

akademisk

academic quarter

Aalborg Universitet

akvarter

tidsskrift for humanistisk forskning

Volume 11 11 • 2015

Leisure

economy and identity Experience,

Akademisk kvarter
Tidsskrift for humanistisk forskning

Academic Quarter
Journal for humanistic research

Redaktører / Issue editors
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Tidsskriftsdesign og layout / Journal design and layout:
Kirsten Bach Larsen

ISSN 1904-0008

Yderligere information / Further information:
<http://akademiskkvarter.hum.aau.dk/>

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Leisure

An Introduction

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In 1899, Veblen wrote *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, coining the term of 'conspicuous consumption' and with it pairing the idea of leisure with both class and consumption. Since then, leisure has branched out into a variety of phenomenon, which are based on social distinctions, cultural differences, and most of all, technological development and invention of the Internet. Thus, the definition of leisure has become dependent on the context in which it is experienced, the perspective a particular researcher has on a particular object or situation or group of people.

Still, leisure is a basic human activity, which can be grasped and defined by its transformative potential according to Holba (2013, *Transformative Leisure. A Philosophy of Communication*). Using her division of leisure into recreation defined by "rest, relaxation, or idleness", and transformative leisure, defined through the "cultivation of thinking, acting, and being", a framework for understanding both leisurely activities, and the apparently opposing labour and work activities. Because of this, Holba's article *Leisure as a Philosophical Act* can be seen as both an introduction and basic framework for this issue of *Academic Quarter*. When leisure becomes a philosophical act and a philosophy of communication, it provides a

different kind of mindset and understanding, than Veblen's focus on consumption and hedonism. At the same time, defining leisure from a philosophical viewpoint takes away the traditional dichotomy between leisure and work, which is used extensively in (Stebbins, 2012, *The Idea of Leisure: First Principles*). As several of the articles in this edition will show the difference between leisure and work is vanishing, leisure becoming work, work becoming leisure.

Needless to say, further research is necessary to account for and describe the changes in the perception and doing of leisure.

Annette M. Holba, *Leisure as a Philosophical Act*. While Holba has laid out her philosophy of transformative leisure earlier (2013), with this article she takes the idea of community and communication into the realm of fandom and participatory culture.

Karl Spracklen, *From Playful Pleasure to Dystopian Control: Marx, Gramsci, Habermas and the Limits of Leisure*. Spracklen's view on contemporary leisure takes on a dark turn, when he points to the capitalistic and elitist power over leisurely activities. Thus, Spracklen frames his approach to leisure through a dystopian view of the Habermasian lifeworld, as it is controlled by the powers of capitalism. Thus, he poses the antithesis to Holba's transformative leisure, and provides the basis for a different approach to leisure.

Brian Russell Graham, *Northrop Frye on Leisure as Activity*. Graham provides yet another perspective on leisure, based on Frye's discussion of leisure versus boredom, and his division of human activities into industry, politics, and leisure. Like Frye, Graham draws heavily on Bourdieu's perspective on class and habitus.

Charlotte Wegener, Karen Ingerslev, and Ninna Meier, *Drinking coffee at the workplace: Work or leisure?* Delving into the problem of categorisation, Wegener, Ingerslev, and Meier show how the practice of drinking coffee can initiate a discussion of practices and definitions concerning work and leisure.

Tina Jørgensen and Anette Therkelsen, *Working out who you are. Identity formation among fitness tourists*. Focusing on identity formation through fitness travels, Jørgensen and Therkelsen provide a

basic classification in using leisure activities, experiences, and communities on the continuum of differentiation - dedifferentiation. Fitness tourism is looked into from a consumerist perspective.

Jørgen Riber Christensen, Julie Cecilie Hansen, Frederik Holm Larsen, and Jesper Sig Nielsen, *From Snapshot to Snapchat: Panopticon or Synopticon?* Using a threefold approach to investigate whether Snapchat can be characterised as a product of the panopticon or of the synopticon, the authors set out to analyse the Snapchat platform.

Ricardo Vidal Torres and Lorna Heaton, *When does leisure become work? An exploration of Foldit*. With Stebbins notion of serious leisure as their framework, Torres and Heaton examine the online puzzle game of *Foldit*. While the game provides the basis for non-science users to participate in scientific discoveries, changes in the gameplay influence the experiences of the gamers and their willingness to participate.

Sebastian F. K. Svegaard, *Critical Vidders. Fandom, Critical Theory and Media*. With a feminist based approach to vidding, the fan created remix of videos, Svegaard examines how the use of spreadable media could provide better representation in media products.

Lars Konzack, *Mark Rein•Hagen's Foundational Influence on 21st Century Vampiric Media*. Konzack analyses, how a role-playing game influences not only mainstream media, but at the same time is the basis of developing communities and narratives, explored and maintained within a leisurely context.

Mirjam Vosmeer, Jeroen Jansz, and Liesbet van Zoonen, *I'd like to have a house like that. Female players of The Sims*. With the videogame *The Sims* as their fulcrum, the authors examine how female players use the game to develop ICT skills, as well as create a free space for leisure activities, which enable the players to fantasize about their everyday life.

Ole Ertløv Hansen, *Casual Games. Digitale fritidsspil*. The article provides a framework to understand the motivational aspects of play-

ing casual games as a leisurely activity. Hansen's focus is on different motivational states and their influence on pleasurability.

Tove A. Rasmussen and Thomas Mosebo Simonsen, *Fritid er produktiv tid i den audiovisuelle mediekultur*. With Colin Campbell's (2005) revision of Max Weber as their framework, Rasmussen and Simonsen set out to discuss the notions of leisure, media, and consumption in the light of reality TV and Vlogs on Youtube. Their main points being the performance and presentation of the self, and the mastering of the media involved.

Michael Wagner, *The Honey Trap - The democratization of leisure through automobilism and its consequences*. Wagner's article revolves around the relationship between man and his beloved car. Tracing the history of this relationship from the early 20th century until today, Wagner shows, how it still shapes the democratic processes of Danish politics here and now.

Bo Poulsen and Trine Bundgaard, *Digitalt dilemma*. Poulsen and Bundgaard analyse the partial digitalisation of a museum exhibit at Sæby Museum in Denmark. While the younger generation finds the exhibit engaging, it alienates the more mature museum visitors.

Robert Winstanley-Chesters, *The Socialist Modern at Rest and Play: Spaces of Leisure in North Korea*. Taking the notoriously closed nature of North Korea into account, Winstanley-Chesters manages to show, how the political system supports and embed leisurely activities. Thus, North Korea expands its narrative and ideology through the appropriation of their citizens' free time.

Tem Frank Andersen and Thessa Jensen, *Whereever I lay my device, that's my home. Revisiting the concept of domestication in the Age of Mobile Media and Wearable Devices*. Using several different case studies as its background, the paper examines the notion of leisure and domestication in different settings.

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Leisure as a Philosophical Act

Thinking, Acting, and Being

Annette M. Holba

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Abstract

Aristotle argued leisure was the *first principle* of all action; Thomas Hobbes suggested it was the *mother of philosophy*. Today leisure is more often associated with rest, relaxation, or idleness. These associations have contributed to a misunderstanding and lack of leisure. In our changing technological environment, leisure is overshadowed by a cult of speed where immediacy has replaced thoughtfulness and intentionality which poses communicative challenges to the human capacities of thinking, acting, and being. This essay suggests that reengaging leisure as a philosophical act, thus returning to its classical roots, provides recuperative possibilities for these challenges. Beginning with situating leisure as a philosophical act, then identifying the challenges that confront leisure, I demonstrate how leisure enables the necessary cultivation of thinking, acting, and being which provides recuperation of those human capacities even within our technological environment.

Keywords: leisure, play, thinking, acting, being, philosophical act

Leisure has a textured history in sociological and philosophical discourse (Goodale and Godbey 1988; Pieper 1998; Rojek 2010; Veblen 1953). In ancient western philosophy, leisure was argued to be the “first principle of all action” (Aristotle 2001b, 1307) and necessary for the cultivation of human virtue and political engagement (Aristotle 1998; 2001a). Leisure offered a recuperative retreat for the actively engaged citizen to reflect and contemplate on individual interests and ideas important to the polis (Seneca, 2001). In the seventeenth century, Thomas Hobbes (1992) presented leisure as the “mother of philosophy” (1992, 455), the activity that prepares one for active intellectual engagement. In contemporary times however, leisure is more often associated with rest, relaxation, and idleness (Honoré 2004), conspicuous consumption (Veblen 1953), and recreation (Holba 2007a; 2007b; 2013; 2014). The general misunderstanding of leisure within popular culture is overshadowed by a technological web of instant information that has replaced thoughtful interrogation and inquiry. This project offers a hermeneutical understanding of leisure that underscores its philosophical ground within the new media environment. Leisure, as an exercise of thought, still has much currency today. I argue that reengaging leisure as a philosophical act in a new media environment provides recuperative possibilities for deeper human communicative engagement that some scholars and philosophers suggest has spiraled into an existential malaise (Ramsey 1997; Arnett 1994; Haney 2010; Herbig, Hermann, and Tyma 2015).

First, I situate leisure as a philosophical act. Second, I describe how leisure is overshadowed by a cult of speed that has replaced thoughtfulness, thus creating challenges to the human capacities of thinking, acting, and being. Third, I demonstrate how leisure as a philosophical act provides for recuperation of those capacities especially within our evolving technological environment. By using the popular television program, *The Walking Dead*, I consider its engagement within the digital media environment as one example of how we might engage leisure in digital terrain. Finally, I end with the recuperative message that it is not the digital environment that is causing the challenges posed earlier in the essay but it is the approach in our thinking we take to our engagement that is problematic. I argue that if we engage the digital terrain as leisure, a philosophical act, we can provide a counterbalance to negative

consequences of these challenges. The first step is to define leisure as a philosophical act.

Leisure as a Philosophical Act

Josef Pieper (1998) situated leisure as a philosophical act when he argued that leisure is the basis of culture. Many people today might not agree with this claim; they also might not understand what he meant by a *philosophical act*. Understanding leisure as a philosophical act creates an opportunity for mental, intellectual, and spiritual development.

When Josef Pieper (1998) referred to “philosophical anthropology” as a necessary ingredient of the philosophical act, he meant that we must look at the nature of an act, the scope of an act, and any implications associated with an act (1998, 63). Pieper (1998) also suggested philosophical anthropology does not provide permanent or conclusive answers because it is actually a hermeneutical process that heralds ongoing response, and serendipitous outcomes.

From an anthropological perspective, a philosophical act transcends everydayness of our experiences, in other words, “a philosophical act is an act in which the work-a-day world is transcended” (Pieper 1998, 64). To transcend the everyday world of work there must be a sense of “not-belonging” or of being alienated from “the world of uses and efficiencies, [and] of needs and satisfactions” (Pieper 1998, 65). *Not-belonging* permits one to step beyond the work-a-day world and be liberated from its attachments. The nature and quality of this liberation require a “not-being-subservient-to” some particular purpose; this allows the philosopher anthropologist, the one engaging in a philosophical act, to be able “to observe, behold, [and] contemplate” (Pieper 1998, 77). Engaging in a philosophical act presupposes no strings attached and having an openness to what-might-be and what-might-become in the doing of the act. Attempting to define a philosophical act more concretely than this risks closing down interpretive possibilities. Therefore, for the purpose of this essay, a philosophical act is an act in which we step beyond the work-a-day world and routine of our daily experiences to do what we love to do for its own sake, unconstrained from any expected outcome.

Ancient Leisure: Exercise of Thought

For many ancient Greeks, philosophy was a way of life and a “mode of existing-in-the-world” that was to be practiced consistently and with an understanding that it could transform their individual lives (Hadot 2009, 265). A philosophical act was an exercise of thought, will, and the entirety of one’s being in a movement toward wisdom and spiritual progress which often involved a transformation of one’s way of being-in-the-world. This perspective intertwines our thinking, acting, and being. A philosophical act as an exercise of thought involves the entirety of one’s being including intellectual, physical, emotional, and spiritual aspects; it is this involvement of entirety of being that enables one to develop a deeper understanding of and experience with leisure.

As a philosophical act, leisure involves a disinterestedness in the kinds of things that are important to the work-a-day world, such as, external time constraints, competition, what other people think about your actions, and social or professional status (Holba 2013; 2014b). Once one turns away from these external temptations, *poiesis* (a creative making) emerges because the experience opens to freely observe, stand and behold, and contemplate what comes into the field of experience. Bias, assumptions, and limitations are removed, leaving open the possibility of new thinking, new acting, and new ways of being. These things cannot be dictated or demanded; rather, they emerge in a playful serendipity that have the power to transcend beyond any preconceived expectations.

Contemporary Leisure: Exercise of Thought with The Walking Dead

In ancient times, some examples of leisure as a philosophical act might involve playing and studying an instrument, reading or writing poetry, or other practices that stimulate one’s aesthetic sensibilities. In a contemporary new media environment, these experiences still remain options, however, there are other new kinds of experiences that might also stimulate aesthetic sensibilities. One example of engaging leisure as a philosophical act might include full participation in new fan cultures that are cultivated by the interactions of new social and digital media technologies designed to provide digitally aesthetic enhancement of one’s experience with a particular aspect of popular culture (Barton and Lampley 2013). Leisure as an exercise of thought can be engaged in our digital media environ-

ment involving a popular television program. If we consider the popular television program, *The Walking Dead* (2010-to present), we can see how social and digital media technologies invite intertextual engagement between fans and the narrative itself.

Prior to the new media technological revolution, television programs became popular through high ratings, advertising, and geographically situated fan clubs managed by program insiders. In the new media environment, engaging *The Walking Dead* as a philosophical act that is removed from one's work-a-day experience might include reading the comic book series, playing the video games (based on either the series or the comic book), or attending conventions. Other avenues of engagement that contribute to growing fan cultures of *The Walking Dead* would be to watch *The Talking Dead*, a one hour live talk show immediately following each new episode, or participating on twitter during the airing of each new episode and during *The Talking Dead* program. Fandom culture has its own conventions, publications, fan fictions, and pet names for fans, such as Walker Stalkers. While this kind of engagement is not new, it is by far more sophisticated in today's new media environment than it was, for example, with *Star Wars* or *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (BtVS) in their fan culture development. What is different in today's fandom culture is the intellectual engagement of the fans themselves; they engage intellectually in a variety of ways that might change the stories, create new stories, cultivate new relationships, and consider narrational development in ways that are not static and preconditioned by an external force (Booth 2010; Jenkins 2006; Hellekson and Busse 2006; Hills 2002; Stuller 2013). Instead, the fan cultures open the possibilities of engagement and cultivate their sense of thinking, acting, and being through digital spaces.

Digital space and engagement in this new media environment has had its criticism. Some critics argue fan cultures are limiting and prison-like environments (Booth 2015; Jenkins 2012). Other fan cultures may be supported by latent or obvious commercial interests (Booth 2015). While this criticism is serious, there are also benefits to the digital landscape that have been shown to enhance fan culture experiences in new ways (Stuller 2013).

As these diverse opportunities for engagement increase, people can experience leisure as a philosophical act in a variety of ways. Of course, not everyone watching *The Walking Dead* or reading a book,

or playing an instrument are engaging these activities as leisure (a philosophical act). The essential feature that makes something leisure is that of free play. Free play is determined by one's phenomenological focus of attention beginning with a disinterestedness and a letting go of attachments to external stimuli (Holba 2014a). This allows the phenomenological experience to be governed by *poiesis* where one freely observes, beholds the moment, and contemplates the experience. New media technologies open opportunity for continued experience of leisure as a philosophical act in the contemporary world but the individual must still engage with phenomenological depth, acuity, and liberation. Without this phenomenological focus of attention, leisure as a philosophical act cannot be experienced.

Challenging Assumptions of New Media Technologies

The assumption that a proliferation of new media technologies would transform our daily practices into more efficient communication might have some truth to it. Yet, we know that there are many unanticipated disadvantages that made this challenging. Some of these challenges involve the ability to focus our attention such as, development of shortened attention spans (Jackson 2009), increasing a culture of impatience (Honore 2004), addiction to the cult of speed (Honore 2004), and a lack of interest in the long-term while privileging fads and experiencing the immediate (Jackson 2009). Some scholars suggest that disadvantages from new media technologies may outweigh the advantages, especially when it comes to the effect on human communication (Jackson 2009). Instead of creating a communicative environment of textured, clear, and accurate communication, our capacity to communicate effectively is rendered ineffective. Ambiguity and miscommunication thrive in email and other electronic forms of communication (Kelly, Keaton, Becker, Cole, Littleford, Rothe 2012); diminishing language skills from tweets to texts have become common in professional contexts (Decarie 2010); increasing confusion between public and private messages (Arendt 1998; Holba 2011), and fatal consequences of immediacy as people text while driving (Cook and Jones 2011).

This all seems absurd but as Maggie Jackson (2009) explains, our communicative practices have changed and the new media terrain has rendered our attention spans weak and distracted. She argues

this is leading us into a new dark age. Jackson (2009) describes a dark age as a strict turning point or demarcation shift marked by a period of uncertainty and change; it is also a time of great technological advancements. These junctures result in a “decline in civilization” and a “collective forgetting” (Jackson 2009, 15). A new dark age is characterized by a splintered attention span, the most crucial and critical tool human beings have to engage in their world (Jackson 2009). Jackson illuminates a path that she refers to as a “renaissance of attention” (2009, 235) which offers mindfulness as a recuperative measure for those splintered attention spans. Leisure, which is essentially a practice of mindfulness, is one way to offset the impact of this new dark age. For Jackson, it comes down to a choice; we must choose to re-cultivate our attention spans.

Leisure as a philosophical act is one way to counterbalance these challenges. Before the proliferation of new media technologies there was philosophical support relative to continued care, cultivation, and attention to our thinking, acting, and being, Martin Heidegger (1966) found meditative thinking essential for being and Hannah Arendt (1998) found the contemplative life essential for the active political agent. We can use our new media landscape as an opportunity to reinitiate a commitment to leisure as a philosophical act. With this in mind, engaging new media technologies, such as with *The Walking Dead*, as leisure can cultivate our thinking, acting, and being.

Cultivating Thinking, Acting, and Being

Leisure cultivates the human capacity to engage higher level thinking as well as one’s aesthetic sensibilities (Blanco and Robinette 2014). Leisure also enables us to be in present moment awareness because of the phenomenological focus of attention required for a philosophical act. This awareness enables a deeper engagement with ideas and with others as we collaborate and engage civic life. Leisure impacts our capacity to think, act, and be with others in productive and compassionate ways. In a practice of leisure we cultivate our sense of play which helps us to engage ideas, people, and problems in meaningful ways. Hans-Georg Gadamer (2002) situated play as separate from work and working for a living in that he suggested that the structure of play “absorbs the player into itself, and thus frees him from the burden of taking the initiative, which

constitutes the actual strain of existence” (2002, 105). This notion of play involves a creative making situated in a disinterestedness of unrestrained intellectual and physical engagement within the individual and between persons. Specific to this kind of play is the experience of *akroatic* listening that links listening, thinking, and being to one’s sensibility of attunement – being attuned to the present as a moral mode of being in the world (Lipari 2014).

This moral mode of being in the world points to a perspective grounded in communication philosophy and Eastern religious philosophy. Lisbeth Lipari’s ground breaking work on *listening being* states, “[a]s a dwelling place for human being, *listening being* can reveal the ethical possibilities that arise when listening begins not from a speaking, but from the emptiness of awareness itself – a place from which human beings can both *be* and *become*” (2010, 348). *Listening being* begins from an emptiness of deep awareness of itself rather than from a fullness of ego/speaker driven point of view. This approach allows us to deeply see and acknowledge the other with an attuned listening openness. *Akroatic* listening in our *listening being* permits a habit of play that prepares one for deeper, reflective engagements that are often limited as we navigate the rapid pace of new media technologies. Play, in this sense as a practice, prepares one for engagement in the world that sees potential and is open to learning in the experience. The idea of *akroatic* listening enables a deep reflective kind of thinking and engagement cultivates and attunes our thinking, acting, and being.

Thinking

To cultivate human thinking, contemplative engagement as a productive kind of quiet has a spiritual connotation. Pierre Hadot’s (2009) spiritual exercises are one kind of thinking that models leisure as a philosophical act. Hadot (2009) referred to spiritual exercises as “thought exercises” that engage imagination and aesthetic sensibilities (82). These kinds of thinking exercises are not merely on a cognitive level but more specifically on the spiritual level of self and of being. Thought exercises involve practice of hard thinking and reflective thinking that opens potential for conversion, transcendence, and “an authentic state of life” (Hadot 2009, 83). Thought exercises cultivate how we think and tend to ideas and “little by little they

make possible the indispensable metamorphosis of our inner self” (Hadot 2009, 83). Thought exercises require *akroatic* listening.

Hadot (2009) suggested that thinking exercises help human beings to engage in the present as our phenomenological focus of attention is directed to what is before us, unhampered by external conditions leaving one free to learn, see, understand in ways that might not be foreseeable without the deep thinking first. Since these are exercises, Hadot also suggested that we engage these kind of thought exercises as a practice that can cultivate our everyday way of thinking, which teaches us to live in the practice of deep level thinking as a way of being in the world. Hadot is not the first philosopher to presuppose these conditions on our thinking. We can point to Hannah Arendt’s *vita contemplativa* as a prerequisite for an active life and the mark of a morally responsible public citizen.

Acting

Leisure begins in contemplation—teaching us to contemplate and be with ideas before we act. Hannah Arendt’s *vita contemplativa* is a precondition for the active political life and it is every human being’s moral responsibility to participate in an active political life (1998; 2007). There is a strong link between thinking and acting. *Praxis* as theory informed action and *phronesis* as practical wisdom requires self-reflection of our experiences resulting in opportunities for a more sophisticated understanding of previous actions that might have resulted in good or not so good consequences. In other words, we learn from our past actions, including our mistakes but in order to experience the learning, we have to undergo self-reflection guided by deep and thoughtful attention.

Our actions should not be knee-jerk reactions that are sometimes guided by emotional responses because we realize these kinds of actions have unintended consequences or consequences that we later regret. All actions necessarily have consequences that we can expect or plan on as well as unanticipated outcomes. This is why it is so important to develop thinking exercises that can underscore our actions so that they are appropriate, effective, and attentive to the circumstances and conditions in which we are situated. Our acting requires *akroatic* listening as a precondition for our engagement. Leisure can help us be thoughtful about our actions because we

have learned how to think deeply, carefully, and responsibly. Together, our thoughts and actions shape our being.

Being

Martin Heidegger (1966) compared and contrasted calculative thinking to meditative thinking when he described human beings as “thinking...meditating beings” (47). In his *Memorial Address*, Heidegger (1966) argued that human beings are in a natural state of being “thought-poor” and are “far too easily thoughtless” (44-45). Heidegger suggested that there is a way to be released from this condition, which he said makes human beings shallow and enslaved to thoughtlessness. Once liberated, humans can become more acutely aware and reawakened. Heidegger (1966) suggested that these are two different ways of thinking which yield two different kinds of knowledge and self-discovery. Calculative thinking yields particular data but the structure of this kind of thinking is often scripted by a frame that constricts outcome and creates limits, leaving little room for the unanticipated. On the other hand, meditative thinking requires a greater effort than calculative thinking because it is not scripted. In meditative thinking, one “follow[s] the path . . . in his own manner and within his own limits” (Heidegger 1966, 47). There is a freedom in meditative thinking that allows *akroatic* listening which prepares us to see our path and consider our engagement as we are on the path.

Meditative thinking cultivates one’s original rootedness. Heidegger (1966) argued that our autochthony (original rootedness) is what makes the human being a thinking being as we are; *how* we think necessarily shapes our being into a thinking being or a non-thinking being or a scripted thinking being. In meditative thinking, we are permitted to *ponder, think, wait, and to think again*. Heidegger suggested that without being a thinking being, human beings can lose the capacity to make decisions. In other words, without the opportunity and ability to ponder, the capacity for decision-making is severely limited. Leisure is the activity that allows human beings to be present and active in their being and it is through the engagement of leisure that being is cultivated.

Conclusion

Our dynamic digital environment receives much criticism from the skeptics who believe we are being irreparably damaged by quick, short, and superficial communication that it often creates. While some of this criticism is necessary and helpful, we can also see that the *way* human beings use the tools and technologies in the digital environment might also contribute to deeper engagements, learning, and community involvement. Imagine if we engaged fandom and fan cultures as the ancients engaged leisure, as an exercise of thought. Approaching our engagement in the digital environment while recognizing we can still experience this new terrain as leisure, an exercise of thought linked to action and our being, puts the responsibility on us, the participators and collaborators in this new narrational space. We must keep our focus of attention on how we think and allow our engagement to be an exercise of thought.

Leisure cultivates our ability and capacity for thinking, acting, and being. Understanding leisure as a philosophical act offers an alternative to how human beings engage their time away from working-for-a-living. The new media technological explosion can present many challenges to our communicative landscape but we can become attuned through leisure and once attuned, transform our lives in unexpected ways.

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From Playful Pleasure to Dystopian Control

Marx, Gramsci, Habermas and the Limits of Leisure

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Abstract

In this new century of (post)modernity and technological progress, it is easy to think that leisure lives have become more meaningful and important. Leisure is claimed to be the space or activity in which we become human, find our Self, and find belonging. There is an enormous range of literature that makes the case for contemporary leisure as a form that allows for meaningful human agency and human development, whether through the discipline of physical activity or the virtual communities of the internet. In this paper, I will make the opposite case. I will concede that leisure has had an important role to play in human development (as a Habermasian communicative discourse and playful pleasure) - but using Marx, Gramsci and especially Habermas, I will argue that the lifeworld of contemporary leisure has been swamped by the systems of global capitalism and captured by the power of hegemonic elites.

Keywords: agency, Habermas, hegemony, leisure, modernity

Although I am not a follower of Hegel, one might think that the spirit of the early twenty-first century is defined by the concept of

the free, discerning leisure life. The free leisure life is a *zeitgeist* recognized through the importance attached to it by its practitioners. There has been a vocal and strident advocacy for active leisure and sports in policy circles ever since the dawn of modernity, but the cheerleaders of active leisure have taken become dominant in the public sphere as the new century dawned with its scare stories of obesity and indolence (Coalter 2013; Gard and Wright 2005). Increasingly, people are told by journalists and academics that the century in which we live is different, post-modern and post-industrial (Bauman 2000; Urry 2003, 2007). In this brave new world in which we live, we are told that work has become fractured and unstable, and societal structures have become liquid, as a result of a paradigmatic shift to post-modernity, globalization and technological progress (Bauman 2000). With no workplace and no community in family or locality or society, we are told that the leisure life is increasingly meaningful and important. For the advocates of active leisure, leisure is claimed to be the space or activity in which we become human, find our Self, and find belonging (Blackshaw 2010, 2014; Kelly 1983, 2012; Rojek 2010). Everybody in the global North is told their lives would be much more meaningful if they only went for a run, or a long walk (Kelly 2012). People with hobbies are lauded as true heroes of human endeavour (Stebbins 2009). Volunteering and charity work makes our students more rounded as individuals when they compete in the job market. For scholars in leisure studies and cultural sociology, leisure becomes a last refuge for community, subcultural identity and agency, something that must be morally good because so many people find meaning and purpose in it (Blackshaw 2014; Spracklen 2009, 2011, 2013). There is an enormous range of literature that makes the case for contemporary leisure as a form that allows for meaningful human agency and human development, whether through the discipline of physical activity or the virtual communities of the internet.

In this paper, I will make the opposite case. In the first half of the paper, I will explore in more detail the claims made about the importance of leisure today. I will concede that leisure has had an important role to play in human development as a Habermasian communicative discourse and playful pleasure (Habermas 1984, 1987, 1989). I will use my on-going research project on leisure to show that there are some leisure spaces that retain communicatively ra-

tional actions in defence of the Habermasian lifeworld (Spracklen 2009, 2011, 2013). I will admit that leisure is something that offers humans the potential to be truly human. But in the second half of the paper I will use Marx, Gramsci and especially Habermas to argue that the lifeworld of contemporary leisure has been swamped by the systems of global capitalism and captured by the power of hegemonic elites.

The Meaning and Purpose of Leisure as Playful Pleasure

I have argued elsewhere that leisure is universal human need, and something we probably share with higher-order animals such as whales and apes (Spracklen, 2011). There is evidence of human leisure activities stretching back thousands of years into prehistory, from carved shells to musical instruments and stone board games (ibid.). That is, humans use time when they are not pursuing more basic needs for play, socialisation and learning of cultural norms. There is no doubt that this non-essential activity played some part in the development of human language, human culture and human belief systems, all of which mark us out as modern humans. Play and pleasure are important purposes for everyday leisure, but leisure is also communicative. Following the work of Habermas, we can say that communicative leisure might be one of the ways in which the lifeworld and the public sphere might potentially be constructed (Habermas 1989). That is, leisure has the capacity as an activity and a space to bring people together equally for a common good. Leisure, then, is something that has always been a part of human culture, and human belonging, and is part of what makes us human (Kelly 2012).

The argument by some leisure scholars that leisure is a product of modernity or the industrial global North is not true (Blackshaw 2010; Borsay 2005), though it is true to say that the rise of modernity in the global North shaped leisure in new and significant way, as I will discuss below. Leisure has been the subject of moral and legal discussions in every human society and culture. Politicians and policy-makers have a long history of thinking about leisure. In the Ancient world of Greece and Rome, philosophers and rulers wondered what it was to live a good life, and to rule widely (Spracklen, 2011a; Toner 1999). Away from the formal philosophies of active and moderate elite leisure enshrined in the work of Aristotle then the Stoics,

the leisure lives of the urban masses and slaves were more formally circumscribed by laws and moral norms. For the rulers of the Roman Empire, the development of a nascent public sphere associated with cities and other urban spaces forced them to develop spectacles such as gladiatorial games and chariot-racing to keep citizens happy (Toner 1999).

While leisure has had a communicative potential ever since two humans told stories to each other over a fire, a formally Habermasian communicative rationality only became part of the dominant discourse in society with the construction of the bourgeois public sphere (Habermas 1989). This public sphere appeared in Western Europe as a free space for exchange, dialogue and debate, a space won through successive generations of struggle against systems of belief and systems of feudal oppression. Leisure was a key activity for the creators of liberal, secular modernity. It was in coffee shops that people engaged in political and scientific debate. It was through leisure lives that the new bourgeoisie learned manners and civility, as well as liberty, fraternity and equality (Spracklen 2009, 2011a). But while leisure in early modernity was a site for the creation of the public sphere, and the construction of the communicative life-world, it was the victim of its own creation. By the end of the nineteenth-century, the communicative idealism of the Enlightenment had transformed into industrialization, urbanization and the rise of the nation-states and imperial hegemonies. Capitalist and imperialist powers fought back against the more radical conclusions of the Enlightenment, and saw profits and empires as being the sole instrumental goal of politics (Habermas 1984, 1987). In this modern world, humans became alienated, dis-enfranchised, individuated (Weber 1992). Leisure and work became formally separated spatially and temporally, and the large numbers of working-class men and women became the subjects or (more usually) victims of leisure policies. This was the age of active leisure, rational recreation and organized sports, leisure activities given to the working-classes in the hope that they would become better people (or better consumers, or better workers, or better soldiers). This was the age also of the leisure industry, that capitalist complex that had led step-by-step to the trans-national entertainment corporations we know today, via the growth of what might be described as a top-down popular culture (Roberts 2004).

Towards the end of the last century the philosophical movement of postmodernism combined with sociological critiques of the decline of modernity to produce a sociology of postmodernity (Žižek 2010). The postmodern philosophers called for an end to grand meta-narratives such as Marxism, and argued that we lived in an unstable, uncertain world where individuals were the only agents (Lyotard 1984). This was the crisis of existentialism, which led theorists such as Sartre to argue that the only thing worth doing was self-actualization (Sartre 2003). There was evidence that society in the global North was in a state of change, and a state of flux: class boundaries were more fluid, industrial culture was becoming post-industrial culture, and people were moving around the world in pursuit of jobs and security. Leisure scholars such as Chris Rojek and Tony Blackshaw have in the past made convincing arguments that leisure in postmodernity itself was becoming postmodern (Blackshaw 2010; Rojek 1995, 2000, 2010). In a world where work-place community and identity, class solidarity and other secure structures of belonging were in danger of disappearing, leisure seemed to offer itself as a panacea to the problem of where people belonged. Leisure studies since the 1990s has been dominated by research that assumes that people doing leisure now are reasonably unconstrained by the traditional social structures of inequality and power, and are able to use their agency to participate in leisure activities in either mainstream or subcultural spaces (Blackshaw 2014; Kelly 2012; Roberts 2004). Even where gender is used in feminist critiques of leisure, the research projects are often driven by post-structural or post-modern accounts of gender drawing on Butler or Foucault to show that individuals are in control of shaping their gender identities through leisure (see Pavilidis 2012).

Claims about the positive value of leisure continue to echo through popular and scholarly debates. We are told that we should do more exercise to improve our health, that we should take part in various leisure activities that improve our psychological wellbeing. Kelly and others like him make the case that leisure is essential for our spiritual wellbeing, if only we learn the right kind of active, self-actualizing leisure (Kelly 1983, 2012): we should be do things that help our mindfulness, such as yoga and physical activity, and not take part in leisure activities that are associated with commerce, commodification or passivity. A large proportion of the studies in

North American leisure sciences are reduced to this idea that being active is better than being passive, and leisure is active recreation and positive psychological development (Bramham 2006). This is the logic at the heart of most leisure management, sports pedagogy, sports psychology, physical activity and physical education research – a sleight of hand that sets out to prove what the researchers all believe anyway (Spracklen 2014). The world of the Ancient Greeks is before us again when researchers tell us that physical activity is proper leisure and good for us. There is, then, a moral hierarchy in all this talk of spirituality and self-actualization: my leisure becomes better than your leisure because I am a better person, and I choose to go through the pain of abstinence from drinking, television, fast-food and drugs.

Leisure as Dystopian Control

As I have argued elsewhere, I think leisure today is still a potentially communicative space, and a site for the construction of communicative rationality (Spracklen 2009, 2011, 2013). People get pleasure from the things they do away from the monotony of work, and get satisfaction and meaning and purpose through some of the things they do in their leisure time (Kelly 2012; Rojek 2010). But the freedom and agency associated with our contemporary, (post) modern leisure lives is chimerical in nature. Our choices are limited by the histories that shape us, the hegemonic powers at work that try to control and constrain us, and by the instrumental rationality of global capitalism. My analysis in the rest of this paper is essentially a return to Marxist theory. I am not the first person in leisure studies to bring Marxist theory critiquing leisure. In the 1970s through to the 1990s, British leisure studies as a subject field was dominated by theorists informed by Marx and his interlocutors Stuart Hall and Raymond Williams (see discussion in Bramham 2006; Rojek 2010). Those theorists have continued to write Marxist critiques of leisure even as leisure studies made its post-modern turn. Recently, even Chris Rojek has suggested there is a need to return to Marx, though such a step is suggested in a typically hesitant and careful fashion (Rojek 2013).

Marx helps us understand the first constraint on our agency in leisure: the histories that shape us. To paraphrase Marx, our leisure lives are ours to make sense of, but each of us has been given

specific chances, opportunities and constraints associated with our parents, our class, our gender, our nationality, our sexuality, our 'race' and our nationality (Marx 1963). The historical facts of modernity are what they are. We have seen the rise of the global North, the British Empire then the American Empire. The rise to power of these imperial hegemonies has come with the normalization of capitalist ideologies, and the spread of false notions of political freedom masked in neo-liberal economic freedoms (Habermas 1987). In some countries older elites have managed to retain their grip on power, in other countries the new capitalist classes have completely subverted the traditional elites and taken more democratic control. In this political struggle for power and freedoms, some people have managed to transcend the boundaries and limitations of class and culture to become newly-minted capitalist success stories. But for every person who lives this American dream, there are millions who struggle through their lives facing inequality and constraints imposed on them because of where they were born, and what they were born into. Leisure activities are not offered to us all equally, and the resources that allow us to have meaningful leisure lives are not distributed equally (Bramham 2006). In our historical circumstances, then, it is easier to do leisure and choose leisure if one has been born a white man in the global North into one of the ruling classes. The intersectionality of inequalities that operates on the majority of people in the world make leisure choice constrained. How can individuals exercise their communicative leisure agency when they need to work long and uncertain hours just to pay their bills? How can people find their Self when they have no money to search for it? The historical circumstances of the victory of capitalism, and the continuing intersectional oppression of the majority of the people in the world just because they are born 'unlucky', makes a mockery of the claim that everyone has the freedom to choose active leisure and find themselves.

