play. I have played every Friday morning (8am-9am) since then. Nowadays I also play on Sunday mornings (10am-11am) with friends from my childhood, on Monday evenings (5pm-6pm) with fellow researchers at the Helsinki School of Economics, on Wednesdays (11am-12am) with work mates and on Thursday mornings (7am-8am) with friends who work in the media. Altogether I spend about five hours a week playing floorball with a total of sixty other players.

In the beginning the only rule we had was that sticks could not be raised above the knee (high stick). Very soon we started to play 'seriously' in school tournaments. After a while, new rules emerged to prevent people playing too aggressively. I won several trophies and in 1983 took part in the first Finnish Championship tournament. This was a kind of joke tournament for students from all over Finland. We even drank beer while we played!

For me, an important point came after I had been playing for a few years. A friend of mine started to make his own sticks and later established a stick factory. I bought a stick of my own in the mid-1980s and began to play with different people and in various places. It was about this time that my old school friends switched from playing football to rink bandy and very soon to floorball. In the beginning we used a collection of sticks that I bought for all to use but soon everyone wanted a stick of their own. Luckily for us national rules and teams emerged at around this time as did standardised equipment and places to play.

I have played floorball seriously and successfully five times a week for many years (some 2000 hours in total) and my bones and muscles have suffered. I am aware of my physical limits and I know that I can no longer play as aggressively as I need to on Fridays and Mondays. Sundays are another matter. Sunday games are social events with old friends. Friday games revolve around the rules and forms of play associated with them. On Fridays and Mondays I am reminded of why I began to play 26 years ago: the game has changed but the place and the motivation – to win - are the same. On these days it is important to score goals but on Wednesdays, when playing with work mates, it is not.

When I started 'sähly' I was playing with other students. Today I play with my son and with my friends and colleagues. All versions of playing are socially rewarding. More and more so. Yet the details are different - Sundays are more family oriented. On Mondays and Fridays I talk about research. To begin with these social aspects were irrelevant: if there was any talk at all it was during the game, or when we celebrated winning another trophy.

Looking back, I see that I have recruited others to the game. When my son was about two years old he would stop, of his own volition, to watch the floorball in the sports hall. I bought him a stick soon after and despite my wife's advice, we used the living room as our arena. Now he can hit a ball so hard that it travels at 140km/hour, the fastest in his team. I have bought sticks for other people too: for my childhood friends and again for my workmates, in both cases setting in train patterns of play that continue today.

Box 4: Floorball – the unwilling recruit

It was at primary school that our teacher first introduced us to floorball. I was already used to ice hockey and it was easy to pick up this new game. I was skillful enough and it was fun, especially because we played with girls of our own age. But when I finished primary school my embryonic career as a floorballer came to a sudden end: there was no longer anywhere to play or anyone to play with. In any case, and at the same time, the game was changing in a direction I did not like. I would have been happy to continue playing the 'messy' version that I enjoyed, but I wanted nothing to do with pretentious rules and organised teams. I left floorball behind and went on to rink bandy which is like floorball, but played on ice.

In the last few years I have become interested in playing floorball again. There are several reasons for this. One is that I think some regular exercise would be good for my health. I have also heard from my friend (see above!) that I could join a group that plays in the sports hall where I work. I am busy with my research and I have family commitments but it is true, I could make time to play on Friday mornings. So I went along. It was terrible. I had to use an abandoned stick that I found in the gym. It did not work at all well. Though this was annoying, there were some advantages: at least I could blame the stick for my performance. The others had been playing together for several years and I was not up to their standard. Playing with them was physically hard work. But I know from experience that it takes a while to adapt to this kind of sport and I am optimistic about the future. I am not entirely sure but I think this might be the game for me. I will play a few more times and see how I feel.

In their different ways, these two careers underline the social aspects of recruitment, retention and defection. Although not the whole story, the serious floorballer is committed to routine interaction with a range of different people: playing has become a means of keeping up with friends whose physical and technical skills have evolved together. The reluctant recruit was drawn back to floorball by a friend but in this case interpersonal ties are not (yet) strong enough to secure his lasting commitment. Though tempted by floorball for reasons of health and exercise, the stickier form of collective social 'glue' has yet to set. Because of this social and physical imbalance, defection is a real possibility. It is still easy to drop out.

What do these tales tell us about the increasing popularity of floorball in Finland? As the experience of the new recruit shows, it is not difficult to find a place to play and people to play with, the costs of trying the game for the first time are low and you do not have to be very skilled to join in and have fun. At the same time, the game has been institutionalised through an elaborate structure of national league and team matches. As a result there are skilful players for whom floorball represents a vigorous, elite sport requiring a great deal of commitment and practice.

The practitioners' tales show that floorball is not one game. The equipment, the process and the conventions are roughly the same, yet these basic elements are linked together in very different ways. The keen floorballer is well aware of this. As he explains, the qualities of his Friday game are influenced by the rules of the International Floorball Association, by other formal organizations and by product manufacturers. Friday games are highly competitive events in which the continuous but also collective improvement of skill and competence is part of the attraction. Other games are about having fun with friends and in this context, tennis, football, golf and floorball are interchangeable.



Photo: Petteri Repo.

In summary, floorball's career as an institutionalised entity has been shaped by pioneering players through whom the practice has been developed and reproduced. In Sweden, Carl-Åke Ahlqvist was important, as was his entrepreneurial interest in making and selling sticks. In Finland, Jarmo Perttilä and Heikki Vienola have been significant facilitators and innovators. Casting the net a little further, our keen practitioner, along with his fellow students and colleagues have themselves sustained and generated different versions of the game, playing it week in, week out, over a period of many years. More directly, the enthusiast has acted as a recruiting sergeant for others of his own generation. Closer to home, playing in the living room was important training for his son, helping to develop basic skills and reproducing an image of the game as a rebellious activity.

At the same time, the keen practitioner's influence requires careful interpretation. In many ways it is he who has been captured by a game that makes demands of its own. Having fully 'become' a player it is now difficult for him to give up. The precise nature of the demands that follow, and the game's ability to retain his enthusiasm and attention in turn relate to the ideals, ambitions and commitments of those with whom he plays. For example, the keen player's son has begun to recruit him to a way of playing that he never knew before. This is a way in which set pieces are practiced, in which movements and techniques are learned and in which tactics are studied and analysed. If he is to continue playing with his son, he will soon have to conform to these new conventions. In addition, and as this enthusiast is now painfully aware, vigorous forms of floorball (like the Friday game) demand practitioners who are in good

physical condition. He will have to take care if he is not to be rejected by the game he serves and on which at least some of his identity depends.

Recruitment and reproduction

In this chapter we have investigated the careers of two new forms of fun, one involving a complex of relatively high-tech equipment, the other not. Over the last ten years, digital photography has gone from being a novelty to something that millions of people now do. During this period, the technical qualities of digital cameras and the range of models on offer has changed dramatically, their average cost has dropped and new conventions of digital imaging have emerged. In designing and marketing new models, major players like Canon, Olympus, and Sony fuel and follow these emergent trends, increasing the number of pixels and adding as well as removing different aspects of complexity and control. Meanwhile, floorball has grown from the 'ground up'. Never the scene of major corporate battles for market share, the game has nonetheless increased its reach and range. More people are playing than ever before and as the variety of players increases, so do the ways in which it is played.

There are relevant differences in the detail of what is involved in becoming either a floorballer or a digital photographer. Providing sufficient versions of floorball are 'carried on' by other players, the game exists as something that casual practitioners can opt into and out of at will. To become a floorballer, you have to find a group of people who already playing a version of the game you want to join and who are willing to have new members. Alternatively, you have to establish such a group, acquire the necessary kit and find a place and a time in which to play. Either way, the critical ingredients are those of other people, together with space, time, some plastic sticks, a ball and perhaps a measure of skill. For floorball, the basic mechanism of recruitment is interpersonal: existing players draw others into the game. It is harder to generalise about what keeps floorballers going yet it is clear that some forms of 'glue' like increasing skill, the thrill of competition or the pleasure of social interaction are strengthened and made stickier by participation itself.

With digital photography, acquiring a camera is a moment of defining significance: you can't be a digital photographer without one. And once you have acquired this essential bit of kit, you have made a career move from which there is no return. From that point on, there is a sense in which you 'are' a digital photographer, even if the equipment remains in its box. This is so because having such a camera has the instant effect of re-configuring your position in relation to past practices and other forms of photography. Resisting the digital model is as much part of this story as is its selective or promiscuous use. What keeps people going, as digital photographers, is again a complicated question to which there are many answers. The details of appropriation are at least partly defined by previous practice and by the relation between these and the possibilities that digital photography affords. For some, a digital camera figures as a more or less effective substitute for the analogue model they used before. For others, part of the fun has to do with inventing new ways of using and assembling a whole network of parts: camera, computer, software, printer, web pages and more. Either way, people are hooked (or not) by the nature of their interaction not so much with other people as with the technology itself.

Does this suggest that practices differ systematically with respect to the social and/or material networks through and in which practitioners are enlisted? There maybe something to this idea, but it is important to be cautious. It would be misleading to conclude that digital

photography is devoid of social meaning and interpersonal significance or to deny the material and physical aspects of floorball. A casual photographer can take digital snaps with the same equipment as that which enthral a more serious practitioner for the material does not simply determine the nature of the practice. In writing about the sociology of attachment, Gomart and Hennion also notice the 'slow interpenetration and reciprocal enabling between procedures, skills, and properties of the object on the one hand, and the ever finer capacity of the amateur to perceive them on the other' (1999: 238). As they go on to explain, 'the object itself is made powerful through the apprenticeship of the amateur' (1999: 239). Having said that, procedures, skills and objects may interpenetrate in significantly different ways, and in ways that make a difference to the unfolding practices that ensue. It is therefore possible that there are systematically different modes of recruitment and retention, that some practices are harder to defect from than others and that certain forms of 'glue' become 'sticker' over time or with use. In addition, some activities have demanding entry requirements in terms of skills, time and money and some are socially exclusive whether with respect to gender, physical ability, age or social class. As we have noticed, practices also vary in terms of the formality with which steps and stages of 'career development' are defined.