Even worse for the claim that everybody can have these meaningful and freely chosen leisure lives is the fact that the intersectional oppression that operates today is hegemonic in nature. The articulation of hegemonic power by Gramsci remains as true today as it was when he first wrote about it when imprisoned in Fascist Italy (Gramsci 1971). All rulers and states have tried to impose their power and authority on the people they rule. Hegemonic power

occurs when the rulers are able to have complete control over the public sphere and popular culture to such an extent that they limit the ability of their oppressed people to realise they suffer that state of oppression. Hegemonic power might be used to keep people in their marginalized social classes, but it can also operate to maintain white privileges or heteronormative masculinity (Connell, 1987; Spracklen 2013). Such a state of affairs can happen in pre-modern societies such as Ancient Rome, and under the conditions of theocracy, but hegemonic power operates more readily in the condition of modernity. In our time, technological developments have given rise to mass or popular culture, all of which is an industry constructed to keep people pliant, ignorant, happy and off the streets (Adorno 1947, 1967, 1991). Foucault's concept of power extends the hegemonic sleigh-of-hand to our bodies and our minds, where we accept and embody the governmentality that surrounds us (Foucault 1991). Leisure is a site where this hegemonic power operates. Leisure constructs and normalizes hegemonic masculinity, hegemonic whiteness and stupefies the masses through popular music and television (Spracklen 2013). It is not just the entertainment industries that are places of hegemonic power, hegemonic normalization and hegemonic trickery. Adorno argues that modern sports belong to the realm of unfreedom, and this is only becoming more obvious as sport becomes part of the entertainment industries (Adorno 1991). But sports and active leisure normalize notions of power, discipline and respect that make people good citizens and consumers (Rojek 2010). The myth of the search for the Self and the freedom to choose to be active may well be a hegemonic trick, making us conform to the neo-liberal ideal of the happy, law-abiding, healthy citizen. This might sound outrageous, but of course the capitalist hegemony relies on individuals being productive workers and active consumers, as everything is reduced to growing Gross Domestic Product (GDP) over time.

The reduction of the measure of ourselves to component parts of a country's GDP is an example of the third and final reason why people cannot find meaning and purpose through communicative leisure: the expansion of the logic instrumental rationality into our late modern lives (Habermas 1984, 1987). Weber was the first social theorist to show that modern society was become disenchanted and instrumental, a product of the rise of industry and technology, and

the need to turn communities into individual workers and consumers (Weber 1992). Habermas has shown how the rise of high modernity ushered in the demise of the communicative public sphere (Habermas 1984, 1987, 1989). For him, high modernity has seen the retreat of the lifeworld against the rising dominance of instrumental rationality. That is, two things have happened that changed modern society and continued to dominate us: nation-states developed bureaucracies that organized the life of their citizens; and capitalist economics became the dominant way in which things were measured. It is the second form of instrumental rationality that concerns us here. The communicative lifeworld, colonized by this system, is in danger of being completely lost in our contemporary age. Corporations have inordinate power, and communities of like-minded people have been fractured into individuals competing with one another. Work is completely instrumental, but so is most of our leisure. The things we like to do are being taken over or re-shaped by the power of this instrumental rationality, and it is difficult to find any form of leisure, or leisure space, that has not been colonized by instrumentality (Spracklen 2009, 2011, 2013). Instrumental leisure reduces all leisure to its relationship to capitalism, to GDP and other short-term measures.

Leisure in this moment in the twenty-first century, then, is not essentially about being playful, or communicative, or for finding belonging. Leisure today is instrumental, hegemonic and a product of historical circumstances. Leisure is a form of life that is controlled, constrained and used by hegemonies and capitalists to impose their particular will, whether that is the preservation of their elite power or merely the pursuit of un-checked profit. This is a pessimistic but realistic conclusion. There is a communicative potential for leisure, and leisure is the thing that makes us human, but we live in a modern world where the power and the instrumentality that has disenchanting the workplace is at work trying to disenchant everyday leisure. Our only hope is to make people aware of the instrumental and hegemonic forces at work, and to help fight for social justice and equality, inside and out of leisure. We need to understand the extent of the colonization of the lifeworld, the reach of instrumental leisure and the forms of communicative leisure that have so far survived. We need to ask: what are the conditions for communicative leisure? Despite everything I have said about leisure being chimeric-

cal and a form of dystopian control, despite my dismissal of the claims made about the physical-activists, the positivists and the psychologists, leisure is an important part of life today precisely because it is the source of these unfounded claims. Leisure is important when it is communicative, and the study of leisure has to unpick the false claims made about leisure that hide the reality of most forms of leisure in our brave new world.

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Northrop Frye on Leisure as Activity

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Abstract

This article argues that Frye's theory of leisure as an activity (distinct from the leisure industry) represents an example of meliorist thought in relation to culture. Clarifying this view involves contrasting this conclusion about Frye with the Bourdieuan perspective, which makes up the content of the second main section. Before turning to social class, this article considers Frye's discussion of leisure and boredom, and his overall view of the values, activities, historic struggles and class association of three sectors: industry, politics and leisure.

Keywords Leisure, education, boredom, distraction, meliorism

Introduction

Frye's writings on leisure, as well as education, span his whole career. They include, on the one hand, student articles written as early as 1932 and pieces composed just a couple of years before his death in 1991, on the other. Frye lived through the turmoil on university campuses in the late sixties in the United States, when questions about the value of education and therefore leisure came to the fore. In a sense, the relevance that Frye had then is the same as now. We

are still wrestling with questions connected to how we may reconcile an aspirational view of leisure with a sense that, so much of the time, pronouncements about how one *should* spend one's free time betray traces of class privilege. Undoubtedly, Frye is of enormous importance to today's debates on account of the fact that he manages to speak in a meliorist manner about leisure ("activity X may represent a more valuable use of your time") without articulating a classist position ("my leisure is better than yours"). This article moves steadily towards that felicitous conclusion. His outlook, I argue, resists the thrust of a Bourdieuan reading. Frye's thinking about leisure and its opposite, "boredom", is suggestive of two contexts rather than social classes, I explain, and he thinks of the individual as participating in *both* societies.

The first phase of my analysis involves putting together (for the first time) tables of correspondences related to what Frye thinks of as the three main sectors in society: industry, politics and leisure. We learn a great deal about leisure as an activity by positioning it in a table detailing associations connected to all three sectors. The first part then moves on to a look at what Frye has in mind when speaking of leisure as an activity, his association of it with education, and why he opposes it to "distraction" and "boredom". In the second part of my analysis, I continue to clarify Frye's view of leisure as an activity by turning to social class and responding to possible misrepresentations of Frye's meliorist view. Of course Frye's view contrasts starkly with those of many sociologists of leisure, especially sociologists influenced by the work of Pierre Bourdieu, whose work still has a certain cachet in today's academia. In this second half, Frye's views are related to a hypothetical Bourdieuan critique of his outlook, which serves to further clarify the nature of his thinking.

Industry, Politics and Leisure: The Setting for Leisure as an Activity

In his work, Frye invokes a conventional distinction between industry and politics and connects a number of factors with these two sectors. In the first place, he associates a historic struggle and a *value* with each sector. The struggle fought in the arena of politics is the fight to wrest power from the hands of elites, and the value at stake is (democratic) freedom. In Frye's view

The evolution of political democracy, as it fought against entrenched privilege at first, and then against dictatorial tendencies, has to some extent been a genuine evolution of an idea of liberty, however often betrayed and perverted, and however much threatened still. (Frye 2003, 57)

The historical battle related to industry is the long struggle to prise a share of wealth out of the hands of the bourgeoisie; its value is equality:

The evolution of industry into a society of producers, as labour continued to fight against a managerial oligarchy, has been to a correspondingly modified extent an evolution of an idea of equality. (ibid.)

Frye's two sets of associations suggest *activities*, which are partly the fruits of the struggles: owning property (industry) and voting in elections (politics). A table of correspondences suggests itself:

Sector	Industry	Politics
Value	Equality	Freedom
Struggle	Against proprietors	Against oligarchs
Activity	Owning property	Voting

To these associations Frye adds social classes, an idea he derives from the work of Matthew Arnold. Though the franchise in Western societies extends to the working class, he associates democratic freedom with the middle class: "liberty is the specifically middle-class contribution to the classless society of genuine culture" (Frye 2005, 320). Similarly, equality has a class connection: it, in his view, is the specifically working class contribution to the same society of culture (ibid.). Thus:

Sector	Industry	Politics
Social class	Working	Middle
Value	Equality	Freedom
Struggle	Against proprietors	Against oligarchs
Activity	Owning property	Voting

Frye thinks of leisure (as an industry) as a third sector in society. Perhaps the first thing to say about his view of leisure is that he has a deep interest in its enjoying some level of independence. High politics and commercial interests are ready to gain control over leisure, but the nation state may protect its leisure industry:

At present the so-called mass media are sponsored mainly by advertising, which means that they are related primarily to the economy: these include television, newspapers, and the dwindling body of fiction and picture magazines which function as retail advertising journals. The turning of sponsorship into direct control, as when an editor is dismissed or a programme cancelled for offending an advertiser, is felt to be pernicious by those who are not completely cynical in such matters. Every effort of a government, however timid, to set up national film and broadcasting companies, and thus to turn over at least some of the mass media to the leisure structure, is part of a fateful revolutionary process. (Frye 2003, 51)

Following his own pattern, Frye associates the leisure industry, particularly a leisure industry free of an excess of economic and political control, with an activity, a historical struggle a value, and even a social class. It is not stated explicitly by Frye, but the struggle in question is clearly the expansion of education, especially historic movements for universal education. (The connection between leisure and education in Frye's theory will become clearer as we proceed.) Fascinatingly, the value which he ties in with this sector is the third revolutionary value: fraternity. Tying leisure in with education and even the work done at universities, Frye speaks of the meaning of fraternity in this context:

Neither political democracy nor trade unions have developed much sense of the third revolutionary ideal of fraternity—the word “comrade” has for most of us a rather sinister and frigid sound. Fraternity is perhaps the ideal that the leisure structure has to contribute to society. A society of students, scholars, and artists is a society of neighbours, in the genuinely religious sense of that word. That is, our neighbour is not, or not necessarily, the person in the same national or ethnical or class group with ourselves, but may be a “good Samaritan” or person to whom we are linked by deeper bonds than nationality or racism or class solidarity can any longer provide. These are bonds of intellect and imagination as well as of love and good will. The neighbour of a scientist is another scientist working on similar lines, perhaps in a different continent; the neighbour of a novelist writing about Mississippi is (as Faulkner indicated in his Nobel Prize speech) anybody anywhere who can respond to his work. The fact that feuds among scholars and artists are about as bitter as feuds ever get will doubtless make for some distinction between theory and practice. (Frye 2003, 57-8)

Additionally, Frye associates the value (fraternity) – and therefore the other elements in this column – with a social class. Perhaps somewhat surprisingly again, he associates fraternity with the aristocracy. The association of leisure with the aristocracy is obvious, but the association of fraternity with the aristocracy may seem dissonant with the thrust of what he is saying. The connection, again, is derived from Arnold. “There is an implicit, if not explicit, link in Arnold’s mind between his third class, the aristocracy, and the third revolutionary ideal of fraternity” (Frye 2009, 67). This association completes the picture.

Sector	Industry	Politics	Leisure
Value	Equality	Freedom	Fraternity
Social class	Working	Middle	Aristocracy
Struggle	Against proprietors	Against oligarchs	Against elitist education
Activity	Owning property	Voting	Leisure as activity

The element not yet explicitly referred to but included in the table is of course leisure as an activity, the theme of this article. To focus upon the most germane points thus far: leisure as an activity in Frye’s thought parallels the business of owning property and voting. Additionally, it is related to a sector, a social class, a historic struggle and a revolutionary value. The next task is to look much more closely at what Frye has in mind when he thinks of leisure as an activity.

But what does Frye mean by leisure as an activity? He sets up a very sharp opposition between leisure, sometimes referred to as genuine leisure, by which he means leisure as an activity, and “distraction”. It is clear that genuine leisure is bound up with sublimation, while distraction is connected to instant gratification, though Frye is sceptical about the possibility of “distraction” affording any type of gratification:

As long as we think of society, in nineteenthcentury terms, as essentially productive, leisure is only spare time, usually filled up with various forms of distraction, and a “leisure class,” which has nothing but spare time, is only a class of parasites. But as soon as we realize that leisure is as genuine and important an aspect of everyone’s life as remunerative work, leisure becomes something that also demands discipline and responsibility. Distraction, of the kind one sees on highways and beaches at holiday weekends, is not leisure but a running away from leisure, a refusal to face the test of one’s inner resources that spare time poses. (Frye 2003, 49-50)

He throws further light on leisure by contrasting it with a yet more illuminating antonym, namely “boredom”. And here the notion that we are actually dealing with distinct activities when focusing on *leisure and its opposite* starts to fade. If we take a closer look at the dividing line, we discover that it is really different *mental attitudes* which are at stake:

The difference between leisure and distraction or boredom is not so much in what one does as in the mental attitudes toward it. It’s easiest to see this if we take extreme examples. Our television sets and highways are crowded on weekends with people who are not looking for leisure but are running away from it. Leisure goes to a hockey game to see a game: distraction or boredom goes to see one team trample the other into the ice. Leisure drives a car to see the country: boredom drives it to get in front of the car ahead. Leisure is not afraid of solitude, quiet, or unplanned stretches of time; boredom has to have noise, crowds, and constant panic. Leisure goes to a movie to see a play; boredom goes to get enough of a sexy or violent or sentimental shock to forget about real life for a while. Leisure doesn’t feel put upon when asked to take some civic responsibilities; boredom never contributes anything to society: it can’t think or create or help others; all it can do is try to forget that job that comes back on Monday morning. (Frye 2002, 224)

Frye can only go so far when focused on leisure as such, however; he must bring leisure into identity with education. Unsurprisingly, the stress falls on practice and the development of skills rather than simple fun: “any leisure activity which is not sheer idleness or distraction depends on some acquired skill, and the acquiring and practice of that skill is a mode of education (Frye 2003, 50). The education which he identifies with leisure extends to any educational activity, but he has formal education in mind, too. On one level, leisure *is* the educational process: “education is the positive aspect of leisure” (Frye 2003, 49). The flight from leisure, then, is really a flight from education. It is for this reason that he wants what he wants for the leisure industry. “Television, newspapers, films, are

all educational agencies", he states (Frye 2002, 225). Unsurprisingly, he stands for the expansion of tertiary education. Adults should return to education as much as possible.

It inevitably follows from the same principle, however, that the university, or at least the kind of thing the university does, can hardly remain indefinitely the exclusive preserve of the young. The question of adult education is still too large and shapeless for us to be able to look squarely at it along with all our other problems of expansion, but, apart from the very large amount of education within industry itself, the adult population will also need institutions of teaching and discussion as the organized form of their leisure time: I think particularly of married women with grown-up families. It is difficult for a government not to think of education in terms of training, and to regard the university as a public service institution concerned with training. Such a conception naturally puts a heavy emphasis on youth, who are allegedly being trained for society, the human resources of the future, as we say. Adult education will no doubt enter the picture first in the context of retraining, as it does now in industry, but before long we shall have to face a growing demand for an education which has no immediate reference to training at all. (Frye 2003, 52)

Leisure and Social Class

It is becoming clear what Frye *prescribes* when thinking of leisure as an activity, but the picture is far from complete. We can make headway by turning to the class implications of his thought. We should avoid identifying the activities *connected to* historic social classes *with* social classes, the owning of some property exclusively with the working classes, etc. The individual at the centre of Frye's outlook appears to be the person who within these parameters transcends class, in that he or she is a producer, a voter and someone who enjoys leisure and/or has participated in the education process to an extent. We might think of him or her for now as a person who *metaphorically* is simultaneously working class, middle class

and an aristocrat. Genuine leisure, then, is one of the activities of the post-class individual.

It will of course be tempting to conclude that Frye has of course not moved beyond class so much as reconstituted it. Any sociologist worth his or her salt will recognize in the figure whose leisure time activities amount to “boredom” the present-day citizen who enjoys a paltry share of wealth and who has no party to vote for, and a moment’s reflection will tell us he or she is an embodiment of an underclass. We are drifting towards the viewpoint of Bourdieu, of course, “one of the most studied sociologists in Leisure studies” (Blackshaw 2013, 164). Bourdieu’s view is well-known, but we might profitably turn to an articulation of it which specifically connects it to leisure:

The most powerful groups in society maintain their positions in the social hierarchy with the aid of not only economic capital, but also the social and cultural capital embodied in their leisure lifestyles: a combination of earning power and superior taste. On top of that, the most vulnerable groups tend to be blamed for their own misfortune, since it is presumed that they lack the right social and cultural resources to determine what is appropriate for the inferior “them”. (Blackshaw 2013, 167)

It is (one might argue) as though Frye is contemptuous of people’s circumstances: their economic and political circumstances as well as their free time. Perhaps he not only feels distaste for the socially-exposed; perhaps he wants them to stay where they are, social mobility itself anathema. Perhaps Frye’s view of leisure as an activity is not so much a meliorist view as a component part of a highly classist *tableau*.

These points must be addressed if we are to complete this elucidation of Frye’s view of leisure as an activity. It would of course be scurrilous to suggest that he can be identified with such views. There is no contempt of the less well-off in his writings, and the classless society stands as the ideal in his work. “Antidemocratic activity”, Frye argues, “consists in trying to put class distinctions on some permanent basis” (Frye 2003, 255). He advocates an economic situation in which people in society can rely on, first, equality of

opportunity and, subsequently, full equality. Additionally, he stands for a society in which everyone has a vote, and everyone has a party to vote for.

Parallel to this, he also stands for a society in which people enjoy leisure. It is in relation to this specific area that Frye's view differs from that of today's academic Left. The current orthodoxy argues that while goals representing advancement within the areas of politics and economics are sound, the setting up of corresponding goals in relation to culture or leisure is a reactionary gesture. Frye, in contrast to this, thinks in terms of advancement across all three activities. Leisure is no different from one's participation in democratic politics or one's position in the economic reality of one's society in that regard. As regards what is desirable here, it is clearly that people favour leisure over boredom. Indeed, in as much as boredom may be removed from a life, no doubt Frye endorses that end.

Despite what might appear a likely conclusion, it is in fact impossible to see Frye's oppositional thinking as suggestive of a class structure. We actually learn more about this division in society by turning to his opposition between an active response and a passive one:

As usual, there are deficiencies in vocabulary: there are no words that really convey the intellectual and moral contrast of the active and passive attitudes to culture. The phrase "mass culture" conveys emotional overtones of passivity: it suggests someone eating peanuts at a baseball game, and thereby contrasting himself to someone eating canapés at the opening of a sculpture exhibition. The trouble with this picture is that the former is probably part of a better educated audience, in the sense that he is likely to know more about baseball than his counterpart knows about sculpture. Hence his attitude to his chosen area of culture may well be the more active of the two. And just as there can be an active response to mass culture, so there can be passive responses to the highbrow arts. These range from "Why can't the artist make his work mean something to the ordinary man?" to the significant syntax of the student's question: "Why is this considered a good poem?" (Frye 2003, 9)

What Frye is unsympathetic towards is not just, say, a hockey crowd baying for blood, but also a poseur at a vernissage. Unless we are prepared to see the latter figure as emblematic of an underclass, we cannot reconstruct his vision along class lines. The opposition Frye has in mind consists, on the one hand, then, of a *context* in which people enjoy leisure, be it the arts or a baseball or hockey game, and, on the other, a parallel context in which, struggling with boredom, people respond passively to the arts (even though they make a point of associating with them) and adopt a rather manic approach to other leisure-time activities.

This line of argumentation should lead the reader away from the notion that Frye's ideas may be interpreted along class lines. The final point should take us further still from that conclusion. It should be remembered that Frye's chief interest is in how individual lives – I would suggest we may say *all individual lives* – are lived with some relation to *both* these contexts. When speaking of genuine leisure and distraction, he is mainly thinking about a “twoness” or dividedness in the mind of a single person. He sees the challenge involved as an individual rather than a social one. A person may be capable of turning to genuine leisure some of the time, but also gets tempted by what Frye terms “boredom”. The individual must optimize the amount of leisure in his or her life. This is the vision Frye would inspire.

Conclusion

Leisure Studies, if it is an open field capable of processing each and every major twentieth-century thinkers, should admit Frye's into its canon of leisure theorists. Hopefully, that process may be eventuated in the first instance by an articulation of Frye's view of leisure as an activity, fleshing out the social class implications of Frye's outlook, which is, of course, the purpose of this short piece. If this article has achieved its aim, it will be clear that in a situation in which there is extreme nervousness of the part of academics about any situation which might come across as snobbish, Frye provides us with a coherent theory of leisure which suggests more valuable pursuits without reverting to class-based value judgments.

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Drinking coffee at the workplace

Work or leisure?

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Abstract

Work and leisure are commonly viewed as two distinct activities. The blurred and dynamic boundaries between work and leisure are present in many peoples' everyday life, as well as in studies of boundaryless work and work-life balance. In this paper we examine the problems of rigid categorizations. Studying breaks at work may provide important information about human behaviour and organizational life, information we may partly overlook if we cate-

gorize them simply as non-work. Categories are part of the research processes, but we can experiment with categories and even create new ones, to add nuances and new perspectives to our studies.

Keywords #categorization, #work, #leisure, #workplace leisure behaviour; #boundaryless work

Work, leisure or both?

Work and leisure are commonly viewed as dichotomous, and in management studies, leisure is often treated merely as a residual by-product of work (Beatty and Torbert 2003). The aim of this paper is to examine and question the relevance of this division of work and leisure in contemporary work life experiences. First we discuss the concept of work, specifically the changes in work towards immaterial labour (Lazzarato 1996) and boundaryless work (Kamp, Lund and Hvid 2011). Then we discuss leisure in relation to work and the research field of workplace leisure behaviour. We unfold the discussion and call attention to coffee drinking and coffee break routines at the workplace as a boundary zone between work and leisure. Pausing for coffee is much more than just a break from the 'real' or 'productive' work. In fact, any distinction between *work* and *leisure* is always a matter of perspective. Finally, we outline a few new research paths, which we believe can lead to a more nuanced understanding of the overlapping categories of work and leisure.

What is work? When and where does it take place?

Work as a concept is widely used in both practice and in theory and it is essential to keep in mind that any distinction between what is work and what is not work is always political and could be drawn differently (Okhuysen et al. 2013). The blurred boundaries between work and leisure are present in many peoples' everyday life, as well as in studies of boundaryless work and work-life balance. Work activities, such as answering emails, seems to leak into all areas of life: family dinners, holidays and even sleepless nights (Boswell and Olson-Buchanan 2007). As Rosa (2013) demonstrates, technologies that were once expected to make work more efficient, and free up time to do other things, now permeate our lives and are part of a larger acceleration of society. The obvious production benefits of immaterial labour and boundaryless work is that value may be ex-

tracted from immaterial and social processes like networking and communication. Specifically, in this kind of work, the division between work and leisure is blurred. *Work* can be practiced *whenever* and *wherever*, potentially enhancing the time and space of work. This, we argue, is not necessarily a bad thing; it may provide employees with flexibility, freedom and potentially more meaningful or creative work. However, it also places a larger responsibility on the individual to manage this freedom and continuously balance creation and recreation. The industrial society with its eight hours of work, eight hours of leisure and eight hours of restitution (sleep) is no longer - if it ever were - the prevalent division in an economy resting increasingly on immaterial labour (Lazzarato 1996). Changes in the nature of work have also changed the relationship between work, employee and time: focus is now increasingly on getting the tasks done, on meeting deadlines and less on *how* and *where* we are, when we accomplish this (Kamp, Lund and Hvid 2011). Indeed, the division between what counts as work or leisure might be a question of retrospective evaluation: did the activity contribute to recreation or to the achievement of a given task? Did it foster important relationships or feelings of belonging, which in turn may enhance creativity, collaboration, and performance? Is this activity work, or is it leisure, or both? Is this even the right question to ask?

We can use music as an analogy. The jazz musician and composer Miles Davis recognized that the qualities of music is “not captured in the arrangement of the notes, but also in the arrangement of the silences between notes” (Elsbach and Hargadon 2006, 481). Following Miles Davis, if we want to recognize the qualities of many types of contemporary work, we may aim at studying the arrangements of both the notes and the silences. Can we conceptualize work more in line with the qualities and rhythm of jazz music? That is, to acknowledge that silence is part of the music and not something missing in between, just like seemingly non-work activities may in fact be part of the work? And can we go even further and claim that the notes are part of the silence, just like seemingly work activities may in fact be part of leisure? A musical piece to support this claim is John Cage’s composition 4’33”, which instructs the performer(s) not to play their instrument(s) during the entire duration of four minutes and 33 seconds. The piece consists of the sounds of the environment that the listeners hear while it is performed. “There’s

no such thing as silence”, Cage claimed after the premiere in 1952 (Kostelanetz 2003). We do not suggest that there is no longer such things as *work* and *leisure*. Obviously there are. Rather, we should be inspired by Cage’s recognition of *all* the elements in a performance (or a life) and pay attention to the mutually constituent relationship and interplay between them.

What is leisure? When and where does it take place?

Reviewing the diverse fields of leisure studies, Beatty and Torbert (2003) found three common approaches for defining leisure: (a) the time-based approach (how much time are people not-working?), (b) the activity-based approach (what do people do when they are not-working?), and (c) the intention-based approach (what is the intent behind a leisurely activity?) The time-based approach defines leisure by drawing a line between free time and constrained time. This reflects an industrialized view of the world in which work is scheduled first and everything else is free time. Leisure and work are thus mutually exclusive by definition. The activity-based approach defines leisure in terms of activities. This category of leisure studies focuses on tourism and recreation, and examines leisure activities such as watching TV, reading books, engaging in hobbies or volunteering. The third approach regards leisure as an inner attitude of free engagement and inquiry or contemplation. Aristotle’s philosophy provides the foundation for this approach. For Aristotelians, proper leisure is distinct from relaxation and amusement. Researchers following this approach define leisure as a capacity for silence, intentional listening, and receiving, thus linking leisure to personal development.

The meanings of ‘work’ and ‘leisure’ change depending on one’s perspective, making it increasingly impossible to construe and uphold distinct categories. Accordingly, recent research seems to dissolve the two categories in diverse ways. For example, it is now acknowledged that creative leisure outside the workplace can enhance work performance (Eschleman et al. 2014). If higher levels of leisure behaviour outside of the workplace are found to reduce exhaustion and support motivation, it begs the question if transferring leisure behaviour to the workplace can also be beneficial for improving low levels of motivation (Lebbon and Hurley 2013). Workplace leisure behaviour can have both positive and negative

effects and is an object of study for efficiency or motivation purposes (e.g. Lebbon and Hurley 2013, Coker 2011).

Motivation is of great interest to corporations because unmotivated employees typically spend part of their workday engaging in workplace leisure behaviour such as Internet use, text messaging and personal phone calls. Lebbon and Hurley (2013) report that survey research has found that 44% of employees feel unmotivated to work and point to the fact that although U.S. employees work longer hours with less vacation time than employees working in the European Union, productivity remains at similar levels as those in the European Union. Elsbach and Hargadon (2006) note that organizations may increasingly begin to experience long-term underperformance and lack of creativity and innovation due to intense workload pressures and no real opportunities for recreation. Constant speed or acceleration of pace may make you move forward. However, it can take you in the wrong direction, towards failures, adverse events or even accidents, or it could be a short ride to stress and a state of burnout.

Leisure behaviour at work can both disrupt concentration during cognitively challenging tasks and potentially improve employee motivation (Lebbon and Hurley 2013, Trougakos et al. 2008). Lebbon and Hurley (2013) cautiously conclude that spending less than 15% of total work hours on leisure has a beneficial impact on the productivity. Waber et al. (2010) found that the most productive employees were those embedded within the strongest social groups. Their research also showed that giving employees breaks at the same time increased the strength of the social group. They conclude, that the informal context and the social networks of the group of employees are important and deserve attention, even in jobs that are typically not viewed as having a strong social component. Such findings are translated into recommendations for management strategies and workday organization. When managers try to restrict time spend on breaks for efficiency purposes, employees tend to move leisure behaviour outside the formal sites of managerial control (Stroeback 2013). On the other hand, managers may also try to exploit the creative potential of breaks and schedule leisure-like activities, but what is often lost is precisely the informality of serendipitous interactions and free talk beyond direct observation by power holders such as managers and clients. In general, however,

breaks are often viewed as an individual function that allow employees to recharge, while little regard has been given to the idea that social interaction during breaks may provide employees with a valuable opportunity to discuss difficult issues as well as exchange knowledge about their jobs (Waber et al. 2010). From such an integrative perspective, leisure and leisure behaviour at work are not that easily recognized as distinct activities different from work. As mentioned, we will look at coffee drinking and coffee breaks as a social practice to illustrate this point.

Coffee breaks as boundary zones between work and leisure

Two recent Danish workplace studies scrutinize coffee drinking and coffee break behaviour as an example of the blurred boundaries between work and leisure. Stroebaek (2013) identifies coffee breaks as an important factor for social and personal well-being within an emotionally taxing work environment, while Wegener (2014) analyses coffee as a boundary object and coffee drinking as a crucial activity for nurturing feelings of belonging. Stroebaek (2013) notes that the coffee break is an integral social practice that brings people together at work. Although this distinct social practice is suitable for studying workplace behaviour, coffee breaks at work are, she argues, not well researched. She concludes that 'it is desirable to bring coffee breaks and other "non-work related" social activities within a workplace out of the shadow and to put them into the spotlight of investigation. [...] Within the corners and corridors of workplaces, much social creativity is taking place that might, at first glance, seem unimportant for the researcher's attention' (Stroebaek 2013, pp. 395-396).

While we agree that coffee breaks may provide important information about human behaviour and organizational life, we do not find it productive to categorize them as non-work. It seems much more fruitful to study coffee as a boundary object that allow connections and engagement, and coffee breaks as boundary zones between what is formally categorized as work and non-work. We use the term 'boundary zone' as a way of conceptualizing such social practices where it is possible to integrate different perspectives (2003). In comparison, a boundary object refers to the artefact fulfilling a bridging function (Star 1989, Akkerman and Bakker 2011).

Boundary zones and boundary objects are associated with building relationships between domains and create an in-between context in its own right (Edwards, Biesta, and Thorpe 2009, Johnsson, Boud and Solomon 2012). We regard coffee as both a metaphorical and a tangible boundary object (at least if it is located in a cup), and the coffee break as a social boundary zone. A coffee break gives you access to, not just a stimulating cup of coffee, but also to the collegial community of fellow pausing employees with whom you can engage in the abovementioned informal talk. The coffee culture of Scandinavia in many ways resembles the culture of 'a cuppa tea' in the UK (Kjeldgaard and Ostberg 2007). Coffee is an essential part of showing hospitality and is traditionally integrated into the temporal structures of everyday life, such as the morning and afternoon breaks in the workplaces, where it is often accompanied with morning bread or afternoon cake on special occasions, such as birthdays or anniversaries. Nevertheless, coffee drinking is often associated with ineffectiveness. As mentioned by Wegener (2014), an often heard complaint is that employees in the elderly care sector are 'taking too many coffee breaks' instead of spending time with the elderly residents. Coffee drinking, in some work places, is thus a metaphor for a lack of professionalism. However, at some workplaces, a joint coffee break is used for informal discussions or negotiations (Kjeldgaard and Ostberg 2007). Or as Stroebaek (2013, p. 382), referring Topik (2009) puts it: 'the phrase "let's have a cup of coffee" has come to mean "let's have a conversation"'. The coffee break can thus reflect work / non-work relationships. The informal and spontaneous encounters and conversations around coffee drinking at work are relevant to researchers as important boundary zones of both productivity and recreation.

Challenging categories to invent new ones

While reviewing the two research fields 'the boundaryless work' and 'workplace leisure behaviour' it struck us that if we want to know more about work, we must visit people at their homes, and maybe even join them in their leisure activities outside the workplace. And if we want to know more about leisure, we need to be located at workplace desks and in corners and corridors, out of managerial sight. It may be difficult to tell work from leisure for both the researcher and the people researched. The time, space and

purpose dimensions of work and leisure are fluid. Theoretical concepts may explain phenomena encountered in the field, however, these same concepts also shape the researcher's attention and the language used to describe what they see (Hasse 2011). Researchers need to challenge their categories by paying attention to their own intellectual technologies and, in general, the material and rhetorical practices of research.

As noted by Bowker and Star (2000, p. 287), concepts and categories are historically situated. Moreover, they do not exist in the world as such. Categories are the researcher's constructs, always based on preferences and experiences and situated within the 'optical community' in which a researcher has been socialized and trained to view the world (Zerubavel 1991;1999). When we order information we produce certain forms of organization, which in turn produces certain material arrangements, certain subject positions and certain forms of knowledge (Edwards and Fowler 2007). As stated by Weick (2006, p. 1724), we need to step back from categorisations and actively explore the activity of categorising in order to expand our repertoire and improve our alertness. We can experiment with categories and explore the relationships between them with the aim of adding new theoretical perspectives, and sharpen our methodologies. Dissolving the a priori categories of work and leisure may be a way forward to learn more about human behaviour – both inside and outside the workplace. This, in turn, may contribute to more nuanced theories of how work and leisure activities are practiced, and how they may relate to each other. We may find that we can only tell 'efficient' time (work) from 'idle' time (leisure) retrospectively. If we cannot categorize 'work' and 'leisure' in any meaningful way in advance, we may need to create novel categories such as 'restful work' and 'dutiful leisure'. Doing so may be hard work and great fun at the same time.

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Working out who you are

Identity formation among fitness tourists

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Abstract

For several years, fitness has been a popular form of leisure activity due to people's concern for their health and for displaying a healthy image. Recently, fitness activities have also started to permeate holidays. With point of departure in theories on consumption and identity and the increasing dedifferentiation of holiday activities, this study shows that fitness tourists use holidays mainly as an extension of their everyday lives. Certain differences between every-day and holiday consumption, however, also appear, as experimenting with new fitness activities as well as bonding with friends and getting acquainted with strangers appear to be defining aspects of fitness tourism. This underscores the usefulness of understanding identity formation in a fitness tourism context within a continuum of differentiation-dedifferentiation.

Keywords Fitness tourism, consumption, differentiation, de-differentiation, identity formation

Introduction

The present paper focuses on commercial forms of fitness which include equipment-based individual training, group-based training, and relaxation/wellness (Steen-Johnsen & Kirkegaard, 2010). The motivational factors behind and outcome of fitness have been under scrutiny for the past decade (Kierkegaard, 2011; Laub, 2011; Larsen, 2004) and studies show that its flexible organisation as well as its health and body enhancing qualities are appreciated among consumers. Commercialised and individualised types of fitness increasingly challenge the Scandinavian non-profit, voluntary sports sector (Steen-Johnsen & Kirkegaard, 2010) as they seem to fit into people's busy time schedules as well as individual life projects of staying young and fit. It is therefore not surprising that fitness activities have also started to extend into holidays, however, close to nothing is known about fitness tourism experiences, and questions like why tourists undertake fitness activities, and whether the experience is identical with or different from everyday fitness beg to be answered. The ongoing debate among tourism scholars about the differentiated versus de-differentiated nature of tourist experiences (Cohen, 1979; Larsen, 2008; Uriely, 2005; Urry, 1990) is relevant to bring to the fore in this context, as it facilitates a discussion of extraordinary vs. ordinary traits of tourist experiences. Placing this discussion within the framework of the 'before', 'during' and 'after' of the tourist experience (Ek *et al.*, 2008) makes it possible to bring forward the dialectic relationship between every-day and holiday consumption. Such discussions link up closely with issues of identity formation, which is argued to be a central part of fitness consumption at home (Storm and Brandt, 2008), and whether this is also the case of fitness consumption away is interesting to scrutinize. And even if this is the case, identity formation may unfold in a different manner in at tourism context than in an every-day context. To get to grips with these issues, Holt's (1995) framework on the structure and purpose of consumption lends itself useful.

Based on qualitative interviews with Danish fitness tourists, the aim of the study is thus to gain insight into fitness experiences of tourists and how these feed into identity formation processes. It is acknowledged that to understand issues of identity formation in a tourism context, every-day consumption patterns have to be considered to be able to gain a nuanced understanding of such processes.

Theoretical Framework

Everyday fitness and sport tourism experiences

Among scholars, the tourist experience has within the past 25 years developed from being predominantly understood as something extra-ordinary, an escape from obligations and routines (e.g. Cohen, 1979; Urry, 1990), to being conceptualised as part of every-day life and consumption (e.g. Larsen, 2008; Uriely, 2005). Siding with the latter perspective, this means that breaks from as well as continuations of every-day consumption practices may exist within holidays. Furthermore, to understand the nature of the fitness tourism experience, a three-pronged framework consisting of a 'before', 'during' and 'after' experience (Ek *et al.*, 2008, Mossberg, 2005) has been deemed useful, as it seems to tally with the notion that every-day and holiday consumption relate to one another on a continuum from differentiated to dedifferentiated.

The 'before' consists of the expectations of the holiday that the individual has, which are formed by every-day and prior holiday experiences as well as more unspecific images and ideas. As we have limited our research to people who are also fitness consumers at home, it is important to characterise this type of sport. Its individually organised nature and with that its flexibility time-wise are identified as some of the most important reasons for the year-long popularity of fitness (Larsen, 2004; Laub, 2011). The main motivational reasons for undertaking fitness are identified as health-related, a drive to excel and aesthetics i.e. shaping your body according to certain ideals (Kierkegaard, 2011). Hence the fitness experience is highly individual and involves both internal health and skill dimensions and a dimension of external self-representation. The latter is confirmed by Storm and Brandt (2008): *'the consumption [of fitness] contains a number of signals and transmits values to the surrounding world [...] an active and healthy leisure life with a surplus capacity both physically, mentally and economically'* (own translation). The degree to which these characteristics are identical with or different from the 'during' experience determines where on the differentiation-dedifferentiation continuum the fitness experience may be placed.