In thinking about different modes of recruitment and retention it is important to keep the temporal aspect in view. With floorball as with digital photography we see 'a game' that has multiple forms and that develops along parallel yet partly intersecting tracks. In both cases, these branching pathways are important for recruitment, defection and re-introduction. Although he is subsequently drawn back, the reluctant floorballer finds that the game and its players have evolved in his absence and that he no longer has the skills required of a competent practitioner. Someone returning to digital photography after a five-year gap would probably experience a similar disjunction. What it is to do floorball or digital photography changes over the course of any one practitioner's career. This flexibility is both impressive and to be expected, after all, floorball and digital photography are made by what it is that their practitioners do. As technologies develop, for instance becoming simpler or more differentiated, as individual skills and forms of collective competence emerge or decline, and as new recruits come and go, so the practice changes. By implication, modes of recruitment and retention are inherently unstable because they co-evolve with the practice itself.

A full discussion of the co-evolution of practices, structures and agency would require another treatise. However, some words about the general implications of our argument are in order. In this chapter we have examined careers in serious fun. It seems that all such careers involve some form of irreversibility and an accumulation of experience and competence from which there is no going back. Yet we also observe a measure of indeterminacy generated by the also unfolding careers of other people and institutions. Practice theory, as developed above, emphasises the two-directional relationship between structures and practices (cf. Giddens, 1984; Pred, 1983). It is the reciprocity between conditions and consequences that brings temporality (as well as spatiality) into the heart of practice.

From this perspective, consumer society is both self-perpetuating and self-transformative. The practices of each individual (artefact, human being or organization) are bound through reciprocation to those of others such that individuals and goods are embedded in larger systems of practice.

We might speculate that many practices (and collections of practices) are only open to radical reorientation in the 'early stages' when systems have yet to stabilise, or later, when and if de-stabilising tendencies set in. For the most part, processes of recruitment and reproduction favour routinization with the result that practices are replicated in increasingly faithful ways by existing and new practitioners alike (Pantzar, 1993). This 'skinning over' or

closure appears to be a consequence of processes that take hold as practices are successively performed and reproduced. Through repetition practices acquire a 'skin' and a separate identity of their own.

Stabilising tendencies of this kind have been documented in the life cycles of products and industries (Tushman and Romanelli, 1985); in social habits (Löfgren, 1990) and in 'biographies of things' (Kopytoff, 1986). From this perspective, social and psychological processes including those of routinization, socialization, learning or habit-formation contribute to the closure and co-evolution of practice. This helps explain why everyday life revolves around so many repeated routines, but what then is the source of novelty and innovation? The usual answer is that external conditions change. However, the view developed here and elaborated with reference to floorball and digital photography suggests that practices also develop from within or, more accurately, as a consequence of external-internal interaction the results of which manifest themselves as bottom-up developments.

New hobbies can enter our lives almost by accident - chance encounters and opportunities for new experiences are relatively unpredictable but also important. On this point, there is more to be said about the social structuring of opportunity and hence the relation between systems of inequality, power and the evolution of practice. Likewise, as practices become more popular, so chances to participate change (at the moment it is much easier to find a floorball team to join in Finland than in England). But for now the central point is that exposure to a new practice carries with it the seeds of further development both for potential recruits and for the practices with which they engage. In nature, mutations are important for evolutionary development. In human interaction, mutations of practice take place consciously and accidentally. Unexpected events may have lasting and dramatic effects. For example, Box 3 described the experiences of someone whose life was transformed by a chance encounter with a game in 1976. Although that event had unforeseen but enduring consequences for the practitioner's own 'career' and for that of floorball itself, this need not have been the case.

For an individual carrier (practitioner), there must be some positive connection (feedback) between first experience and subsequent engagement with a practice. The availability of requisite resources, materials and forms of competence is also important. With these elements in place, the pattern seems to be one in which positive first experiences give rise to processes of repetition and reproduction through which the new 'item', be that floorball, photography or whatever, becomes part of an individual's life. In this way people become carriers of practices. The fact that the nature of their experience changes over time, as when the pleasures of novelty give way to those of familiarity (Becker, 1963), or that carriers have continuing careers does not change the basic structure of the process.

At the start of this chapter we suggested, somewhat provocatively, that we might think of practices as vampire like entities capturing populations of suitably committed practitioners (i.e. hosts and carriers) in order to survive. We have not gone quite so far as to attribute agency to floorball or to digital photography. Yet we are willing to recognise that by being drawn into these activities practitioners are drawn away from doing other things and that there is a real sense in which they lend resources, sustenance and support to emerging forms of fun. At the same time, we have argued that practitioners are not innocent carriers of ready-made entities. Exactly what digital photographers and floorballers do is really important for what digital photography and floorball might become. Will digital photography result in new genres of image making, will the contexts and situations in which pictures are consumed and produced change beyond recognition? Likewise, is the international 'boom' in floorball a passing fashion soon to go into decline? Will the cohorts of school children who have grown

up with the game turn it into something else? What will happen next? It is difficult to say, but one thing is certain, when considering the evolution of practice, recruitment and reproduction are intimately connected. So much so that in this context, to recruit is not simply to increase again, it is also to change.

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Working out for well-being.

How fitness and wellness have reframed the paradoxes of body leisure?

Gwen Bingle

Body management styles: the dialectics of discipline and indulgence

“We sit too much. In front of our desks. In the car. In front of TV. And we eat much too much in regard of our physical performance. Every other person weighs more than is healthy for her/him. One only needs 70-80 g. fat a day. Most of the time we absorb twice as much. But bingeing does not only affect our hips but also our health. It is increasingly important that we feed ourselves more consciously.”^[1]

“Bathing with Kneipp Wellness bath salts is a bit like relaxing near the seaside. Pure salt crystals combined with highly aromatic essential oils and natural skin-toning oils in a dream-like symphony provide a unique bathing experience. Enjoy the magic fragrance that enhances well being and harmony and experience how precious jojoba oil endows your skin with a silky smooth gloss, with softness and comfort. This is how bathing becomes a holistic wellness experience for body, mind and soul.”^[2]

More than 20 years separate the discourses surrounding Kraft's *jocca* cottage cheese and Kneipp's *Wellness* bath salts. If appropriate body management is at stake in both utterances, it cannot be denied that their underlying tenor is strikingly different. Whereas the Kraft discourse unequivocally indicts modern sedentariness as a problem that needs to be rationally solved by means of new eating habits, the Kneipp caption takes a much more accommodating and holistic stance on how to compensate for the wear and tear of everyday life. Another striking contrast between these two quotes is their embedding in radically different life-worlds. The first one describes the “treadmill” schedule of the modern corporate worker absorbed in office work, commuting and television dinners and suggests low fat cheese as a corrective technology designed to control body size and health. The second quote presents bathing as an escapist strategy linked to a leisurely realm. Bath salts as a technology are presented not as a form of compensation but rather as a subtle trigger which -through the sense channels- is supposed to catalyse a form of transcendental well-being. Finally, these two products are emblematic of the ideologies that spawned them, that is fitness for the first and wellness for the second.

In this article, I want to argue that these two ideologies have gained increasing impetus in the late 20th century because bodily boundaries are contested. Bodies are increasingly viewed as nomadic ^[3] -straddling a number of parallel realms- and the negotiation of bodily space has therefore become an urgent existential pursuit:

“An individual may experience multi-faceted, overlapping, and fluid understandings of how they should be producing and regulating the space of their body which may not be completely congruent or consistent, and sets up tensions and conflict between different bodily ideals and sets of regulatory practices in different locations.” (Valentine, 1999, p. 348)

Body space thus goes well beyond the narrow shape or size of the body ^[4]. What is at stake here is the establishment of a microcosm, what one could define as a material and symbolic body ecology. Securing performance and well-being has become an overarching late-modern concern that permeates almost all the realms of everyday life. Indeed, body preoccupations have contributed to blurring the classical division between work and leisure in that they entail the fundamental re-definition of these concepts.

Thus, this article first sets out to contextualise the tensions linked to body management in the modern period as determined by the mechanisation of work. Until the so-called 3rd industrial revolution -i.e. until the era of ubiquitous automation and, subsequently, office computers- a performance-driven ethics steered the modelling of bodies envisioned as machines or motors, whilst dissident voices repeatedly pushed for a more holistic approach to bodily well-being -a state seen as inseparably linked to the life of the mind, the emotions and the soul. The second part of the narrative moves on to analyse developments linked to the gradual obsolescence of bodies in the industrial and office realms. It contrasts this increasing absence of toiling bodies with their almost compulsory presence in the media and analyses how this paradox has fostered a redefinition of the value of embodiment. This then leads to the next two sections of the article which describe the emergence of the fitness and wellness ideologies in the U.S. and their appropriation in Europe as a response to body superfluity. The following part follows the trail of German fitness and wellness as they aim to commodify all the aspects of embodied experience through the mediation of so-called “lifestyle health technologies”. In the process, it provides concrete mediation examples drawn from the press of the 1980s and 90s, examples that reveal the continuity of the industrial-age tension between targeted performance and holistic well-being ^[5]. The article concludes with the analysis of a short feature story illustrating the resolution of this tension through the emergence of an all-encompassing aesthetics of everyday life which requires its aficionados to become global entrepreneurs of the self.

Married to mechanics? A history of embodied seduction and resistance

The most crucial shift in the perception of what work and leisure mean for the body has been the advent of the industrial age, under the sign of the machine and its rhythms:

“Our leisure is a product, first and foremost, of the modern organization of work. Some work has not been modernized; housework is an example. But in all modern societies work is ordinarily taken to mean paid work, and most paid work is modernized, meaning here that it is compartmentalized and rationalized.”(Roberts, 1999, p.2) ^[6]

Prior to industrialisation, work in agrarian communities was primarily dominated by seasonal imperatives, and leisure was not necessarily posed as the counterpoint of work because the boundaries between the two were much more fluid. Even in urban centres, work was not organised in order to tightly espouse the rigours of the factory clock and bodies could follow the cycles dictated by the alternation of night and day. But with the establishment of factories and their machines powered by seemingly endless electric resources, bodies had to tune into new rhythms. These rhythms were no longer dictated by sunlight but by increasingly swift and sophisticated technologies. Ever increasing productivity and resistance to wear and tear thus became imperatives that human motors had to, perforce, be submitted to.