The 'during' experience is that which takes place at the tourism destination and to gain insight into this, we need to consult the broader sport tourism literature, as fitness is only mentioned sporadically as a sub-category of sport tourism. Defining characteris-

tics of sports tourism like health enhancement, improving existing skills and being independent (Cook, 2008; Gibson, 1998; Hall, 2011) overlap with everyday fitness, however, certain differences also materialise. Sport tourism is mainly related to out-door not indoor recreation (Cook, 2008; Hall, 2011), improving both existing skills and trying out and learning something new (Gibson, 1998) appear significant, and being independent but at the same time being together with others is central to sport tourism. Though the opposing characteristics may be a consequence of a highly diversified group of tourists, they may also signify that both differentiation and dedifferentiation between home and away is taking place among sports tourists in general.

The 'after' experience is constituted by the memories (Mossberg, 2005), including evaluation, of the holiday and may feed into prospective holidays as expectations just as it may influence home-based fitness activities. Improved skills may influence every-day fitness activities, just as it is feasible that new and extra-ordinary activities undertaken during the holiday turn ordinary as they are incorporated into every-day leisure activities.

Identity formation in a fitness tourism context

Consumption is one of the ways in which we construct identity, and fitness is argued above to have the qualities of contributing to identity formation both in terms of understanding yourself and communicating to the world who you are (Askegaard and Firat, 1996; Belk, 1988). Having established the relationship between fitness at home and away through the three-pronged experience framework above (Ek *et al.*, 2008), the question is not whether but how fitness tourism contributes to the identity of the active fitness person. To approach an understanding of this, Holt's (1995) framework on the structure and purpose of consumption lends itself useful. The structure of consumption may be understood as engagement with consumption objects (object actions) as well as engagement with other people through consumption objects (interpersonal actions). The purpose of consumption relates both to consuming objects for the experience they provide (end), and consuming objects as a means to certain benefits (means). Building on these two dimensions, four types of consumption relations are identified. *Consumption as experience* in a fitness tourism context signifies engagement with fitness activities

in their own right – the sense stimulation and feelings of pleasure they provide. Developing existing skills and acquiring new ones also form part of this consumption experience. *Consumption as integration* relates to the way in which fitness activities are used as a means of realising certain traits about oneself – a ‘personal self-project’ (Jantzen *et al.*, 2011). *Consumption as play* is concerned with ways in which fitness is used as a frame for interacting with others. Maintaining and strengthening the interpersonal relations of the traveling party has been termed ‘thick sociability’ (Obrador, 2012), but may also extend to new acquaintances made during a holiday. Finally, *consumption as classification* signifies that fitness activities are used for identifying oneself in view of others. Building affiliations and enhancing distinction (Holt, 1995:10) through communication to one’s surroundings is central here, and not least social media are instrumental towards this end.

Data and Method

A qualitative approach has been deemed appropriate in this study, as it is useful when investigating motives, behaviour and social life (Kvale, 1996). Qualitative interviews have been carried out in a Danish context with five consumers practicing fitness at home and on holidays. Apart from sharing the trait of undertaking fitness activities both at home and on holidays, the respondents represent a fairly diverse group in terms of age (ranging from 20-60 years) and gender (three males, two females). This potentially facilitates a variety of perspectives on fitness tourism, which is useful when studying a field on which little knowledge exists. All interviews were conducted in person by one of the authors and lasted between 25-55 minutes. They were recorded, transcribed and quotes were translated into English. In terms of data analysis, meaning condensation (Kvale, 1996) was utilized, which entailed identification of theoretically inspired themes and openness to unforeseen thematic structures.

Analysis and Findings

‘Before’ experiences - fitness practices at home

Fitness appears to be a serious leisure (Stebbins, 2007) to the respondents, as they all visit a fitness center at least three times a week and have done so for several years. For them fitness at home

is characterised by a combination of individual training and fitness classes, which offers the possibility of independent exercise as well as skilled coaching. Independence is highly valued by the respondents, as one respondent says: *'During the first many years I worked out on my own. I preferred that because I did not like the part that people would talk all the time'*. When fitness classes are attended the social aspect is not important, rather focus is directed at the same features driving individual exercise: improving health, bodily aesthetics and skills (Kierkegaard, 2011). Of these the latter is a means to achieving the former two. When attending classes, the fitness instructor becomes a helping force in achieving one's goals, in other words: *'it matters that they [fitness instructors] are committed and have expertise'*, but fitness consumers mainly want to be left to their own devices to achieve their goals.

A healthy lifestyle and living up to present-day bodily ideals are hence significant driving forces behind the respondents' fitness practices at home. Counteracting overweight and the physical challenges of growing older are mentioned repeatedly and reflect prevailing debates in society: *'You need to do something to avoid bad shape and becoming fat [...] If I do not work out I feel bad and then I think it will start to go downhill'*. Efforts and emotions are clearly invested in shaping your body according to current health standards, and being skinny is not among these: *'It is not in to be thin any longer, now you have to be well-trained'*. Building oneself physically points towards fitness being an integrated part of the respondents' self-project. Holt's (1995) notion of consumption as *integration* seems to be at stake here in that fitness is used as a means towards understanding oneself and with that forming one's self-perception.

Simultaneously, Holt's metaphor of *classification* may help explain that the identity formation of the respondents is not just a matter of internal relations between the fitness product and the consumer, but that other fitness consumers play a significant role in this process. Even though shaping their own body is a significant part of their fitness exercise, the respondents are annoyed by the attention other fitness consumers give to their own and not least others' bodies. Words like *'egocentrism'*, *'flexing guys'* and *'narcissistic dating portal'* go to show that the respondents try to differentiate themselves from other ostensibly less serious fitness consumers. Hence understand-

ing yourself in opposition to others is a characteristic that underscores their identity projects.

Seriousness and duty to their body seem to characterise the respondents' relationship to fitness and hence an absence of having fun is striking in their narratives about fitness at home. These traits are also found in fitness on holidays, however, additional aspects enter the picture, which are demonstrated below.

The 'during' experience - fitness practices on holiday

Having an abundance of time for their sport, is one of the main motives for going on fitness holidays. As the respondents prolong their active lifestyle into their holidays and thereby continuously work on their health, there are clear overlaps between the 'before' and 'during' experiences. As one of the respondents says: *'I could not imagine going on holiday and then just laze around on a beach - that would bore me to death. I would become totally restless'*. Hence dedifferentiation (Larsen, 2008; Uriely, 2005) appears to be a fundamental characteristic of the respondents' activities, as fitness is an integral part of their lives at home and away. Obligation also characterises accounts of holiday fitness experiences, which underscores their dedifferentiated nature. For instance: *'I think now I have a whole week where I don't do anything. But I can't do that, then I get a bad conscience, and that doesn't happen if it [fitness] is part of the holiday'*. Consumption as *integration* (Holt, 1995) seems apparent from their choice of words and repetition of the same points, and so fitness is an integral part of these consumers' identity also on holidays. As formulated very poignantly by one of the respondents: *'It [fitness tourism] just confirms me being me and what I have always considered myself as being'*.

Simultaneously, it is important to notice that fitness on holidays is not considered as serious as in every-day life, as it is also characterised as *'cosy work out'*, *'fun'* and *'exciting'*. As one respondent says: *'[on holidays] there are totally new surroundings and you get away. It is like working out in a new way even though it is the same'*. Illouz (2009) argues that consumer practices are characterised by a lack of consistency as they are influenced by contradictory emotions that coexist in the individual. In this case, obligation and routine as well as fun and excitement are at play, which indicate that consumer practices on holidays are simultaneously dedifferentiated and differentiated from every-day fitness consumption. Different physical

surroundings contribute to the extra-ordinary aspect of fitness holidays: *'It is so cool that you can stand outside and work out... Amongst other things I went running which I normally do not like. The surroundings were exciting'*. Hence the place and what it offers in terms of good weather and beautiful scenery inspire the respondents to try out new activities as well as outdoor exercise. The easy access to a multitude of organised activities when holidaying at a fitness resort is also highlighted as decisive for trying out something new. Moreover, the physical change of scene to a more experimental and playful one seems to result in an increase in social contact both with instructors and other fitness tourists: *'It is great to experience instructors that are different from home. Also because people on holiday are more relaxed and dare to shout 'hurrah' in the middle of class. People at home would immediately exclude that person'*. Interpersonal relations add to the fitness experience and the social norms in terms of how to behave are more lenient than at home. The positive fitness holiday experience seems dependent on the opportunity to share one's experiences with others, both close-ones and more ephemeral communities bound together by shared interests, and being part of a community enhances the experience further. In Holt's (1995) terminology consumption becomes *play* when social bonding is at the core of the consumption activity, and in relation to accompanying friends and relatives this appears to be the case. One respondent for instance relates: *'It is so much fun to laugh at each other if you attend something you cannot do right'*. Fitness hence becomes much more of a social activity when on holiday than at home, which tallies with the point that sport tourism has a central social element, as well as Obrador's (2012) concept of 'thick sociability' that characterises holidays at large.

The 'after' experience - fitness practices at home, again

Memories and evaluation are defining characteristics of the 'after' experience (Ek *et al.*, 2008; Mossberg, 2005) and to varying degrees fitness holidays have an effect on home-based consumer practices. As all the respondents have positive memories of their fitness holidays, they sense an increased motivation for fitness on their return home as they wish to re-experiencing the positive feelings that holiday activities generated. Two respondents, who function as fitness instructors in their spare time, have found inspiration from their

holiday for their future teaching, which testifies to a clear effect of the holiday. Others feel inspired to embark upon new types of fitness which they tried out on their holiday: *'It [cross fit] was very fun so I need to figure out the practicalities and then I will begin attending such classes at home'*. This as well as other examples of new activities engaged in, involves a social aspect, as other people are a necessity for the activity to be undertaken. This indicates that the idea of fitness as an individual sport is challenged by holiday experiences and may affect future every-day practices. For some of the respondents motivation, however, decreases after a while and so the trivial feeling that fitness generates returns: *'I tried to keep up the motivation but it gradually faded [...] then it once more becomes a trivial daily activity you need to do'*. Despite the fading effect on everyday fitness practices, fitness holidays are used as an element in the respondents' identity projects: in staging themselves as active, health conscious and concerned with their bodily appearance even on holidays, which are conventionally associated with pleasure and relaxation. Thus fitness holidays seem to strengthen their self-perception as well as their image towards the surrounding world.

Conclusion

The aim of this study has been to gain insight into fitness experiences of tourists and how these feed into identity formation processes. As the extant knowledge of this area is close to non-existent, an explorative and with that qualitative research design has been deemed appropriate. The findings show that fitness is an integral part of the identity projects of the consumers studied. They use fitness as a means of both understanding who they are (i.e. integration) and positioning themselves in the world (i.e. classification). Fitness holidays are used as way of cementing their active and healthy lifestyle and hence dedifferentiation mainly characterises the relationship between the every-day and the holiday. Elements of differentiation are, however, also detectable as experimenting with new fitness activities as well as bonding with friends and getting acquainted with strangers (i.e. play) are defining aspects of fitness tourism. As holiday experiences appear to have a certain effect on subsequent every-day practices, this goes to showing that identity formation is an ongoing process during which we continuously redefine what we do and who we are.

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From Snapshot to Snapchat

Panopticon or Synopticon?

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Abstract

The article asks the research question whether the ephemeral affordance of Snapchat can be characterized as a product of the panopticon or of the synopticon. To seek to answer this question a threefold approach is employed. The first is historical and it investigates the relationship between the snapshot tied to leisure ("the Kodak moment") and Snapchat. The second is empirical, and it uses pre-existing statistics about Snapchat and a questionnaire survey carried out for this article. Finally, the article sees the Snapchat phenomenon in the light of pertinent schools of cultural theory

and in the context of new social media, e.g. research about selfies, and it considers the concepts of the panopticon and the more recent concept of the synopticon.

Keywords #Snapchat, #panopticon, #synopticon, #selfies, #the snapshot

Snapchat is an instant photo messaging and chat application that has the special affordance and mechanism that the photos or videos one user sends to others are deleted from their devices after one or ten seconds, and also from Snapchat's servers, though the company keeps a log of the last 200 Snaps, as the photo or video messages are called. The content is not archived. On the company's website, this is explained together with a caution:

Delete is our default. That means that most messages sent through our Services will be automatically deleted once they have been viewed or have expired. But – and this is important – you should understand that users who see your messages can always save them, either by taking a screenshot or by using some other image-capture technology (whether that be software or even something as old-fashioned as a camera to take a photo of your device's screen). If we're able to detect that a recipient took a screenshot of a message you sent, we'll try to notify you. But the same common sense that applies to the Internet at large applies to Snapchat as well: Don't send messages that you wouldn't want someone to save or share. (Snapchat, 2014)

The communication model is one to one or one to relatively few, but the number of Snaps sent every day is impressively large. In November 2013, users of Snapchat uploaded around 400 million photo and video messages daily (Lance Whitney, 2013), and in May 2014 this number had risen to 700 million photos and videos per day (Hamburger, 2014), in August 2014 the number of monthly active users was 100 million (Abbruzzese, 2014). The users can draw or type a message on top of the photos and a chat function is included.

In addition, plain texting is an affordance, so that a picture message can be combined with this. Snapchat is clearly a success. The application's multimodal message service that is characterized by impermanence seems to have answered a need in contemporary interpersonal, mediated communication.

The article will seek to explain the success of Snapchat, and in line with this, it asks the research question whether the ephemeral affordance of Snapchat can be characterized as a product of the panopticon or of the synopticon. The article's conclusions are based on cultural theories, which are combined with empirical surveys, as the article uses pre-existing statistics about Snapchat plus a questionnaire survey carried out for this article. This is supplemented with recent social media research. First, the historical precursor and namesake of Snapchat, the snapshot will be considered.

The Kodak Moment: the Snapshot

Two photographic technologies and their uses precede Snapchat. The first was marketed with the slogan: "You Press the Button – We Do the Rest" (Chalfen, 1987, p. 13). Eastman Kodak's Box Camera was introduced in 1888. Its capability was that any amateur photographer could take a snapshot anytime anywhere. This small inexpensive consumer camera used roll film and it was light and portable and could be used without a tripod. Its success is documented by e.g. the 1983-84 Wolfman Report, which stated that American amateur photographers took around 11,75 billion photos in 1983 (Chalfen, 1987, p. 13). However, in 2012 Kodak filed for bankruptcy protection. New digital cameras and later ubiquitous cameras in mobile phones had overtaken the market for optical film and cameras. The other predecessor was the Polaroid instant camera. In contrast to Kodak and other similar cameras, the exposed films of which had to be sent to a laboratory to be developed and printed, the Polaroid camera could develop and print its own film – instantly. The Polaroid camera had in other words the capability of making private photos that did not pass through the hands of others. As we shall see later in the article, Polaroid had the affordance of being non-panoptical.

The sociological and cultural significance of the snapshot has many aspects. One of the most important is that it can record and archive daily lives, and special occasions and celebrations. A snap-

shot is for private consumption. An average of 126 photos was taken in each American household in 1981 (Chalfen, 1987, p. 14). In Richard Chalfen's *Snapshot Versions of Life*, the iconography of snapshots has been surveyed. It is notable that based on the results of this survey Chalfen structures his book on the lived history of individuals where the content of a person's or a family group's snapshots documents and preserves their life history and its phases: "Beginnings", "From Infancy to Toddlerhood", "Childhood and Adolescence", "Early Adulthood", "Married Life", "Parenthood", "The Later Years", and "Images of Life's End" (Chalfen, 1987, pp. 74-93). Snapshots belong to rites of passage: baptisms, first days at school, confirmations, weddings, sport, college graduations, and seasonal celebrations, sometimes funerals. Tourist photography is also tied to snapshots. A camera became an icon of a tourist, and tourist travels were prime markets. Eastman verbalized this function of his camera: "Travellers and Tourists use it to obtain a picturesque diary of their travels" (Chalfen, 1987, p. 101). These private occasions are similar to the corresponding public occasions, which have been termed media events by Dayan and Katz: Contest, conquest and coronation (Dayan & Katz, 1992, pp. 30-33). The exhibition of snapshots is private, however. They may be stored in a cardboard box, in a family album, which may become a family heirloom, or snapshots may be framed and hung on walls, and they may be printed on Christmas cards and sent to friends and relatives.

One of the chief functions of snapshots is memory (Milgram, 1976, p. 7). Eastman's view of travel snapshots as a diary is just one instance of this function as preserved visual memory, and on a larger scale, a family album is a personal pictorial history. This pictorial historiography is often supplemented with anchorage captions that may state when and where the photo was taken, and it may identify the persons in the photo by name. This may be for the benefit of an audience that is a generation apart from the production of the photo. Chalfen repeatedly stresses the memory functions of snapshots (Chalfen, 1987, p. 137). The selection of photographs structures the memory of personal lives, and snapshots construe history and reality. This construction of personal history is characterized by exclusion. Only few, if at all any snapshots depict the workplace and colleagues. It is a history of life as leisure.

We now consider what characteristics snapshots may share with Snapchat. The question arises whether Snapchat can be considered a photographic technology or social media. The fact that Snaps are digital whereas snapshots were analogue may point to an answer, which will follow later in the article. The digital nature of Snap images allows them to be embedded in social media and in the kind of communication model of social media. Temporality is an aspect of both snapshots and Snaps, but with a decisive difference. The brief lifespan of a Snap and its ephemeral nature contrast with the function of snapshots as aide de memoire. Where snapshots in a family album may be accessible for generations, Snaps are accessible for a maximum of ten seconds. As such, snapshots may be characterized as inscription media, characterized by inscription on a surface and by storage, and Snaps as transmission media (Kahn, 2013, pp. 19-20), as Snapchat is a conversational media, characterized by sending and receiving messages that ideally cannot be stored.

The ephemeral nature of Snaps makes it methodologically impossible to archive and document their contents. As the Snaps cannot be examined, a solution is to ask the users, and the article employs a survey based on a questionnaire, performed by its co-authors at the University of Aalborg, Denmark in late 2014 as well as pre-existing, external statistics.

Does the iconography of Snaps resemble the iconography of snapshots as described above? The survey at Aalborg University had 146 respondents with an average age of 24.6 years. The respondents were asked what iconographic categories or subjects they preferred to *receive* in Snapchat. Among the categories, a category such as "Events" is comparable to the celebrations in family albums, whereas "Selfies", "What I'm doing right now", "Food and drink", "Funny or strange things" and "Other people" do not seem to be comparable to the photos in family albums. "Sexting" is obviously not similar to the content of a family album, but may perhaps be comparable to the specific use of Polaroid cameras (Chalfen, 1987, p. 45, pp. 87-88). However, apart from the small group of "Documents", all the Snapchat iconographic categories, like snapshots, belong to the sphere of leisure, and there is a notable prevalence for subjects that are tied to the moment. (Figure 1)

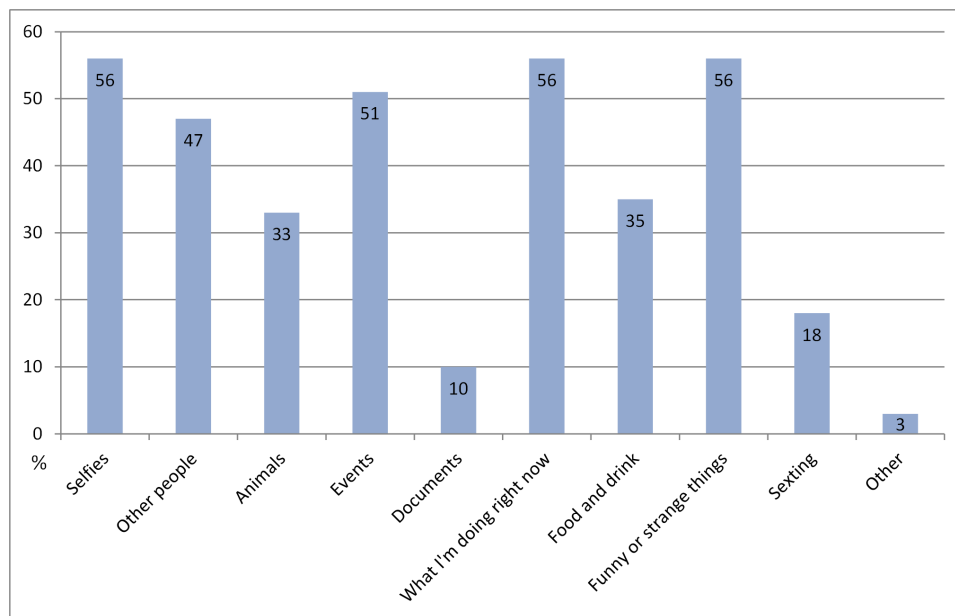


Figure 1: What kind of content do you prefer to receive in Snapchat?

Another survey asked about what types of content users *send* (Figure 2). This survey is also from 2014 with 127 adult respondents, who were Snapchat users (Roesner, Gill, & Kohno, 2014, p. 68).

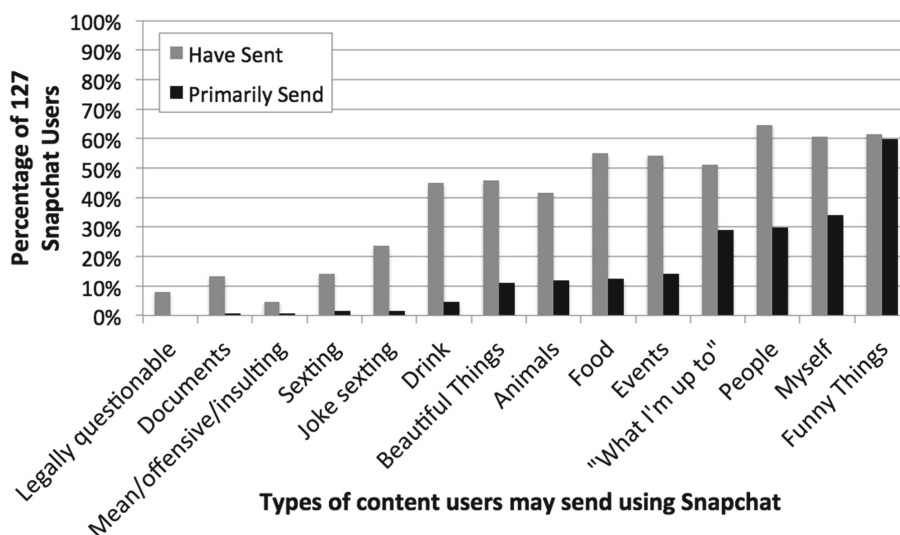


Figure 2

We see the same pattern that the Snaps are of the moment, and that the iconological function of memory of recording and archiving daily lives and celebrations is not a dominant trait with categories such as: Funny or quaint things and episodes, animals, and what I'm up to, or what I'm doing or eating and drinking right now. The ephemeral technological affordance of Snapchat may be said to be mirrored in the iconography of the Snaps.

The communication model of Snapchat can also be gathered from user statistics. The model is one to one, and one to few. Only 12 % of Snapchat messages are sent to multiple recipients (Albergotti, 2013).

From Panopticon to Synopticon

Michel Foucault's idea of the panopticon as a general societal disciplinary mechanism is sometimes described as a further development of the purely architectural carceral idea of Jeremy Bentham (McHoul & Grace, 1993/1997, p. 67). However, already Bentham expanded his disciplinary prison plans to society in his letters in 1787 (Bentham, 1787/1995). After having described his circular prison building and how its principles could be used in hospitals, manufactories, madhouses, hospitals and schools, Bentham finally suggests the panopticon as saturating society as a whole (Bentham, 1787/1995, Letter XXI). In brief, the plan of Bentham's prison building is that the building is circular with the cells in the circumference and a watchtower in the centre. The guards can always watch the inmates through the iron grating (Bentham 1787/1995, Letter II). Therefore, the prisoner has a feeling of always being observed, and this has a correctional effect, according to Bentham, because of "the apparent omnipresence of the inspector (if divines will allow me the expression,) combined with the extreme facility of his real presence" (Bentham, 1787/1995, Letter VI).

Bentham's idea of the few watching the many is the panopticon principle, In *Discipline and Punish - The Birth of the Prison* Michel Foucault develops Bentham's theory into a comprehensive societal system of power and subjection to power with a surveillance principle (Foucault, 1991/1975, pp. 202-203). It is important to note that this surveillance mode is double. The subject is both watching himself and feeling being watched. For our purpose in this article, this double internal role may be said to be an instrument not only of the power relations of society, but also of identity formation. A related

duality also connected to power and discipline is described again by Foucault in *The Will to Knowledge. The History of Sexuality*. In this work, Foucault describes Western society as confessional, and how sexuality has been regarded as something sinful to be hidden away and repressed, and yet at the same time something to be confessed and verbalized in e.g. the Catholic confession or psychoanalysis. Sexuality is both hidden and spoken aloud, so the will to knowledge about it was combined with pleasure, and with power (Foucault, 1976/1990, p. 45). In this context, the distribution of Snaps from personal and private life and the reception of them can be termed confessional.

The many watching the few, or the spectacle of the few was a historical, feudal display of power – “the demonstration of grandeur” (Habermas, 1962/2009, p. 10). According to Thomas Mathiesen, the many watching the few has its modern equivalent in the viewer society, or the synopticon. Mathiesen focusses on modern mass media and their history, and his point is that the modern mass media since the creation of the mass press between 1750 and 1830 (Mathiesen, 1997, p. 220, p. 215) and later film radio and television have resulted in a new viewer society that is different from the panopticon. Mathiesen recognizes that panoptical society coexists with Synoptical society, especially in the context of digital or computerized surveillance (p. 218), and he illustrates the double principle with a reference to the merger of panopticism and synopticism in George Orwell’s *1984*’s: “through a screen in your living room you saw Big Brother, just as Big Brother saw you” (p. 223). An appropriate contemporary comparison is any Laptop’s web camera placed just over its screen. Just as Mathiesen revisited Foucault in 1997, he himself was revisited in 2011 – “in the Age of Web 2.0” - by Aaron Doyle. (Doyle, 2011). Doyle’s visit is more of the nature of an updating than a critique. He points out, though, that the mass audience has become fragmented and that Mathiesen has neglected the possibilities of resistance even within a panoptical system (Doyle, 2011, p. 284). Doyle further argues that the spectacle as demonstration of political power persists, and that: “There are still some spectacular exercises of sovereign power that inflict physical pain in punishment rituals.” (p. 288), and he mentions the hanging of Saddam Hussein as an example. Since the publication of Doyle’s article, this tendency of using the new or social media such as YouTube as platforms for spec-

tacles of “ritualized public corporal punishment” has grown with e.g. videos of cruel beheadings of hostages. There is no doubt that the internet and the new social media must be taken into consideration when analysing the concept and practice of the synopticon. Doyle’s point that the mass audience has become fragmented must be carried further, and another communication model of some of the new media is decisive when defining the functions of them. We have here in the article the statistics about the users of Snapchat that only 12 % of Snapchat messages are sent to multiple recipients to take into consideration.

In *Globalization The Human Consequences* Zygmunt Bauman discusses and compares the two concepts of panopticon and synopticon in a chapter called “Is there life after Panopticon?” The answer given is that there is, but with a difference. Bauman claims that the database makes a superpanopticon possible, and the difference is that those under surveillance now are willing subjects (Bauman, 1998, p. 50). Based on Mathiesen, Bauman writes that the watched now have become the watchers in the synopticon, and they are seduced into watching. “The many watch the few. The few who are watched are the celebrities” and “In the Synopticon, the locals watch the globals”, the globals being celebrities from e.g. entertainment, sport or politics. In contrast, “In the Panopticon, some selected locals watched other locals” (p. 53).

Senf (2008, 2013, 2015) has argued that the mode of reception of social media is not gazing as with film in a cinema, and not glancing as with television in the home, but rather the more tactile “grabbing”. In the case of Snaps, one can point to the practice of taking screenshot on the phone by pressing two buttons simultaneously in order to save the image, and possibly re-distribute it. However, grabbing also takes place when commercial firms and state authorities harvest data (Senf & Baym, 2015, pp. 1598-1599), and in this way, the panopticon principle is at work. In the quote from Snapchat early in this article (Snapchat, 2014), users of Snapchat were warned not to post images that were not meant to be saved or shared. This warning may be well meant, but Snapchat cannot be regarded as a neutral corporation facilitating pure and direct peer-to-peer exchange of Snaps. The Snaps of the peers are logged by Snapchat and they are stored for a time in the company’s database. In the seemingly symmetrical communication between peers, the commercial company,

its policy and the affordances it offers must be taken into account as a power relation (Hansen & Højbjerg, 2013, pp. 8-9).

The statistics about Snapchat users' communication model suggest a new definition of the synopticon, or an addition to Mathiesen's definition of the many watching the few. It is suggested now in this article that the synopticon is also the few watching the few, and the few being willingly watched by the few. Alternatively, to use Bauman's term about the Panopticon principle here transferred to the synopticon, the locals watching the locals. Concentrating solely on Snapchat, this is not so surprising with Snapchat's roots in the private snapshot. Other social media give a more nuanced picture as they combine communication models. On Twitter, for instance, a user may have very few followers, or in the case of celebrities millions, e.g. Katy Perry has more than 60 million followers (Twittercounter, 2015), and anybody, i.e., unregistered users, can read any tweet. The average number of friends per Facebook user is 130, not few and not many (Facebook Statistics, 2015). In all cases, we have a willing and voluntary panoptical surveillance mechanism, and the synopticon is more nuanced in its communication model than the many watching the few.

Identity Formation

Finally, in this article we consider the percentages from the questionnaires about the Snapchat iconographic categories "Selfies",

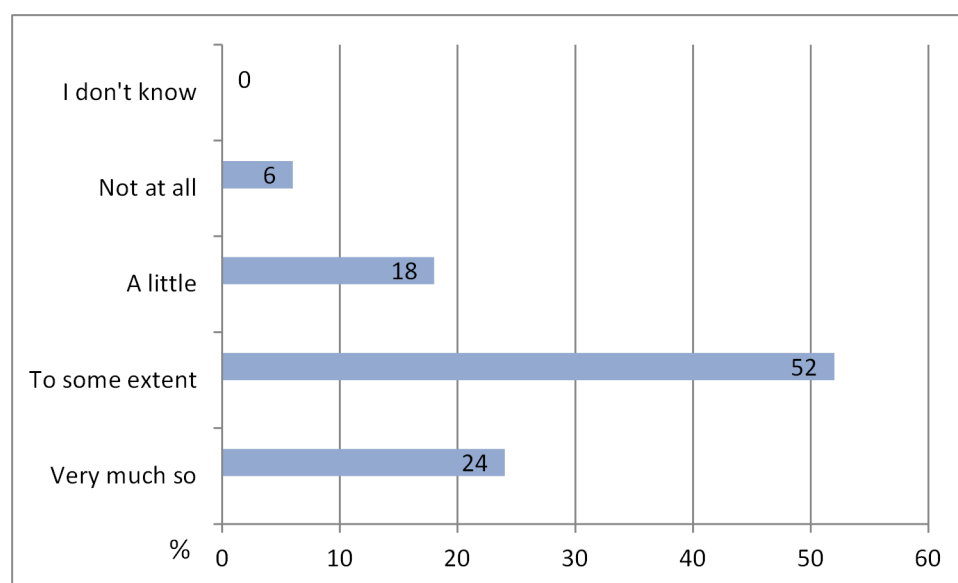


Figure 3: To what extent do you consider how you appear in the Snaps you send?

“What I’m doing right now”, “Myself” and “What I’m up to”. These percentages will be combined with other answers from a questionnaire about the motivation for sending Snaps and about the hoped-for reception of the Snaps, and with research focused on selfies. The question is about to what extent users consider how they themselves appear in the Snaps they send (Figure 3, previous page).

And the corresponding question is to what extent the senders of Snaps consider how the receivers think they appear (Figure 4).

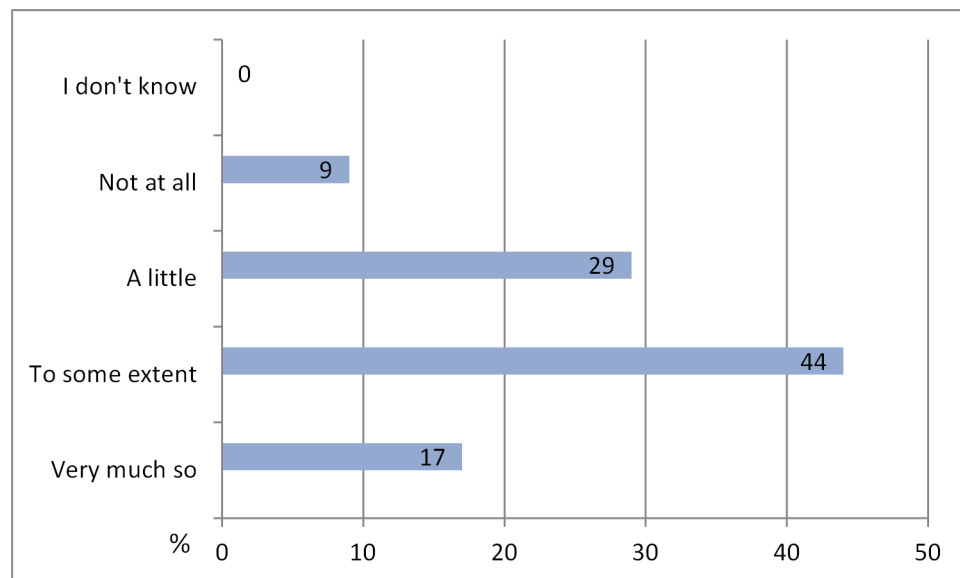


Figure 4: To what extent do you consider how the receivers of your Snaps think you appear in them?

In both the survey carried out for this article and in the pre-existing survey, the percentage of users who have sent Snaps with themselves as the subject is high. In the survey carried out for this article it is 56 %, and in the survey carried out by Roesner, Gill, & Kohno it is 62.5 %. In the article’s survey, only 24 % (Figure 3) of the respondents do not consider or consider only a little how they themselves appear in the Snaps they send, and only 9 % do not consider how the receivers think they appear (Figure 4). Based on these figures it is clear that the Snapchat subjects of oneself and one’s own and others’ perception of oneself are predominant in the use of Snapchat. Katz & Crocker (2015, pp. 1864-1865) have reached the same con-

clusion in their survey of selfies and Snapchat use, where more than half of their respondents agreed and strongly agreed with the statement: "It is important to make sure I look good in my selfies", and Katz & Crocker conclude that the visual communication of this kind is not as spontaneous and without deliberation despite the affordances of the technology. The reputation of the sender is a concern. The admonition to use common sense by the Snapchat Corporation in the quote at the start of this article seems to be taken seriously. The iconography of selfies is similarly nuanced as listed by Senf & Baym (2015, p. 1590) with such diverse motifs as illness-related selfies, museum selfies, soldier selfies, sports selfies etc. Katz & Crocker (2015, p. 1862) discuss the definition of a selfie, and conclude that it is "images not only taken by the person posting the image but that also include part or all of the person taking the photo", though also a suggestion of including extensions of the self, such as images of food and "images of such things as pets, homes, vehicles, and craft products" could be taken into consideration. It must here be noted that this discussion is solely about selfies, and not about Snapchat, where our research indicates a wider iconography (See figure 1). As a contrast, Chalfen concludes about the snapshot: "The most common snapshot found in albums and photograph collections (studied for this report) focuses on the theme of relationships" (Chalfen, 1987, p. 77). In her work with the family photo album Mette Sandbye builds upon Chalfen's (and others') work, and she claims that the "albums are social and emotional communication" that "can tell us about affective bonds in families" (Sandbye, 2014, p. 5). Sandbye regards the photo album as relational, communicative, and performative objects.

Bearing the above discussion in mind, this difference between Snapchat and selfies on the one hand and snapshots, e.g. in family albums, on the other may be removed if iconography is fused with the mode of distribution, and relationships and performance move into the centre of both. The iconography of snapshots is relationships, and the communication mode of Snapchat is based on relationship as the use of Snapchat may be defined as a visual and verbal communication and conversation between peers. Katz & Crocker (2015, p. 1867) describes how what they call "Snapchat conversations" is a widespread communication mode where 29 % of their student respondents answered a Snap, "within 10 minutes,"

and the ping-pong exchange of Snaps took the form of visual conversation. The digital affordances of Snapchat as social media can be seen in this way as an expansion of the performative, relational character of the purely photographic medium of the snapshot.

Conclusion: The Ephemeral Iconography of the Self

To answer the research questions about what has caused the success of Snapchat, and whether the ephemeral affordance of Snapchat can be characterized as a product of the panopticon or of the synopticon, the article has faced the problem that the technological nature of the Snaps makes them unavailable for analysis. They disappear. Instead, paratexts tied to Snapchat have been produced, found and quantitatively analysed before they have been combined with insights from cultural theories and social media research. These paratexts in the form of answers to questionnaires both found elsewhere and specifically produced for the article have then become the empirical data to be examined. Initially, however, the predecessor for Snapchat, snapshots of leisure and of family life, have been described and compared to Snaps. An important conclusion to be made from this comparison is that snapshots have the function of memory and celebrate the value of relationships, whereas Snaps have the function of being ephemeral and celebrate the individual self. This conclusion leads on to another when it is combined with the article's investigation of the communication model of Snapchat. Based on statistical figures, not only of Snapchat but also of other social media, this model has to be the few watching the few, or the locals watching the locals, and here there is a notable historical connection to Snapchat's roots in the private snapshot, which has the same communication model. It is also a notable insight that the focus on relationships in the iconography of snapshots is comparable to the communication mode of Snapchat where visual conversation strengthens relationships and bonding despite the selfie-character of the many Snaps. It is a further conclusion in this article that the communication model of the few watching the few has made it necessary to reformulate and expand the theory about the synopticon as it was originally proposed by Mathiesen, and modified by Doyle. The synopticon is also the few watching the few, and not just the many watching the few. However, Snapchat is not private in the same sense as a family album full of snapshots is, and it is here that

the cultural theory about the panopticon comes into play. The disciplining, power-related mechanism of the panopticon is also relevant when analysing Snapchat. Snapchat can be characterized as a panoptical power mechanism through which the few are willingly watched by the few, and this surveillance is disciplining, as we have seen from the statistics that it is important for the senders of Snaps how they themselves appear. Already Bentham and later Foucault saw it as a quality of the panopticon that it was internalized. We can conclude from our questionnaires that this applies to Snapchat, too. The users of Snapchat are concerned just as much or more with how they appear to themselves, than how they appear to the receivers of the Snaps. A further motivation for the use of Snapchat was placed in its confessional nature with the will to confess about personal life and secretive private aspects of it, and then at the same time the duality of the lust tied to evading the power of the panoptical, or rather in the case of Snapchat the synoptical, disciplinary power. Now we can finally answer the research question that this literally short-lived and disappearing confession with its iconography of the self is the explanation of the success that the ephemeral affordance has given to Snapchat, but this societal function is also facilitated by the social, relational and conversational function of Snapchat.

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When does leisure become work?

An exploration of *Foldit*

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Abstract

This article explores the tensions between game play and contributing to science within *Foldit* (<http://fold.it/portal/>), an online puzzle game and participatory science project in which participants fold proteins in novel ways. No prior scientific knowledge is required in order to play, but solutions developed by players have led to important scientific discoveries. Based on analysis of online exchanges and interviews with a number of players, we examine the tensions between the experience and pleasure of playing a game and the desire to work and contribute to scientific activity. We examine our players' experiences in terms of Stebbins' (1982, 2007) notion of *serious leisure*.

Keywords science, Internet, gamification, participation, crowd-sourcing

Introduction

It has become clear in the 21st century that leisure is an integral part of how we express ourselves and compose our identities. It is also, from a performative perspective, an activity that we spend time

on and derive pleasure from. The Web has given rise to many new forms of leisure activity, from watching television or video clips, to creating and posting content, to participating in discussions, to playing games online. This article examines one example of a Web-based activity that integrates both leisure and productive elements. *Foldit* is an online 3D puzzle game in which players fold proteins and identify optimal protein structures. Developed by a team of scientists and computer programmers, *Foldit* is thus a participatory science project that invites the contribution of non-scientists. It employs elements of gamification to motivate players to participate and encourage engagement.

We start with the premise that, for many players, *Foldit* is a serious leisure activity. Stebbins (1992, p. 3) defines serious leisure as “the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer activity that is sufficiently substantial and interesting for the participant to find a career there in the acquisition and expression of its special skills and knowledge.” He identifies such activities as unpaid but recurrent and regular. What is more, they require perseverance, and result in experiences, abilities and ultimately self-fulfillment that are significant for participants (Stebbins, 1982, 2007) The word “serious” stems from the descriptions made by amateurs, hobbyists and volunteers themselves, highlighting the importance of these activities in their lives.

We will illustrate how *Foldit*’s success as a scientific project hinges on players’ commitment and serious participation. The players themselves find fulfillment in both the experience and pleasure of playing a game and in working and contributing to scientific activity. We analyze a situation in which the balance between the two is upset and tensions arise, leading some players to reposition themselves with relation to the game, their experience of it and their role as workers of science.

Participatory science on the Internet

Although the participation of non-scientists in producing scientific knowledge is not a new phenomenon (Charvolin et al. 2007; Miller-Rushing, Primack and Bonney 2012), the development of information technologies and the ubiquity of digital tools and media make the involvement of amateurs and the general public in scientific research a viable research strategy for some problems. Digital

technologies are playing a pivotal role in the emergence of a structured amateur practice by providing opportunities and spaces for large-scale participation (Lievrouw 2010). This multiplication of arenas for knowledge sharing and aggregation can transform amateurs and the general public into the “invisible workers” of science (Barley and Bechky 1994).

The last decade has seen an explosion of online participatory science projects, as teams of scientists explore the advantages (in terms of reduced time and cost) of large scale and free contributions of participants from across the globe to their research (Nielsen, 2012), and enthusiastic volunteers can engage more easily in projects that match their interests. The vast majority of projects that invite participation rely on large numbers of contributors to provide small contributions that are more or less independent, allowing them to be treated separately and then integrated into a coherent whole, with a variety of mechanisms to ensure the quality of results (Kelling et al 2011; Wiggins et al 2011). In this scientific equivalent of crowdsourcing, amateurs work actively to gather and contribute data (usually observations) or to code or classify existing data (often specimens), across a variety of disciplines from astronomy (Cho and Clery 2009; Nov, Arazy and Anderson 2011), to botany (Heaton et al. 2011), ornithology (Charvolin 2004; Wiggins et al 2011), or biomedical science (Kelty and Panofsky 2014). In some fields, data processing projects leverage basic human perceptual capacities and problem-solving skills. For example, *Galaxy Zoo* asks participants to reduce data by looking at images of galaxies (Cho and Clery 2009), *Click to cure* invites participants to identify forms and colors and to calculate proportions within the images of tumours posted on its Website, while *Eyewire* and *Foldit* ask players to solve 3D puzzles (Cooper 2011; Kawrykow et al. 2012).

Non-scientists are seldom involved in the definition of research questions or the interpretation of results (Lievrouw 2010; Nielsen 2012). Although their contributions are generally restricted and channelled by projects defined and managed by researchers, their work may lead to the actual production of scientific knowledge in the form of *discoveries* (ex. new galaxies), *techniques*, (ex. algorithms for protein folding), or *research directions* (ex. new questions about the impact of climate change on species distribution).

Bos and his colleagues (2007) contend that a major issue for on-line collaboration between distributed scientists and volunteers is the need to motivate contributors while ensuring the credibility and scientific validity of the data. Previous studies of participants in online science projects suggest primarily relational motivations: a desire to work cooperatively, to share skills and knowledge, as well as to belong to a community (Raddick et al, 2010). Enjoyment and identification with the project goals are also prime motivations (Nov, Arazy and Anderson, 2011; Raddick et al, 2010). Many participatory science projects also incorporate mechanisms for recognizing their most active or productive participants, and often provide lists of publications produced by the project, some of which include unpaid contributors as co-authors (Lievrouw, 2010). In this context, Nov, Arazy and Anderson (2014) stress the importance of the time and skill invested by participants for the project's longevity, as well as the volume and value of their contributions. The increasing use of elements of gamification is an indication of project designers' interest in establishing pleasant environments that will encourage the massive, long-lasting contribution of non-professionals (Kawrykow et al. 2012; Wiggins and Crowston 2015). What is more, game-like environments for participatory science projects are fast becoming an object of research (Good and Su 2011; Schrope 2013; Bohannon 2014).

Gamification is the term used to refer to the use of elements of game design in non-game contexts, such as in educational software, military simulations, and so on (Deterding et al. 2011; Groh 2012). The principal indicators of gamification are clearly identified goals, recognition of achievement using badges, elements of competition, team collaboration, progression through different levels, and the possibility of earning and accumulating points (Zichermann and Linder 2013; Paharia 2013). In an entrepreneurial context, Parharia (2013) stresses that gamification is not game creation, but the use of elements of game context as a motivational strategy. The instrumentalization of elements associated with play activity is also present in participatory science. In fact, in addition to interest for the scientific domain, the presence of gamification elements appears to be an important component of participants' motivation and involvement in participatory science (Prestopnik and Crowston 2011). Nicholson

(2012) warns of the dangers associated with replacing intrinsic motivations with extrinsic (game-related) ones.

***Foldit* and the New Chapter**

Developed in 2008 at the University of Washington (Seattle, USA), *Foldit* invites non-scientists to participate in identifying protein structures using an online game composed of three-dimensional puzzles (Cooper, Khatib et al. 2010; Khatib, Cooper et al. 2011). Proteins are key components of all biological activity, and the function of a protein is strongly related to the way it is folded and its structure. Consequently, a better understanding of protein structure is an urgent scientific task that opens the way to designing proteins that could be mobilized in the fight against disease, such as Ebola (Puzzle 1000). However, this task is a complex one, given the multiple ways in which proteins fold. Bioinformatics scientists have been using computer modeling to try to predict protein shapes, based on the idea that a protein will eventually fold into its lowest energy shape and stabilize. Enormous effort has been invested in developing algorithms to restrict the number of configurations that must be examined, but computers are still unable to reliably predict protein shapes.

Foldit was developed as a way to harness humans' innate perceptual abilities and the innate workforce of a mass of persistent gamers. In fact, human beings are often better than computers at pattern matching and 3D problem solving. The underlying idea is to analyse players' solutions and use this information to inform algorithm design that will eventually automate the process.

In order to play, participants must install a client (software) on their computers that will enable communication with a central server as well as with other players. Different puzzles are posted, usually for a week at a time. Each puzzle is a three dimensional protein that players will try to stabilize using tools provided by the platform to move, rotate, bend and shake the images of the protein. As with many online games, *Foldit* has puzzles of different difficulty levels, and other elements of gamification, such as lists of top scoring players, overall and per puzzle, and a congratulations notice when a puzzle is successfully solved. Players can stop playing, save their progress and later return to the same puzzle. They may play the game individually, or in teams.

The *Foldit* website also includes spaces for exchange and discussion between the scientific team and players. The home page and the *Blog* present posts by the *Foldit* team, with possibilities for comments, while players can initiate discussions in the *Feedback* and *Forum* sections respectively. There is also a *Wiki* containing information on proteins and the science behind *Foldit*, game tutorials and recipes advice (scripts and scripting tutorials on how to automate some parts of solutions).

Once a puzzle is closed, solutions, and the strategies of players to derive them, are analysed using the Rosetta molecular modeling suite. The lower the energy of the shape, the higher the number of points, so that high scoring solutions are potentially the real shape of the protein. Probable solutions are further tested using X-ray diffraction, or sent to *Critical Assessment of Techniques for Protein Structure Prediction (CASP)*, an international bioinformatics competition that has been held every two years since 1994. Although they may not have biochemical training, *Foldit* players perform very well at CASP challenges, finishing at or near the top in every competition, since much knowledge is encapsulated in the game's algorithms. Nielsen (2012, 148) suggests that remaining disparities in expertise are counterbalanced by *Foldit* players' greater time commitment.

Foldit is thus both a competitive game and a computer science experiment, a hybrid object. The team continually strives to improve *Rosetta* by recording and analysing players' puzzle-solving activity (Cooper 2011). While *Foldit* has proven an effective research method (Marshall 2012; Armstrong Moore 2011), it is constantly evolving. In this context, in January 2014 the *Foldit* team released an update that they called the New Chapter. The implementation of the New Chapter was accompanied by a flurry of exchanges between players and with the development team. This update produced important changes in the way points were calculated, and in the internal calculations of certain tools, which affected primarily the recipes scripted by players. What is more, solving puzzles now required much more computing power, which slowed gameplay and reduced pleasure for some players. In short, the implementation of the New Chapter prompted a situation in which the balance between the scientific goals and the ludic aspect of *Foldit* was, at least temporarily, destabilized. It thus provides an excellent case from which to explore the tension between leisure and work in the context of citizen science.

Methodology

This research takes a qualitative approach inspired by the principles of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967; Paillé 1994), and is based on observation, interviews and analysis of exchanges on the *Foldit* platform. Specifically, directed observation was conducted from January to March 2014. We also conducted eight semi-directive interviews by *Skype* (n=4), email (n=2) and face to face (n=2). Since the general goal of the research was to analyse relationships between players and the scientific team of *Foldit*, we first prepared a list of players the most active in online discussions. Potential participants were contacted individually through the site using its internal messaging system. The interviews covered participants' interest for *Foldit*, their motivations, ways of participating, relationships with *Foldit* staff, and their reactions to the New Chapter. Given the small number of interviews¹ and the exploratory nature of the research, we have no pretensions of representativity. What is more, our selection criteria – active participation – certainly goes some way to explains the extent of participants' engagement with *Foldit*. Our participants were not occasional players. Their cultural background, professional experience, age, education, and so on, were however, extremely varied.

We also analysed exchanges in several spaces on the *Foldit* platform: *Portal*, *Blog*, *Feedback*, *Forum* and *Chat* sections. In order to provide focus, we limited our analysis to posts concerning the New Chapter in a three-month period from January to March 2014. In total, we analysed 234 comments/items. Unlike the interviews, these exchanges focused on the New Chapter and reflect concerns on the part of both players and the project team for the balance between play and scientific aspects of *Foldit*, as we will discuss in the analysis.

Our analytic method consisted of identifying themes that emerged from the data, continually going back and forth between our research question and our corpus. Morse (1994) describes this oscillation between the conceptual and the concrete in terms of four decisive cognitive moments: understanding, reducing, abstracting and recontextualizing. In our analysis here, we limit our discussion to tensions that emerged from the coupling of play/science.

Analysis

In this analysis, we first discuss *Foldit* players' sense of identity and their motivations in relation to *Foldit*. We then discuss tensions between contributing to science and the experience of playing a game, as highlighted by the New Chapter. These tensions show up in terms of time invested, and competencies developed and used during play. We draw on Stebbins (1982, 2007) notion of serious leisure to explain *Foldit* players' reactions to the New Chapter. We conclude our analysis by discussing the emergence of a new tension, between work and leisure.

Player and contributor: a dual identity

As noted above, the players we interviewed are strongly engaged in and committed to *Foldit*. For them, *Foldit* is clearly a serious enterprise (Stebbins 2007, 2012). Their unpaid, regular participation requires perseverance and is associated with "personal commitment to practice and learning, openness to possibilities and freedom from personal financial interest" (Edwards 2014, p. 387), experience and abilities and which is significant in terms of personal growth and experience (Stebbins 1982, 2007).

Players recognize *Foldit* as a hybrid object – part game, part scientific project. In particular contributing to science is an important motivation, Michelle² explains: "we might really discover something. It can help advance science, it could prevent people dying ... so it's important" (Michelle, lines 302-307). Furthermore, *Foldit* allows them to contribute without having a scientific background, as Yves notes: "I'm glad to know that we can contribute to science [...] without being a scientist, I can become involved in research" (lines 391-394). Firas Khatib, a member of the *Foldit* team confirms that "most of our best players don't have a scientific background. We ask them 'how much chemistry experience do you have?' and they answer 'I haven't studied chemistry since high school' ... Not just a few, but three quarters of our best players have told us that" (lines 143-146). Both altruism, and self-benefit, two motivations identified as significant by Stebbins (2001), are thus present among most, if not all of our participants.

Committed players voluntarily invest considerable time and resources. Some run *Foldit* puzzles 24 hours a day on their computers. For example, Yves uses two computers that have run continuously

for the past two years. In addition, “evenings, I work by hand [that is without recipes] and I prepare my protein and then I mix the recipes” (Yves, lines 327-330). They often refer to their activity as work. The sense of work in these references is of productive activity, undertaken systematically and regularly. Michelle used to play one puzzle at a time using one recipe “not like in a factory”, but as she gained experience, she found this artisanal method unsatisfactory. Now she launches a combination of recipes, goes to her paid job and checks the progress and tweaks her commands when she comes home. She thinks that, like her, most players “play every day, several hours a day” (Michelle, lines 251-268). This is in line with Stebbins’ observation that preprofessional amateurs follow a path paved with “necessity, seriousness, commitment, and agreeable obligation, as expressed by regimentation (e.g., rehearsals and practice) and systematization (e.g., schedules and organization)” (2012, p. 35) that distinguishes it from playful activity.

Michelle’s comment also points to the development of a sense of competence and skill in executing the activity. In fact, players often develop, and subsequently use, considerable understanding and skills in both computer programming and in biochemistry. For some, this sense of accomplishment or of learning something new is a source of motivation. “It’s an intellectual challenge [...] the pleasure that you feel when you arrive at a good solution after having devoted 50 hours to a puzzle is proportionate to the effort invested” (Bob, lines 104-118). Many veterans and skilled players have learned to program in order to write recipes that advance game play. Exchanges around biochemistry tend to be of a didactic type, with staff coaching or instructing players.

They’re a bit like our teachers – it’s not horizontal – we’re not on an equal footing, they are our guides and they give us directions [...] they explain to us from time to time the usefulness of something, but without going into much detail... and we have a relatively simple activity to do, so that’s the fun part... eh... so it’s a bit like... they are our generals. (Brian, lines 602-610).

But *Foldit* is also a game, and the pleasure of playing is also an important driver. As the gamification literature suggests, players en-

joy the challenge, earning points and solving puzzles. Many also appreciate the competitive aspect of the game, either individually or when they play in teams. “The competitive feeling is a great part of folding; groups and players always trying to ‘one-up’ one another, even within the same team.” (Paul, lines 285-287).

Most players identify as both *Foldit* game players, and as contributors to science³. The precise balance between ludic and scientific motivations varies among players, and this balance may evolve over time, as the experience of the New Chapter illustrates.

auntdeen: We all want the game to be as productive as possible - we all have as motivation the desire to contribute to science - but in the end, if we can't derive some pleasure from it, if it isn't a game with enjoyable elements, then we cease to be “players” in one respect or the other.

Mike Cassidy: Sorry, I play Foldit for the science, the science is not something on the side. The only reason I joined years ago was to help do science.
(One's player's perspective, Feedback, February 11, 2014).

The Experience of *Foldit*

The New Chapter update changed rhythm of game play – it slowed it down and made it harder to run multiple puzzles (clients). Spmm states the problem:

Several people in veteran chat have just been kind enough to specify the number of clients they used to be able to run and the change they have experienced with NC. [...]In most cases the change is a big reduction, from 7 to 3, 4 to 1 and so on. This makes it very difficult for players on lower spec machines to experiment and play. Even folders on better spec devices have experienced overheating and higher resource consumption so are reducing the number of clients they can run. (Number of clients able to be run on NC, Feedback, March 10, 2014).

These changes generated numerous complaints and even threats to quit the game. Many players took it upon themselves to identify the

problems with precision and help fix them by testing or debugging. Players' well-developed programming skills enabled highly structured exchanges during the New Chapter update. Furthermore, the players showed that they were able to carry out systematic tests, to interpret results and to propose solutions. Exchanges around technical issues, such as changes to the « wiggle » tool that helps refine the protein's structure, were characterized by cooperation in problem solving, as the following exchange illustrates:

[6:16pm] TimovdL: And the new wiggle is too slow to do a good repair job in a decent amount of time.

[...]

[6:18pm] BletchleyParkirc: Sounds like the solution would be to speed up wiggle? and possibly the new scoring function's speed

[6:18pm] TimovdL: Or get a very rude faster version of wiggle, like it was about 6 months ago

[...]

[6:19pm] SethCooperIRC: Do you mean it takes too long to stop running, or takes too long to get to a decent score? By stop running, I mean stop getting points

[6:20pm] BletchleyParkirc: Apparently both.

[6:20pm] TimovdL: It takes too long both ways, even the new version takes about half an hour to do one minicycle of my DRW on ED on a decent computer

(NewChapter - Seth's chat in vet room (second chat), Forum, January 16, 2014)

In another example, one player posted a page of detailed performance measurement results, describing his method and parameters used, followed by his conclusions: "a major change in wiggle behaviour, it is now time sliced, not depending on when the algorithm says it is enough. This is a major game change" and a proposal to replicate the experiment on a faster computer and with other types of puzzles. ([New Chapter] performance (speed) issues, Feedback January 12, 2014).

When the problems continued, the veterans asked for the New Chapter to be withdrawn, at least temporarily:

auntdeen : We all understand how important accuracy is in our game client, and applaud dev efforts to bring us a better client. Right now, though, NC is simply not ready for prime time. [...] whisky : I am third'ing this motion. Too many bugs in current NC client. It needs more work. [...] gitwut : Even if everything else worked perfectly, I would still be unhappy with NC due to the constant client deaths. Whether it be death by wiggle power (particularly high) or death during scripts, there are far, far too many of them. [...]

Susume : I agree that there was not enough time to test newchapter, and for fixes to be put in and tested in turn. When fixing a tool causes it to malfunction even worse, that suggests that the new client is really not ready for production. [...]

(A Request to Roll Back the NC Client, Feedback, February 4, 2014)

In response, the *Foldit* team insisted on the accuracy of the new scoring function and its incidence for science. "Turns out these changes are so critical that asking you to work on our upcoming set of shiny new science puzzles without newchapter would yield scientifically inferior results and be a gross mishandling of your valuable time and effort" (bkoep, quoted in Katfish talks newchapter ! Portal, January 16, 2014).

For numerous players, however, accuracy was seen in opposition to playability. Although the New Chapter changed the usefulness of their recipes, players did not complain much of the waste of time and work they had invested, or that they would need to invest to rework their recipes. In fact, they invested massive amounts of effort in an attempt to describe and fix the problems with New Chapter, and were prepared to write new recipes that would function in the new context. This suggests that it was the subjective experience of game play that was affected. Stebbins (2007) suggests that flow can be a key motivational factor in serious leisure activities. Flow is a sensation of optimal experience that may arise when a rewarding activity (work or leisure) is enacted or performed. According to Csikszentmihalyi (1990, 3-5), the flow experience has eight components: a sense of competence in executing the activity, a sense of

control in completing the activity (in the face of uncontrollable external forces), requirement of concentration, clarity of goals, immediate feedback, sense of deep focus, loss of self-consciousness and truncated sense of time during the activity. Players we interviewed talked about most, if not all, of these components. For example, Bob refers to how he feels in “in synch” with the protein: “Sometimes you arrive at a design that may be asymmetric or bizarre, but you see at once that there’s something that attracts you and you know that it works. It’s like you recognize its beauty without really knowing how” (lines 120-126). The New Chapter did not affect the game’s goals or feedback, but it was a major disruption to players’ sense of competence, and especially to their sense of mastery in manoeuvring proteins.

In this context of diminished playability, a number of players began to reflect on their experience in terms of another tension, between play and work. Auntdeen, who wrote that “We play the game to contribute to science - and the community - and for fun” (NewChapter - Seth’s chat in vet room, Forum January 14, 2014), complained that the new chapter is “very tedious and boring, making the experience feel more like work than play” (Feedback, February 11, 2014), while MurloW quipped: “All work and no play makes MurloW care less about sciencey goals every day” (Feedback, February 22, 2014).

Bruno: I must admit that the distance between work (science) and game is sometimes small. In business (and science), we have competition, rewards of the employees (or the researchers), medals etc. Games are said to be useful for children, animals and even adults (it develops or maintain brain etc.). Like dreams. Games are good to develop or maintain creativity, a useful ingredient for work (and research of course). [...] Foldit does the same on a more sophisticated way. Is this a work? Is this a game? Is my work a game or a work? Do I loose [sic] my time on work or on game? Who knows? But both are pleasant times (One player’s perspective, Feedback, February 11, 2014).

Players had long been aware of their role in producing scientific knowledge, not only through their solutions, but also through the

translation of their manipulations and strategies into algorithms. The New Chapter's increased precision and the constraints that this imposed on their "fun," caused them to experience the game in productive terms. They started to see themselves as producers of data, and *Foldit* as an obligation rather than as a leisure activity. Many began to question their commitment. The passion that made players such as Yves willingly forego vacation time for two years so as not to miss playing *Foldit* was replaced for many by a sensation of being an "invisible worker" of science (Barley and Bechky 1994). Whereas Barley and Bechky used this expression to refer to laboratory technicians, it seems to us that it applies equally well to *Foldit* players where the site is the lab and the puzzles the equipment through which scientific results are produced.

Godbout (1986) has observed that, as leisure becomes more professionalized and oriented towards performance, it also becomes more like work. Our participants started to feel pressure to deliver results as they had in the past. *Foldit* players employed a variety of behavioural and cognitive strategies primarily aimed at adapting to, rather than removing, these new constraints. Most accepted an ongoing need to negotiate constraints as an unavoidable consequence of their continued participation. This is in line with the findings of Kennelly, Moyle and Lamont (2013), and supports Stebbins' (1992) profit hypothesis for ongoing participation. A few left the game, at least temporarily.

Conclusion

In this article, we have approached *Foldit* using the players' perspective and focusing on their experiences and identities. A discussion of the third aspect of leisure proposed for this issue, the socio-economic context, would require a more structural approach. In productive terms, there are major issues involved with a *Foldit*-type approach to doing science. Proteins that can help treat illness are big business for pharmaceutical companies, and for scientific reputations. Such a critical analysis could be grounded in the burgeoning literature on digital labor (see Scholz 2012), and would stress that, beyond its attractiveness as a leisure activity, *Foldit* harnesses the voluntarily provided labour of game players, and its structure organizes this activity to enable treatment by mathematical models and computing power in the emerging trend of data-driven science.

In the context of leisure studies, further research could explore the different strategies *Foldit* players employed in negotiating the constraints imposed by the NewChapter update. A more longitudinal study could provide insight into specific strategies, the ebb and flow of participation, as well as the relationship between motivation to negotiate constraints and individuals' belief in their performance capabilities and competencies.

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Notes

- 1 We had initially planned to recruit at least 15 participants, with varying profiles. However, the interview period coincided with a CASP event, which radically reduced the availability of committed players. In fact, a number of participants who had initially agreed to speak with us withdrew citing lack of time due to their involvement in CASP.
- 2 Names of players interviewed have been changed to protect anonymity, but the names of people taking part in online exchanges have been retained since the context is public. Some interviews were conducted in French or Spanish, and some quotes have been translated.
- 3 A third component of players' identities, not explored here, is their sense of belonging to the Foldit community. This is evidenced by the variety of active discussion spaces on the platform, resources such as Wikis and recipes made available to others, as well as by references to the community in players' discourse. Players who play in teams may also identify strongly with their Foldit team.

Critical Vidders

Fandom, Critical Theory and Media

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is M.A. in musicology. His research focuses on fan studies, gender and masculinities, and music use in visual media. Most recently he has presented on the portrayal of the superhero Iron Man's masculinity in fan videos, and on the retro-futurism and nostalgia in the soundtrack to Guardians of the Galaxy.

Abstract

This article will introduce and take a look at a specific subset of the fan created remix videos known as vids, namely those that deal with feminist based critique of media. Through examples, it will show how fans construct and present their critique, and finally broach the topic of the critical vid as a possible spreadable call for better media products.

Keywords #fandom; #vids; #fan studies; #feminism

Introduction

The fanworks known as vids are short remix videos made by fans. They distinguish themselves from other types of commercial and non-commercial music and remix videos by being made, like all fanworks, as a leisure activity, not for any financial gain, but rather as part of the sharing and gift economy of fandom (Chin, 2014). Stylistically, they are distinct; though as with all genres, the lines are blurry at best. However, surest criteria remains the fannish intent of the creator, if any such can be ascertained. Vids are characterised by an editing style that follows the music track in several possible

ways; editing to match the beat / rhythm or instrumental embellishments, as well as editing to speak with and against the lyrics. Like other fanworks, vids have a longer history than many would presume, reaching back to slide shows and VHS-editing (Coppa, 2008). Vids come in many forms or sub-genres, from celebrating a canon / source or character, over creative story telling, to meta critique, and it is this sub-genre, which I refer to as 'critical vids', I will focus on in the present.

In recent years, fan studies have moved from a focus mainly on the ethnographic study of fan cultures to a wider examination of fanworks as texts (Busse, 2009), and this article is positioned within this latter form of fan studies.

Introducing Critical Fandom

Western media fandom (Jenkins 1992), is the culture of fans dedicated to the products of the Western media landscape in all its diverse expressions. While fandom is no new phenomenon, it has become more and more visible with the rise and spread of the internet and social media, especially gaining visibility with recent developments in social communication, that has turned a one-way stream of information from creators of media content to the consumers into a two-way street. Having a fandom dedicated to one's creations guarantees that there will be people talking about them, generating hype (and possible viral tie-ins), and it gives a basic set of loyal consumers - loyal to a point, and not to a fault. Fans are not only the most passionate consumers of a / several media text / s, they are also the staunchest critics.

That fans are passionate is probably no surprise; fans' affective engagement with their fandoms has long been their defining characteristic in both popular and academic writing outside the small, still emergent, field of fan studies. The adoring audience or the zombiesque consumer is the popular public image of fans, and was the dominant fan image in academia for a long time as well. (Lewis (ed.) "The Adoring Audience" from 1992, is an example of where to find this view of fans.) That fans are passionate critics as well may come as a surprise, but criticism is an inherent part of fandom, not just in the form of reviews etc., but also in serious meta-textual critique informed by critical theory and feminist thinking in particular. This was already noted by Henry Jenkins (Jenkins, 1992, pp.

86-119), but has been a point of much work within fan studies since. That fandom is a female-dominated space with a large queer representation (centrumlumina, 2014) is probably part of how this culture of critique has grown, and by now it is a self-sustaining and -promoting phenomenon that does not seem likely to stop or diminish. Fan driven social justice is one of the more visible faces of fandom, along with the growing mainstream awareness of fanfiction and other transformative fan creations.

Fans and scholars alike speak of a rough division of fans into affirmative and transformative fans, where the former tend towards restating (affirming) authorial intent, text and status, and the latter tend towards reworking (transforming) a text or texts with less regard to the intent and status of the creators (obsessive_inc, 2009). Though a lot of fans engage in both modes with their fandoms, the fans I speak of here are using their transformative fannishness in a way that shows the non-triviality of fandom to fans and outsiders alike. At their core, vids are expressions of transformative fans, and can be understood as sitting in an intersection between visual fanfic and remix video, but are, ultimately, a separate art form.

Fans have been ahead of the media curve for ages, (re)claiming co-ownership of cultural products, thus predating the more widespread remix culture of today, and in terms of the development we see in social awareness and minority representation in media, especially. From the classic cases of letter writing campaigns and their more modern equivalents (Jenkins, 1992, ; Savage, 2014) to the way fandom's creative outlets subvert the normative media landscape, transformative fans are at the very edge of development and a driving force with a growing voice.

Yet, fans do not keep their critique to non-fiction; fans express their critique through creative output as well. Transformative fanworks often focus on supplying the kind of narratives that are un- or under-represented in the mainstream; the alternate endings, the unsung heroics, the queer romances and the alternate universes where dark skin, not pale, is the default; those are the kinds of things one can find in fandom. They exist alongside at least as many mainstream affirming works, but the subversive power of creation in fandom is part of what distinguishes the culture of transformative fans from the affirmative fan culture, as well as from more casual lovers of a media product. Fanfic is written with the express purpose of

increasing racial diversity, art made to counter body-shaming - the possibilities and creativity are seemingly endless. A simple googling for such terms as "racebending fanfic" turns up a myriad (325,000 at the end of January 2015) of results, just to mention one example. This creative critique is also present in the perhaps less widely known genre of vids.

Critical Vids

Through the examples of a few critical vids, I will show some of the strategies vidders employ in their creation of critical vids. These may be a subset of vids, but they are, due to having a complex message, also stellar examples of how vidders use their tools and the various ways in which music and lyrics function as guidelines or structural skeletons for vids. I have chosen two examples where the vidder(s) present a feminist influenced critique of mainstream western media products, and will use these to further explore the ways vidders use and present critical thinking and theory.

The Price

The Price (2011), is, as is often the case, named for the song that makes up one of its parts. It is a multi-canon vid, which means it uses multiple sources, in this case around 30, mostly TV shows, mainly from mainstream Hollywood style productions in the fantastic genres. The vidder behind *The Price*, thingswithwings, also wrote a long analytical blogpost about the themes portrayed in the vid and how and why she chose to focus on them (thingswithwings, 2011). According to thingswithwings, the theme of the vid is manpain, and to the viewer that is exactly what it portrays, even if one might not pick up all the nuances; doing so demands a large amount of insight into all the sources used (Turk and Johnson, 2012). Manpain is the trope that uses women's trauma, injury and death to provide motivation and characterisation for the male hero(es), as well as allowing them a moment of pure, manly pain where they can shed a single, masculine tear without tainting their heteronormative masculinity.

In order to make her point, the vidder shows instances of trope use, edited together to strengthen the message, and she utilises the music and its lyrics to this end. In the vid, thingswithwings has matched themes in the portrayal of manpain, giving us a feel of al-

most de ja-vu like glimpses that are emphasised by hitting the guitar-enhanced beat of the verse. The scenes are eerily similar, often down to composition of the shots. We see, for instance, the doomed embrace of a loved one who will soon be dead; the carrying of the dead or dying woman; the desperate clutching of a dead body; the kneeling at the gravesite. During soft, slow parts of the song, we are presented with the emotional moments that would make us cry in the cinema, and here the music functions as the kind of emotional hook we know from film music. During the more energetic chorus, we are shown the horrors actually happening to women, matching the repeated lyrics of "nobody's paid the price like I have paid the price, I've paid the price thrice/twice"; the "I" here is of course men, not women - they are simply the price, the men have payed. There are also, as is one of the defining characteristics of many vids, literalisms in the matching of lyrics to image, here for instance the word "burst" to a cup being dropped and breaking. The editing and pacing throughout is sharp and multiple rewatches only reveal more attention to detail.

The song is extremely fitting for the message of the vid. Yet, even when something is almost on the nose perfect, thingswithwings plays around with it. Instead of using every lyric literally, the lyrics instead set the overall mood and complement the images to show a pervasive trend. The vid also cleverly uses irony to great effect; this is a funny vid with a serious message; humour is one of the tools to proving its point. That the song itself is ironically funny is used to full effect; music as well as lyrics are somewhat odd or unusual, for instance as the lyrics speak of hearing Bryan Adams' voice on the phone as something horrific, matched visually to the very real horrors happening to women on screen, giving us a juxtaposition and conveying an impression of an overall mood of sarcasm.

Another moment that illustrates the humour and ingenuity of the vid comes towards the very end of it, when a montage of crying men appears during a musical outro of quiet guitar and voice. Each is in a privileged position on the screen, our eyes drawn directly to them, all but one are alone, and they are showing us those precious manly tears, heroically struggling against them, but the horror of whatever has transpired (to women) is overwhelming them. Those few, pure tears escape - and thingswithwings uses a visual effect, causing the tears sparkle like precious diamonds. This leads into

the notes/dedication at the end: "vid by thingswithwings - song by wax mannequin - manpain by men".

Women's Work

Where *The Price* is a sarcastic and funny vid despite its serious critique of misogyny in mainstream visual media, there is nothing funny about the deeply disturbing *Women's Work* (2007), vided by Luminosity and Sisabet. This vid is of and about the US American TV show *Supernatural*, and is not so much about the men who are motivated by dead or maimed women as it is about the women themselves. The show perpetuates the horror trope of killing female characters and sexualising women in danger; if a woman can fight she is most likely a villain. Set to the angry, aggressive song *Violet* (1995) by Courtney Love's band *Hole*, *Women's Work* is fast-paced and angry, pushing through several long seasons of TV to show us just how *Supernatural* uses dead women, and how often the show treats women's lives as trivial and disposable plot-devices. The song provides tone and editing pace foremost, though the lyrics are thematically a good match as well. Most of the vid simply shows us women being threatened and attacked, and on the surface the music here might function more as in a traditional music video, but this is a vid, so the music is there to illustrate the images, not the other way around.

When looking at the details of the vid, this becomes apparent. The lyrics "you should learn how to say no" is deliberately matched to clips that look like a rape, thus commenting on/speaking through the culture of victim blaming in rape cases. The threats seem to rise and fall in intensity with the music. A lull in intensity shows a montage of women who have been stripped of agency, and the lack of power in the music matches the theme of the visuals. Likewise, it is especially the intense chorus with its shouts of "Go on, take everything, take everything, I want you to", matched to violent, graphic murders, that is effective in its use of both lyrics and music. In a technique used more often in vids with a more singular point of view, the "I" of the song at times becomes the "I" of the women in the clips, and "everything" their lives, ready for the taking. It is as if these characters shout their anger at us with their dying breaths, the equivalent of the movie character who, at gunpoint, tells their assailant to just shoot. The fast editing matching

the frenetic song seems to assault the viewer the way the women on the screen are being brutalised.

The only departure from the barrage of dying women is when we see female villains at work, but they, too, are struck down. In keeping with the show's themes, they are banished, exorcised, staked, shot, disposed of. The vid is unrelenting, and as such very direct in its critique. "I'm the one with no soul", it cries in Love's serrated blade voice, and assaults us with a myriad of women who had no agency, no characterisation, who were only a body to be killed in order to kick-start this week's episode.