The discovery of the thermodynamic laws not only spelt out the potential and limits of mechanical power deployment, it also fostered the emergence of new professions – such as physiologists, work scientists and nutritionists – geared towards the efficient management of the modern body. These professions attempted to transfer the model of energy conservation found in nature to bodies employed in the industry. Simultaneously, they tried to fight entropy by formulating and actively supporting measures against fatigue, e.g. through the optimisation of work ergonomics, the reduction of working hours, the determination of adequate calorie intake, etc. But fatigue proved a permanent challenge since the entropy of bodies seemed much more difficult to overcome than that of machines. Somehow, the “natural body” refused to be reduced to an “industrial body-motor”^[7]. In parallel, from the mid-nineteenth century, increased industrialisation spawned a wealth of mechanistic metaphors to illuminate the body and its metabolism:

“[However], descriptions of the body as machine are not merely evidence of industrial strategies to increase worker productivity. They also indicate that individuals desired greater control over their bodies, over the way they performed, the way they looked, and the rate at which they decayed than any previous generation. For those on and off the assembly lines, mechanized physical metaphors could represent a desire to craft bodies into entities as powerful as machines. This possibility allows for a cultural context in which machines became agents for physical vigor and weapons against the threat of terminal fatigue.” (Peña, 2003, p. 25)

To some extent then, popular enthusiasm matched scientific and managerial interest but with a twist, since the former was – from the start – premised upon the recognition that industrial lifestyles were draining and required some form of compensatory input, whether under the guise of machines, electricity or radium. The late 19th and early 20th centuries brought forth a surge of electro-mechanical appliances^[8] to energise the body. These were eagerly consumed in private homes and/or used in spas and gyms by men – and to some extent women – across classes, both in Europe and the U.S. The commercial success of these health gadgets reflected a belief, or perhaps more accurately a need to believe, that the awe-inspiring forces what powered modern life could also be harnessed to unblock, transfer and even create energy in the body (Peña, 2003, p. 7).

In parallel with these relatively mainstream exertions, a number of alternative movements and more isolated (and eccentric) figures attempted to preach a redemptive gospel that more explicitly fed off the frustrations linked to the industrial age. Nevertheless, these movements and individuals did not necessarily or completely sever ties with ideologies permeating the age, since many proponents were inextricably entangled with the new professions I mentioned above.^[9] The hygienist, “Lebensreform” and eugenics movements, for example, developed influential ideas on the importance of both physical and mental fitness and nutritional hygiene, whilst reinstating the body as a central locus for human well-being and development. Additionally, movements pioneered by individuals as different as Sebastian Kneipp^[10], Dr

Rudolf Steiner ^[11], Dr Maximilian Bircher–Benner ^[12] or Dr John Harvey Kellogg ^[13] – to name but a few – gradually gained increasing audiences in the course of the 20th century. A common denominator of these attempts, however, was to conceive of a body that went beyond a purely mechanistic vision to include emotions, as well as the mental and spiritual dimensions of embodiment. These three realms could hardly be accounted for in the modern factory or office environment, where – linked to the diktats of streamlined production- long exhausting hours, the monotony engendered by repetitive tasks, and the suppression of individual initiative and creativity continued to prevail.

The essence of these movements was seen as an attempt to re-access a form of “prelapsarian” state of natural holistic health mostly in reaction to what was construed as the artificiality of industrially or technically determined lifestyles. This motif dominated alternative theories of the late 19th century, but after WWI, it became increasingly central in the cultural realm at large and very strongly so in the natural sciences:

”Science had declared humanity’s life and soul a senseless product of mechanism so people now treated one another as mere machines. It was said that the spread of mechanistic, instrumentalist thinking into all areas of professional and cultural life had given rise to a cynical, this-worldly attitude and a decline in morality and idealism. Traditional ideals of learning and culture were in crisis, the young people were alienated, and the arts had degenerated into exercises in absurdity and self-absorption. The nihilistic message of scientists who apparently valued Technik over soul and integrity was even blamed for the devastation of the lost war [...].” (Harrington, 1996, p. xv)

This disenchantment resurfaced cyclically during the 20th century until the 1970s. And these successive movements – often stemming from radical political options, ranging from anarchistic, spiritualist or ecological orientations to (proto-)fascist positions – often championed one of the two following perspectives. Either they openly pitted technology and the industries producing them against an unspoiled primeval nature that had to be regained by returning to a lifestyle devoid of the artificial intrusions of modernity. Or they left unexplained and unresolved the tensions between on the one hand, the imperatives of a modern, productive and efficient lifestyle and on the other, a model of untainted natural living seen as a regenerative refuge and the epitome of an economically and ecologically sustainable lifestyle.

Nevertheless, whether industrially mainstream or naturally marginal, what these new professions and movements did manage to establish was the first of a number of semiotic shifts on the path of body technologies towards lifestyle health technologies. From the turn of the 20th century, nutrition, movement, cosmetics and alternative health practices were increasingly utilised with the aim of consciously enhancing the performance and/or the well-being of bodies. This shift was heralded by the transformation of a piece of bread into carbohydrates (providing a certain number of calories and micro-nutrients), the co-existence of relaxed after-work ball games and disciplined workouts in sports clubs, the transition from a generic jar of cold cream to a regenerative elixir for the skin, as well as multiple individualistic alternatives to techno-scientific medicine. Moreover, both factions – however grudgingly for the industrial one – came to admit that bodies’ optimal functioning could only be obtained through the alternation of periods of careful training and cycles of rest and regeneration, involving more leisurely activity.

From the design of physics to the aesthetics of the physique

In the course of the 20th century and especially from what is often described as the 3rd industrial revolution ^[14], the increased automation of factory and office processes implied that bodies could be increasingly dispensed with. However, the subsequent emergence of the so-called service economy and its heavy computer reliance demonstrated that, if many bodies were no longer put under the strain of matching the speed of a conveyor belt or of repetitive stress injury due to dangerous and monotonous movements, they were nevertheless presented with another insidious challenge. This challenge was sedentariness and its cohort of attendants, the so-called “civilisation diseases” such as high blood pressure, diabetes, osteoporosis, obesity, etc. Additionally, the ubiquitous dissemination of television watching and computer games as dominant and static leisure practices reinforced the urgency of rethinking the design of healthy bodies. The gradual demise of bodies designed first by agricultural then industrial practices – whether these were conceived as healthy or deforming – thus left the late modern body a prey to a painful type of superfluity and formlessness. A redefinition of the value of embodiment was therefore required:

“Because their physical performance hardly plays a role in paid employment any longer, bodies must now be designed with an orientation towards particular uses and valorisations. In this process thermodynamics gives way to semiotics as a role-model discipline. The technologisation of the body in the 20th and 21st centuries thereby neatly fits into the technologisation strategies characteristically implemented for inert products.”^[15]

In this vision then, the long-drawn design battle over the importance of function versus form has definitely lost much of its impetus. Once function hardly fosters distinction or discrimination any longer, it is form (or aesthetics) that becomes the driving force behind body management. Thus, provided one can count on an initially healthy condition, adequate financial resources, motivation, willpower, etc., the apparent uselessness of the body is gradually transformed into a huge field of self-actualisation possibilities. Moreover, these possibilities mirror those confronting the consumer of mass-produced articles such as cars and stereos: in the absence of fundamental functional differences between car A and car B, it is often form or secondary options and the signs that they project, that determine choice ^[16]. Correspondingly, consumers can increasingly choose bodies with options, constrained only – and perhaps only temporarily so – by the limits of genetic expression: “*Under the sign of medical and technological feasibility [the body] became a promise of eternal youth, beauty, health and even eternal life – a shapeless/shapeable object of lust.*” (Patzel-Mattern, 2000, p. 65) This impression of shapeability has been greatly reinforced by the media revolution driven by the ubiquitous penetration of television in private homes. As hinted above, bodies have become more and more passive on the one hand. But, on the other, the abdication of real ‘flesh and blood’ bodies has paved the way for a flood of desirable, hyper-aestheticised digital bodies. Thus paradoxically, media consumers’ dilemma could be crudely summed up as struggle between succumbing to a couch-potato instinct and the impulse to reproduce these “mediatically correct” bodies in their everyday lives ^[17].

Even more subtle and persuasive though, is Richard Shusterman’s analysis of the relationship between the media and the construction of the real world as it pertains to embodiment:

„[...] the media revolution so transformed the notions of medium and reality that our body – formerly declassified as merely a medium of, or means to, the

real (hence subordinate, reflective, distortive) – now gets elevated, as our central medium, to the status of constructor and locus of the real. Hence it becomes a real value in itself. Once reality is seen as a construction, the media that construct it can no longer be disdained.” (Shusterman, 2000, p. 144)

Hence, by transforming bodies into sites of permanent modification and amelioration, the media may have permanently adulterated the status of “natural” or “industrial” bodies. But more crucially, they have created a privileged space for bodies to reassert control over reality construction. However, bodies still remain media or channels themselves. If their makeover definitely influences world building, they are in turn defined and controlled by broader force fields or spaces such as discourses, social relations and practices – from within and without the media – which often impede the development of a cohesive identity. Indeed, late modern bodies can be starved and trained into shape, modelled by proteins and minerals, moisturised and toned by cosmetic additives or they can be soothed, relaxed and regenerated by traditional Chinese medicine or ayurvedic treatments. The options and strategies to manage bodies have become so diverse and dizzying that, as Otto Penz puts it: “[The body’s] superfluity is the pre-condition for its becoming a commodity. It is the ultimate commodity because it is the most difficult to obtain.” (Pauser & Penz, 1995, p. 75)^[18]. Thus, the formability of the body – but also its frequent resistance to moulding – coupled with the array of choices available, has precipitated the need for new types of guidance. In this context, the fitness and wellness ideologies have provided two significant attempts to bridge the gap between physics and aesthetics and between the work and the leisure spheres, whilst re-enacting many of the earlier tensions between functionalism and holism.

Fit for fun or fit for work?

The fitness movement found its post-war roots^[19] in America with the startling discovery of a major discrepancy between American children’s weak muscular tonicity and that of their robust European counterparts, linked to the wide implementation of the Kraus-Hirschland “Minimum Muscular Fitness Tests in Children”.^[20] This discovery prompted a number of governmental measures throughout the 1950s and 60s and thus paved the way for the doctrine underlying Dr. Ken H. Cooper’s new aerobics gospel, which was launched in 1968:

“Cooper advocated a philosophy that shifted away from disease treatment to one of disease prevention. ‘It is easier to maintain good health through proper exercise, diet, and emotional balance than it is to regain it once it is lost’ he said. Early in his career, Cooper stressed the necessity for providing epidemiological data to support the benefits of regular exercise and health.”^[21]

Fitness then was very much grounded in the preoccupation with the ills of sedentariness and the ensuing trends of preventive medicine.^[22] However, the transfer of aerobics to Europe, as one of the core components of active fitness, took place almost two decades after its American launch -that is towards the early to mid-1980s.^[23] From then on in Europe, the use of “fitness” as a term extended beyond describing an optimal state of bodily performance, to include a set of ideas, practices and products geared towards the attainment of this state. Concretely, fitness was especially anchored in the movement practices – such as aerobics and weight training – promoted by so-called “fitness clubs”, “studios” and “gyms” that mushroomed all over north and western Europe in the course of the 1980s. These new

institutions considerably broadened the spectrum of practices offered by extant sports clubs and gyms. Furthermore, they opened up their access to women. Women actually soon became lead consumers in the field, due to the impulse of prominent ambassadors of aerobics such as Jane Fonda in the U.S and Sydney Rome in Europe. The age range of practitioners also grew to include teenagers and more mature consumers, there again under the impulse of conspicuously dynamic baby-boomers.