Critics of Culture - Culture of Critics

Having watched these vids, especially back to back, it is very difficult to claim that western mainstream media do not have a problem with its portrayal of women. Vids like these are, through their editing and media savvy audio-visual language, making the systemic misogyny in media visible and hard to dismiss. The intended audiences - other fans - grasp the message, as can be seen in the comment sections on the vids (Winters, 2009), pointing to fandom's culture of critique.

As seen in the above, Western media fandom of the 21st century is indeed a culture in which critical discourse thrives and is promoted, and that part of that discourse is expressed through creative works. By virtue of being a form of remix or transformation, fanworks are always already a comment on the source they were hatched from (e.g. Tryon, 2009); some fanworks, such as critical vids, are aware of this and perform accordingly. Francesca Coppa wrote that "a vid is a visual essay that stages an argument" and "a form of collective critical thinking" (Coppa 2008), and in the case of critical vids, this is perhaps especially apparent. In the case of *The Price*, the precious tears of men at the end of the vid are the punchline of the argument thingswithwings has presented throughout the vid; if the viewers were not already aware of the prevalence of the manpain trope in Western media, here is where we catch on. In *Women's Work*, there is not as much a line as there is the constant punch of a point that the vid seems intent on getting through to its viewers. But are those messages read and received as intended?

Sarah Fiona Winters has noted that vids can be misread when they travel outside fandom; in her example, what is a constructed

reality, an alternate universe, that deals with the painful issue of rape, has been misunderstood as being a work meant to convey pleasure or titillate its audience. Her argument is that one needs a rather deep understanding of not only Star Trek, but also the part of fandom that is dedicated to the romantic and/or sexual pairing of Kirk and Spock in order to fully understand the intended message of the vid (Winters, 2009). In a somewhat related thread of argumentation, Tisha Turk and Joshua Johnson speak of the layers of understanding that is encompassed in reading a vid in their article *Toward an Ecology of Vidding* (2012). They focus most of their attention on the readings that require knowledge that a fandom insider would have. It is interesting that Turk and Johnson take their model of ecology from composition studies, both because music as an element of vidding has not yet been explored very much, and because music and the use of mood is such a vital part of how a vid is read. Not only do critical vids present a critique, they also act as a form of applied critical theory, that is easily spread and understood across fandom's inside readings of vids, as Turk and Johnson shows. They present a very good argument. I am, however, more interested in one layer they are not engaging with: the ways in which a vid is understood and can be read even outside its intended ecology or audience, and how this is accomplished through editing with and to the music.

Vids, by virtue of inscribing themselves in an audio-visual tradition that we in the west are very well versed in, are accessible to a lot of people, meaning that these vids are also a potential tool to spread, if not as such teach, some of the basic readings that become available when one reads through the lens of feminist critical theory. Yet, as Winters has shown, there is also a risk of unintended readings of a vid, both outside and inside of fandom. It should be noted that vids are not usually made with a non-fandom audience in mind, thus, according to Winters, the risk is that misunderstandings when shown outside context is considerable. So what does this mean for the potential for vids to spread their message? While the details of a vid may not translate well outside fandom, it is difficult to watch a vid like *Women's Work* and not understand the message of anger, of hurt, and experience the huge amount of dead women *Supernatural* has produced over its seasons, and this is in large part due to the choice of song. Despite the risk of misinterpretation that has been well described by other scholars, I consider this an exam-

ple of a vid that could potentially reach a wider audience and retain its legibility. With a song like *Violet* coupled with the visceral images, the point is hard to miss. While *The Price* is not as easily accessible, partly due to the less readily understood song, the visual side of the vid still presents a very clear argument; perhaps especially the sparkly tears drive home the point. These vids do not stand alone either; there are many more like them, presenting different points of feminist media critique.

This then opens the next question: Can vids, through their creative use of music, spread a message such as feminist theory beyond the boards of fandom? Can they play a part in the debate about more diverse and socially aware media world? While this remains to be seen, or even researched (to the best of my knowledge), something is certainly brewing. In his *Convergence Culture* (2008), fan studies scholar Henry Jenkins called for TV to catch up with the internet revolution of fandom, and by the time he co-wrote *Spreadable Media* (2013), the media world was at least trying to harness the power of fans. At the same time, the previous one-way communication from creator(s) to fans has become more of an exchange (Zubernis & Larsen, 2012). While there is no proof that we see more diversity in TV castings, female led TV shows and more heroes who are not straight white men due to fans' intervention, there is a visible trend from the female-led, trans-inclusive *Orange is the New Black* (2013-?) over the casting of an African-American Reed Richards in the new Fantastic Four movie *Fant4stic* (summer 2015) to a female *Thor* (2014-?) in Marvel's comic books. This trend, and the feedback loop from fandom to creators, is only getting stronger in our increasingly mediated world. Vids are positioned to play a part here, because they are easily spread and disseminated from their homes in the streaming media platforms. With critical vids having gone viral and been part of museum exhibits (as was the case with *Vogue* (2007)), maybe they already are.

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Mark Rein•Hagen's Foundational Influence on 21st Century Vampiric Media

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Abstract

Mark Rein•Hagen's role-playing game Vampire: The Masquerade, set in the World of Darkness shared universe, is foundational to the 21st Century vampire. We aim to, through the cultural analysis of how ideas have been transferred from this role-playing game to other media, clearly demonstrate Mark Rein•Hagen's cultural historical significance.

Keywords #vampire, #media, #role-playing game, #werewolf; #subcreation

Academia in Darkness

Lesuire is but the part of our life where we can devote ourselves most fully to culture: culture that has become ever more rewarding as the number of media through which we practice it have increased, each enriching the other. One of the iconic figures of this media-enriched culture is the vampire, who, within the last few decades, has loomed large enough to attract the attention of scholars; previous explanations of this phenomenon have focused on Bram Stoker's

novel *Dracula* and the serial works of Anne Rice, along with vampire movies such as Friedrich Wilhelm "F. W." Murnau's *Nosferatu*, the Hammer Films of the 1960s, Joel Schumacher's *The Lost Boys*, and TV-series such as Joseph Hill "Joss" Whedon's *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*. 21st century vampire culture hunters have continued this pursuit in the more noticeable forms of media (Steiger 2009, Click et al. 2010, Parke & Wilson 2011, Wilson 2011, Olson 2011, Anatol 2011, Edwards & Agnieszka 2012, Morey 2012, Piatti-Farnell 2013, Brodman & Doan 2013).

A few have even studied them as they appear in the media of tabletop role-playing games. This has its challenges. The most widely quoted academic book about role-playing games, according to Google Scholar, is Gary Alan Fine's *Shared Fantasy* (1983). This study is more than thirty years old and examines role-players and their community like an anthropologist would study a mysterious native tribe. Even within gamer culture itself, Internet sites such as TV Tropes habitually confuse them with collectable card games or war games (though role-playing games did, admittedly, develop from the latter). They are only mass media to the extent that the texts of the systems they are based on are: highly interactive, their primary audience is the players themselves. They do not even have the graphics and audio of computer role-playing games. Yet this seemingly inaccessible media may, researchers now believe, be a vital stage in the evolution of vampirism as we know it today. To quote Arlene Russo:

"One of the best sources of vampire material, which brings the vampire into the modern era, is *Vampire: The Masquerade* by White Wolf. Although it is a role-playing game, which is not everyone's cup of tea, it is still cornucopia of interesting ideas. Plus, it helps bring new blood into the vampire scene" (Russo 2005: 105).

Other researchers who have taken notice of *Vampire: The Masquerade*, or *V:TM*, are Rachel Werkman (2001), Mary Y. Hallab (Hallab 2009), Rachel Mizej Ward (2009), and Michael Wolski; the latter contrasts the game with traditional Polish vampire lore, and suggests that it could be used for educational purposes, or even a tool for research: "Hence, the rules of *The Masquerade* offer a complete and

relatively consistent system unifying the sometimes contrary views of vampirism, and might serve as a basis for their comparison.” (Wolski 2013, p. 171). Yet, these are but indicative spots of illumination in a darkly immense necropolis. This article is yet another – be warned: the subject matter is labyrinthine, indeed.

Mark Rein•Hagen (his name then included a dot) published *Vampire: The Masquerade (V:TM)* back in 1991. It focused more on storytelling than many previous, more agonistic and aleatory, games of its type (Fannon 1999). It is important to keep in mind that tabletop role-playing is derived from wargaming, and that most of the subcreations in which it took place were self-contained fantasy worlds along the lines of Tolkien's Arda. V:TM was set in our own contemporary urban reality, except for the secret existence of vampires – and equally supernatural beings such as werewolves, mages, wraiths, and changelings. All of these supernatural beings together formed the basis of the subcreation named *World of Darkness (WoD)*. The reason for all this secrecy was that even though vampires are super-powered immortals, they have to contend with the more numerous and potentially hostile (as necessitated by the vampires own diet), not to mention progressive, (by reason of their very mortality) living humans. To ensure this cover up, a variety of vampire clans got together and established the Camarilla, an undead conspiracy. And you as a player got to play – not mortal vampire hunters – but one of the vampires. You were about to play a monster, a lost soul, member of an order of being that in more traditional role-playing games would be an antagonists, rather than protagonists. Your character would have supernatural powers that would grant it supremacy over the masses it fed upon. Even so, the game was set up as a tragedy. Your character's powers were the tools of a victimizing appetite; the more you exploited both, the more monstrous your character would become until it was a mere mindless, amoral beast (Rein•Hagen 1991). Characters “won” the game by practicing various forms of self-restraint, such as only subsisting on animal blood (a practise called “vegetarianism” in the game) – in theory, that is.

It wasn't the first time a role-playing game had such a setup. The ten years senior *Call of Cthulhu* was a role-playing game, in which player characters investigated the subcreation of H. P. Lovecraft's Cthulhu Mythos, going insane thereby. The goal was unlock as

many secrets as possible and to avert the advent of unknowable cosmic Gods before insanity, death, or the loss of credit rating ensued. But the final outcome would inevitably be dire (Tresca 2011, Leavenworth 2014). In V:TM, you now played the monsters. But in both games, loss of character rationality also meant that the player lost control of that character.

Creating a role-playing game in which story and character development are not an epic saga of on-going achievements and becoming progressively more powerful, but a personal defeat, is not just a difficult task, it requires an intimate understanding of how game mechanics work and how players react, especially as it goes contrary to what is traditionally expected of role-playing games. Sandy Petersen accomplished this task with *Call of Cthulhu*. Mark Rein•Hagen almost accomplished the same feat; however, in actual play, his rules (including an intricate Latinate terminology lovingly detailing the various vampiric powers, or “disciplines”, as well as the social system by which “elder”, mostly non-player characters, vampires exploited their less empowered offspring) succeed all too well in seducing players, or, worse, the Storyteller (Mark Rein•Hagen's term for a game Master) into the abuse of power, resulting in chronicles (or game campaigns) that are little more than brief combat simulations, or in which players are denied the free interactivity that makes role –playing games interesting. Nevertheless, played either way, V:TM creates challenging stories, can be emotional fulfilling to play, and has a distinct gothic punk style. Above all, its bold experimentation with concepts and rules has left an impact both on other role-playing games and beyond.

In order to study these fictional worlds of vampirism, we have drawn upon the theory of subcreation introduced by J. R. R. Tolkien. From this point of view, our real world is the primary world, whilst fictional constructs are what Tolkien terms secondary worlds. The process of creating a secondary world in the primary world, one that require rational exploration in the same manner as the primary world does, is called sub-creation; hence, a secondary world may also be referred to as a sub-creation. Furthermore, the designer or creator of a secondary world is called a sub-creator (Tolkien 1947, Wolf 2012).

The Masquerade

Tabletop role-playing games are primarily based on textual material, though written with the intention of producing performative results. Its sub-creator, and the material s/he had at hand, is an important source in understanding that text.

On January 26-27th 2015, Lars Konzack interviewed Mark Rein-Hagen (Mark no longer uses the dot – this way we can distinguish the Mark Rein-Hagen of today from his former self) for this article, and Mark Rein-Hagen was both clear and comprehensive as to his sources. A large part was played by the various vampire movies of the 1980s, not merely the abovementioned *Lost Boys* (1987), or movies such as *Hunger* (1983) or *Near Dark* (1987), but even vampiric comedy movies, of which there seems to have been a large number at the time. Another was literary and cinematic depictions of the Mafia, as well as Niccolò Machiavelli's *Il Principe* (the leaders of V:TM's Camarilla society are entitled "Princes"), as material for his own vampiric society; science fiction authors such as Robert A. Heinlein and Isaac Asimov, who inspired him with, in Marks own works, "their great ARCS of history"; and general horror writers such as Stephen King or H. P. Lovecraft, the latter being of special interest due to the role-playing game *Call of Cthulhu*. Last but certainly not least, there were the classics: Bram Stoker, the movie *Nosferatu* (1922), and, of course, Anne Rice.

Anne Rice's *Vampire Chronicles* were of primary importance because, like V:TM, they present a world in which there exist an entire secret community of vampires, vampires without the quaint folkloristic powers (such as transforming into bats) and weaknesses (such as garlic) of their early 20th century ancestors. Even, more importantly, it is seen from the perspective of a vampire (Ramsland 1993). The protagonist of *Interview with the Vampire* (1976) is the vampire; his story is one of awakening to his monstrous yet intense nature and the gradual discovery of others of his kind. This is one of the ways that secondary worlds can be used to decouple ordinary views of the primary world; by putting the primary world (our real world) into perspective via the secondary or imaginary world (Tolkien 1947). By doing so it becomes easier to think unconventional thoughts and accept a world in transition, because readers of the imaginary already have an idea that the world can be perceived and understood very differently if its premises are altered. As a conse-

quence, people relating to imaginary worlds, whether they be medieval fantasies or distant planets, are often better suited to cope with changes in their own world view. They have prepared themselves to think outside the box because they habitually experience many different worlds (Tulloch & Jenkins 1995, Bacon-Smith 2000, Wolf 2012). This is also what makes the Chronicles of special interest from a game world design perspective.

But to reduce V:TM to being a simulation of Anne Rice's Chronicles is far too simplistic. Not only had there, by the time Mark Rein•Hagen had started designing his game, been a succulent growth in new portrayals of the vampire in various media (often due to Rice), such as the vampire movie boom of the 1980s, but role-playing games as a media have requirements and tendencies different from those of fictional narratives. Rice's novels were useful due to their subcreational traits (there has been an entire encyclopaedia written about them (Ramsland 1993), but in this case an even greater degree of background detail was needed, not merely due to the interactivity of several player character protagonists, but because narrative details are developed in play, rather than the game setting; it, instead, has to provide the materials from which narrative is performed. The abovementioned tendency of tabletop role-playing to use Tolkien-inspired subcreations is a direct result of this media requirement. In Marks own words, he created "a whole society of Vampires (not just a couple as in Anne Rice)", an entire subcreation underlying our world, complete with its own Old Testament creation myth (the first Vampire was the Biblical Cain), holy scripture – The Book of Nod – status, vampire bloodlines (each with its own subculture, mystical specialities and weaknesses; the Toreador clan were based on the Anne Rice vampire, the Nosferatu clan was inspired by, obviously, the movie *Nosferatu*, the Gangrel clan was closer to the vampires in *Lost Boys*, and so forth. Mark Rein-Hagen says that this, to him, "seemed like the right number, each expressed a different trope of the idea of a Vampire... yet didn't remind you of a, god forbid, a character class or TV trope. They intermeshed well as units of a society." The number was later increased to 13, and political ideologies, such as that of the Camarilla, inspired, Mark Rein-Hagen clarified, by "the Sicilian code of Omertà – silence being the primary duty". Furthermore he expressed appreciation of games and settings that have well-organized social groups in them, be-

cause that allows for intricate politics and interactions, such as the Camarillas war with its rival vampiric organization, the Sabbat, a sect of vampire extremists, organized in "covens", who wage war by creating, or "embracing", large numbers of new vampires as cannon fodder, headquartered in Mexico City. And not merely for vampires – a motif oft repeated in later derived media is the (dramatically fruitfull) conflict between vampires and werewolves, whom Mark Rein•Hagen had given an equally detailed (ecoterrorist, extradimensional, partially Native American) society, as he did to each of the other major orders of supernatural beings, in turn.

In fact, WoD is a role-playing game of competing paradigms. Vampires, werewolves, mages, wraiths and changelings – each have their own explanation of how the World of Darkness functions, including, ominously, variant eschatologies as to the end of same world. This means it becomes a role-playing game in which there is no final explanation to how the world functions, and in which all of these world views can be challenged and discussed during game sessions.

Thanks to the success of the role-playing game, and his World of Darkness setting in general, Mark Rein•Hagen got the chance to turn V:TM into a TV-series named *Kindred: The Embraced* (1996). It aired eight episodes for one season only, and was then cancelled. It is difficult to say if it simply came too early, but it certainly failed to engage the target demographic. Even though there was some attempt at simplification – the TV-series setting has five vampire clans, rather than the games seven – it may have been too difficult for viewers to grasp the politics and intrigue of multiple factions given the condition of the media at that time. This may seem odd today, given the contemporary success of series such as George R. R. Martin's *Game of Thrones* (2011-present) Mark Rein-Hagen, in the interview, compares the complexity of his world-building to that of Georges, but the viewers of 1996 had yet to develop the habitual use of many media options now taken for granted, such as routinely surfing clues and discussions, or downloading the series oneself, to be viewed at ones leisure, on the internet. The contemporary viewer has, so to say, access to the rulebook. There was a nominal viewpoint character, the living detective Frank Kohanek, but rather than naturally structuring the story around his exploration of undead society, the TV-series then, in the first introductory epi-

sode, focusses on what is arguably the series main character, Julian Luna, Prince of the San Francisco Domain of the Camarilla. In Mark Rein-Hagen's opinion, *Kindred: The Embraced* "failed because they tried to apply the tv formula of the 70's and 80's... one that was in the middle of dying. They promised they wouldn't do that, but they did." Consequently, the TV-series format turned out to be very old fashioned, even for its day.

The V:TM role-playing game and the WoD shared fictional universe were adapted for video game releases as well: *Vampire: The Masquerade – Redemption* (2000), *Hunter: The Reckoning* (2002), *Hunter: The Reckoning – Wayward* (2003), *Hunter: The Reckoning – Redeemer* (2003), and *Vampire: The Masquerade – Bloodlines* (2004); not to mention the critically acclaimed Jihad Collectable Card Game (1994: it was renamed *Vampire: The Eternal Struggle*, to avoid association with Islamic extremism, in 1995), which, itself, expanded into *V:TES Online* (2005-2007); and several series of WoD fiction, in amounts usually only rivalled by those derived from large – scale fantasy game worlds, such as TSRs Dragonlance line of novels. So far the creations, and terminology, of Mark Rein-Hagen himself; more was to follow-even in such noticeable media as cinema blockbusters and bestselling romance novels.

Rein•Hagen inspired vampires

Joss Whedon's *Buffy: The Vampire Slayer* (1992) was originally a vampire action-comedy movie, but in 1997 it was turned into the gothic television series *Buffy: The Vampire Slayer* (1997-2003). It had everything that *Kindred: The Embraced* didn't. Rather than viewers having to immediately take in a complex setting in media res, it focused on one character, Buffy, learning how to become a vampire slayer, slowly expanded the universe with supernatural beings. Buffy even developed an relationship with Angel, a vampire bedevilled by a very V:TMish moral conflict. Angel was used as a spin-off character in his own TV-series, *Angel* (1999-2004), one much closer to the ideas of Anne Rice and Mark Rein•Hagen because we perceived the world from the perspective of the vampire. Buffy was most likely not inspired by V:TM; its vampires were of a somewhat pre-anne Rice type (they have amusing vulnerabilities such as garlic, or only being able to enter a house if invited). More to the point, they had no society beyond that of the pack, with the sole exception of The Order of

Aurelius, a cult of vampires devoted to the worship of Lovecraftian Old Ones, that bear some resemblance to Ann Rice's Children of Darkness. The overall impression is that they are, quite appropriately, drawn from a tradition of cinematic horror comedy, or, at most, Anne. If nothing else, it would be uncharacteristic of Joss not to indicate some form of homage if that were the case. This makes Buffy useful as an example of a subcreation parallel to, but not flowing from, that of Mar Rein-Hagens.

The movie trilogy *Blade* (1998), *Blade II* (2002) and *Blade: Trinity* (2004), as well as the television series *Blade: The Series* (2006) and animated series *Blade* (2011), on the other hand, leave little doubt as to the source material for their subcreations vampiric society. The main protagonist, Blade, was a dhampir (a Balkan folkloric word for a "half vampire") vampire hunter, based on the Marvin Arthur "Marv" Wolfman Marvel Comics character from 1973, but the creatures that he slew were organized in 12 family "houses", each with its own subculture, mystical specialities and weaknesses, united for the purpose of keeping the undead secret from the living, had their own sacred scripture-The Bok of Erebus; various levels of status; descended from the Biblical Dagon; and so on. Even individual Houses are conceptually close to those from WoD, such as the Lemure House to Clan Toreador. There are minor variations-some status is not associated with age, but whether one be a "pureblood" – a vampire bred from other vampires, sexually-or one of the despised "turnedbloods", humans who became vampires epidemically- inspired by Blades own family complications, but on the whole, the evidence for direct borrowing is seemingly overwhelming – but only seemingly. One aspect of the cinematic Blade vampire society that does not correspond to WoD's are the abstract heraldic symbols associated with each House: though WoD Clans also have their own heraldic sigils, the design of those of the Houses is closer to those of the vampire Clans of the video game series *Legacy of Kain* (1996-present), that are themselves otherwise derivative of WoD (various colourfully distinct bloodlines descended from Kaine, who, though the game takes place in a gothic fantasy world, all have Biblical-sounding names). Even the WoD-like aspects of the Houses that are not derived from *Legacy of Kain* may have been absorbed indirectly from other sources, as could, for that matter, be the case with the WoD-like elements in *Legacy of Kain*. Considering that

both Marvel and New Line Studios, in connection with the Blade motion picture, and the designers of Legacy of Kaine have been embroiled in copyright lawsuits-though not with WoD's publisher – official clarification of these matters is not very likely.

In the movie Underworld (2003), the WoD elements were also noticeable, to the extent of using the same technical terminology as the game: even its plot has been claimed to derive from a story written by Nancy A. Collins, *The Love of Monsters* (1994), officially set in the WoD. In this case, it was enough to initiate a lawsuit by White Wolf and Nancy A. Collins, in which they filed 17 counts of copyright infringement, and claimed over 80 points of unique similarity between White Wolf's game world and the movie. In September 2003, a judge granted White Wolf an expedited hearing. This lawsuit culminated in a confidential settlement (Ward 2009). It should be said that the Underworld setting does have a science fictional slant absent from WoD, which, whilst not perhaps entirely dignified-it includes cloned blood and bullets filled with liquid ultraviolet light – is, at least, original. Unlike Blade, the characteristically Rein•Hagenian element of a vampire/werewolf war is present in Underworld; indeed, this is the main source of conflict, as it left out many of the complexities of vampire and werewolf society found in Blade and WoD. One would imagine that it is also central to Nancy A. Collins story, which involves a Romeo and Juliet-style tragic love affair between a vampire and werewolf, though romance is rather drowned out by the action-packed Underworld movies incessant bursts of gunfire. But, yet again, the actual transmedial route by which the-by virtue of its nature as a tabletop role-playing world, if nothing else-obscure WoD setting reached the makers of Underworld is difficult to pin down. To name but one example, there are several real-world groups who believe they are actual vampires, and who we know to have used WoD books directly in their belief systems (Keyworth 2002); obviously, members of such a subculture would not make fine distinctions between fact and fiction, let alone their source material. Under such conditions, WoD lore quickly becomes folkloric - but, it is to be stressed, not a folklore of the illiterate.

Stephenie Meyer's bestselling Twilight Saga book series (2005-2008) may well be an example of this. Her tale of a love triangle between a living human girl, a vampire, and a werewolf, takes place in a characteristically WoD-like setting; there is a conflict

between a society of vampires and one of (Native American) werewolves, a group of vampires that enforces vampiric secrecy (called the "Volturi" by Stephenie), vampires have a diversity of special powers similar to WoD's Disciplines (although in *Twilight*, they are individual gifts rather than classes of ability), a segment of vampires prosecute warfare by mass creation of new undead. (The instigator of this practice in *Twilight*, Benito, had Mexico City as his power base, another similarity with WoD's Sabbat sect; for reasons that ought to be obvious, practitioners are as much in conflict with *Twilight's* version of the Camarilla as WoD's Sabbat is, though they do not have an collective appellation). There is even a degree of shared terminology; vampire bloodlines are called "Covens" (again, as with WoD's Sabbat – or Underworld. Or, indeed, as in Anne Rice's *Vampire Chronicles*), vampires who only subsist on animal blood are termed "Vegetarians", and, although WoD uses the characteristically Latinate "Neonate" to describe a new-made vampire, *Twilight's* "Newborn" is a direct translation.

It is highly unlikely that Stephenie Meyer has any clear consciousness of what WoD is. According to her own public statements (Burton 2009, Krohn 2011) she based her *Saga* on a dream. Stephenie has, however, been quite open about acknowledging her debt to less oneirocritical sources of inspiration, such as Jane Austen, Emily Brontë, and, especially, William Shakespeare (Kisor 2010). Elements of her subcreation are also strikingly different from not only those of WoD, but from the conventions of vampire fiction as a whole, most notoriously in that her vampires become mineral lifeforms that sparkle, rather than burn, in direct sunlight: an element she states was present in her initial dream vision (CNN News 2009). All of this points towards the conclusion that Stephenie has absorbed all these elements of the WoD subcreation from a multitude of different media, such as the *Underworld* movie (with its somewhat unusual mixtures of vampire/werewolf romance and large-scale action scenes), something of a testament to the degree to which Mark Rein-Hagen's material has suffused our contemporary cultural milieu-material that the popularity of *Twilight* is mediated even further afield.

In conclusion

Mark Rein•Hagen creation of the role-playing game Vampire: The Masquerade and the World of Darkness subcreation back in the 1990s has turned out to be central to the continued importance of the vampire in the 21st Century. Its ideas spread from the tabletop role-playing game into movies, television, video games, and romantic fiction. This is of interest in and of itself as a study in cultural history, yet this influence wasn't one the media industry or academia has offered much recognition. In order to satisfactorily explore, and exploit, this cultural process, scholars and academics need to be conscious of the importance on, and impact of, Mark Rein•Hagen's contribution to gothic culture and the media vampire in general. These contributions, based on his V:TM game and VoD subcreation, include: an entire secret vampire society with multiple factions, a correspondingly complex background mythology, and the relations of the undead to other equally detailed supernatural factions, such as the characteristic werewolf conflict; to the degree of constituting a complete imaginary world underlying our own reality.

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank Ian Dall for encouragement and helpful research.

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I'd like to have a house like that

Female players of *The Sims*

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Abstract

This qualitative interview study explores the practices of adult female gamers who play the videogame *The Sims*, focusing on the motivations they have for playing and how playing a video game might influence their digital competence. We address the wider context of leisure and the household, investigating to what extent playing videogames has become domesticated in the daily life of the family. It is found that female gamers play *The Sims* because they enjoy the particular way it allows them to take control, fantasize, and be challenged. For some, it is clear that playing this video game has increased their digital skills. We notice that there is an interesting similarity between the pleasures of playing this videogame and more traditional ways of female media engagement such as reading women's magazines or romance novels and watch-

ing soap operas. Our gamers similarly enjoy *The Sims* as leisurely moments for themselves, clearly and intentionally separated from domestic and family duties. We conclude that playing a videogame can be seen as a highly modern and liberating practice, as both playing in general and using ICT have traditionally not been a part of the female leisure domain.

Keywords #gender, #video games, #leisure, #uses and gratifications, #female gamers

Introduction

In living rooms all over the world, the leisure practice of playing videogames has become a mainstream activity, and by now the people who play video games – on consoles, PC's, mobile phones or other platforms – are no longer limited to the formerly dominant group of male teenage gamers. Studies investigating gender differences in video gaming usually indicated that women played less games, had less interest in gaming and less game-related knowledge, and spend less time and energy on the medium than their male peers did (Cassell and Jenkins 1998; Jones 2003; Lucas and Sherry 2004), but in recent years this situation has changed, and gaming has indisputably gained popularity among female audiences. And while boys are still reported to play twice as much as girls do (Greenberg et al 2010; Roberts et al. 2010), and that for females players, identifying as a gamer is not self-evident (Shaw, 2011), the number of women engaged in video gaming has become substantial. Most research on gendered gameplay, however, has been limited to teenagers and young women, and their ways of dealing – or not dealing – with the medium of videogames. Apart from some notable exceptions such as the qualitative study by Royse et al (2007) and Mosberg Iverson (2013), the audience of adult female gamers is still a largely neglected group in research (Enevold and Hagstrom 2009). With the current study we hope to add useful insights to the fields of leisure studies and game studies, by reporting on the practices of adult female gamers who play the first videogame title that managed to attract a group of female gamers of all ages: *The Sims*. This game was first published in 2000 by Maxis/ElectronicArts, and has been followed up by *The Sims* online, *The Sims2* and *The Sims3*, and numerous extensions. Media

theorist Henry Jenkins (2001) was among the first scholars to present *The Sims* as a turning point in the domain of gender and video games. *The Sims* belongs to the simulation genre, allowing its players to create and manage a digital world that mimics the real world. In this particular series, gameplay consists of managing a digital space that has been compared to a virtual dollhouse (Flanagan 2003, Brunner, Bennett and Honey 1998).

Playing a video game requires a substantial investment of time, effort and often money. From a psychological perspective one may wonder why people are willing to invest so much in order to entertain themselves (Tan and Jansz 2008). The uses and gratifications approach to understanding media use offers a theoretical explanation for this kind of personal investment by conceptualizing media use as goal directed behavior (Rubin 2002). It emphasizes the active role of the media user, arguing that media selection and use is largely determined by the user's motivations (Ruggiero 2000). In a survey study that investigated the motivations for playing *The Sims2* (Jansz, Avis and Vosmeer 2010) it was found that 'enjoyment' was the most powerful need for female players meaning that they were predominantly motivated to play *The Sims2* as a way of having fun. Their playing was also, but to a lesser extent, motivated by needs to control (the virtual reality of the game), to fantasize and to be challenged. Female gamers were far less driven by social motivations than the male participants in this study, which was also a finding of Lucas and Sherry (2004). Mosberg Iverson (2013) noted that creating 'a space of ones own' would be an important reason for women to play a game like *The Sims* as well. Our present interview study allows us to investigate whether the motivations that were identified previously also emerge in conversations with adult female gamers, and how these motivations are elucidated by the players themselves.

For many adult women, especially those with children, interaction with their families has traditionally been the main way of spending their leisure time (Henderson et al 1989). The gaming industry has recently been trying to incorporate the domain of family leisure by claiming how video gaming can have a positive influence on family life, emphasizing the ways that families may play games together (Chambers 2012). When it comes to the division of gaming technology within families, though, it has been

documented how male members of a household have a tendency to claim first access to game consoles and computers in the house and often take the role of expert in this area, undermining the desires, skills and knowledge of female family members (Van Zoonen 2002). As Enevold and Hagstrom have put it, "a mother who plays computer games challenges cultural norms, claiming time for an unproductive activity only for her, and acts in contradiction to what the concept of 'mother' implies" (Enevold and Hagstrom 2009, 7). Research into more traditional female pleasures such reading women's magazines (Hermes 1995), or romance novels (Radway 1984) and watching soap operas (Gray 1992) showed that - given that the home is a place of domestic and 'care' work for women (Martinson and Schwartz 2002) - their leisure time has to be explicitly marked from the claims of family members. In these studies it was found that magazines, books and television shows provide women with markers to sign off from domestic and family duties; giving them a possibility to enjoy their own time, without others. In the current study, we will explore whether and how the leisure practices of female gamers relate to the issues mentioned above.

The Study

We conducted an explorative qualitative live interview study among 23 women between the ages of 17 and 59, who played (any version of) *The Sims*. Our interview group consisted of Dutch female gamers with a variety of backgrounds: some combined fulltime jobs with motherhood or study while others were unemployed; some lived alone, others lived with children, with a spouse or with their parents. Employment and level of education were also quite diverse, ranging from university teacher to waitress and from shop-assistant to psychologist.

Motivation

I use my fantasy. I'd like to have a house like that...(Tony, 36)

This quote was taken from an interview with a single unemployed mother of two small children, who lived in a relatively small apart-

ment. She admitted that one of the pleasures she derived from playing *The Sims* was that it enabled her to dream about a bigger house and a better life. The element 'fantasy' has been noted in previous studies (Lucas and Sherry 2004) about gamers' motivations, and may be a general motivation for people who engage in any kind of gaming that is more elaborate than casual games. Videogames often present imaginative worlds inhabited by fantasy characters such as wizards, monsters and talking animals, or gamers can indulge in fantasies like flying a spacecraft, driving a race car and generally do things they could never do in real life. The options for fantasy in *The Sims* appear to be a lot more mundane, though. *The Sims* imitates real life, with avatars resembling normal people who engage in normal life situations. The fantasy that the game offers appears to be more applicable to real life: to experiment with fantasy relations or, as Tonny's quote indicated, to experiment with a more luxurious lifestyle, and to be able to obtain things one cannot have in real life. Diversion is a related motivation, where the game offers an easy escape either from a busy working day, a busy household or from a daily life that has problems of its own. The next quote is from the interview with a participant who suffered from rheumatism and chronic infections. She pointed out that for her video gaming was a way to relax and gain new energy during her daily chores:

When I'm busy and I need some rest, then I game for fifteen minutes, and I relax a bit and then I can go on again.
(Renee, 50)

The next quote clearly refers to the motivation 'control'

What I like, is that you're some kind of God, and that's really thrilling of course, you're in control over your little people. (Bianca, 30)

This was a motivation that was often mentioned by our respondents.

To make everything just the way you want it. Recreating your own life, in a way. (Anneke, 27)

The Sims is not a game that offers challenge in the sense of competition but as it turns out, the absence of elements of competition was actually experienced as a very positive feature. Earning money within the game is one of the few competitive factors within *The Sims*-gameplay, but we found that a majority of our gamers eliminated this factor by using a 'cheat', a secret code to gain more money.

I learned a great trick that enables you to spend more money. They all live in very shabby houses when you start out, and they have to work really hard. I love it that I discovered that trick. You can give them 50.000 euros and you can build beautiful houses for them. (Lenny, 58)

Their lack of need for competition does not indicate, however, that our participants do not appreciate the overall challenge the game offers. As Mosberg Iverson (2005) has pointed out, the concept of challenge within *The Sims*-gameplay does not so much consist of beating the game or pushing oneself to get to a higher level, but in the act of designing a house, or making sure that the needs of the characters are met adequately. These forms of challenge have been mentioned many times by our participants, and are indeed seen as one of the enjoyable factors of the game:

In *Sims2* you have to fulfill life wishes, as to get the best job or to raise ten children and then I decide to do that and it's really hard and then I really enjoy that they put this challenge in the game. (Michelle, 19)

Among our respondents we noted a striking lack of interest in the social possibilities of video gaming, as for instance can be seen among young male gamers that gather physically at so-called LAN parties to play their favorite games (Jansz and Martens 2005). Some of the gaming mothers sometimes do play together with their children, but most of them made clear that this was not an ideal situation, and that they preferred to play alone. For this group of gamers, playing apparently is a solitary experience that they enjoy doing in their own home, in their own time, for their own individual pleasure. While for the gamers that Mosberg Iverson (2013) interviewed online, online communication was an important part of their game-

play, this was clearly not the case with the current sample. This difference can be attributed to the fact that Mosberg Iverson contacted her respondents through an online fan community.

Technology

When it came to the use of technology, the stereotypical division along gender lines was still applicable to some of the women in our study. They considered their father, husband, boyfriend or son as the authority on all things technical within the household. Other gamers within this study though, made clear that the game had not only drawn them towards computer technology, but had actually led to computer literacy, much in the same way as early studies on games and gender indicated. The next respondent told about how she had never really liked computers, but when she had seen someone play *The Sims*, she had become fascinated. As she lived alone, there were no male family members in her household that she could leave the purchase and installation of a personal computer to. Actually, she confessed, she had always been 'kind of against' computers herself.

But once I had it, I really started to like it, and I also started sending emails and using the internet. I even got myself ADSL. I learned quickly, and really, it wasn't that hard at all. (Lenny, 58)

Another respondent also admitted that playing *The Sims* has helped her become more confident about computer technology:

You get used to computers, I think it's more like that. When you first encounter a computer you're really scared to push the wrong button. But at a certain point you get used to it and you get more, you know, a feeling of what a computer can do. I must say I learned a lot that way. (Ellen, 26)

These quotes show that playing a computer game can still help adult women to overcome the 'fear of computers', as it had been documented by Sherry Turkle (1986). For these respondents, playing video games had led to computer literacy in a way that has not often been documented before.