In terms of the actual practice of fitness disciplines, a strong emphasis was laid on the importance of cardio-vascular training: that is increasing the heart rate at regular intervals in order to compensate for the risks linked to static office activities. This was achieved by performing rapid workouts – with or without weights, machines and other accessories – involving the various muscle groups of the body and accompanied by loud rhythmical disco music. The environment was designed to resemble a dance studio, with hardwood, plastic or rubber floors and largely mirrored surfaces, enabling participants to both follow the choreography of the fitness trainer and monitor the progress of their own movements and postures over time – not to mention the comparison of body shapes. The promise of an ideally shaped, toned and resilient body – such as the one displayed by Jane Fonda- drove many fitness adepts to a premature death or permanent back and/or leg injuries, due to an overstraining of the heart or the repeated impact of badly designed shoes on a hard surface. These shocking developments spurred on the shift from so-called high-impact to low-impact or soft aerobics and also opened up the stage for less violent or strenuous disciplines such as stretching, tai-chi and yoga as well as regenerative body practices such as sauna, whirlpool baths, sun tanning, guided relaxation, etc.

The practice of aerobics and associated disciplines ^[24] first generated the development of specific sports gear – such as trainers, leotards, leg-warmers and head bands – as well as a great diversification in the realm of fitness appliances, e.g. home trainers, rowers, steppers, etc. It also soon embraced the food and cosmetics realm. Products in the food realm were characterised by a specific attention to reduced fat and glucose contents, heralding the subsequent success of the “light” wave. Moreover, one can also trace the inception of an ever widening range of mass-produced functional foods to the influence of the fitness wave: fitness bars and fitness drinks soon became ubiquitous equipment for sports and movement practices – and this, well beyond the fitness realm. Ubiquity was also a key-word for cosmetics and enabled the successful dissemination of shower gels, considered more practical for use outside the home ^[25]. It also no doubt spurred on the sales of deodorants to freshen up after an aerobics lunch-break. In turn, body lotions to refresh, moisturise and tone the skin became almost compulsory treatment to compensate for the dessicating effects of frequent showering ^[26]. Personal grooming during this period thus shifted from a “beauty ritual” to a “fitness routine”. Even if products were designed to be used rapidly and “on the move”, their amazing diversification -together with contemporary cultural imperatives of healthy efficiency and cleanliness- conspired to transform body care into a demanding form of work.

A good example for these developments is an ad for Isostar bearing the title: “*the isotonic thirst quencher that helps to hold out*”. Above it, a photograph displays male hands opening a can – the hands appear moist with sweat and one of the wrists conspicuously sports a tennis band that clearly spells “exertion”. And the text goes on to describe in detail how the body loses precious minerals when sweating and how this phenomenon ultimately leads to a diminished performance: “*a loss of fluid corresponding to 2 % of the body weight can lead to a 20% decrease in performance*”. Just below, a little diagram illustrates the evolution of performance with and without the intake of Isostar. After a description of the physiological effects of the drink, one can read “*you can thus counter the loss of performance and can hold*

out for longer”.^[27] Here, the product is clearly defined as belonging to the leisure sphere but a highly competitive form of leisure, which involves tough body training. On the cosmetics front, Guerlain’s Ultra-Sport face Cream depicts a sportily but smartly dressed young woman (in corduroy trousers, a houndstooth blazer, a white shirt and tie) standing over a black dog she firmly holds on a leash. The caption reads: *Naturalness embarks on a career [...] ULTRA-SPORT, an uncomplicated and effective line of products, it is the ideal beauty and fitness programme, especially for fine, delicate and sensitive skin. “Formule nettoyante”. “Formule tonifiante”. “Formule hydratante”. “Formule vitalisante”. “Crème de protection colorée”.*^[28] Both the illustration and the text point towards a tension between simplicity and control: nature is put to work and leisure is as highly restrained and supervised as the dog. After all, the product line is “ultra sport”, and therefore requires the same type of thorough training for the skin –including cleansing, toning, moisturising, vitalising & protecting- as one would expect in a competitive arena.

The ideology underlying fitness thus involved adequate exercise, sophisticated body-care routines and a suitable diet to compensate for the ills of sedentariness. But more generally, it re-instated movement as a remedy against the stress of everyday life thus transforming fitness into a fascinating arena for the negotiation of work and leisure practices. On the one hand, the practice of fitness was clearly conceived of as the ideal leisure counterpoint to mind and body-numbing professional environments: one could sweat out (and work out!) the frustrations engendered by the heavy demands of neo-liberal schedules. On the other hand, corporations and health insurances were quick in the uptake of this trend. They realised that providing movement compensation to workers might bring a sizeable return on investments since increasing bodily resilience and performance would no doubt reflect on mental achievement and would also help to prevent absenteeism linked to general ill health, burnout and depression. Also, building on the long-vaunted reputation of sports as character-building, individuals displaying the willpower, endurance and toughness necessary to survive a session of weight-lifting or aerobics were seen as cultivating important leadership skills.

A couple of advertisements, from 1995 and 2003 respectively, fittingly illustrate my point. The first one is an ad for Aquarius – an isotonic sports drink produced by Coca-Cola.^[29] – with a relatively unusual visual layout: a sweaty woman’s face in profile looking downwards occupies the upper third of the ad. Her hand reaches out from the lower half holding a bottle of Aquarius towards her mouth. A seemingly hand-written caption occupies the left hand side and states: “*After a kick-boxing round with the gentlemen from the management floor, it was time to freshen up a little*”.^[30] On the bottom part, in buzzword fashion, one can read: “*8 vitamins – 4 minerals – strong citrus taste – Aquarius. Because life is a tough game*”.^[31] It thus associates the practice of sporty leisure (or fitness) with discipline and endurance, explicitly connecting it with the world of work and corporate performance. The ad for Labello Active lip salve pictures a dashing middle-aged man dressed in a wetsuit against a turbulent aquatic background. He is dangerously leaning out of what looks like a catamaran whilst gazing in the distance. His right hand tightly grips a metallic ramp whilst his left hand reaches half-way towards his lips with a Labello active stick. The heading bluntly states: “*For rough male lips: Labello Active. °one-hand-mechanics °no shine.*”^[32] There again, even if this activity is admittedly associated with leisure, it is a high-tech, high-risk and high performance pursuit -a fact reinforced by the subtle trigger mechanism of the stick. It suggests that a person indulging in this type of demanding sport most probably displays competences which are highly valued in a corporate environment^[33].

Thus, the realisation that bodily performance could mirror and, to some extent, spur on work performance prompted many companies (and insurances) to either offer financial

compensation for employees seeking membership of fitness clubs or to provide on-site fitness studios. This last move, together with the relatively strict organisation of workouts^[34] as well as the “streamlining” of fitness bodies, clearly conjoined fitness studios with the idea of “body factory”, a title proudly adopted by a number of fitness franchises around the world. Hence the state-borne epidemiological costs linked to civilisation diseases were effortlessly married to the interests of corporate performance, transforming fitness into a hybrid space where tightly monitored leisure was seen as the best guarantor of effective work.

A 1985 ad for taxofit Vitamin E supplements illustrates how the fitness ethic permeates both the work and leisure realms. It consists of two pictures: the one on the left hand side shows an elegant woman sitting at a desk in a professional environment holding a marker over a pile of papers. Her serious gaze is intently fixed on an interlocutor behind the photographer; her half open mouth suggests that she is busy discussing something. In the matching photo on the right, the woman is clad in a white martial arts uniform and the photographer has just caught her leaping in the air, one fist punching forward while the other arm is balanced behind her. Her hair is brushed up by the motion and her mouth is wide open suggesting that she is shouting. The caption reads: *Concentrated on the job – full of energy for a hobby, taxofit Vitamin E. Whoever wants to move on, to achieve more, both in their job and during leisure, requires taxofit Vitamin E. Highly dosed vitamin E activates your cells. It improves the absorption of oxygen and thus increases your bodily and mental performance, providing strength, energy and stamina as well as preserving sexual potency [...].*^[35] Hence, the woman is supposed to be just as competitive at work as in her free time: concentration and energy are just two faces of the same performance coin. Indeed, qualities such as self-discipline, motivation, perseverance, precision, etc. are seen to power both realms with equal intensity. With the advent of wellness, this blurring of boundaries between work and leisure carries on but in a softer, subtler way.

Buying into well-being

Following a similar path to that of fitness, the seeds of wellness had already been planted in the U.S. by the late 1950s. Dr Halbert Dunn had then defined *High-Level wellness* as “[...] an integrated method of functioning which is oriented towards maximizing the potential of which the individual is capable. It requires that the individual maintain a continuum of balance and purposeful direction within the environment where he is functioning”. (Dunn, 1961, pp. 4–5). The coalescing of wellness ideas into institutionalised forms nevertheless took time^[36]. In contrast with the preventive health roots of the American wellness institutions which now permeate governmental, academic, insurance and corporate programmes, German^[37] wellness has been, until recently, oriented towards a very industrialised trajectory. Wellness in the German context has primarily spelt lifestyle health technologies and services as well as tourism offers aggressively – and seemingly very successfully – marketed to German consumers. These contrasting perspectives on wellness can be illustrated by comparing two definitions. The first was found on the UC Berkeley wellness portal in 2002:

“Wellness is a way of living that emphasizes such preventive measures as eating a healthy diet, making exercise an enjoyable part of your life, and making self-care decisions that will improve the quality of your life. This means reducing your risk for chronic disease, preventing injuries, banishing environmental and safety hazards from your home and workplace, and eliminating unnecessary trips to the doctor – but making best use of the health-care system when you need it. The premise of wellness is that you can live a long,

healthy, and active life. All you need is the desire to do so – and the right information on which to base your actions.”^[38]

Wellness here is not envisioned as a temporary “feel good” fad: the stress is more on prevention, longevity, personal responsibility and a holistic, environmental approach to a healthy lifestyle than it is on pleasure. In short, it represents a much more medicalised, risk-conscious approach than the one envisioned in the following satirical definition, drawn from the “Neue Zürcher Zeitung” -a Swiss-German newspaper popular on both sides of the Rhine:

“Wellness is the sluggish sister of fitness, enriched with a little hedonism and sensuousness. If the hallmarks of fitness are suffering, sweat and the fight against the inner bastard, wellness can truly be identified as the loving care of the latter. Wellness is the mystical made flesh, the link between West and East, pleasure and duty, sports and fun, hot and cold, as well as new and old. It seems almost inconceivable that we have managed to survive without it for so long.”^[39]

However, despite or because of its irony, this definition does a good job of re-capturing the associations and contradictions surrounding the perception of fitness and wellness in the German-speaking context. It emphasises the affiliation of the two ideologies and points to a form of schizophrenic division of labour between these two realms of body management. On the one hand, fitness is seen as governed by a “controlling” discourse on the importance of appropriate physical training, physiological performance, rational shaping, etc. On the other, wellness is propelled by a form of “redemptory” discourse, a back-to-nature body ecumenism steered by the subjectivity of the consumer -in other words a “what feels good is good for you” imperative. Also, by positing wellness as the link between pleasure and duty as well as sports and fun, it also hinges, if not explicitly so, on the gradual dimming of the distinction between work and leisure.

An ad vaunting the merits of Hirschquelle mineral water provides a convincing illustration of this phenomenon. It depicts “*the astounding healing water from the Black Forest*” on a double page. The first picture under the title “*Hirschquelle everyday*” depicts a bottle of Hirschquelle placed in a waterfall setting (with damp rocks as a backdrop and a river flowing at the bottom); water rises like a geyser at the mouth of the bottle. The second picture shows a man standing in his office, stretching his arms out whilst holding a glass of mineral water; a typewriter, documents, and the bottle are lying on the table. The atmosphere is bathed in a golden light that suggests the end of a fruitful afternoon’s work. The heading reads “*A prescription that Nature has written for you*”. The text under the two pictures first describes the mineral water’s long history and healing pedigree, providing information on its physiological effects, before suggesting a prescription: “*Relax between two thoughts with a refreshing glass of Hirschquelle; you can thus very simply contribute to your well-being. And because Hirschquelle also tastes good, this extremely healthy still water is a great thirst quencher for the whole family. Moreover, Hirschquelle helps to stimulate the appetite. – We live in a period that is rediscovering the unadulterated pleasures of nature. Hirschquelle belongs to it.*”^[40] The mineral water can thus be integrated into everyday work life, providing a welcome break as well as fostering inspiration and even appetite. Its effects then are not purely physiological or even mental, it also connects the individual to a larger sphere, that of nature. Moreover, the fact that the family is also mentioned means that this product can easily transit from the realm of work to the realm of private life, if not explicitly leisure. The underlying assumption is that Hirschquelle is a well-being enhancer in all circumstances.

Wellness in this respect is particularly emblematic. It cannot be strictly defined by a set of particular practices, equipment, and products. Wellness, in the German context, playfully blurs boundaries through the commodification of well-being ^[41]. If it does include nutrition,

movement, cosmetics and alternative practices on a horizontal “body management” plane, it can be seen as vertically transcendent, that is its effects should not only be felt on the physiological level but also on the emotional, mental and even spiritual planes. Also, through a kind of ripple effect, it is supposed to go beyond affecting the body in order to also relate to its environment – whether working or private – as well as the broader ecosystem. Concretely, to come back to one of my initial examples, i.e. Kneipp bath salts, buying this product and integrating it into everyday life implies that one is doing something to influence the physiological well-being of the body. But beyond physiology, this product is supposed to provide a bridge that, through the mediation of the senses, provides access to the relaxation of the mind and the serenity of the spirit. Furthermore, the embedding of the bath salts in a relaxing seaside experience points to broader system of coherent well-being, where the relaxation and regeneration of the body is reinstated as the centre of the cosmos of everyday life.

Nevertheless, the increasing popularity of a holistic approach to health and well-being has not completely swept away concerns about performance. Similarly, the increasing importance of leisure as a means towards self-actualisation has not (yet?) obliterated the importance of work as an arena of self-definition. The next section analyses the idiosyncratic mediatisation of fitness and wellness technologies during the 1980s and 90s and highlights the most emblematic tensions between fitness and wellness objectives.

Mediating well-being as a lifestyle? On the difficulties of catering to workaholics and leisure freaks...

Jocca cottage cheese and *Kneipp* bath salts – my initial examples, as well as the products publicised in the ads I have been quoting, belong to a generation of products that have obviously been re-inscribed into a new economy of experience ^[42]. This economy is no longer solely geared towards satiating primary bodily needs such as thirst and hygiene or a fleeting fancy for sensuous enjoyment. Even the fostering or enhancing of health is not the main aim of these products. In the *jocca* case, low-fat cottage cheese becomes a sign for a body and, by extension, a life that are rationally thought out and re-organised to counter the ills of modernity. In the *Kneipp* case, the bath salts have become a trigger of a well-being that far transcends physiological performance and comfort to also encompass consumers’ entire lifestyle. Hence, the trajectory of these products can be compared to other lifestyle markers, such as sports cars or designer dresses which have long lost a purely functional association with mobility and protection, to catalyse distinction, emotion and even identity. Mika Pantzar provides a convincingly complex definition for this evolution:

“[...] lifestyle products are purposefully created for specific lifestyles by explicit marketing efforts [...] lifestyle products are historical outcomes of transformation processes where functions of goods change in time. Original needs and functions of products transform when products diffuse widely, and when consumers and producers meet each other. [...] a lifestyle product tends to integrate different practices, actors and material objects in one site and place (or product), both on a microscopic level of individual household and on the macroscopic level of society.”^[43]

Pantzar’s definition first implies that lifestyle products are the fruit of a conscious conceptualisation that is steered by marketers. But this effort does not take place in a void: new product meanings must build onto older meanings in order to modify them. Moreover,

the wide dissemination of a product means that the arena of interpretation around it grows to include the perspectives of a number of actors: those of producers and crafty marketers of course, but also those of mediators such as lifestyle magazines and crucially, those of consumers. Finally, a lifestyle product can be compared to a form of vortex, where a variety of dimensions – both material and symbolic – suddenly converge. But this convergence should be viewed as the outcome of both a sophisticated organisation and a tense, chaotic cohabitation. Producers and mediators may have designed a consistent scenario linked to a particular design, but once the product is launched onto the market, it can be laden with associations and practices undreamed of by its genitors. Michel de Certeau pointed to this transgressive process by conceptualising users as potentially subversive. According to him, consumers do not incorporate artefacts in their everyday lives by blindly following instructions for use. Instead, the functionality of a product is subservient to the fulfilment of users' individual needs and representations (Certeau, 1984). A good example of this phenomenon is the consumer purchasing expensive functional foods to excuse or compensate for otherwise unhealthy eating habits.

Ultimately, consumers obviously do have the last say in terms of the interpretation and appropriation of well-being technologies. But, beyond the obvious restrictions imposed by a limited purchasing power, their lifestyle choices are contained and constrained by two crucial factors: the ambivalent status of the body as both medium and end – as discussed above – and the transvaluation of health commodities. Mike Featherstone coined the term 'transvaluation' to describe

“[...] a process whereby the original use value [of commodities] has been transformed into one increasingly articulated in terms of 'health' (for example, the 'greening' of household cleaning products, the shift from decorative to health-enhancing cosmetics and various forms of leisure). Second, and perhaps more significantly, some have been 'transvalued' in the opposite direction, in that their original health use value has been transformed to take on a much wider social and cultural meaning (for example, running shoes, shell suits and body building).”(Featherstone, 1991, p. 1–2)

What this phenomenon concretely implies is that it has become virtually impossible to draw strict boundaries around technologies and processes that profess to positively influence bodily well-being. Healthism and its attributes has become a nebula that embraces an increasing number of realms pertaining to everyday life and lifestyle health technologies have become some of the most ubiquitous products available on the market. Consumers' subversive potential is thus considerably diluted in an arena where a subjective pick'n'mix mentality has become the norm. Therefore, in order to establish economically fruitful communication between producers and consumers, mediation has to build on the cultural capital and experience of consumers, linking (and contrasting) their previous practices with older products to new products and practices: *“One important passage point of product meanings moving from producers to consumers (and occasionally from consumers to producers) is the **mediasphere** where both consumers and producers “learn” about modern lifestyle.*^[44] The mediasphere then reflects continuities but also disruptions or tensions in the negotiation of new trends. I would like to illustrate these continuities and tensions with the help of two ads from 1989.

Phas “Resistance” Liposome Active Cream portrays a young woman sportily but elegantly attired, sitting or rather lounging – with her feet up on the opposite seat – in what looks like the 1st class compartment of a train. Her attitude connotes relaxation, since she has taken off

her shoes and negligently thrown her briefcase and her coat on the neighbouring seat. However, this attitude may be misleading since she is clasping a slip of paper and her glasses in her left hand whilst balancing a first-generation laptop between her legs with the other hand. The caption states: “A fresh look for 18 hours without any signs of tired skin”. After describing the effects of the cream the text reads: “18 hour effect. The liposomes regularly release their active components. Your skin is supplied with new energy during 18 hours, without interruption. Long-term effect. When used every day, your skin becomes more resistant against signs of tiredness and ageing. Result: a radiant look everyday, from early morning to late at night.”^[45] *Resistance* embodies the tensions of the fitness era: the sporty and relaxed attitude belies a rigorous working schedule. The woman is portrayed as an achiever but she must give the impression that it is somehow effortless. *Resistance* therefore efficiently provides a continuous supply of external energy to a superficially relaxed human motor.

The ad for Heppinger mineral water displays a man in his late thirties, attired in a tracksuit and lounging on a couch. He sports a broad toothy smile, his right hand propping up his cheek. The other hand clasps the glass of water perched on his left knee. A bottle of Heppinger is nestled against his belly. The heading reads: “I am a Heppinger. Because it suits me. Fit, active, naturally Heppinger: lots of minerals, particularly magnesium. That makes one physically and mentally fit. It feels good and provides the right momentum. “Source of the active”, that sounds just right... Heppinger. And I feel heppi.”^[46]



The setting here is truly leisurely: the man is wearing sports gear but the folds of the track suit top fall loosely on his reclined figure. Even if he has presumably been exercising before making a break, his body shows no signs of strain or exhaustion. Just as in the Hirschquelle example quoted higher, this mineral water also seems to have a holistic effect: on the performance of both body and mind (hence also work performance) but also on general well-being and mood. Moreover, “Source of the active” may seem to contradict the generally lazy atmosphere of the picture but it thereby hints to the fact that activity is taken for granted: the man no longer has to prove anything; he can just dwell in the moment – in pure, “natural” wellness style.