Commitment

The Sims games feature several expansion packs to increase the gaming-possibilities, but only one of the gamers we interviewed had never bought such an expansion. All the other participants owned one or more of them, and two-third of the women indicated explicitly that they owned every single one of them. Many of them described the excitement they experienced on the days the new pack was to be released:

I had reserved it through an online store. I had even taken the day off for it. (Phyllis, 48)

Also gamer Tonny, the unemployed mother of two, made clear how important obtaining the new game was to her:

When *University* was released I really didn't have any money but I just had to have it. Period. 'I already have it', people on the forum were saying. Before I realized what I had done I'd purchased it. O shit, I really couldn't afford it. Well, then we'll just have to cut down on the meat this week. (Tonny, 36)

Comments like these show that this group of women is indeed deeply committed to their game, and can be seen as a very active and engaged group of gamers, for whom gaming is a part of their life for which sometimes even other parts of (family)life are set aside. But between the lines, their sense of responsibility for family and household always remained present, and they all seem to have been able to integrate video gameplay in their daily lives as mothers and wives. How much gameplay and household could be intertwined, is apparent in the next quote:

Because my laptop is not brand-new and it takes quite a long time to start up. Then I just turn it on and I go hang the laundry or something like that in the meantime. (Julia, 35)

Sometimes the gameplay influences their thoughts about the real world:

I can't really explain, but when I am in my house and I have to do the laundry, and the vacuum cleaning, I think of my sims sometimes, they have to do all kinds of things at the same time as well. (Marleen, 31)

On the other side, playing *The Sims* can also be used as a way to take a step back from a busy household:

You can just go in all directions, and escape reality. (Petra, 42)

I think it's relaxation, especially for grown-ups. If you want to turn your mind off, you just play *The Sims* for a while (Marleen, 31)

Using a videogame to escape from reality, to relax, and to step back from daily responsibilities may be a new type of media practice for adult women, but it resembles more classis ways of female media use. One of our respondents pointed out this similarity:

It's like reading a book, you're in a fantasy world for a while. (Ellen, 26)

Janice Radway noted about the meaning of reading romance novels: 'Not only is it a relaxing release from the tension produced by daily problems and responsibilities, but it creates a time or space within which a woman can be entirely on her own, preoccupied with her personal needs, desires, and pleasure.' (Radway 1984, 61). This description seems to connect perfectly to the remarks that the respondents in the current study made about their experiences with playing a videogame. An adult female who plays *The Sims* clearly indicates that her current activities are separated from her household duties: not only is videogameplay something of which most women state that they prefer to do it alone, but specifically the act of *playing*, is what a gamer uses to indicate that she is not *working*, or *looking after* someone or something. For the readers of romance novels, an important feature of the book was that they could easily pick it up, and put it away again and this too seemed to be applicale to the gaming practices of the women in the current study.

There are, however, some remarkable differences between reading romance novels and playing a videogame as well. Radway's respondents indicated that they felt somewhat ashamed about their 'hedonistic' behavior, and they reported to feel guilty about spending money on this kind of entertainment. None of the women who play *The Sims*, though, spoke about their games in such terms. They did not seem to be ashamed of gaming, or feel that they disadvantaged others within their household. Their attitude seemed to be quite different from that, and could probably best be described as *triumphant*. This observation may be viewed from the perspective of the connection between technology and the masculine domain. By playing a game on a computer, women incorporate computer technology into the feminine realm, or at least they challenge and shift traditional notions of what the masculine and feminine domains within the household consist of. And for some of our respondents, this indeed is a thing to be proud of.

Conclusions

In this study we have examined the gaming experience of a group of adult female gamers playing *The Sims*, a specific media audience that has thus far remained practically invisible within media studies. We focused on their motivation to play videogames, the possibility of them acquiring digital competence through gaming, and the ways they incorporate the practice of gaming within their family life. Our participants turned out to be enthusiastic and engaged gamers, who clearly enjoyed this specific title and our first general result thus contradicts the traditional notion about female gamers that they do not want to spend their time and money on gaming and are not very much involved with it. Considering our first topic about practices and motivations, we have demonstrated that this group of female gamers do not play the game to engage in any form of competition or social interaction. They rather play for individual relaxation, enjoying the specific challenge of the game and engaging in a fantasy-world that is close to their everyday life. Considering digital competence, we may conclude that the sheer intensity of their game play already testifies of digital competence, as was seen for instance in the enthusiasm with which our respondents expand their *Sims* game when possible. In terms of the division made by Royse et al (2007), between power gamers and moderate

gamers, we have to conclude that although in terms of dedication many of our respondents can be seen as power gamers, the negotiating of gender and game technology that was often seen, would classify them as moderate gamers. In some cases though, it was clear that playing the game did indeed have a positive influence on their digital competence.

Furthermore, we conclude that a relatively new perspective has been revealed in this study, concerning the similarity between the pleasures of *The Sims* playing and more traditional female pleasures of reading women's magazines (Hermes 1995), romance novels (Radway 1984) and watching soap operas (Gray 1992). Our gamers similarly enjoy *The Sims* as moments for themselves, for individual pleasure and relaxation separated from domestic and family duties. In that respect it is significant that mothers rather not play *The Sims* with their children. The respondents within this study have confirmed that there is a different kind of gaming mother, namely the one that plays games solely for their own enjoyment. Playing a videogame can therefore be seen as a highly modern and liberating practice and the women gamers in our study may be not just challenging cultural norms, as Enevold and Hagstrom (2009) implied, but actually changing them, showing how videogames indeed have an ongoing impact on the relations between media and gender in the digital age.

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Casual Games

Digitale fritidsspil

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Abstract

Casual games have become a widespread activity that fills our leisure time. This article introduces to the phenomenon casual games – their definition and the history. Furthermore the article presents and discusses the experience of and engagement or immersion in playing these games as it is put forward by recent research. The theoretical approach is based on media psychology, phenomenology and reversal theory. Finally it is argued that playing casual games is fundamental pleasurable to both paratelic as well as telic metamotivational states.

Keywords Casual games, Casual gaming, Immersion, Reversal Theory, Spiloplevelse

Det at spille computerspil af typen *Casual games* er blevet en udbredt del af vores fritidsliv. I pauser, i busser, i hængekøjen eller blot når der er brug for et afbræk, så tager vi fx smartphonen frem og spiller løs. Artiklen her vil indkredse dette fænomen og give en forståelse af hvad Casual games er og hvad det vil sige at spille dem. Indkredsningen vil basere sig på eksisterende forskning på

området såvel som markedsrapporter, med forbehold for den bias sidstnævnte kan have. Der vil blive trukket på teoretiske forståelser fra såvel fænomenologi som psykologisk medieforskning omkring oplevelse og engagement for derved at fremsætte en ramme for at forstå spillenes brug som understøttende bestemte oplevelsesmæssige tilstande herunder procesoplevelser.

Hvad er Casual Games og Casual Gaming?

Casual games og casual gaming er noget, der primært foregår på smartphones og tablets, men også på bærbare og stationære computere og sågar på enkelte spillekonsoller. Casual games tilhører det, der i daglig tale slet og ret hedder computerpil, men udspecificerer sig i kraft af tilføjelsen 'casual'. Det engelske ord 'Casual' kan oversættes til både afslappet og uformel, men også til noget tidsbegrænset eller tilfældigt, nemt og uforpligtende. Begrebet 'casual' knyttes således både til en bestemt type af spil (casual games), en bestemt type af spiller (casual gamer) og en bestemt måde at spille på (casual gaming)(Kuittinen et al. 2007, Juul 2010). Casual games refererer til de typer af digitale spil, der er hurtige at tilgå og kan spilles på forholdsvis uforpligtende vis. Casual gamer refererer til en, der netop spiller på uformel og uforpligtende vis og casual gaming er udtryk for en uformel og uforpligtet måde at spille på. Relationen mellem casual og hard core vil blive uddybet løbende.

I sin bog *A Casual Revolution* fremlægger Jesper Juul (Juul 2010) to definitioner på, hvad casual games og casual gaming er, og behandler dem efterfølgende reelt som et og samme fænomen. Han inkluderer både spil med det, han kalder *mimetic interfaces* og spil, som han kalder *downloadable casual games* (Juul 2010, p.5). Den førstnævnte type af spil henviser til de udviklinger af interfaceteknologier, som prægede spilkonsoller som PlayStation, Wii og Xbox i de første 10 år af det 21. århundrede. Interaktionen med spillene foregår ikke længere udelukkende ved hjælp af små bevægelser af fingrene på de tilhørende game controllere, men er blevet udvidet til også at omfatte bevægelser af hele kroppen ved hjælp af nye typer af bevægelsesfølsomme interfaceteknologier. Når Jesper Juul vælger også at inkludere den sidste form for spil, er det med en antydning af, at disse spil spilles med en bestemt attitude. En attitude som er afslappet, uformel og ikke 'hard core' og ofte i en social kontekst, samt at spillene typisk lader sig spille med en høj grad af fejlbarlighed. Med

andre ord kan man sige, at det er spil, som lægger sig op ad velkendte selskabslege, og bliver brugt som sådan. Denne måde at forstå casual games på vil ikke blive behandlet nærmere i denne artikel. Casual games er i nærværende artikel kun at forstå som computerspil i mere konventionel forstand. Men den omtalte attitude i relation til det at spille vil blive inddraget i forståelsen af casual gaming.

Udviklingen i casual games – et kort historisk rids

Historisk set kan man pege på, at casual games og casual gaming indtager de digitale platforme, da Microsoft i 1985 inkluderer 7-kabale (*Solitaire*) i sin MS Windows software (Juul 2010: 74)¹. Det store kommercielle gennembrud for spiltypen på PC regnes for at være PopCaps *Bejeweled* fra 2001, som er et 'match-tre-spil', hvilket betyder, at spillet er bygget op den måde, at man ved at bytte rundt på 'brikker', her juveler, skal få tre eller flere ens brikker til at ligge på striben, hvorved de forsvinder og udløser point. I de følgende år tilføjes casual games forskellige nye features og indtager andre digitale platforme. I 2002 udkommer *Scrabble*, som på samme vis som 7-kabale er en remediering (Bolter et al. 2000) af et kendt ikke digitalt spil. *Scrabble* viser, at brugerne er villige til at betale for at få denne type kendte spil ind på deres digitale platforme. I 2003 indfører *MapleStory* som det første såkaldte mikrobetalinger. Det er nu ikke længere nødvendigt at købe et helt og færdigt spil, men spillet kan spilles til en hvis grænse (kaldes free-to-play eller F2P), hvorefter man skal betale for at komme videre i spillet. Spillet kan også nå en så høj kompleksitet eller sværhedsgrad i sit gameplay, at det er nødvendigt at købe sig 'hjælp' for at komme videre. Spil udviklet i dette format kan også løbende tilføjes udvidelser i form af nye levels eller niveauer. Denne forretningsmodel er i dag den mest udbredte i forskellige varianter. På indholdssiden udvikler spillene sig ved at gå fra det rene kabale, pusle eller matche-spil til også at inkludere simple quest-strukturer (*Jewel Quest* 2004), karakterudvikling (*Diner Dash* 2005) og forskellige typer af strategispil, hvor varierende typer af ressourceallokering er omdrejningspunktet, *Diner Dash* indeholder også disse elementer, men ellers spænder spil baseret på ressourceallokering sig fra fredelige simulationsspil som *Farmville* (2009) til mere action-orienterede strategispil som *Clash of Clans* (2012). De to sidstnævnte baserer sig også på distribution og brug i relation til sociale netværk og indeholder elementer af

MMOG (Massive Multiplayer Online Game), hvor det er muligt at spille mod andre 'virkelige' spillere som fx ens venner.

Et andet aspekt af casual games historiske udvikling, og specielt deres udbredelse, er deres allestedsnærværende tilstedeværelse på forskellige digitale platforme. *Snake* gjorde i 1997 Nokias mobiltelefoner til andet end bare en mobil telefon, og med gennembruddet for tablet-computere i 2010 kom samtidig den ultimative platform for spillene. I to markedsrapporter fra hhv. 2007 og 2013², der jo både skal bekræfte og guide industrien, hvorfor deres konklusioner skal behandles varsomt, kan man se dette skifte fra fokus mod spillene til et fokus på platforme. Rapporterne forudsiger nogle store væksttal (en 2012-2016 beregning / prognose angiver vækstraten for smartphones til 18,8 %, for tablets 47,6 %), som det er svært at verificere. Danmarks Statistiks undersøgelser viser dog at spil i 2009-2010 var den type af funktion eller tjeneste, der havde den største vækst indenfor danskernes brug af deres mobiltelefoner³. Så en eller anden form for symbiose mellem de mobile platforme og casual games må antages at være til stede.

Casual games bringer flere spillere til spilkulturen

Den store udbredelse af spillene har ført til at mange, der aldrig har betegnet sig selv som computerspillere – og for den sags skyld stadig ikke ville gøre det, reelt har det at spille computerspil som en ikke ubetydelig del af deres fritidsbeskæftigelse. Casual games har på sin vis ændret de digitale spils kulturelle placering. Computerspil er historisk set tilgået ud fra en betragtning om, at deres specifikke kultur skulle forstås ud fra 'hardcore gaming' med AAA-spil eller MMORPG'ere som omdrejningspunkt. Men denne tilgang er udfordret, da denne klassiske type af spil i form af både omsætning, volumen og antal spillere er overhalet af casual games, og derfor nu nærmest er at betragte som en mere perifer del af den digitale spilkultur. (Kultima & Stenros 2010, p.67)

Markedsorganisationen Casual Games Association har analyseret sig frem til at casual games-spilleren kan defineres som alle aldre og begge køn modsat 'hardcore' spilleren, der er mand og mellem 18-35 år⁴. Spilforskeren Jesper Juul beskriver indledningsvist i sin bog, hvordan han blev opmærksom på, at flere og flere personer omkring ham havde introduceret de nye *mimetic interface*-spil til andre personer, der normalt ikke spillede konsolspil, men som efter-

følgende selv anskaffede sig teknologierne. Og hvordan det viste sig, i hans videre undersøgelser, at rigtig mange, han ikke ventede, ville være spillere, faktisk havde små simple spil liggende på deres computere. Mobile platforme og udbredelsen af sociale netværk har gjort distribution og brug af casual games nemt og almindeligt for alle aldre (Withbourne et al. 2013, p.892). Men teknologiske muligheder og dispositioner gør det sjældent alene, de skal kunne tilbyde os menings- eller oplevelsesfulde interaktioner og /eller funktionaliteter, som på en måde kan gå i symbiose med vores væren i verden. Den kognitions- og emotionsteoretiske medieforsker Toben Grodal har udtrykt det på følgende måde: "To spread successfully, cultural products must accord with the innate specifications of embodied minds." (Grodal 2009, p.8) og videre "Media cannot change our innate cognitive and emotional architecture, only give rise to products that may activate and enhance different aspects of the innate specifications." (ibid., p.178). Det er derfor interessant at se nærmere på spillenes oplevelsesmæssige funktioner.

Med udgangspunkt i Grodals medieteoretisk ramme vil det næste afsnit se nærmere på nogle spilteoretiske begreber, som måske kan hjælpe med at udrede og skabe forståelse for, hvorfor casual games er så udbredte og spilles af så mange? Hvilken type eller typer af oplevelse der er knyttet til det at spille spillene? Og om man kan sige noget om, hvad oplevelsen af at spille casual games betyder for den, der spiller spillene?

Casual games er ukomplicerede og afstressende

Jesper Juul antyder, at der mellem spil og spiller er nogle specielle forhold. Han angiver at "I take as my starting point the way games and players *interact with, define, and presuppose each other.*" (Juul 2010, p.9) Hvor forklaringen er, at spillere interagerer med spillene for at opnå de oplevelser, som de forventer spillene, gennem interaktion, kan give dem. Vores specielle interesse i spillene begrundes i vendingen "The Pull of Games" (Juul 2010, p.2), der i hans bog også fungerer som kapiteloverskrift. Dette "Pull" i spil forklares og beskrives som en nødvendig trang hos individer til at fuldføre eller færdiggøre sammenhænge og forbindelser – at vi føler trang til at færdiggøre et puslespil, hvor den sidste brik åbenlyst er lige til at lægge på plads – at vi umiddelbart afslutter en kendt sang vi hører, selv om den standses. Hos Juul bliver det så til en nødvendig trang

til at spille spillet. Juul giver intet teoretisk belæg for, at det skulle være sådan. Det er dog muligt at skabe en form for belæg for Juul's påstand. Balance, god fortsættelse og systematisering i mønstre er alle grundlæggende gestaltpsykologiske og neuroæstetiske principper for, hvordan vi perciperer, og hvordan vi værdsætter det perciperede (Arnheim 1974, Ramachandran og Hirstein, 1999). Dette giver en klar forståelse for de eksempler som Juul giver (puslespillet og sangen), men ikke umiddelbart for det at spille, hvis ikke spillet er en evig gentagelse af små 'puslespil' og 'sange'. Det omtalte 'pull' må altså begrundes i spillenes design. Juul vurderer da også, at casual games er en udvikling indenfor game design, der, på bedre vis end tidligere game design, formår at plante denne trang hos mange og dermed forklaringen på, hvorfor casual games vokser i udbredelse og brug. Resten af Juul's bog forholder sig ikke til det psykologiske aspekt, som her antydes, men udelukkende til at beskrive, diskutere og eksemplificere en række game design principper. Senere i denne artikel vil det psykologiske aspekt bliver behandlet yderligere, men først vil der blive kastet et nærmere blik på de oplevelsesmæssige kvaliteter, som spillerne selv italesætter samt de designmæssige principper, spillene benytter. Jesper Juul angiver fem forskellige designprincipper: positive fortællinger; brugervenlighed, der ikke kræver kendskab til computerspilskonventioner; afbrydelighed, man kan umiddelbart begynde og slutte spilsessionen; at fejle straffes skånsomt og nærmest ingen tvungen genspilning af helt identiske spil/udfordringer; og sidst 'Juciness', et begreb Juul introducerer til at beskrive den overdrevne positive feedback gennem æstetik og effekter, som spillene anvender (Juul 2010, p.50ff). Der er ifølge Juul sjældent noget kontroversielt eller problematiserende i hverken form eller indhold i casual games, hvilket står i delvis kontrast til mange 'hardcore' spil.

Man må derfor forvente, at de oplevelser spillerne søger i spillene eller beskriver som det, de får ud af at spille spillene, spejler de designkonventioner Juul opstiller. En større videnskabelig undersøgelse af spillere, der spiller eller har spillet *Bejeweled Blitz* via Facebook, angiver deres grunde til at spille spillet på følgende vis: "to seek challenge (25.9 %), to find stress relief (29.9 %), to enjoy graphics and effects (3.6 %), to beat friends and teammates (36.8 %), and 'other' (5.0 %)" (Withbourne et al. 2013, p.893). Når kategorien 'at slå venner og holdkammerater' kommer ud med det højeste resultat,

kan det skyldes, at undersøgelsen relaterer sig til spil på sociale netværk og er foretaget via samme. Men umiddelbart er der sammenfald mellem de grunde, der bliver angivet her for at spille det specifikke spil *Bejeweled Blitz*, og en mere bred og udokumenteret undersøgelse i en af de nævnte markedsrapporter, hvor *stress relief*, *take a break*, *challenging* og *bored* i nævnte rækkefølge angives som de væsentligste grunde til at spille casual games. Begrundelser som at stress af/tage en pause og finde udfordringer – måske pga. ked-somhed, bliver fremhævet. Et bemærkelsesværdigt aspekt er, at udsagnet "to enjoy graphics and effects" får så lav en angivelse som det gør. Juuls 'Juciness', der knytter an til dette, har således, ifølge spillerne, meget lille betydning. Dette problematiseres af et eksperimentelt forsøg gennemført af Erik Andersen, Yun-En Liu, Richard Snider, Roy Szeto og Zoran Popovic (Andersen et al 2011), der viste, at godt nok havde musik og lydeffekter ingen indflydelse på, hvor lang tid spillerne spillede, men brugen af animationer havde en tydelig effekt. Endvidere viste undersøgelsen at: "In contrast to what is commonly believed, we also found that the presence of optional rewards decreased play time." (Andersen et al 2011, p.1275) At anvende animationer fx til at overbringe positiv feedback kan således være spilforlængende, men det er ikke selve motivationen for at spille spillene. På den anden side så viser undersøgelsen at tilføjelser til spillet der, med reference til Roger Caillois (Caillois 2001), øger spillet's agon dimension, eller færdighedskrav, har en negativ effekt på spillet's brug. Når spillerne søger 'udfordringer', kan man derfor stille en hypotese om, at det ikke er udfordringer, der kræver øgede færdighedsegenskaber, men udfordringer, der står i modsætning til den situation og de udfordringer de befinder sig i, før de påbegynder spilsituationen. Spillet spilles, kan man påpege, for at ændre den tilstand man befinder sig i – den hedoniske tone. Hedonisk tone er et begreb, der anvendes til at angive oplevelsen, spændt ud mellem behag og ubehag, af den arousal, dvs. den emotionelle intensitet, man befinder sig i, i forhold til den aktivitet man udfører (Apter 2007, p.10-11). Spillene kan således spilles for at gøre det kedelige eller stressende (begge ubehagssituationer) behageligt.

Oplevelse og engagement i computerspil

Det specielle og intense engagement spillere kan have i computerspil, er forsøgt indfanget gennem en række begreber og teorier som

fx "enjoyment, immersion, presence, flow and arousal" (Boyle et al. 2012, p.778). Artiklen her er for kort til at gå i dybden med alle de enkelte begreber. Et af de begreber, som introduceres i ovenstående citat: immersion, er et af mest udbredte begreber til at beskrive den opslugthed, visse kulturelle artefakter kan medføre og vil derfor være udgangspunktet i det efterfølgende. Begrebet er af Janet Murray defineret på følgende vis: "the sensation of being surrounded by a completely other reality, as different as water is from air, that takes over all of our attention, our whole perceptual apparatus." (Murray 1997, p.98). En definition der peger mod, at spillet er en altopslugende oplevelse for spilleren, hvor spilleren på en måde forsvinder helt ind i spillet, som var det en anden verden. Dette skal eller kan dog ikke forstås så bogstaveligt, som Murray på det nærmeste angiver, men nærmere på et fænomenologisk plan. Et fænomenologisk plan i retning af den måde spiloplevelsen er beskrevet på af Hans-Georg Gadamer: "Der Spielende weiss wohl, was Spiel ist, und dass, was er tut, "nur ein Spiel ist", aber er weiss nicht, was er da "weiss"." (Gadamer 1972, p.97-98) Gadamer fastholder således, at der er en tilknytning til den verden spillet foregår i, men at vi evner at veksle vores fulde opmærksomhed mellem to måder at være i denne verden på. Gadamer bruger en anden skelnen mellem 'Verkleidung' (forklædning) and 'Verwandlung' (forvandling) til at præcisere den tilstand af at være hhv. en bevidst rolle i et (skue-)spil fx skuespilleren i et teaterstykke (forklædning) og det at blive en del af et spil (forvandling), hvor identiteter 'opløses' til fordel for spillets udførelse – ikke hvem der spiller, men hvad der spilles. Man forvandler sig til at være en del af spillet. Oplevelsen af at blive et med aktiviteten er et af elementerne i flow, som var et andet af de ovenfor nævnte begreber. Flowbegrebet er oprindeligt udviklet af psykologen Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, og defineres som: "Flow – the state in which people are so involved in an activity that nothing else seems to matter; the experience itself is so enjoyable that people will do it even at great cost, for the sheer sake of doing it." (Csikszentmihalyi 1990, p.4). Flow er baseret på en række elementer, som kan inddeles i en række af forudsætninger og en række effekter (Salen & Zimmerman 2004, p.338).

Forudsætningerne er: en udfordrende aktivitet, klare mål og feedback og en oplevelse af mulig kontrol. Effekterne er: sammensmeltning af handling og bevidsthed, fuld koncentration om opgaven,

tabet af bevidstheden om sig selv i en kontekst og transformation af tidsoplevelsen. At være i en tilstand hvor disse elementer fyldes ud, betegnes som optimaloplevelsen flow. Udfordringen ved brugen af flowbegrebet til at beskrive computerspilsoplevelsen er, at det primært har sin forklaringskraft i forhold til hardcore spil og hardcore spillere (Cairns et al. 2014, p.343-344). Casual games er noget andet – det er, som beskrevet, små fritidsaktiviteter – der godt kan spilles i et hardcore mode, men lægger op til mindre kortere sessioner, som ikke har de store mål (om end mange små), ikke kræver de store kompetencer og ej heller er attraktive i kraft af udfordringer. Det er nærmere selve aktiviteten eller processen, der er interessant (Hansen 2005). Det vigtigste ved immersion er således at blive et med aktiviteten, men ikke i en altopslugende målorienteret forstand. Som nævnt så indikerede undersøgelser af spillernes motivation for at spille spillene, at spillerene ofte søgte at ændre eller evt. understøtte den sindsstemning de befandt sig i, før spillet blev påbegyndt – den hedoniske tone. Det er således det at begynde spillet, og få den umiddelbare oplevelse det kan give, der er attraktivt. Det skal dog, som Jesper Juul påpeger, bemærkes, at casual games godt kan spilles i en hardcore mode af en hardcore spiller, med alle de forudsætninger og effekter som indeholdes i flow – hvor det er den intense længerevarende spiloplevelse, der søges, men omvendt så kan netop hardcore spil ikke spilles casual.

At casual games kan være rigtig gode til netop at bearbejde sindstilstande, er påvist af Russoniello, O'Brian og Parks i en række eksperimentelle forsøg: "Results (...) illustrate that playing *Bejeweled II* did indeed change brain waves towards a more positive mood when compared to controls" (Russoniello et. al 2009a, p.190). Forsøget blev udført som del af et terapeutisk forsøg overfor personer med depressioner. I et andet og udvidet forsøg, der involverede andre casual games end blot *Bejeweled*, var resultatet, at på trods af forskellige målbare effekter i hjernens aktivitet, så viste parallelle kvalitative studier at: "the end result was improved perceived mood." (Russoniello et. al 2009b, p.63). I disse forsøg har man bevidst påført respondenterne den ændring af sindstilstand, som spillene åbenbart kan danne grundlag for. Nu er det altid risikabelt at overføre eksperimentelle psykologiske forsøg til generelle almene situationer. Men det er påfaldende, at spillene i sig selv kan ændre sindstilstande i positiv retning. Har man som spiller først erfaret

denne mulighed, så vil man, som Grodal har peget på, være indstillet på at bruge den, og som Csikszentmihalyi har vist med identifikationen af flow, opsøge denne igen og igen.

Sindstilstande er noget der skifter løbende, og påvirker vores motivation for forskellige typer af aktiviteter og handlinger. Dette fænomen er udførligt beskrevet af Michael Apter i sin bog *Reversal Theory* (Apter 2007). I bogen beskriver han fire forskellige par af sådanne metamotivationelle tilstande som vi løbende skifter i mellem. De fire par opstilles på følgende måde:

“Telic	→ Means-Ends	← Paratelic
Conformist	→ Rules	← Negativistic
Mastery	→ Interactions	← Sympathy
Autic	→ Relationships	← Alloic”

(Apter 2007, p.226)

Det første par, der beskriver forskellen på, hvorvidt vi motivationelt er mål- eller procesorienterede, er ofte brugt til at beskrive forskellige oplevelsesmæssige situationer. Apter har selv i en tidligere udgivelse (Apter 1991) advokeret for, at spil udelukkende kunne foregå som del af en paratelig modus, hvilket både problematiserer brugen af flowbegrebet, der insisterer på klare mål og feedback, og modsiger de udsagn, der kommer fra spillerne om, at de søger udfordringer (fx 'at slå sine venner'). Grunden til at Apter vælger at indskrive spil i den parateliske modus er iagttagelsen af, at spil foregår i en art beskyttende ramme, hvor handlinger forholdes konsekvenser i den virkelige verden. På den anden side så peger Apter på, at “In fact, the theory posits that at any one time, four of the eight states will be active and they can articulate with each other in various ways. But only one or two of these are likely to be at the forefront of attention.” (Apter 2007, p.226). Det er således muligt at i spil, så er den parateliske modus aktiv, men ikke nødvendigvis i fokus. Casual games store fleksibilitet i måden de kan spilles på og deres umiddelbare afbrydelighed og genoptagelighed gør, at de kan bruges som ikke nødvendigvis kun afbræk fra en situation, men også som forlængelser af tilstande. De fordrer ikke en høj grad af identifikation med aktører i et fiktivt univers, men i høj grad indlevelse i simple udfordringers rytmiske gentagelse – og hermed vender den gestaltpsykologiske ramme tilbage. De kræver ikke fo-

kus på et kompliceret mål, men små overskuelige delmål og staffer ikke for at fejle. De tillader dyb immersion i processuelle aktiviteter baseret på lav arousal, men med stærk positiv hedonisk tone. Hvilket Apter definerer som afslapning. Men tillader også gennem talrige delmål at afvæbne stress og gøre den høje arousal behagelig – vi er spændte, men ikke overspændte.

Konklusion

Casual games er gennem de seneste 15 år blevet en udbredt fritidsbeskæftigelse. Det er blevet beskrevet, hvordan de i form og indhold har udviklet sig, og hvordan de knytter sig til den teknologiske udvikling af bærebare enheder. Endvidere er der blevet redegjort for de oplevelsesmæssige sider af det at spille casual games. Her er det blevet fremhævet at casual games store fleksibilitet i måden de kan spilles på gør, at de både kan spilles med stor motivation for at bemestre dem, som et afbræk fra en kedsomhedstilstand – arousal søgende. Men også hvor den gentagende proces af små ikke uoverskuelige udfordringer, som det ikke betyder det store at fejle i, kan skabe en rytmeagtig oplevelse, der i sig selv, i den prateliske tilstand, er nydelsesfuld, men ikke i en telisk tilstand tjener noget formål. Spillene kan rent faktisk forbedre vores generelle sindstilstand, fordi de indeholder muligheden for at knytte an til de varierende metamotivationelle skift, vi løbende oplever, og de er med de nye teknologier umiddelbart tilgængelige, når vi føler for dem – og derfor fylder de mere og mere af vores fritid.

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Notes

- 1 Se ligeledes: <http://issuu.com/casualconnect/docs/casualgamesmarketreport-2007>
- 2 <http://issuu.com/casualconnect/docs/casualgamesmarketreport-2007>
http://issuu.com/casualconnect/docs/cga_market_report_fall2013/5?e=2336319/6014071
- 3 Figur 62, p.46. Befolkningens brug af internet 2010, Danmarks Statistik: www.dst.dk/it
- 4 <http://issuu.com/casualconnect/docs/casualgamesmarketreport-2007>, p.4

Fritid er produktiv tid i den audiovisuelle mediekultur

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Abstract

On the basis of a theoretical discussion about the concepts of leisure and media use, the article investigates how so-called ordinary people apply different media to disclose part of their leisure time and everyday life for public consumption not only in order to construct a personal identity formation, but also in order to commercialize the self. The interaction and everyday actions of participants in reality programmes on television and creators of Vlogs on YouTube are objects for observation and recording leisure behaviour with the intention to entertain and engage other people in *their* free time. There are two principal aspects of this: first, the functionality of the leisure time in the present media culture, in which performing and presenting the self in various situations become a serious matter for the reality star or Vlogger. Second, power and control of the performance are significant aspects of understanding this functionality, which furthermore involves a distinction regarding the specific affordances of television and YouTube as media platforms. The article's theoretical fundament framework draws on Colin Campbell's revision of Max Weber, and especially the notion of modern hedonism.

Keywords: UGC, modern hedonism, reality television, Vlogs, power and control

Introduktion

Traditionel massekommunikation var bl.a. baseret på et massepublikums fritid og dermed tidsmæssige mulighed for overhovedet at forbruge medier (Jensen 2003). Samtidig var afsender- og modtager-roller veldefinerede og afgrænsede, men med de sociale og personlige medier er disse roller ændret, som fx begrebet *produser* indikerer med sin sammensmeltning af begreberne user og produser (Bruns 2008) Når medierne samtidig bliver allestedsnærværende i tid og rum, får medie(for)bruget en flydende og grænseoverskridende karakter i forhold til både arbejdsliv, skoleliv, familieliv og fritidsliv.

Medierne er blevet mange menneskers redskaber til synliggørelse og identitetsskabelse. På Facebook opdaterer og *liker* vi i en netværkssammenhæng med bekendte og venner, mens blogs, Instagram og YouTube har givet nye muligheder for at blive forfattere, instruktører, fotografer, debattører, meningsdannere med meget mere. Set i relation til fritidslivet har udviklingen i mediekulturen forskellige effekter, hvor vi bl.a. ser, at medieforbruget udstrækkes tidsmæssigt til hele døgnet på nær de sovende timer. Samtidig kan vi i stigende omfang se, at fritiden bliver en produktiv tid, hvor vi ikke blot er til rådighed for arbejdspladsens krav, men gennem medieproduktion iscenesætter os selv med performative formål, som sigter på vores identitet og profil i både privat og arbejdsmæssig sammenhæng, og artiklen spørger, hvad deltagelseskulturen betyder for fritiden.

I denne artikel skal vi således se på, om og hvordan begrebet fritid giver mening i forhold til specielt den audiovisuelle mediekultur med eksempler hentet fra Vlogs på YouTube og reality TV programmer. Produktionssfæren og arbejdslivet er forholdsvist lidt repræsenteret i vores eksempelmateriale. Det professionelle liv synes umiddelbart afgrænset til LinkedIn, professionelle blogs og aspekter af Facebook. Selvfølgelig har vi arbejdsliv repræsenteret i reality TV i form af politi- og redningsprogrammer som for eksempel *Alarm 112*, *Redningskvinder* og *CPH lufthavnen*, men det er aspekter af fritidslivet, som dominerer reality-fladen i reality game shows som *Sommer i Sunny Beach*, *Robinson Ekspeditionen*,

Paradise Hotel samt reality-dokumentarer så som *De unge mødre* og *Familien på Bryggen* (1).

Vi bruger med andre ord fritid på at se, hvordan andre mennesker bruger deres fritid, samtidig med at vi kan konstatere, at arbejdslivet som identitetsskabende faktor spiller en mindre rolle. YouTube Vloggerne er også fokuserede på at filme aktiviteter i deres eget fritidslivsunivers, hvor Vloggeren selv samt kæreste og familie og venner ofte spiller en hovedrolle. Hverdagslivet er blevet en helt almindelig scene, der bliver dramatiseret og æstetiseret i en lang række af Vlogs på YouTube, som under kameraets påvirkning iscenesætter fritiden (Simonsen 2013). Samtidig ønsker en del af Vloggerne og reality deltagerne at gøre deres medieoptræden til en levevej (Skeggs og Wood 2012, Have 2010, Simonsen 2012).

I den første del af artiklen ser vi kritisk på Thorstein Veblens forståelse af fritid og forbrug ved hjælp af Colin Campbells begreb om moderne hedonisme og oplevelsesorienteret forbrug. Medieforbrug og mediedeltagelse ses som vigtige elementer i den aktuelle forbrugerkultur, og i den sidste del af artiklen diskuterer vi reality TV og Vlogs som forskellige aspekter af deltagelseskulturen set i relation til de relevante mediesystemer samt ikke mindst kontrol-aspekter i arbejds- og fritidslivet.

Teoretisk baggrund

En vigtig pointe i Veblens (2003) teori om the *leisure class* er, at friheden fra arbejde muliggøres og værdisættes i feudalismen, hvor adel og præsteskab kan unddrage sig simpelt arbejde til fordel for deltagelse i politik, krig, kirkelige aktiviteter og sport. Det simple livsopretholdende arbejde for denne *leisure class* overlades til de laveste klasser samt til en vis grad klassens egne kvinder. Veblen knytter hertil en forbindelse til tidligere samfundsformationer, hvor kønsforskellen i jægersamfundet ikke blot handler om forskellige arbejdsopgaver mellem kønnene, men om en kulturel og samfundsmæssig opskatning af aggression. "When the predatory habit of life has been settled upon the group by long habituation, it becomes the able-bodied man's accredited office in the social economy to kill, to destroy such competitors in the struggle for existence as attempt to resist or elude him..." (Veblen 2003, 12).

Denne grundtanke om konkurrence i form af udmanøvrering eller udslettelse af andre er grundlæggende for Veblens teori om the

leisure class og ikke mindst hans forståelse af sociale og kulturelle mekanismer i moderne forbrug; her tænker vi specielt på begrebet *conspicuous consumption* (bevidst iøjnefaldende forbrug) – og herunder *bandwagon* (misundelse) og *snob* (at vise sig frem på andres bekostning). Veblens iagttagelser er foretaget under industrialiseringen i USA omkring århundredeskiftet (udgivet i 1899), men de har stadig en vis aktualitet i forhold til at forstå forbrugets sociale karakter i samfund præget af traditionelle former for forbrug.

Colin Campbell er imidlertid kritisk overfor Veblen, idet han påpeger, at de aggressive former for iøjnefaldende forbrug, hvor individer søger at udmanøvrere hinanden socialt, ikke er dækkende for moderne hedonistiske forbrugsformer. Campbell har seks indvendinger mod Veblens teori, og som vi skal se, har denne kritik relevans for forståelsen af begrebet fritid.