Thus, alongside recurring examples of hard-core fitness – signalled by high performance- and soft-core wellness – characterised by molly-coddling comfort – a blend of “leisurely” work and active leisure increasingly pervades the body climate of the late 20th century in Germany. This overview will hopefully have made clear that, even in an idealised advertising world, the integration of lifestyle health technologies in everyday life is fraught with tensions

and contradictions about the values of work and leisure as role models for the negotiation of optimal body-care. Despite increasing overlaps, fitness toil is still competing against wellness pampering. Arguably, the two trends will probably continue to evolve in parallel for some time and it will be up to consumers to strike the balance between the two approaches, as I argue in the next section.

Healthy heralds of self-enterprise

During the confusing periods where newly articulated body ideologies and products are being introduced and consolidated, the agency of lead-consumers often plays a key-role in enabling the concrete translation and appropriation of abstract notions into everyday life. Before-and-after stories recounting the transition from a state of bodily, emotional, or spiritual misery to a state of blessed enlightenment are obviously nothing new: from Saint Paul, to Pascal or Mary Baker Eddy, they display a strong religious or philosophic tradition. In the late 19th and early 20th century in Germany, they became an established if still marginal genre amongst life reformers, like Louis Kuhne ^[47]:

“Because these individuals’ lives and thinking were organized entirely around the poles of “health” and “illness”, they perhaps considered the story of their own suffering to be a matter of interest to the public and, thus, repressed feelings of shame that prevented others from sharing such stories with a wider audience. The public representation of one’s suffering was, however, also a means for the authors to reassure themselves that their suffering was now firmly in the past and that they had found the high road to health, happiness, and beauty, as they revealed to their readers.”

The inspirational story of self-confirmation I would like to analyse in the fitness-wellness context is a 1985 narrative, drawn from the people magazine *Bunte* ^[48]. Over five pages, “*She eats her way into happiness*”^[49] features the lifestyle of Christine Kaufmann, a 40-year old actress who has just written a book entitled “*Body Harmony*”. The focus on food in the title just represents a lead which is subsequently exploited to broaden the perspective to holistic living. However the title does set the tone of the article because it suggests that mundane care for the body, such as eating, has deep connections with emotional well-being.

The first two pages are taken up by a photograph showing the actress in period dress sitting in the front row of an empty theatre and tucking into a large bowl of salad. The caption – in small letters – under the photograph reads: “*A healthy lifestyle is also possible in one’s professional life. Christine Kaufmann savours the salad and the vegetable-filled bread she brought along to the theatre. Currently she is rehearsing “The Duchess of Malfi”, a play directed by Peter Zadek at the Hamburger Schauspielhaus. The premiere is in May.*”^[50] This picture literally sets the stage: the reader is confronted with a busy professional who takes her lunch break on the job. However, the setting contradicts the stress one could expect in these circumstances: the theatre is empty and the actress in her princess garb, is daintily picking at her salad. The first blurb, embedded in the photograph, boldly states: “*Christine Kaufmann found herself ugly. She was afraid and insecure. Until she discovered healthy eating. The actress has now published a book about her path to beauty and self-confidence.*” Countering the strange glamour transpiring from the picture, the incipient narrative, by disclosing Christine’s gloomy past, displays all the ingredients of a traditional before-and-after story that is supposed to help readers identify with the heroine.

The next couple of pages ^[51] are designed like a short photo-novella and feature six photographs with captions illustrating important high-points in Christine’s daily routine. In

the first photograph, she is pictured on her bedroom floor, wearing a leotard and leggings and squatting on two hands and one knee, the other leg projecting up and backwards. The text reads: “1. *The morning begins with gymnastics. Christine Kaufmann exercises every day. But only as long as she feels like it. Any constraint is the enemy of beauty and inner harmony. Gymnastics are important for the skin and the metabolism.*” Gymnastics, it is thus suggested, represent just the first step in a sophisticated routine: indeed, Christine is described as a disciplined person but with an ear attuned to her inner needs. Finally, the functional aspect of gymnastics is evoked.

The second picture shows Christine clad in a loose-fitting night gown – her hair hardly ruffled- standing over a table where a fruit basket is prominently displayed as well as various bowls containing healthy-looking foods. The photograph catches her in the act of pouring milk on her cereals and the text runs thus: “2. *Breakfast determines the day’s well-being. The smaller and healthier the morning meal, the better one feels. Christine Kaufmann eats yoghurt with beer yeast and fruit and she also takes vitamin and mineral pills.*” The importance of healthy eating is stressed here for the second time in the article. But, apparently, healthy eating does not suffice: it has to be supplemented with health food additives and industrially produced micro-nutrients.

Christine is then shown riding on her bike – elegantly dressed in a rain coat, high-heeled tight-fitting boots and sunglasses – alongside a river and against an urban landscape. The commentary reads: “3. *Christine Kaufmann mostly commutes by bike – since she doesn’t own a car. She even takes her bike when travelling. Bicycling stimulates circulation, has a preventive effect against orange skin. Moreover, it makes one independent.*” This third characteristic of Christine’s everyday life once again foregrounds sports as a health and beauty-enhancer, highlighting the fight against orange skin, the great enemy of the sedentary age. The caption somewhat surprisingly ends with a reference to one of the early motifs associated with women and bicycling, that is independence. It is obviously important to portray Christine as fully master not only of her health rationales but as independently governing all the aspects of her life.

The next photograph depicts Christine, dressed in a stylish trouser suit and hat, holding a wicker shopping basket and peering at goods over a counter in what looks like a cross between an indoor market and a supermarket. The accompanying text declares: “4. *Just as eating, shopping for food should be pleasurable. Christine Kaufmann not only patronises health food stores, but also goes to weekly markets and supermarkets. The decisive aspect here is the quality and not the quantity of goods.*” According to Christine, everyday life tasks do not necessarily exude boredom: they should be infused with an ethics of pleasure. And it is precisely in a routine task such as shopping that the agency of the discriminating individual is the most decisive: consumers here are depicted as wielding the power to pick and mix goods in order to satisfy their own health imperatives – without thereby slavishly abiding with health food only.

The following snapshot offers an intimate peak into the actress’s bathroom. She is shown, sporting wet hair, sitting in a sea of foam her hands coyly propping up her face towards the photographer – a plant, a towel and a cocktail glass are her only props alongside the bath tub. “5. *This is the beauty care routine after work is over: a bath to relax. The skin is exfoliated with a special sponge. The face is nurtured with natural cosmetics. This a daily programme for Kaufmann.*” is the text inserted in the picture. Hygiene and cosmetic care are the next stage in Christine’s routine. But having a bath is not just instrumental to beautifying and caring, it primarily serves a more holistic purpose, the need for relaxation. In Christine’s life, however, even relaxation has a programmatic drift to it.

Finally, Christine is shown socialising. The setting is elegant, a nicely laid table with candles, flowers and wine, presumably in a restaurant (but uncharacteristic enough to also be a private home). A group of people are eating and talking around the table. The photographer has just caught Christine smiling mischievously, as her neighbour, an elegant man, turns to embrace her closely or whisper something in her ear. The last blurb hammers it in: “6. *An evening with friends makes one happy – and beautiful. Here again for Christine Kaufmann, the pleasure principle is valid: one can also let go of strict rules from time to time. In the evenings, she dissociates her food intake, choosing between protein and carbohydrates.*” Happiness here is seen as the fruit of both a personal attitude and a positive environment. Moreover, emotion is envisaged as a prime mover in the beauty factor. But even in this relaxed context, control is never far below the surface: sinning may be allowed but always within a very restricted measure. The page-long remainder of the article fleshes out the six beauty recipes with episodes drawn from Christine Kaufmann’s past and it presents insights into her personal philosophy of holistic living. It also displays a photograph of the actress with her two young adult daughters, playing on the visual trope of “spot the cool mother amongst these teenagers”, whilst the caption states that she is about to become a grandmother.

Just as when using advertising as a source, one can argue that the type of feature article I have selected presents an extremely distorted – in this case one could even say staged – vision into the reality of daily lives. But beyond the apparent physical perfection of the role-model, beyond the pedagogical tone of the article and its programmatic caricature of a healthy everyday life, I contend that it offers a privileged vista into some of the crucial tensions of the period. To my mind, it is not so much the exact components of this particular lifestyle that are primarily interesting. Rather, it is the oppositions or inconsistencies in the exposé of the lifestyle that are the most revealing. In Christine Kaufmann’s case, one senses that the management of her everyday life and by extension her persona, pivots on the difficult negotiation of a number of interlinked dichotomies: work and leisure, order and freedom, regularity and exception, pleasure and rationality, nature and technology, emotion and control, matter and spirit and last but not least: fitness and wellness. These dichotomies are alternately blurred and reinforced throughout the article. For instance, the professional and private domains are strictly separated visually. However, in the work realm, Christine is not presented on stage but taking a break. In contrast, the snapshots from the leisure realm mostly show her performing banal, routine and repetitive tasks that engross a lot of her energy and attention.

The actress’s free time thus seems to be mainly taken up with the streamlining of both her body and emotions, in a constant attempt to attain a balance between the two. This state of mind is reinforced by the three small paradoxical slogans emblazoned on diagonal banners on the right of each double page: 1. *The biggest enemy of beauty is laziness.* 2. *All sins are allowed but not everyday* and 3. *The best make-up comes from the soul.* Interestingly enough, the slogans are couched in quasi-religious terms, which point to the fact that body-care or “body leisure”^[52] has attained the status of a new all-absorbing religion (or at least a serious ontological quest), and that this type of health narrative is still strongly connected to the spiritual and philosophical traditions I hinted at in the introduction to this section.

But what has definitely changed in the late modern period is the fact that Foucaultian “technologies” of the self (Martin, 1998) have become inextricably embedded in an ethic of commodified entrepreneurship: “*In the neo-liberal order, the model of self-conduct is a subject who can market her/himself confidently, forcefully but still flexibly, with freedom and responsibility: in sum, an entrepreneur of the self.*” (Duttweiler, 2003, p. 31) ^[53] But before being able to market themselves, late modern consumers are placed in front of a number of

material choices ^[54]. The initial act of choosing a particular lifestyle health technology may be momentous but what is more crucial still is how consumers symbolically and emotionally integrate it into their bodies (and by extension into their routines) and how skilfully they combine these technologies in order to create a subjectively coherent aesthetics of everyday life.

Thus, the body's modern career was properly launched with an enrolment in industrialisation processes, peppered all along with escapades into a holistic "natural" realm. Subsequently, in parallel with the automation/computer and media revolutions, what the body lost in terms of function, it regained in terms of seemingly endless aesthetic options. Fitness and wellness, as the most significant health-enhancing ideologies of the late 20th century, have provided and still provide guidelines which oscillate between conscious discipline and indulgence or functionalism and well-being. Finally, through the commodification of health, the late modern period suggests a new entrepreneurship of the self – which blends the insights of fitness and wellness. In this new paradigm, establishing strict boundaries between work and leisure makes little sense and it becomes perfectly legitimate to work out for well-being.

Footnotes

1. Excerpt from an ad for Kraft's *jocca* cottage cheese in *Freundin*, Heft 5, 1980, p. 127. Translation mine. Emphasis in original.
2. Caption found on a pack of Kneipp's Wellness Bath Salts Relax Care (2002). Translation mine.
3. Cf. in this volume Heike Weber's discussion of the link between nomadism and portability in "Portable Pleasures": conceptualizing leisure on the move in 20th century electronics.
4. Cf. (Ferguson, 2000, p. 50–51). "The classical body image may be thought of as shrink-wrapped to the surface of the material body, while the contemporary body image is much more loosely related to its corporeal form. This is now a quite familiar feature of everyday life. We frequently refer to our "personal space," which is both more extended and more variable than the severely localized space of bodily experience established during the classical period of Modernity. The automobile, for example, further extended this space, while the telephone and new electronic media of communication do so with at present incalculable effects (Kern 1983; Castells 1997)."
5. The examples are part of a qualitative sample drawn from a number of contemporary popular news, lifestyle, people or women's magazines appealing to a German-speaking middle class readership.
6. One could obviously argue that housework has been modernised to some extent.... But one could also argue that it is precisely because housework has not been fully modernised (i.e. its boundaries never seem to be clearly defined) that it seems so incompatible with leisure.
7. cf. (Rabinbach, 1990). See also: (Sarasin & Tanner, 1998) & (Sarasin, 2001).
8. Such as so-called „Health Lifts“, Chiosso's polymachinon, Sargent's stomach pulley machine, electrotherapeutic appliances like Pulvermacher's Belt and Suspensory appliance, or Vigoradium water dispensers, (Peña, 2003)..
9. Cf. (Radkau, 1998) & (Hau, 2003).
10. [1821–1897, Germany] promoter of natural healing methods and thermal therapies.
11. [1861–1925, Germany and Switzerland] promoter of anthroposophy and a holistic lifestyle.
12. [1867–1939, Switzerland] inventor of muesli (Birchermüsli) and promoter of a vegetarian diet.
13. [1852–1943, U.S.] developer of toasted flakes, granola and peanut butter and advocate of "biological living", a particular brand of health reform.
14. i.e. the general introduction of computer steered command and communication systems from the early 1970s.
15. Cf. Wengenroth, Ulrich, Vorlesung "Technikgeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts: Der Menschliche Motor", summer term 2003 course notes for the Technical University of Munich, unpublished (available on the web with password for students and institute members), p. 12 of 14. Used with permission.
16. Ulrich Wengenroth describes this central challenge in societies where consumers can no longer hope to fully understand the functioning of the technical goods they covet, but nevertheless have to develop functional choice criteria: "Rationality fictions provide technology-intensive societies with a means to avoid sacrificing the requirement of comprehensible decision processes. Our 'good reasons' for or against particular consumer goods are neither subjective nor objective, they are both, since they must be *perceived* as objective. The historical process of rapid technologisation is escorted by a process of 'adapted rationality'". [translation mine] (Wengenroth, 2004, p. 18).
17. Witness the scary success of „The Swan“, an American reality show – aired by Fox – featuring female „ugly ducklings“ who, over a period of three months, are transformed into „swans“. Cf. <http://www.fox.com/swan/home.htm> :
"THE SWAN offers women the incredible opportunity to undergo physical, mental and emotional transformations with the help of a team of experts. Contestants must go through an intensive "boot camp" of exercise, diet, therapy and inspiration to achieve their goals. Each week feathers will fly as the inevitable pecking order emerges. Those not up to the challenge are sent home. Those who are will go on to compete in a pageant for a chance to become "The Ultimate Swan." Each contestant has been assigned a panel of specialists -- a coach, therapist, trainer, cosmetic surgeons and a dentist -- who together have designed the perfect individually tailored program for her. The contestants' work ethic, growth and achievement will be monitored. The final reveal at the end of each episode will be especially dramatic because it will be the first time

that contestants will be permitted to see themselves in a mirror during the three-month transformation process. Two women will be featured every week and at the episode's conclusion, one will go home and one will be selected to move on to the 1st Annual Swan Pageant. Contestants were chosen through a nationwide search and from thousands of videotaped submissions by women seeking a second chance in life."

18. Translation mine. „*Der Körper ist nicht zuletzt deshalb heute so bedeutend, weil er für die Arbeit zum grössten Teil überflüssig geworden ist. Seine Überflüssigkeit ist die Bedingung dafür, dass er zum Konsumgut werden konnte. Er ist das höchste Konsumgut, weil am schwersten zu erlangen.*“
19. Fitness as a term to describe an optimal state of bodily performance obviously has much older roots.
20. Cf. <http://www.unm.edu/~lkravitz/Article%20folder/history.html>: “The Cold War, Baby Boomer era was marked by the development of an important factor influencing the modern fitness movement known as the "Minimum Muscular Fitness Tests in Children" by Kraus-Hirschland (24). This study utilized the Kraus-Weber tests to measure muscular strength and flexibility in the trunk and leg muscles. It was reported that close to 60 percent of American children failed at least one of the tests. In comparison, only nine percent of children from European countries failed one of the tests. During the Cold War, these startling numbers launched political leaders into action to promote health and fitness.”
21. Cf. Ibid. & <http://www.cooperaerobics.com/corporate/History.aspx>.
22. These would eventually would eventually take the world by storm thanks to the WHO's “Health for All” programme that was internationally endorsed in 1985. Cf. (Bunton, Nettleton & Burrows, 1995, p. 13).
23. Cf. http://www.fitnessonline.at/wissen/aerobic/geschichte/geschichte_1.htm and www.unm.edu/~lkravitz/Article%20folder/history.html.
24. Jogging could also be mentioned here since the jogging boom took off in Europe roughly during the same period. The rationales underlying its eager adoption were similar to those governing aerobics and, in its infancy, it was plagued by similar excesses.
25. Another significant characteristic of nomadic products were the improved ergonomics of packaging: away from heavy clunky bottles with screw-on caps to light streamlined plastic bottles with notches enabling a better grip and click-open caps.
26. For a socio-historical overview of the evolution of hygiene practices, cf. e.g. (Shove, 2003).
27. Stern, Heft 22, 1985. Bunte 13/1985.
28. Für Sie, Heft 22, 1983 [translation mine + French of the original text].
29. It was first introduced on the market in 1989 under the brand name „Sports Aquarius”. The name was changed to “Aquarius” in 1993. Source: <http://www.gilthserano.de/bio/unternehmen/bio-cocacola.html>.
30. Stern, Heft 41, 1995.
31. Ibid.
32. 2003, various lifestyle magazines.
33. Obviously there is a strong gender ascription process at work in these two ads. In this case, I would call it a re-semiotisation strategy, whereby products and processes, which until recently had mainly been targeted at men or women, were and are gradually re-engineered to appeal to a feminine or masculine audience – a move that is particularly obvious in the cosmetic realm.
34. involving the leadership of a fitness expert, set routines and leaving little room for personal initiative.
35. Bunte, Heft 16, 1985. The ad appears several times during that year and thereafter, over a ten-year span at least.
36. The National Wellness Institute, for instance, was first founded in 1977 at Stevens Point University, Wisconsin. The formal emergence of wellness in Germany is a much more recent development which can be traced back to 1990 with the foundation of two private institutions for the promotion of wellness: the German Wellness Association [Deutscher Wellness Verband e.V. or DWV] in Düsseldorf and the European Wellness Union [Europäische Wellness Union or EWU] in Wesseling.
37. and to a large extent north western European wellness, i.e. especially in Scandinavia, Britain, Austria and Switzerland. Wellness as a concept is virtually unknown in France, Southern and Eastern Europe, even if some of its tenets, products and practices have also spread there.