- 1) Høj status i moderne samfund handler ikke primært om iøjnefaldende statusforbrug
- 2) Religiøse fordringer om arbejde og afkald som vej til frelse modsiger status/over-forbrug
- 3) Overklassens livsstil er ikke nødvendigvis iøjnefaldende
- 4) Den psykologiske parameter for betydningen af forbruget er uklar
- 5) Moderne forbrug er i sin essens ikke ydre-styret, men indre-styret
- 6) Veblens teori kan ikke forklare forandringer i forbrugernes behov over tid
(Campbell 2005, 49 – 57).

Vi finder Campbells indvendinger fornuftige ikke mindst set i relation til moderne forbrugsformer som for eksempel genbrug. På de sociale medier er dette aspekt tydeligt i fx mash up og remix-kulturen. Den moderne forbrugskultur er blevet så udtrykksfuld, indholdsrig og modsætningsfyldt, at Veblens simple matrice ikke gør fyldest. Campbell udtrykker det således: "...the claim that people are motivated by an overwhelming desire to get the better of their fellows, (is) a psychological reductionism about as useful (and convincing) as the older explanation of insatiable consumption motivated by greed". (Campbell 2005, 55-56).

Colin Campbells (2) analyse af forholdet mellem produktion og konsumtion tager sit afsæt i Max Webers forståelse af sammenhængen mellem de puritanske protestantiske værdier og den tidlige kapitalismes opståen og tidlige former for værdi-ophobning i 1600-tallets Europa. Religionens betydning for en puritansk og asketisk livsform ser Weber som grundlaget for, at arbejdet får værdi i sig selv, samtidig med at man begynder at forsage lyst og umådeholdent forbrug. Det betyder blandt andet, at økonomiske værdier bliver ophobet i stedet for at blive forbrugt. Campbell påpeger som nødvendigt supplement til Weber, at den udviklede kapitalisme ikke ville kunne udfolde sig uden forbrug som modsvar til produktion. Samtidig betyder forsagelsen og afkaldet ifølge Campbell, at der bliver vakt nye følsomheder i individet så som sentimentalitet, skyld og melankoli. Man bliver på en måde besat af følsomheden, og lærer at finde en form for lyst ved at kontrollere følelserne i en bestemt retning.

Både det kulturelle forbrug og mode bliver under romantikken i 1800-tallet tilknyttet ideale drømme og fantasier om et bedre liv, og selve det at eftersøge lyst og følsomhed i kunst og fantasi bliver legitimt. Hermed er forudsætningen for den moderne hedonisme skabt, og det puritanske afkald bliver hermed ifølge Campbell det historiske arnested for den moderne oplevelsesorientering i forbruget, hvor det handler om at kunne manipulere og kontrollere sine følelser og fantasier med henblik på at opnå en emotionel tilfredsstillelse.

Det religiøst betonedede værdirationelle handlingsmønster om at forsage nydelsen mister betydning, som Weber forklarer, i forbindelse med sekularisering og rationalisering af samfundet. Men samtidig kan forbruget ses som det irrationelle rum, hvor følelser og nydelse hersker, og hvor målet er at opnå emotionelle gratifikationer. Campbell understøtter samtidig vigtigheden af kvindens/husmode-rens forbrugerrolle som afgørende for udviklingen af forbruger-samfundet (3). Det er vigtigt at pointere, at Campbells begreb om moderne hedonisme ikke blot handler om simple lykkefølelser i forbruget, men også om skuffelser i forhold til egen formåen og evne til at opnå de 'rette' følelser.

Den refleksive følsomhed gør sig jævnfør Campbell gældende i alle typer af forbrug, og hos Arnould og Tompson (2005) ses medieforbrug direkte som en del af den moderne forbrugerkultur, hvor elektroniske og mobile medier indgår i et kontinuert hverdagsligt

forbrugsmønstre sammen med sport, turisme og shopping. Vi ser således, at forbrugerkulturen gør sig gældende også i den moderne mediedeltagelse og mediebrug, hvor reality TV og Vlogs tilbyder forskellige former for følelser og performances, der direkte kan bedømmes, aflures og reflektivt samt produktivt anvendes til optimering af eget liv og oplevelsesorienteret bearbejdning af emotionelle tilstande.

At fremstille sig selv

Magtforholdet mellem mediesystemerne og brugerne er heftigt diskuteret i forskningen. Nogle hævder, at adgangen til de digitale medier og deres forskellige sociale fora har medført en demokratisering af medieadgange og dermed befordret en potentiel udvidelse af demokratiets basis og virkemåde. Deltagelseskulturen er et gode, fremstår som mantraet i den ene lejr repræsenteret ved for eksempel Jenkins, 2006 og Bruns, 2008. På den anden side hævder kritikken, at brugernes deltagelse fungerer som gratis arbejdskraft i medieindustriens tjeneste, og at legitimiteten i det brugergenererede indhold dermed er tvivlsom (Andrejevic, 2011, Hindman, 2009).

I forhold til vores eksempelmateriale ser vi, at Vloggerne har opnået en vis kommerciel legitimitet på YouTube, idet nogle har fået status som *YouTube partners* og dermed sikrer sig en vis indtjening (Simonsen, 2013). Dette markerer en tiltagende sammensmeltning mellem amatørkulturens medierede fritidsaktiviteter og en form for professionalisering af det brugergenererede indhold, hvor brugerproducenterne indgår i større organisatoriske, teknologiske og genremæssige rammer.

I forhold til reality TV er den umiddelbare deltagelse begrænset til optræden i tilrettelagte TV-produktionelle rammer, men samtidig har reality TV skabt nye former for cross media-produktion af kendthed og deltagelse, hvor vi ser, at for eksempel Linse Kessler og Gustav Salinas har henholdsvis 339.932 og 201.932 likes på deres hjemmesider (4), og de optræder jævnligt i den kulørte presse og på de sociale medier i øvrigt. Begreberne *celetoid* og *celebrity* er blevet centrale for at forstå de deltagelsesorienterede medie(for)brugere i medie- og reality kulturen. Turner, 2004 og Roijk, 2012 beskriver, hvordan cross media organiserede virksomheder i samarbejde med deltagerne kreerer basis for skabelse af nye former for kendthed i mediekulturen. Vi skal ikke her gå i detaljer med begreberne,

men kort pointere, at en traditionel celebrity i udgangspunktet er kendt for at 'kunne noget' i form af fx optræden, mens en celetoid er indbegrebet af *15 minutes of fame*; således forstået at celetoiden kun er kendt for at være bemærkelsesværdig i et kort moment. For alle celebrities gælder det, at deres kendthed skal performes og produceres igen og igen i det mediekulturelle kredsløb. Anne Jerslev beskriver det således: "At praktisere celebrity er et strategisk arbejde; det er at producere og performe et salgbart billede af sig selv..." (Jerslev 2014, 91).

Hos Bruns (2008) og Picone (2008) ses mediebrug og mediedeltagelse i et kontinuum, hvor også mere passive receptioner af for eksempel videoer på YouTube eller reality celebrity postings på FaceBook eller Twitter er med til at etablere en kontekst af "produ-sage" (Bruns 2008), som omfatter en fælles konstruktion og brug af indhold. Det er i denne overordnede forståelse af de deltagelsesorienterede mediebrugsformer, at vi ser lighedspunkter og forskelligheder mellem reality TV og Vlogs i konteksten af arbejde, deltagelse og fritid.

I medieforbruget og deltagelseskulturen antager vi således, at der er et konsumptionsforhold på spil, hvor Campbell's pointer om emotionel og fantasimæssig oplevelsesorientering bliver krydret med en postmoderne (selv)refleksivitet, som tillader beskueren og *produseren* et mediemæssigt forbrug af andre og iscenesættelse af sig selv med det formål at krydre, bekræfte, forbedre eller ændre egen identitet eller praksis. Hvis vi stiller mere skarpt ind på fritidsbegrebet i relation til hverdagsproduktion, beskriver Steven Gelber (1999) fritiden således: "First leisure activities take place in a time that is free from work, and in this context "work" includes those personal, familial, and home care activities necessary for life maintenance. Second, leisure activities are voluntarily undertaken. Third, they are pleasurable. It is not what, but why and when something is done that makes it leisure". (Gelber 1999, s. 7). Fritidsaktiviteter kan ligne arbejdsaktiviteter til forveksling, og det er graden af frit valg, som afgør aktivitetens status: "A variety of studies have shown that from the participants point of view the single most important element in defining leisure activities is not what they are doing but how freely they have chosen to do it". (Gelber 1999, s. 7). Denne skelnen skal vi videre anvende til at diskutere kontrolformer i den deltagelsesbaserede mediekultur.

Magt og kontrol

Når Vloggerne uoplader deres subjektive første persons fortællinger, ser vi, at de vælger bestemte fremstillinger af sig selv og deres familie og venner (for en gennemgang af Vlogs og første persons henvendelser, se Simonsen 2013). Det er ikke hvad som helst, Vloggeren ønsker at lade sit trofaste publikum være vidne til. Arbejdslivet er som i de fleste af de andre eksempler, vi har diskuteret, fraværende, og det er som oftest småbegivenheder i Vloggerens fritidsliv, som gøres til genstand for filmning.

Vloggeren skaber en form for sproglig og visuel selv-refleksiv performance ud af den hverdagen ved at give beskueren adgang til en kontrolleret middlezone (Meyrowitz 1985). Hos Meyrowitz er middlezonen kendetegnet ved at beskueren får et indblik i dele af, hvad der tidligere kunne betragtes som privat adfærd, men som samtidig er tilpasset den kommunikative offentlighed som medierne – og i dette tilfælde Vlogs præsenterer. For reality deltagerne i TV er konditionen noget anderledes, idet afsenderen er TV-tilrettelæggeren og TV-stationen, mens deltagerne har muligheden for at spille sig selv ud og optræde med sig selv og sin krop som medium med henblik på at vinde præmien, blive en berømt reality star eller noget helt tredje. TV sætter rammen, reglerne og det narrative forløb, hvor formålet som oftest er at skabe følelsesmæssige højdepunkter gennem udfordring, konflikt og klipning (Jerslev 2004). I modsætning til Vloggeren er reality deltageren ikke i kontrol over sin egen performance, og tilrettelæggeren går systematisk efter brud og sprækker i en sikker eller forsøgsvist kontrolleret middlezone: Sprut og sex, som vi fx kender fra *Paradise Hotel*, får deltagerne til at sænke de interaktionelle parader, og det kan give adgang til deltagerens deep back stage (Meyrowitz, 1985), hvor de ukontrollerede følelser har sæde.

Som mediesystemer er TV og de sociale medier som YouTube skruet forskelligt sammen. TV er stadig et massemedium med hovedsagelig envejskommunikation, mens YouTube både er et massemedium og et socialt medium. Det er deltagerbaseret, hvor TV er afsenderbaseret. I begge medieformer kan medvirkende, deltagere eller produsere (Bruns 2008) gøre sig forhåbninger om at gøre deres medieinteresse til deres levevej. I forhold til TV ser vi hos bl.a. Skeggs og Wood (2012), at reality stjerner er socialt stigmatiserede både set i forhold til andre mediestjerner og i forhold til store grup-

per af publikum, hvilket kan hænge sammen med, at mediets affordances (Hutchby, 2001; Norman 2002) og specielt afsenderstyringen medvirker, at reality deltagerne fremstår som ikke-kontrollerende i forhold til kamera og klipning og ukontrollerede i forhold til adgang til deep back stage. Reality deltagernes position som underlagt TV-producerens vilje gør, at de i forhold til Gelbers bestemmelse af fritidsaktiviteters status ikke lever op til et kriterium for eget frit valg af aktivitetens udfald: reality deltagerne svæver i et limbo mellem fritidsaktivitetens delvise selvbestemmelse (man har selv valgt at deltage og der er tale om en arbejdsfri zone), men udfaldet af aktiviteten og dermed deltagerens profil og fremtræden for beskueren er bestemt af produceren.

For YouTube gælder det, at affordancen er brugerproduceret indhold, hvor Vloggeren har kontrol over egen performance. Han tillader ikke adgang til uønsket back stage, som for eksempel det at vise dele af kroppen udover ansigtet. Eksempler herpå er fx den populære Vlogger, PhillipDeFranco, der i en videoserie iværksætter et vægttabsprogram, men meget bevidst fravælger at vise sin overkrop, ligesom Vloggeren ShayTards, der er meget bevidst om sin egen overvægtighed, konsekvent bader med T-shirt på. Begge eksempler svarer til scener i videoer, hvor Vloggeren meddeler sit publikum, at han slukker kameraet, da en pågældende scene er privat.

Samtidig er YouTube et kommercielt mediesystem, hvis affordance er tilskyndelsen til popularitet (van Dijck, 2009; Strangelove, 2010). Det betyder, at man som Vlogger er nødt til at arbejde for sin synlighed og popularitet. For de mest populære Vloggere gælder det desuden, at de er blevet professionaliseret, således at de indgår i en overordnet organisatorisk kontekst og samtidig modtager en mindre hyre for deres programmer fra YouTube, og de kan modtage tilskud til aktiviteter så som rejser fra for eksempel sponsorer. For reality deltagerne gælder nogle af de samme præmisser omkring kravet om synlighed og popularitet samt tilskud til aktiviteter, men det er kun ganske få reality deltagere, der opnår en form for kontrol og medbestemmende status i forhold til produktionsprocessen og adgang til deep back stage. Aktuelt er *Familien fra Bryggen* med Linse Kessler i hovedrollen et temmelig enestående eksempel på en reality serie, hvor beskueres adgang til ikke-kontrolleret adfærd er begrænset.

Afsluttende bemærkninger

På baggrund af vores nedslag i de audiovisuelle mediegenerer reality TV og Vlogs kan vi antage, at disse mediesystemer udkrystalliserer mediekulturelle former, som har udbredelse i brede kredse. Mange unge drømmer om en karriere som kendte, hvor man ikke har måttet arbejde 'i sit ansigts sved' for at opnå status (Skeggs og Wood 2012, Have 2010). Måske vil man bare være god til at være kendt, hvilket hos en gruppe af deltagerne i Skeggs og Woods undersøgelse af reality seere (2012) ses som et muligt angreb både på den seriøse celebrity kultur og på den arbejds- og studiekultur, som er grundlaget for især mellemlagets karrierelivsform. Selviscenesættelse er allestedsnærværende på de sociale medier, men med Vloggerne og reality deltagerne møder vi en mere strategisk og offensiv selv-branding indsats, som kan virke anmassende på visse segmenter i deltagerkulturen, men samtidig ligefrem opmuntrende og instruktiv på andre segmenter.

Forbrugerkulturens oplevelsesorienterede og hedonistiske former danner sammen med traditionstab og individualisering baggrund for lysten til at gøre sig kendt, til at 'gøre en forskel' og i sidste instans til at 'nå hvad du ville' i livet; underforstået at uopfyldte eller diffuse drømme ikke giver tilstrækkelig oplevelsesmæssig bonus. I dette store oplevelsesøkonomiske cost-benefit skuespil er fritiden både gidsel og offer. Ikke sådan forstået, at fritiden nogensinde har været en fri tid som sådan: forbrugerkulturen har altid været på spil, men vores pointe må være, at det deltagelseskulturelle medieforbrugs oplevelsesmæssige og identitetsmæssige betydning for individet aktuelt overskygger de ikke-forbrugsorienterede aspekter af fritiden. Man kan også sige, at mediernes deltagelseskultur er specielt velegnet til indgå i det hårde arbejde, som blandt andre Anthony Giddens (1996) har beskrevet, at identitetsdannelse i det senmoderne samfund er.

Med vores eksempler fra den audiovisuelle mediekultur har vi forsøgt at beskrive, hvordan produktion og konsumtion af mennesker og identiteter foregår i et ikke-arbejdsrelateret rum. Det må herefter være op til læseren at afgøre, om dette rum har noget med fritid at gøre; og hermed om den moderne medie- og forbrugskultur i det hele taget levner nævneværdigt rum og tid for en fritid forstået som en tid, der ligger udenfor produktion og konsumtion.

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Noter

- 1) Vi har gennemgået danske kanalers tv-programmer på tilfældigt udvalgte onsdage i 10 uger i 2014 og 2015 med henblik på at se, hvilke reality programmer, der aktuelt er blevet vist, og hvordan de relaterer sig til henholdsvis fritid og arbejde. På baggrund af Mosebo (2012) og en nylig foretaget opdatering af de mest populære cases har vi udvalgt eksempler på Vlogs.
- 2) Afsnittet om Colin Campbell er bearbejdet og oversat fra et afsnit i artiklen af Tove A. Rasmussen: Experience and Sustainable Consumption, 2014, *The Journal of Transdisciplinary Environmental Studies*, 13, 1.
- 3) Vi skal ikke forfølge kønsperspektivet nærmere, da vores interesse primært er at diskutere forbrug og fritid i relation til mediekulturelle ændringer generelt. Kønsperspektivet har utvivlsomt relevans også i denne forbindelse, som vi for eksempel ser det hos Emily Matchar (2013) men det ville udgøre en artikel i sig selv at udforske dette.
- 4) Linse Kesslers Facebook profil; <https://www.facebook.com/Linse-Kessler-211990035518905/>, Besøgt 22 oktober, 2015
Gustav Salinas Facebook profil <https://www.facebook.com/GustavAndersenSalinas?fref=ts>, Besøgt 22 oktober, 2015.

The Honey Trap

Love for the automobile and its consequences

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Abstract

A permanent love affair between man and his automobile has been going on for more than a century. A love affair based on the promise of independence and freedom incarnated by the car. The paradox of this affair is the increasing loss of freedom and independence caused by the fast growing number of automobiles on the roads every year and the inherent traffic congestion that follows. The article traces this erotic relationship between man and car from the beginning 1920ies to the latest climax in 2012 with the refusal of a congestion zone (betalingsring) in Copenhagen to relieve the traffic congestion in the commuter traffic. The emotional relationship between man and car has triumphed once again over the rational considerations in society. Everybody is still stuck for hours in traffic jams every day, sitting caught in this honey trap the drivers preserved their freedom and autonomy at all costs. Come hell or high water.

Keywords Automobilism; Leisure; Mass Consumption; Mobility; Freedom; Car Romanticism; Traffic Congestion

A couple of years ago an Israeli company named 'better place' launched a promotion campaign in cooperation with Renault to sell an electric car model named 'Fluence'. The campaign also promised the construction of a brand new nationwide distribution system of loading stations for recharging the battery in the car. The campaign ran full-page advertisements in the daily newspapers for a whole month. The explicit message was that with this new sustainable technology you could enjoy all the positive aspects of automobilism without creating and contributing any further to the vices and environmental threats inherent in the 'classic' automobile system such as energy consuming vehicles, traffic noise and polluting technology. In the feel good campaign for this new technology, the electric car 'Fluence' along with its new energy infrastructure were presented as a perfect remedy to gain a cleaner conscience and obtain a sustainable environment without losing any of the classical benefits from the old technology. The question then is what were the classical benefits of the car and how did they turn into the opposite representing a daily curse to the driver and a massive threat to the environment?

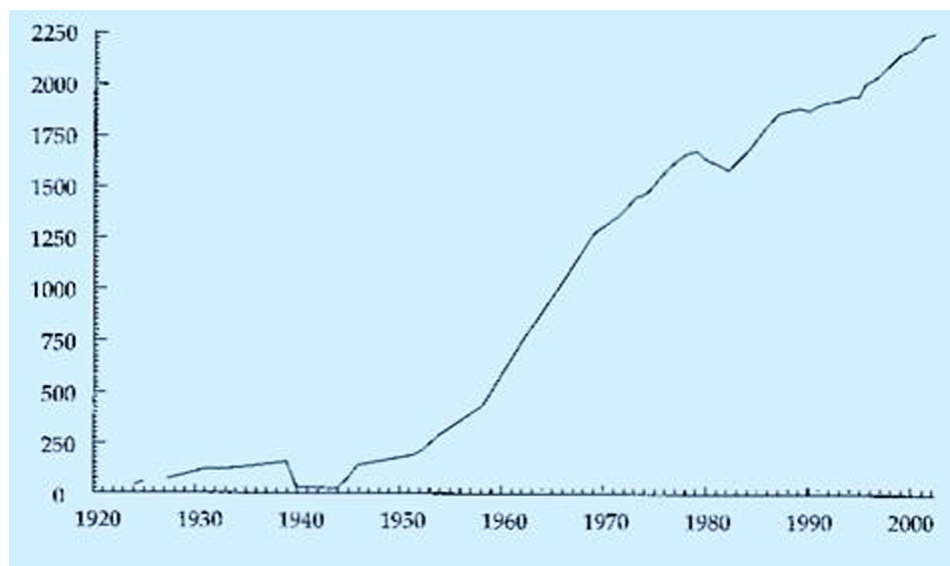
The answer to the first question is the promise of freedom, mobility, flexibility and individual transportation to the driver and the passengers, what could be termed automobilism as a value system.¹ In other words 'car-romanticism, a love for the freedom the automobile gives to you when you are driving around in it. Or as Groucho Marx stated so bluntly in a TV show "Merrily We roll Along" in 1961: "the Story of America's Love Affair with the Automobile". The TVshow was produced as one in a series by the chemical corporation DuPont to meet the growing body of critics of automobilism, as Americans offered excessive sacrifices to the automobile, in form of accident casualties, traffic congestion and urban destruc-

The campaign launched by better place didn't amount to much, less than 300 electric cars were sold to private owners during the campaign. As a consequence the company went bankrupt leaving the car owners on their own and with no system of recharging stations. (Politik- en, October 2012)



tion.² The corporation owned 23% of the shares in GM, and more than half the automobiles on American roads were products of General Motors. The TV show was an attempt to meet this criticism with more than rational arguments creating a new story of Americans special relationship to automobiles, to them they were the objects of eros, a chrome and steel Galathea. Since the 1970ies academic historians have accepted this story of the 'love affair' as a cultural fact. In other words the honey trap clapped.³

It was no coincidence that the heading of the advertisements in the 'Fluence' campaign said "I'd rather be Free... from old fashioned car technology. But I will not be without the good old fashioned joy of driving" referring to the continuation of the love affair by the car owner and to the clean conscience by using this new system of transportation. In both instances, it would benefit the user to consume this specific product. The Fluence campaign also promised 'free range' meaning unrestricted mobility for the electric car with a new logistic project, that would supply the car owner with recharged batteries all over the country, always within driving distance. It is this vision of romance and love for freedom as the classic virtues of automobilism that is the focus in this article.



Number (in thousands) of private automobiles in Denmark 1925-2000. (Michael F. Wagner: Transport and Mobility in Danish Historiography. P. Norton, et. al. eds.: Mobility in History, Vol. 4 2013, pp.115-128)

We find the same type of message of love for the freedom of the automobile as a direct import from American automobile culture, when we go back to the early stages in the history of Danish automobilism. In the beginning of the interwar period Ford Motor Company launched a large campaign in Denmark linking the Model T to tales of freedom, leisure and the good (middleclass) life out driving on Sundays during the summer season. Soon this romantic vision of freedom turned into a honey trap that lured thousands of families to purchase a new automobile every year. By the year 1939 there were 110.000 privately owned cars in Denmark, today the number is more than 2.2 million.⁴

It was from the outset expensive for the customer to put a lot of money in a car. Judging from the numerous advertisements in the automobile magazines promoting new cars in a pastoral leisure setting, this investment was to a certain extent based on a wish to drive for leisure and adventure rather than any practical, professional or commercial need for transportation. This implies that there must be a strong lust motive based on the romantic vision of unlimited freedom rather than rationality as a driving force in the development and expansion of the car culture.⁵

Farther on down the road expanding automobilism has come to represent massive and expensive problems to society. For decades' politicians, city and traffic planners has had to deal with massive problems of urban destruction, traffic pollution, accidents and congestion that follows the ever-increasing number of cars on the roads. Especially in the after war years when ownership of a car came to be seen as a democratic right the number of privately owned cars boomed and so did the problems related to it.

To this challenge stemming from immanent overload and congestion of the infrastructure blocking for the access to individual mobility came the question of supplying all these cars with energy and raw materials to keep them running. All this turned into a complex of serious political challenges with the oil crises in the 1970ies.⁶ On top of all these problems came the pollution of the environment, and lately massive CO2 emissions deriving from automobilism that is a substantial contribution to global heating. It was only the last two of these problems 'better place' and Renault offered a technological solution to, but in the end this initiative did not solve anything. Within a year after launching the campaign 'bet-



“Free and independent!” If you buy a Ford T this will make you free and independent, because now you can go anywhere you want to. That is the first message in this advertisement for individual mobility. This message goes for men as well as for women, but the second message is a special offer to the emancipated woman who wants more freedom and independence in mobility. (Ford Magasinet, May 1925)

ter place’ went bankrupt and the Danish company was dissolved.

What the car promises

Let us take a closer look at early Car-romanticism and the car promises of freedom and independence as they were presented to the public in a couple of advertisements from the Danish division of Ford Motor Company between 1923 and 1925. In a general perspective, the automobile represented a possibility for individual mobility and private transportation based on a personal choice. It also gave a higher social status to the owner of the car and it incarnated the dream of the good life of leisure, as I will demonstrate in the following analysis.⁷

In the early spring of 1925 Ford published an advertisement in the touring club FDMs magazine *Motor* and also in the company’s own magazine *Ford Nyt* featuring a chic young woman in an open landscape with a Ford T in the background. The heading of the advertisement simply states ‘Free and independent!’ This is the main message and it bears two different meanings, a general vision of freedom and independence promised by the ownership of a car and a more subtle message addressing female emancipation. In the text it is stated that: ‘The car should be easy, solid and with a low price and maintenance. It should be roomy so you are sitting freely and conveniently. The steering should be a simple and reliable construction, and steering should not demand any physical effort. A car that

combines all these properties, and must be said to be especially well suited for ladies, is the new Ford...’. This message of love for freedom also contained a vision of gendered automobility and female emancipation achieved by women driving a car. The same message is repeated in advertisements from Ford and other car producers again and again during the interwar period. Here women are not in any way portrayed as pin ups placed on the hood as eye catcher,

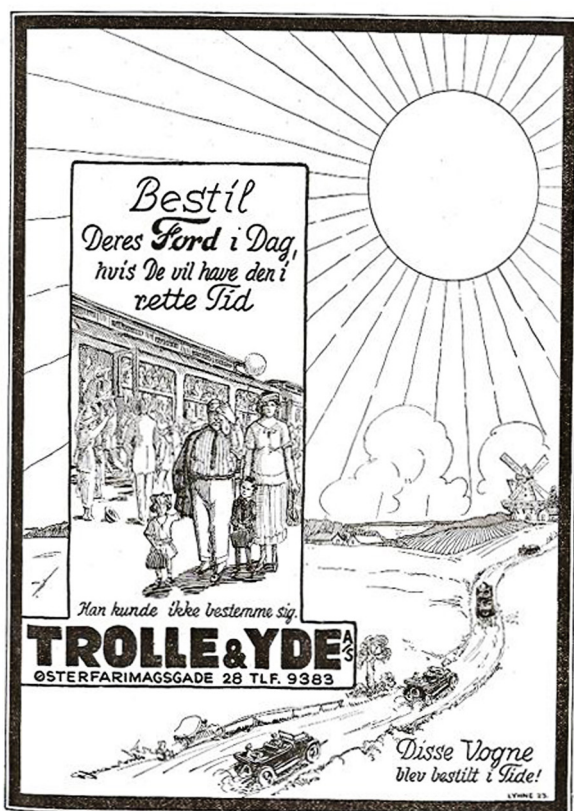
but are seriously considered competent drivers mastering and loving their machines at the same level as men.

In the wake of this appropriation of the car by Women thrived a new industry of driving schools formally teaching women the right manners to drive and how to behave in the traffic. Oddly enough, earlier on driving schools had never seemed to be a necessity to the male driver, soon it was mandatory to all new drivers. Till then there was no driver's license and no formal teaching, male drivers had simply learned to drive the natural way - learning by doing so to speak.

Two years earlier during the winter 1923 one of Fords main dealers in Copenhagen Trolle & Yde launched a rather aggressive campaign urging customers to preorder a car *now* if they wanted to get out and drive around during the coming summer in a car of their own. Presumably, the production of cars at the assembly line in the factory in Copenhagen could no longer meet the increasing demand from the many new customers who (maybe) wanted to buy a Ford T.

In May 1923 Trolle & Yde published an advertisement where the message love of freedom covers three different layers. An inserted picture in the main frame shows us a middle class family ready to leave for the countryside. Portrayed in the summer heat standing sweaty on the train platform in front of a steaming train already crammed with passengers, there was a message above them saying: 'Order your Ford today, if you want to have it in timely manner'; and at the feet of this family lies the conclusion: 'He could not decide (to order in time)'. Consequently, as victims of this indecision the family was forced to leave by train if they wanted to go anywhere. It is a general assumption in car romanticism, that the train system is the antithesis to personal freedom and individual mobility, here it was manifest.

The main frame of the advertisement shows a typical Danish rural landscape in the summertime



If you order your Ford today, you will be able to visit the national historic icon Dybbøl Mill without having the inconvenience of going there by train. You will be free as the bird in a Ford model T Touring. (Motor, May 1923)

with a small road leading up to a windmill on top of a hill and with some farmhouses and a small fjord in the background. There are four cars (Ford Touring) racing towards the mill celebrating individual freedom of mobility and the laconic message below the picture reads 'These cars were ordered in time'.

The third layer has a more subtle message of freedom concerning the foremost symbol of the nation's struggle for survival, freedom and independence. The four drivers are on a pilgrimage to the national romantic symbol Dybbøl Mølle. The mill is situated very close to the largest Danish fortress Dybbøl Skanse where the decisive battle stood in the 2. Sleswick War against Prussia and Austria in April 1864. The Prussian artillery used to aim at the mill when they bombarded the fortifications. During the heavy bombardment, the mill fell to pieces, but there was a saying that as long as the mill was running the fortress was invincible. After the fortress was defeated, the mill turned into a national icon symbolizing the struggle for freedom against the Germans. After the capitulation and a humiliating international peace conference Denmark had to abstain the two duchies Sleswick and Holsteen to Prussia and were struggling to survive as a nation. The northern part of Sleswick returned to Danish sovereignty after a popular referendum only three years earlier in 1920. So featuring this historic location of the outmost national importance in an advertisement for a car was indeed a very strong icon of freedom and love for the nation.⁸

The car as a barrier to freedom and individual mobility

Car romanticism had its golden time during the cold war period. Especially in the sixties as the number of cars steadily rose from almost 400.000 in 1960 to 1.060.000 in 1970. This development turned automobilism into a democratic mass-movement of consumers chasing after the good life with love of freedom in a car. At the same time as the number of cars on the Danish roads exploded suburbia expanded with more than 500.000 new single family houses built in the outskirts of the larger cities during the sixties. This reallocation of housing areas changed the traditional urban structure and created massive congestion of the traffic systems not only in the weekends and in the summer high season but also in everyday commuting. A curse and a barrier to personal freedom and mobility car drivers have been suffering from ever since.

In an advertisement for the German Ford Taunus from 1963 car romanticism is clearly demonstrated. The car was described as ‘the flying carpet from Ford’ implying that it could overcome all kind of obstacles in the easiest manner – ‘everything speaks for Taunus’. The picture shows the new car in a pastoral setting with a middle-class family of four out on a camping trip in the woods. On top of the picture the heading said ‘To a desired vacation belongs a desired car...’. The text is very enlightening in the sense of freedom speaking of ‘racing out in the world’ and ‘putting up your tent wherever you want to’ and ‘blowing on formalities and just enjoy life and freedom’. But car romanticism was a far cry from the harsh realities out on the German autobahn queuing, sweating and bored sick being stuck in the congested European summer traffic.

‘Everything speaks for TAUNUS – the flying carpet from FORD’. Advertisement from May 1963. (Motor, May 1963)



- alt taler for TAUNUS

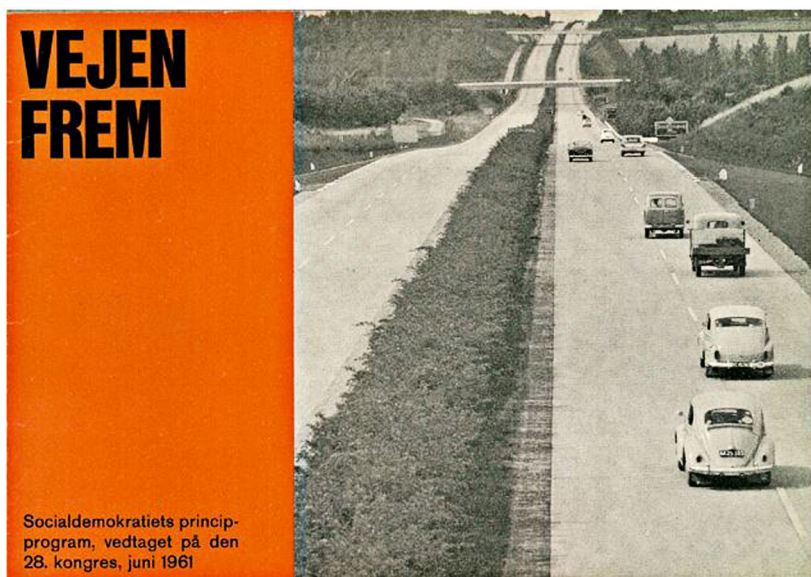
Tænk Dem at kunne kaste hverdagen af Dem, suse ud i verden og opslå Deres teltpæle netop der, hvor der er allerdejlignst - blæse på formaliteterne og bare nyde livet og friheden. I Deres nye komfortable Taunus Combi er der masser af plads til det hele - både børn og bagage. Det er simpelthen den vogn, De altid har ønsket Dem.

Lad os lige i farten nævne teleskop-afjedringen, rummeligheden, den indre luksus og det besnærende ydre... for slet ikke at tale om den kraftige 67 HK motor, hvis imponerende acceleration gør Dem overlegen i trafikken. Tal med Deres Ford-forhandler allerede i dag om en prøvetur i Taunus Combi.



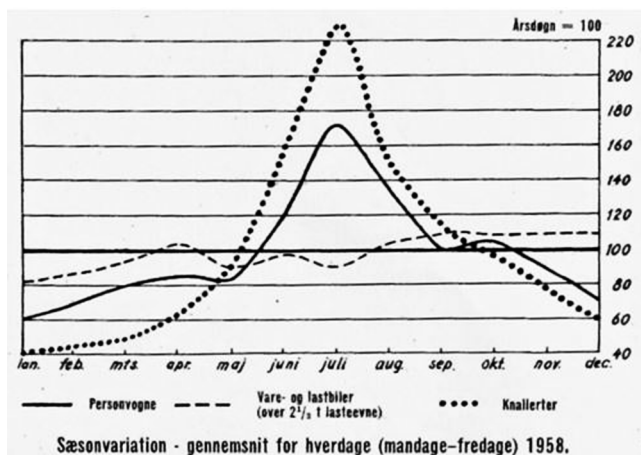
- det flyvende tæppe fra **FORD**

This message of freedom and independence appears in numerous advertisements for new cars during the Cold War period. The last economic restrictions on import of automobiles were finally lifted in 1957, while at the same time the working class prospered and increasing numbers of wage-earners were finally able to buy a second hand or a small car of their own. This called for a democratization of automobilism. The Social Democratic Party turned the acquisition of consumer durables such as the single-family house and a private car into a central part of the 1961 Program of Principles with the very telling title 'The Road Ahead'. The front page depicts a pastoral scene of automobilism with a few lonely cars on the freeway all going in the same direction and absolutely no congestion, but this was a far cry from the harsh realities of seasonal traffic jams in the traffic. Only three months later the Du Pont Show of the Week would feature Grouch Marx in an aggressive attempt to revive Americas Love Affair with the Automobile, completely ignoring the massive public criticism of automobilism and the enormous problems it created in America.



The Social Democratic Program of Principles 'The Road Ahead' marked a strategic shift from the planned economy of the Welfare State to a Welfare Society based on productivism and consumerism. Consumer Durables as the single-family house and the private car became important icons of this new policy.

In a nationwide traffic count conducted by the Ministry of Traffic in 1958 the seasonal variations in the mobility pattern became apparent. Car drivers more than doubled their activities on weekdays (Monday-Friday) during the summer high season in the months



Seasonal variations – average for weekdays (Monday-Friday) 1958. Private cars are the unbroken line, trucks and Lorries the punctured line, mopeds are the dotted line. (The Traffic Directorate, Ministry of Traffic, 1958)

June, July and August (unbroken line) while the commercial traffic remained more or less stable during all seasons (punctured line). The dotted line shows us activities from mopeds where the variations are extreme over the seasons, but this is probably for natural and climatically reasons.