38. Definition of wellness from the Wellness Letter: Foundations of wellness / UC Berkeley wellness letter.com: www.berkeleywellness.com/html/fw/fwIntro.html.
39. Müller, Joni, Das Seelenheil im Dampfbad: “Wellness ist die träge Schwester der Fitness, angereichert mit etwas Hedonismus und Sinnlichkeit. Steht bei der Fitness das Leiden im Vordergrund, der Schweiß und der Kampf gegen den inneren Schweinehund, so kann Wellness durchaus als dessen liebevolle Pflege bezeichnet werden. Wellness ist gleichsam die Fleisch gewordene Esoterik, die Verbindung von Okzident und Orient, von Lust und Last, von Sport und Spass, von Heiss und Kalt und Neu und Alt. Schier unfassbar, dass wir es so lange ohne sie aushalten konnten.” <http://www-x.nzz.ch/folio/archiv/2000/02/articles/heim.html>. Translation mine.
40. Bunte, Heft 13, 1985.
41. This process is somewhat similar to what is at stake in (Nordic) walking and sleeping, the examples chosen by Oksanen-Särelä & Timonen and Valtonen, in their articles in this volume. Walking and sleeping are considered both as “natural” and culturally constructed. The latter aspect subjects these activities to frequent re-assessments in terms of value, know-how, etc. and thus makes them open (vulnerable?) to industrial interventions (technologies) which seek to exploit these changing norms.
42. cf. “Economically seen, it represents a total reversal from the traditional rationality of the user. If it was rational in the object-centred economy to mistrust the quality assurances of the producer and to only consider an artefact as worthy of being bought after a carefully critical appraisal, the contrary is now valid in the subject-oriented economy: it is rational to *believe* the effectiveness promises of the producer, because one thereby increases the likelihood, that the promised effect will set in.” Schulze, Gerhard, “Zeit der Wunder: auch der neue Modetrend Wellness ist Teil des Erlebnismarktes”, *Die Zeit*, 41, 1999: www.zeit.de/1999/41/199941_kur_erlebnis.html, [translation mine].
43. Pantzar, Mika, Towards Innovations of Leisure: Manufactured Leisure, Preparatory Comments for the workshop (Vierumäki, Finland, September 6–7th 2004), p. 7.
44. Pantzar, Mika, op.cit., p. 8. Emphasis in original.
45. Stern, Heft 10, 1989. Emphasis in original.
46. Stern, Heft 10, 1989.
47. German health entrepreneur [1835–1901], who in 1898 published a book entitled „The New Healing Science“ which had considerable resonance amongst health aficionados of the period. Cf. (Hau, 2003, pp. 18–23).
48. The magazine’s readership segment is lower middle-class and predominantly feminine. Feature articles cover a broad range of topics as emphasised by the name of the magazine which translates as “multicoloured” or “mottled”. More information on current readership profile: <http://www.bunte-media.de/>.
49. Article by Heidemarie Lammert, Bunte, Heft 18, April 25th, 1985, pp. 128–132. All translations mine.
50. Ibid., p. 129.
51. Ibid., pp. 130–131.
52. Cf. (Roberts, Kenneth, 1999, p. 12). “Leisure is not a cure-all but once people have access to the best medical attention, and when they have achieved benign working and living conditions, their lifestyles are likely to become major discriminators of health status. People in these conditions seem aware of this. The pursuit of health has become a prominent lifestyle goal among sections of the upper middle classes (see Savage et al., 1992). They are less likely to be victims of a postmodern insecurity (see chapter 8) than people who simply realize that how they spend their leisure can affect their health, and that lifestyle factors are health determinants over which they can exercise direct and immediate control.”
53. Translation mine. “Als Modell der Selbstführung gilt in der neoliberalen Ordnung ein Subjekt, das sich selbst-bewusst, durchsetzungsstark und dennoch flexible in Freiheit und Verantwortung selbst vermarkten kann: ein Unternehmer seiner Selbst.”
54. To echo Anu Valtonen in *Sleep: leisure pleasure manufactured in the market*, p. 4, in this volume: “Personal and cultural well-being values meet the well-being industry in the market and reproduce each other in a dialectical manner”.

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Postscript

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In the introduction we put forward some definitions and ways of thinking about manufacturing leisure and we identified a handful of questions to be addressed in different ways and from different perspectives by the contributors to this book. In this concluding discussion we go back to those opening questions, taking stock of what we have learned and of what is still missing, and identifying new issues that have arisen along the way.

We started with a basic assertion: "Having fun is not some abstract experience – it requires the active configuration of material stuff, images, services and competencies."

Working with the idea that leisure, fun, happiness and well-being are manufactured somewhere between the experiences and activities of practitioners and providers, we began by recognising that relations between the consumers and producers of leisure vary and change over time. We claimed that contemporary categories and terms like "soft capitalism", "experience economy", "wellness revolution", "post-optimal goods", and "lifestyle products" – are recent manifestations of activity at the (leisure) consumer-business interface and we asked:

How might we describe and analyze the cultural and historical specificity of leisure practices?

Can we now say more about how leisure practices are changing, at what rate and in what directions? The articles gathered together in the first part of this collection (Warde, Raijas, Liikkanen, Southerton) provide partial and sometimes conflicting insights into what seems to be an immensely inconsistent picture. Leisure time is both increasing and fragmenting: claims about the importance of shared leisure are countered by evidence that people spend more time alone. Whereas certain activities – like reading – appear to have changed hardly at all, other forms of media-related leisure are growing fast. While previously important differences in how men and women spend their time seem to be eroding new divisions appear to be taking hold between people at different stages in the life course.

There is only so much that can be gleaned from an analysis of the average number of minutes spent doing this or that, or from plotting the sums of money people invest in different forms of fun. Accordingly, the articles in this collection also explore the meaning and significance of time: what do the 'mean' minutes of leisure feel like, and how are they experienced and understood. In particular, how do people piece together the elements of which their daily lives are composed and what does this imply for their understanding of ready-made categories like those of work and leisure?

Several authors deal with the ambivalent relation between these concepts, for instance asking whether leisure constitutes a form of recovery from work or whether it is a substitute for it. The idea that people invest time and energy in well-being and fitness to counter the ill effects of sedentary working lives is interesting in this respect as is the notion that people have parallel leisure careers (Jalas, Pantzar, Shove and Hand). There is no doubt that people work at having fun - see, for instance, Bingle's notion of 'fitness toil' and that leisure lives are

structured, organised and themselves an important part of the economic order. From a longer term perspective, we can see that previously functional activities such as mending boats, walking or cooking have been re-constituted and re-framed as ways of spending 'free' time. Equally, new pursuits like listening to the radio have come into existence.

Perhaps the most we can conclude is that meanings and practices of leisure are on the move – but how, where, why and at what rate? To these questions we do not have, and probably could not have a clear and convincing answer. However, we can say one thing for sure: different measuring devices and research instruments tell us different things about trends in leisure and in the businesses associated with it. What, then, of our second question:

In what ways, if any, do innovations in leisure industries differ from innovations in other sectors?

For example, do leisure practitioners and providers share a special sort of reflexivity and is this a defining quality of practices that count as fun? Responses to this question are not especially well developed. To go further here would almost certainly require comparison between leisure and other types of business. Having said that, a number of articles deal with the distinctively non-rational orientation of hedonistic or passionately committed consumers. Jalas, for instance, reflects on the contrast between the terminologies and practices of profit seeking leisure providers and the different forms of 'non-calculation' – i.e. relating to pleasure, fun, relaxation – that characterise the discourses of leisure consumption. From the producers' point of view, the challenge of systematically analysing, responding to, facilitating and exploiting hedonistic inclinations is real enough. In the cases considered here, money is not necessarily the best indicator in an economy of enthusiasm - i.e. an economy in which it is 'no matter how much it costs'.

Though not put forward as a topic for discussion, much attention has nonetheless been given to the relation between innovation in products and practices and to the cultural characteristics and consequences of commodification. In this respect, discussions of the commercialization of the body in action and at rest are both instructive. The capacity to make marketable and to 'leisureize' seemingly natural processes like walking (Oksanen Sarela and Timonen) or dozing off (Valtonen) is impressive. In describing the detail of what is involved, these authors write about the intersection of commercial interests and activities and the hopes and habits of ordinary consumers. Together, these chapters tell us much about the fluidity and the flexibility of the consumer-producer relation and the practicalities of co-production.

But there is more to it than this. As Weber explains, portable radios made teenagers just as much as teenagers made the portable radio (in different ways influencing its design, its quality, style, weight etc.). The critical insight here is that objects make their users, hence also the observation that 'it is not only that we use heart rate meters, they use us as well'. The notion that things structure and sustain practices provides a different way of thinking about the emergence of new forms of fun, and about the part that leisure businesses play in this process, yet it is still not the whole story.

Capture and commitment are also critical. In taking up these themes and in doing so in ways that were not at all anticipated in the introduction, several authors analyse the careers of serious and casual leisure practitioners. Analytically, the key move here is to place the practice at the centre of the story and to consider the conditions and circumstances in which activities like floorball, photography or caring for wooden boats are engendered and reproduced. Detailed discussions of what it means to do these things, and of how enthusiasms develop and flourish generate further questions about the demands that practices

make of those who follow them, and about specific mechanisms of attraction and defection. This opens the way for a still more searching debate about the relation between individual practitioners and the unfolding entity – the practice – they sustain.

We began by saying that innovations in fun might involve attracting new cohorts of practitioners, re-defining the status of an activity, changing the equipment or the rules or perhaps inventing something entirely new. We now know more about the co-evolution of leisure practices and about how this works. In retrospect, our fourth question:

How do consumers and producers integrate the materials and symbols of leisure?

has been particularly important. With respect to this question and on the basis of arguments explored in a number of chapters, we therefore conclude that:

- Innovation is a process of integration. Innovations depend upon the active integration of images, materials and skills.
- Practices are made and sustained by consumers and practitioners, not by producers alone.
- Practices are continually changing depending upon who is involved in reproducing them and on when, how and why they are undertaken.
- What looks like the diffusion of practice is better understood as a localised process of (re)invention.
- Practices live through continuous recruitment, they require carriers.
- Put bluntly, doing things for fun generally involves time, consumption, other people, competence and commitment. Innovations are unlikely to take hold unless all these ingredients are in place.

These are rather general statements but they provide a way of thinking about our third question,

How is leisure internally differentiated by producers and consumers?

In the introduction we noticed that "activities like golf, tennis or football are clearly bounded: these are games with institutions, rules and conventions. Such situations generate opportunities for innovation and renewal unlike those associated with other, perhaps more flexible, forms of fun." More work is required to determine what these differences really are. None of the chapters take up this challenge but it is now obvious that to do so would involve comparing the careers of different forms of leisure in terms of the integrative theory of innovation in practice outlined above.

As we wrote in the introduction, "there is no established research tradition that provides us with direct access to the manufacturing of leisure or to a better understanding of how the production and consumption of fun, happiness and well-being are integrated in and through practice". Sure enough, the articles collected in this book consider the manufacturing of leisure from various angles. Indeed the range of methods adopted - focus groups, case studies, surveys, secondary analysis of existing data, observation, participation, interviews, analysis of diaries, journals, magazines and advertisements, ethnographies and archival research - is truly impressive. But this range also points to something of a struggle. Although

leisure activities do leave traces that can be analysed and followed, it is particularly difficult to access the processes involved in real-life innovations in practice. For all the pages and paragraphs we have been produced, the practitioners remain elusive.

The concept of practice is nonetheless central when thinking about the dynamics of leisure. One can purchase all manner of leisure goods and services but experiences of fun cannot be simply bought and sold. They have to be made and as we have seen, this making is a complicated process in which many parties and many cultural and material ingredients are involved. Along the way, we have also noticed that hours and money do not count (or rather they count in a different way) when people are having fun. Is the leisure industry distinct in these respects and are these features which set manufacturing leisure apart from manufacturing cars, cakes or other commodities? We suspect not. To be sure we would have to start all over again, analysing the development and dynamics of practices that are *not* thought of as fun in order to understand those that are. This is an exciting prospect but one that would require another set of studies and another book.

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