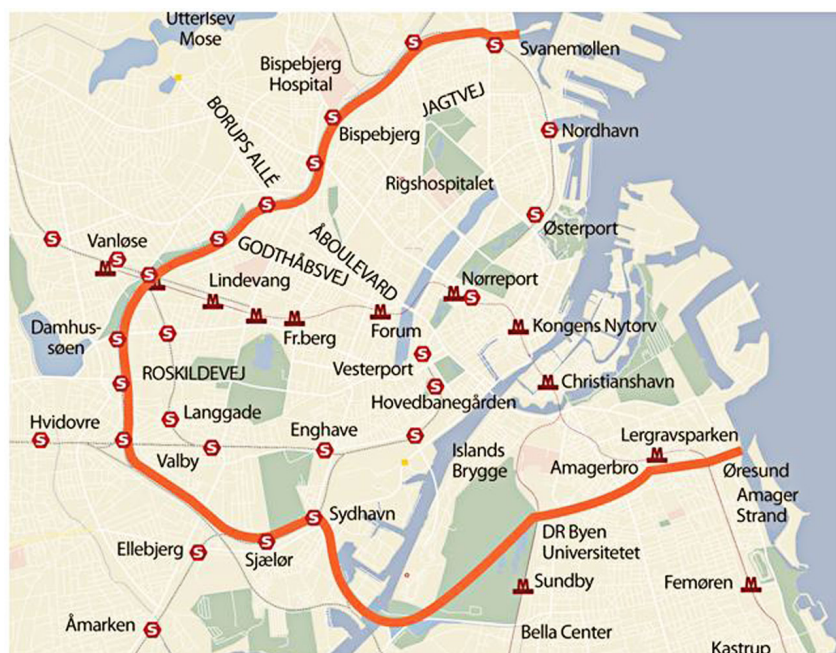
The Easter and Christmas traffic represented other challenges to the traffic planners and politicians. Here it is the Easter traffic leaving Copenhagen in 1963. Nobody is going in the other direction. (Traffikministeriet: Hundrede års trafik, 1900-2000. Copenhagen, 2000)

The weekend traffic represented another major problem for the traffic planners as an increasing number of citizens bought a second home in the countryside or at the seaside for recreational purposes. This created an enormous stream of cars all going in one and same direction. By the beginning of the weekend everybody drove out of the city and into the countryside. On Sunday afternoon all the cars returned and drove into the city creating massive congestion in the traffic system. The politicians were less willing to try to solve these

leisure traffic problems by implementing very expensive new road systems. However, this is not the point here. The point is that the race for the good life took on such massive dimensions, that the car as ultimate symbol of freedom and individual mobility turned into the opposite by the vast numbers of cars blocking the way for each other. The Honey Trap had clapped.

The Honey Trap claps again

During the election campaign for parliament in September 2011 the social-liberal government, who won the election, promised the voters to do something decisive to solve the massive traffic problems in Copenhagen plagued by traffic congestion and massive queues in and out of the city every day. It was estimated by the Ministry of Traffic that in 2010 more than 130.000 hours were wasted every day sitting in a car waiting for things to clear up. On a yearly basis, this meant 29 million wasted hours in the traffic going in and out of Copenhagen. Moneywise this was a waste of 8 1/2 billion Danish kroner. The radical solution to this enormous problem was



The controversial Congestion Charge Zone in Copenhagen fell as victim of car-romanticism 22. February 2012.

to create a Congestion Charge Zone like the one London has had since 2003. In the beginning there was not very much discussion, but when the plans were outlined in further detail there was a massive public uproar, where everybody seemed to be protesting against this project with the creation of a system that would impede or at least restrict the driver's personal freedom and individual mobility to go anywhere in the beloved car.

After a very heated public debate on this 'payment ring' where literally nobody dared to stand up and defend the plans for a Congestion Charge Zone the whole project was scrapped by the Government out of fear for the electorate. This may have been a democratic decision made out of respect or fear for the public opinion. However, this was certainly not a very wise decision. The free and independent car owners living on a romantic dream of freedom and mobility in the city of Copenhagen are still trapped in the congested every day traffic and wasting 29 billion hours or more every year. The love affair with the automobile is still going strong, and the Honey Trap clapped once more.

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<http://www.sonderborg.dk/kultur/attraktioner/dybboel-moelle/>

Notes

- 1 "Die Technik wurde genutzt zur Verstärkung kultureller Werte, insbesondere Individualität (verstanden als räumliche Flexibilität, zeitliche Autonomie und soziale Unabhängigkeit) und Mobilität, die in ein neues Wertmuster zusammenflossen, das ich *Automobilismus* nennen möchte". Günter Burkart: Individuelle Mobilität und soziale Integration. Zur Sociologie des Automobilismus. *Soziale Welt*, 45 Jahrg. H.2 1994, pp 216-241, (220).
- 2 Merrily we roll along', DuPont Show of the Week, Season 1, Episode 6. NBC, October 22, 1961.
- 3 Peter Norton: American' Affair of Hate with the automobile: What the "Love Affair" Fiction Concealed. In Mathieu Flonneau, (ed.): *Automobile – Les Cartes du Désamour*. Paris, 2009, p. 93-104.
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- 6 Meilby, Ren , Wagner, Michael: De bilfrie s ndage 1973-74 - Den psykologiske overgang fra fritidsbilisme til samfundsbilisme. *Den jyske Historiker*, Nr. 127-128, 2012, s. 239-262.
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- 8 <http://www.sonderborg.dk/kultur/attraktioner/dybboel-moelle/>

Digitalt dilemma

Museumsgæsters oplevelse af Sæby Museum

Trine Bundgaard

er cand. mag. i Historie fra Aalborg Universitet (2014), og hun har specialiseret sig i implementering af interaktive digitale medier på kulturinstitutioner. Derudover har hun udarbejdet en særudstilling på Bangsbo Museum, som var baseret på et oplevelsesøkonomiskdesign. Hun har siden arbejdet hos BusinessAalborg som projektkoordinator på Oplev Vækst.

Bo Poulsen

er lektor i miljøhistorie ved Aalborg Universitet. Det meste af hans forskning undersøger menneskets forhold til naturen i langtidsperspektiv særligt inden for fiskeri og havforskning. Poulsen har modtaget Videnskab.dk's pris for årets forskningsresultat i Danmark (2009), Hoogen-dijkprisen (2006) og fungerer 2013-2015 som vicepræsident for Det Europæiske Selskab for Miljøhistorie.

Abstract

Museum visits have been an integral part of the Danish culture of leisure for more than a century. Objects representing the past have been displayed for the purpose of education and national and regional identity building. More recently, focus has shifted towards the goals of the experience economy, raising curiosity and excitement on behalf of the spectator. In fact the former spectator is now an active participant in modern museum curation, and in particular this has come by through the advent of the digital era.

Investigating the exhibition, Tro & Overtro at the Sæby Museum, this article explores the way in which a partly digital exhibition interacts with its audience. This interactive museum experience is in-

vestigated using interviews, document based analysis and participatory observation. Results reveal that the exhibit, over all had a strong appeal to schoolchildren, while the more mature museumgoers became somewhat alienated from the digital aspects of the exhibit.

Keywords #museum, #digital formidling, #oplevelsesøkonomi, #historieformidling, #produktanalyse

Digitaliseringen af det danske museumslandskab

Interaktive digitale medier er kommet for at blive. I vores hverdag har tablets, smartphones og on-demand tv og film ændret danskernes medieforbrug. Vi vil gerne aktiveres og involveres, når vi indtager kultur, og vi efterspørger i højere grad oplevelser, som er berigende for vores kulturelle kapital (Skot-Hansen, 2010). Det har resulteret i, at de danske museer befinder sig i et paradigmeskifte, hvor overgangen fra den traditionelle envejskommunikation fra museum til de besøgende bliver skiftet ud med en dialogbaseret formidlingsstrategi. For at imødekomme forbrugernes nye medievaner har mange museer i Danmark og i udlandet implementeret interaktive digitale medier i deres formidlingsstrategi. En tilføjelse til museumsbesøget som er efterspurgt af både publikum og politikere. Det politiske formål er at inddrage de såkaldte ikke-brugere af museerne, så kulturen bliver mere inkluderende for alle borgere fra alle samfundsklasser, kulturelle baggrunde, køn og aldre. (Kulturstyrelsen 2009) Inden for de senere år har der fra den statslige styringsinstans, Kulturstyrelsen, været fokus på at få flere unge til at gå på museum. Det har for eksempel været fokus for rapporter, *Unge og Museer* (Kulturstyrelsen, 2012b) samt *Unge Museumsbrug* (Damgaard, Camilla et al., 2012).

I 2011 udkom bogen 'Det interaktive Museum', hvori Christian Hviid Mortensens & Vitus Vestergaards samt Maja Rudloffs artikler baseret på deres respektive ph.d.-afhandlinger indgår. De analyserer henholdsvis Mediemuseets 'Mediemixeren' og Københavns Museum 'Væggen', hvortil formidlingsstrategien er baseret på interaktive digitale medier. Begge artikler kommer til samme konklusion; der er en diskrepans mellem museernes hensigt og de besøgendes reception. Det gælder ikke kun adgangen til det kulturelle indhold,

som softwaren i de interaktive digitale medier i disse to cases har medvirket til at komplicere, men også forståelsen og den intenderede dialog er blevet afbrudt af en mangelfuld kommunikationsstrategi, når de besøgende har forladt de opstillede interaktive digitale medier. De besøgende skal præsenteres for genkendelige navigationssymboler, og de skal have mulighed for at tage oplevelsen med sig hjem, så de efterfølgende kan genopleve den. Dertil er de besøgendes reception af installationerne betinget af deres alder, som spiller en afgørende faktor for deres nysgerrighed, navigation og oplevelsesevne (red. Drotner m.fl., 2011, s. 43-60 og 79-99). Deres resultater bevidner en ny forskningstendens. Diskussionen og forskningen af, hvordan de nye formidlingsstrategier bedst muligt kan implementeres, er allerede fyldestgørende, hvorimod forskningen af, hvad brugerne får ud af disse, er mere sparsom. Nærværende artikel er et forsøg på at komme et skridt videre i den retning ved igennem en empirisk undersøgelse at vise Sæby Museums middelalderkælder, som den bliver oplevet igennem publikums øjne med henblik på at diskutere interaktive digitale medier som formidlingsredskaber i forhold til Sæby Museums hensigter med implementeringen af disse.

Case: Tro og Overtro på Sæby Museum

Sæby Museum er en underafdeling hos Nordjyllands Kystmuseum, som dertil udgøres af Skagen By & Egnsmuseum, Bangsbo Fort, Sæbygaard, Krudttårnet og Bangsbo Museum & Arkiv. Sæby Museums nye udstilling, Tro og Overtro, er bygget op om en kombination af en traditionel formidlingsstrategi med skriftlige tekster på plancher og historiske genstande, hvortil fire touchscreens er blevet tilføjet. Derudover indgår en interaktiv formidlingsstrategi i to dele af udstillingen. Den permanente udstilling er blevet lavet i samarbejde med virksomheden Bunker43, som har bidraget med de digitale løsninger. I udstillingen møder de besøgende fire nye installationer, som vi har valgt at kalde; *Overtro*, *Arkæologiske Kasser*, *Bogen i Reolen* og *Tro*. (Se billede 1)

Den besøgende møder som det første *Overtro*, et computerspil med et konkurrenceelement. Formålet er, at den besøgende oplever middelalderens straf for tyveri. Den besøgende får besked på at gå ind i et helt mørkt rum og lægge sig i gabestokken, hvorefter

3D-lydeffekter i fem et halvt minut skaber en uhyggelig stemning, der skal give associationer til en middelalderlig fangekælder.

Dernæst er en række af museets arkæologiske fund udstillet i små ophængte kasser, der hver især er tilknyttet en touchscreen. Det vil sige, at den besøgende kan trykke på et billede af en genstand, som så lyser den autentiske genstand op i den tilhørende montre.

Bogen i Reolen er det tredje nye tiltag. Det er en stor touchscreen, hvorigennem den besøgende kan trykke sig frem til forskellige historier om Sæby i middelalderen. Formålet er at formidle meget indhold på begrænset plads.

Det sidste tiltag er også bygget op som en interaktiv oplevelse. Her har museet med kirkeskibe og altermaleri genskabt en miniatюреkopi af Sæby kirke, som i virkeligheden rummer unikke væg- og loftsmalerier, som er svære at se i selve kirken. Ved hjælp af endnu en touchscreen, hvor layoutet skal illustrere en kirkebog, kan den besøgende siddende på kirkebænken trykke de enkelte malerier frem og læse den tilhørende historie (Bundgaard, 2014).

Adspurgt om udstillingens målgruppe udtalte museumsinspektør, Jens Thidemann, at: "Der har været talt meget om, at der ikke kommer teenagere og unge først i tyverne på museer, og at det er dem, man skal tiltrække. Det har ikke været mit mål. Jeg tror, unge mennesker i den alder har vigtigere ting for end at gå på museum, men at de kommer igen, når de falder til ro, med familie og børn, og så skal der være noget, der taler til dem og deres børn." (Bundgaard, 2014). Museet er opmærksom på den samtidige kulturpolitiske debat, men de har valgt at fokusere på at give de allerede rutinerede museumsgæster en anderledes oplevelse, hvor de ikke længere kan overskue udstilling ved bare at skimme rundt, men er nødt til at foretage nogle til- og fravalg af indhold, samtidig med at målgruppen også inkluderer børnefamilier og skoleklasser. Gennem en analyse af udstillingens tilblivelse samt dens anvendelse blandt museets gæster, vil vi i det følgende diskutere, hvorvidt der rent faktisk er sammenhæng i mellem de gode hensigter og det oplevede museum med henblik på at nå frem til en egentlig anbefaling af *best practice*.

Materiale og Analysestrategi

Den empiriske undersøgelse er baseret på deltagerobservation, interview og dokumentanalyse.

Metoden var valgt, så observatoren ikke forstyrrede de besøgendes gennemgang af middelalderkælderen. Formålet var, at besøget og oplevelsen skulle være så autentisk som muligt. Derfor valgte observatoren at opstille videokameraer op på strategisk udvalgte steder, så de besøgendes interaktion med hinanden og udstilling blev dokumenteret. Derefter afholdt observatoren et kvalitativt interview med de besøgende, som udgjorde flertallet af gæsterne på Sæby Museum mandag, den 5. september 2013. Med henblik på at sikre, at der faktisk var gæster på det pågældende tidspunkt, var feltstudiet afstemt med, at der denne dag ville være en skoleklasse (7. årgang) til stede, i det de havde meldt deres ankomst i forvejen. Deltagerobservationen dannede udgangspunkt for selve receptionsanalysen, og det var også på denne måde, der blev skabt kontakt til enkelte informanter. Ved siden af skoleeleverne bestod de interviewede besøgende af to ægtepar, Ægtepar 1 (M:75;K:71) og Ægtepar 2 (M: 64; K: 50) samt en gruppe på fire kvinder i alderen 64-81 år.

Med henblik på at skabe klarhed over museumsgæsternes indtryk af udstillingen blev undersøgelsen designet, og det indsamlede materiale analyseret ud fra Pierre Bourdieus idé om menneskets habitus og kulturelle kapital samt professor i læringsforskning, John Falks, fem brugertyper (Järvinen, 2007; Falk, 2011).

Vi ser Bourdieus habitus som en sammenhæng mellem de sociale strukturer og de mentale strukturer. Habitus udgøres af varige, men foranderlige dispositioner, hvorigennem individer opfatter, bedømmer og handler i verden. Et individs tidlige oplevelser vejer tungere end fremtidige, og stabiliteten i habitus er sin selektive funktion, som styrer individer ind i situation, som kan bekræfte deres tidlige valg. Den styrer dem også væk fra situationer, som udfordrer og sætter spørgsmålstejn ved deres habitus (Järvinen, 2007).

John Falk tager udgangspunkt i det, han ser som fem typiske motiver hos de, der vælger at besøge et museum. Motiverne reflekteres af de besøgendes forforståelse eller identitet, som imidlertid kan have en fleksibel fremtræden i mødet med den konkrete udstilling (Falk, 2011).

Resultater

I forhold til den besøgende skoleklasse i Sæby betød besøget på museet for flere af skoleeleverne, at deres indtryk blev positivt præget. Deres besøg var tidsbegrænset, men oplevelsen så positiv at flere af

dem vendte tilbage samme eftermiddag, efter de havde fået fri fra skole. Dette er efter alt at dømme ret unikt, og det var tydeligt, at de alle hurtigt blev draget af de interaktive digitale medier. Ifølge Bourdieu er kapital alt, som er genstand for genkendelse og anerkendelse, så de sås at have rigeligt med kapital til hurtigt at se mulighederne i de fire touchscreens. I installationen *Tro* sad flere elever eksempelvis og læste højt for hinanden fra skærbillederne. De var meget imponerede over modellen, og det var en generel tendens, at de hellere ville udforske de digitale elementer fremfor den traditionelle formidling. Med John Falks begrebsapparat kan man sige, at de i gennem deres besøg skiftevis indtog roller som formidler, opdagelsesrejsende og oplevelsessøgende (Falk, 2011; Bundgaard 2014).

Til gengæld tabte eleverne hurtigt interessen for både *Arkæologiske Kasser* og *Bogen i Reolen*. Det virkede ikke til, at informationerne og en begrænset funktionalitet levede op til deres forventninger til digital formidling. *Overtro* var til gengæld den helt store succes. Konkurrenceelementet og det involverende design hvor de fysisk skulle lægge sig ned, tiltalte i den grad eleverne, og der gik hurtigt sport i at se hvor højt op på highscoren, de kunne komme. Flere tilkendegav, at de ville tage deres familier og venner med ned og prøve det igen. På den baggrund er museets ønske om at aktivere og involvere skoleklasser lykkes. Med Bourdieu kunne man sige, at elevernes gode oplevelse i fremtiden kunne styre dem mod lignende oplevelser, og det kan have stor indflydelse på, om de bliver museumsgangere senere i livet.

Begrebet felt definerer Bourdieu som et netværk eller en konfiguration af objektive relationer mellem positioner, som er bestemt af deres placering i relation til de kapitalformer, som er aktive på dette felt. Et felt udgøres af specifikke regelsæt, værdier og interesser i et doxa, som er en common sense-forestilling om, hvad der er rigtigt og forkert, normalt og unormalt og kvalificeret og diskvalificeret. I denne sammenhæng er museet feltet, som besidder et helt bestemt doxa (Järvinen, 2007). Derfor kan man sige, at i kølvandet på Sæby Museums implementering af interaktive digital formidling har de også påvirket feltets doxa. Overgangen fra traditionel til mere nutidig formidling har ændret feltets spilleregler. Eleverne havde intet problem i at tyde de nye regelsæt, hvorimod de to ægtepar og de fire ældre kvinder, som alle tilhører segmentet 50+, og derfor er museets kernepublikum (Kulturstyrelsen, 2012a), havde

svært ved at afkode det nye doxa. De genkendte hurtigt de traditionelle formidlingsformer i udstillingen, og observationerne afslørede, at de styrede direkte hen til de installationer, som ikke ville udfordre deres habitus.

Med John Falk kan man sige, at de to ægtepar og de fire kvinder igennem deres besøg optrådte som hobbydyrkere, opdagelsesrejsende og formidlere (Falk, 2011). De brugte betydeligt mere tid på at læse plancher end 7. Klassen. Derimod gik de enten direkte forbi de fire touchscreens, eller også trykkede de blot forsigtigt et par gange på skærmen. Alle tre grupper var enige om, at der manglede information om, hvordan touchscreens virkede. I et interview med Bunker43 forklarer Mark Joakim Bekker Mikkelsen, at; "... der er lagt meget vægt på, at den traditionelle gruppe af besøgende på museet også tager formidlingen til sig. Sidstnævnte har vi i høj grad fået bekræftet – endda ved personlige henvendelser og kommentarer fra den lidt ældre målgruppe samt ved observation." (Interview 4. Oktober 2013, Bundgaard, 2014) Dette udsagn står således i et modsætningsforhold til denne undersøgelses resultater. Derudover oplevede vores informanter under ét, at funktionaliteten i installationen, *Arkæologiske Kasser* ikke var optimal, idet de viste sider ikke automatisk gik tilbage til startside, når en gæst havde forladt skærmen. En given besøgende ville således starte med at betragte et helt tilfældigt elektronisk opslag. Ydermere fandt de besøgende det forstyrrende, at de først skulle trykke på touchscreenen for derefter at skulle lede efter den rigtige montre, som kunne være placeret op til fem meter fra skærmteksten. I *Tro* gjorde et helt andet problem sig gældende for det modne publikum, som udviste en helt konkret berøringsangst for at sætte sig på kirkebænken, som det ellers var tanken med installationen (Bundgaard, 2014).

Herom kan man sige, at det modne publikums kulturelle kapital ikke anerkendte, at det er tilladt at røre ved ting på et museum. Derfor styrede de udenom de digitale dele. Deres referencesystem var betydeligt anderledes end elevernes, og det må antages at være en væsentlig udfordring, hvis museer i fremtiden skal digitaliseres yderligere, da dette ældre segment af befolkningen stadig er kernebrugerne og så at sige er skolede i at erhverve sig den nødvendige kulturelle kapital til at afkode museets doxa.

Det kan derfor konkluderes, at museets ønske om at formidle meget indhold på begrænset plads i *Bogen i Reolen* skaber et pro-

blem, da implementeringen af denne touchscreen har ændret museets doxa så meget, at kernebrugerne fravælger de faldbudte digitale informationer. Kernebrugerne, 50+, fravælger altså de digitale løsninger, fordi det er nyt, og eleverne pga. den begrænsede funktionalitet." Det kan derfor konstateres, at der er en betydelig forskel i, hvad de besøgende får ud af deres besøg, og hvordan de navigerer rundt. Forskellen er i høj grad betinget af deres aldersforskelle, som spiller en større rolle med implementeringen af interaktive digitale medier. Derfor er der opstået en diskrepans mellem Sæby Museums intentioner med og de besøgendes reception af middelalderkælderens. Med et større og mere mangfoldigt undersøgelsesmateriale ville disse udfordringer muligvis blive uddybede, muligvis indskrænkede. Eksempelvis ville en gruppe besøgende, hvor flere generationer ser udstillingen samtidigt antageligt få en meget anderledes og måske mere fyldestgørende oplevelse.

Diskussion: Tradition vs. Museum 2.0

Disse resultater stemmer langt hen af vejen overens med Rudloffs samt Mortensens & Vestergaards resultater, som nævnt indledningsvist. Derimod kræver denne artikels analytiske tilgang yderligere diskussion af visse aspekter. De ældre besøgende er blevet hængt af i farten, men hvorfor?

Den amerikanske forfatter Marc Prensky betegner de to aldersgrupper som henholdsvis digitale immigranter (de ældre) og digitale indfødte (eleverne). Han mener, at forskellen findes i deres sprog. Digitale indfødte er vokset op med det digitale sprog og anderledes indlæringsmetoder, idet deres medieforbrug adskiller sig fra de digitale immigranter, som har skullet tillære sig sproget igennem voksenlivet. De ældre har så at sige en accent, som gør det svært for dem at aflæse de interaktive digitale implementeringer på Sæby Museum. I visse tilfælde er nogle immigranter bedre til at tilpasse sig end andre, og det skaber en yderligere dimension i forhold til museets doxa (Prensky, 2001). Udstillingens kurator, Jens Thidemann, tilhører med Prenskys ord en af de 'veltilpassede digitale immigranter' med fokus på at bringe museet ind i den digitale tidsalder, men måske er det hans 'digitale accent', der påvirker det endelige resultat, hvor eleverne ikke udviste den store interesse for *Arkæologiske Kasser* og *Bogen i Reolen*, hvor det sproglige indhold optræder som en relikv af en analog formidlingsform. Der-

til er *common sense* for museet og for de besøgende ikke den samme. Problemerne for de ældre besøgende i arkæologi og Tro bevidner om, at funktionaliteten, indholdet og spillereglerne betyder alt for oplevelsen. Resultaterne af interviewundersøgelserne viste således et tydeligt behov for bedre at blive taget hånd om allerede ved besøgets start (Bundgaard, 2014).

Udfordringerne ligger dog også, og ikke mindst, langt uden for et museums typiske rækkevidde som kulturinstitution. Med Bourdieu kan det hævdes, at symbolsk kapital er ressourcer af enhver art, som en gruppe kan bruge til at skabe sig et forspring i forhold til en anden gruppe. Finkultur eller den legitimerede kultur, som en museumsudstilling på et statsanerkendt museum må siges at være, er således kun i teorien tilgængelig for alle. I praksis bliver et sådant stykke kultur nemlig et vigtigt redskab for den dominerende classes arsenal for at bibeholde deres samfundsposition. Kulturelle aktiviteter er ikke ligeligt fordelt i befolkningen, da den er betinget af den enkeltes familiebaggrund og uddannelse. Det kan derfor være svært for personer med en lav uddannelse at afkode et museums genstande via tekstkrævende eller teknologisk avancerede installationer, hvis de ikke samtidigt er brugervenlige. Materialet er dog for spinkelt til at tale om egentlige klasse modsætninger i denne case. Snarere er modsætningsforholdene betinget af aldersforskelle, om det naturligvis er et element i det mulige skisma mellem etablerede versus udfordrende positioner i det felt, der udgøres af nutidens museumslandskab. I og med at Sæby Museum ikke har digitaliseret hele museet, er der flere positionelle muligheder på spil. Har Prensky ret i, at de unges indlæringsmåder har ændret sig, så er det et spørgsmål om tid før, at de nuværende unges heterodoksi og kulturelle kapital bliver det legitime på museumsfeltet generelt.

Konklusion

Sæby Museum har med Tro og Overtro imødekommet mange af Kulturministeriets anbefalinger og visioner for fremtidens museer, men nye brudflader i museumsfeltet er opstået. Denne undersøgelse har vist, at oplevelsen af middelalderkælderens i høj grad er betinget af, hvilken alder den besøgende har. Unge og ældre gæster har problemer med at afkode museets udstilling fuldt ud, da Sæby Museum kun delvist har implementeret interaktive digitale medier i deres formidling, og det skaber en vis forvirring i forhold til udstil-

lingen.. Sæby Museums intentioner har været gode, men i forsøget på at bringe museet ind i den digitale tidsalder har museet skabt en distancetilderes kernebrugere (50+) og samtidig har den digitale accent og de manglende brugsfunktioner skabt en barriere over for det yngre publikum. Det er en udfordring, som mange museer står overfor, når de kun delvist moderniserer ældre udstillinger, og det er en udfordring der får karakter af et uløst dilemma, når den valgte løsning så at sige sætter sig mellem to stole. På den ene side finder vi det modne publikum, der stadig forventer at blive oplyste og dannede, og på den anden side det af Kulturstyrelsen ombejlede yngre segment, der længe, hvis ikke altid, har været underrepræsenterede i danske museers besøgsstatistikker. Grunden hertil er ofte økonomisk betinget, men det er en helt anden diskussion.

De besøgende skiftede alle mellem at være formidlere, opdagelsesrejsende og oplevelsessøgende, og de tre brugertyper vil få deres behov opfyldt ved brug af interaktive digitale medier. Det kræver, at der er en klar og gennemskuelig formidlingsstrategi fra museets side, da særligt formålet med at lave en digital løsning i installationen *Arkæologiske Kasser* samt *Bogen i Reolen* ikke var tydelig. Denne uoverensstemmelse mellem intention og reception har en stor betydning for helheden af besøget, da det var tydeligt, at de unge bliver tiltrukket af nutidens medier, mens det modne publikum er mere optagne af den traditionelle del af formidlingen. Undersøgelsen har vist, at hvis interaktive digitale medier i fremtiden skal opnå succes på museerne, skal formidlingsstrategien og konceptet være gennemtænkt og detaljeret. Frontpersonalet skal informere de besøgende, hvis dele eller hele udstillingen består af digitale formidlingskanaler, så alle typer af besøgende klædes rigtigt på til den oplevelse, de har løst billet til.

Perspektiv

På baggrund af artiklens konklusioner kan følgende anbefalinger opstilles til museer, som bruger interaktive digitale medier i deres formidlingsstrategi.

1. Et gennemtænkt produkt
Hensigten og formålet skal være tydeligt for de besøgende. Indholdet skal være i overensstemmelse med mediet. Det er ikke nok at implementere touchscreens, hvis deres indhold er taget

fra traditionelle plancher. Mediet tilbyder flere muligheder, og de skal udnyttes.

2. En specifik målgruppe

Interaktive digitale medier er ikke nok til at aktivere de unge besøgende. Derfor kan det være en fordel, hvis de interaktive digitale medier bliver udarbejdet til en specifik målgruppe. Der er forskel på de besøgendes behov.

3. Klare tekniske og brugsmæssige elementer

De besøgende forventer, at det teknologiske design har features, som de kender fra andre medier. Mangel på dette eller nye symboler forvirrer dem.

4. Informér de besøgende om formidlingsstrategien.

Som en sidste lære må det fremhæves at frontpersonalet har en stor indflydelse på i hvor høj grad, de besøgende interagerer med de digitale medier. Derfor er det vigtigt, at de instrueres i, hvordan de bedst muligt kan rådgive i en interaktiv digital formidlingsform.

- De gule firkanter illustrerer touchscreens og i rum nummer fem arkæologiske kasser.
- De røde kryds illustrerer kameraernes placeringer.
- Mellem rum nummer syv og ni er en mindre gang, hvor der er skriftlige paratekster på plancher.
- Rum nummer otte er aktivitetsrum for børn, hvor der blandt andet kan findes udklædningsgenstande.



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The Socialist Modern at Rest and Play

Spaces of Leisure in North Korea

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Abstract

Conventionally conceived of as entirely lacking in frivolity or playfulness, its' citizens time and energy and its' geographic spaces harnessed only to the prerogatives of political and military production, North Korea is regarded as the 'terra nullis' of leisure activity. However in the light of the Korean peninsula's forceful encounter with Japanese Imperialist modernity, this paper examines connections between the introduction of sporting, leisurely and non-productive modes of production and relation at the behest of colonialism and North Korea's conception of a leisure fit for the socialist modern. Far from a blank leisure canvas, Pyongyang's political and cultural repertoire of praxis has required and supported an extensive network of narrative, ideology, infrastructure and facilities focused on politically appropriate sport, and entertainment which embedded and enmeshed leisure and non-productive time at the heart of Pyongyang's acutely charismatic and theatric political form.

Keywords #North Korea #Korean Peninsula #Socialist Leisure #Colonial Leisure #Sporting Diplomacy

Prefatory Note:

Romanization strategies are considerably different between the two Korean nations. This paper generally encounters texts and documents generated within North Korea and therefore for ease of use and objectivity, the author has used the current North Korean Romanization in direct quotation from texts published in North Korea and uses the Romanization and for place names and events occurring with North Korea. There is one exception to this, for ease of use, the author utilises the South Korean approach to hyphenation of personal names, including those of North Korea's leadership whose names are normally un-hyphenated.

The research for this paper has received generous support from the Academy of Korean Studies (AKS-2010-DZZ-3104). Elements of this paper have been read and edited by Dr Adam Cathcart, Christopher Green and Steven Denney and the author wishes to note their support and encouragement.

"Our sportspeople undauntedly fought by our own style of tactics in the 17th Asian Games and world championships to exalt the honour of the country and greatly encourage the service personnel and people who were out in the struggle to defend socialism..." (Rodong Sinmun 2015)

Kim Jong-un's paeon to North Korea's women's football team following their victory over Japan at the 17th Asian Games in Incheon, South Korea appears within a New Years Message replete with assertions that seem some distance from what might be conceived of as sporting or leisurely. As 2015 began North Korea's Supreme Leader outlined a developmental agenda that appeared to have much in common with that of Socialist or Communist nations of the past. Calls to improve the efficiency of the People's Army, increase technological development and production capacity within fishing and stockbreeding sectors hark backwards earlier eras conceptualized elsewhere as those of inefficiency and drab austerity, a socialism of stasis and stagnation.

While North Korea as a nation rather contradictorily may be conceived of as not in the least bit stagnant, instead as threat, risk and danger (Becker 2005), a governmental, and philosophical outlier, characterized as Hazel Smith has put it as "sad, bad, or mad" (Smith 2000), Pyongyang's approach as well as its narrative output

places it in the popular imagination very much in this framework of austere socialism. North Korea's reigning regime has always been held to be one of the most autocratic political manifestations ever produced, at times considered to have absolutely no interest in its citizen's well-being (Green 2013) and determined to exist by extortion and coercion, a Soprano State (Chestnut 2005). It is in fact conceivable that sporting success such as that at the 17th Asian Games, could be entirely focused on the legitimation of the Kim family and the complex web of institutions which support them, forming a key part of the structure and processes of North Korean autocracy.

A close examination in the form of analysis of local discourse and the content of North Korean government output and historical narrative production however suggests there have always been elements to the discourse of local leisure and non-productive activity existing outside of the loop of militaristic, autocracy. This paper will investigate these elements, beginning with a review of the historical processes of sporting leisure and its inculcation into the Korean Peninsula through its colonization by Imperial Japan. It will then track the development of leisure, entertainment and sporting activity and its embedding within physical terrains and their interaction with North Korea's political form. This analysis of North Korea's cultural output and political narrative will bring the reader to the recent past, but not quite to the absolute present. In spite of the paper's author's experience of field work in North Korea, its contemporary leisure terrains are difficult to access or analyze in an empirical or objective manner, a common experience for the North Korean analyst. In conclusion therefore this paper having sought to encounter Pyongyang's particular, acute vision of Socialist modernity also narrates some of those methodological difficulties which in spite of North Korea's current relative openness beset and circumscribe our encounters with its population's lived experience of the terrains of play and leisure and entertainment.

Leisure under the Colonial master I

The Korean Peninsula encountered 'modernity' during the Japanese colonial period. This included of course 'modernist' conceptions of leisure and leisure time. Korea's more ancient sporting forms are recounted by Gwang Ok as after diminishing under Confucian influence during the early Yi dynasty (beginning in 1392), been pri-

marily focused on developing the physical strength necessary for war fighting following the Hideyoshi invasions of the 16th century. During the colonial period community and traditional combat focused sport was “prohibited for fear that it might encourage the spirit of the warrior and belligerent attitudes...” (Gwang Ok 2007, 150). Japanese colonial authorities sought instead to reconfigure sporting culture according to Guttman’s (1978), secular, rational and standardised form. Chosen’s Government General instituted new curricula and programmes focused on the development of ‘modern’ forms of leisure, forms which even twenty years hence had been regarded with horror and confusion (Gwang Ok 2007).

Chosen made substantial, if unilateral and coerced progress in a very short historical period. Koen De Ceuster for example, recounts the 1936 Olympics at which Koreans, Son Kijong and Nam Sungjong were first and third in the Marathon competition respectively (De Ceuster 2003). Such athletic prowess and expertise suggests both the radical speed and impact of colonial Chosen’s leisure traditions and development. De Ceuster’s work considers the incorporation of sport and physical activity into Chosen’s educational strategies through the YMCA and its commitment to ‘muscular Christianity’ (De Ceuster 2003). In financial terms the Japanese economist Mitsuhiro Kimura, in an act of fiduciary archaeology within his reconstruction of economic developments during this era, asserts an astonishing 5.37 percent annual increase in spending on the leisure services and products (general inflation during this period was .97 percent annually) (Kimura 1993). We might of course consider Colonial era sport, whether instituted through the YMCA or its educational authorities as the route through which modernist visions of entertainment entered the Korean peninsula. David Rowe asserts that “sport in modernity is conventionally written as a process of cultural diffusion...with rationalized and regulated physical play either directly exported as part of the apparatus of imperialism and/or absorbed through the unfolding process of (post)colonialism,” (Rowe 2003) This assertion supports the conception of sporting leisure as on among a multitude of developmental fruits (some bitter) from this period. However as the reader will be aware, while physical pursuits may well have been a window into modernity for citizens of Chosen (or, later, of both Koreas), it is more difficult to make connection with the leisure narratives of the early North Korea

Building a Socialist Modernity **Early North Korean Leisure Narrative**

While North Korea's early historical narrative revolves around Kim Il-sung's co-option of power, the development of its institutions and 'authentically' Socialist modes of governance on its territory it gives little space for activities normally understood as leisurely or entertaining and certainly not in ways that would be understood by the pre-1933 Chosen Government General. However due perhaps to the popular impetus described initially by Max Weber (Bendix 1977) and more recently by John Delury as "domain consensus" (Delury 2013), Kim Il-sung and the Korean Worker's Party having achieved power (Scalapino and Lee 1972) beyond simply undertaking the more regular tasks of asserting governmental, institutional and political authority, found it necessary to articulate the development of cultural spaces and production.

That is not to say such developments would be recognisable to those familiar with leisure framework's based on consumption. While one day artistic productions in North Korea might serve as entertainment, Kim Il-sung's "On Some Questions of Our Literature and Art" from 1951 asserts that "Our writers and artists are entrusted with very important tasks today when the Korean people are fighting a sacred war of liberation." These artists were then portrayed as "engineers of the human soul" who "should vividly represent in their works the lofty patriotism and staunch fighting spirit of our people and their unshakeable conviction of final victory." (Kim Il-sung 1951, 305) It seemed that leisure, entertainment and cultural output were all to be intricately connected to the needs of revolution and Party, to the building of a new Socialist polity and society

Given the urgency and intensity of this political connection and its content, practices of entertainment, of cultural commemoration, and of frivolity disconnected from these imperatives of revolution or liberation seem perhaps impossible or forbidden. However even at this early moment of North Korean cultural endeavor, activities which one day might be categorized as leisurely, are not only perceived as possible, but conceptualized through the lens of assertive revolutionary nationalism.

"Pansori lacks interest since it is too old-fashioned. The ballads of the southern provinces are what nobles would

chant over their wine cups in the days when they used to wear horse-hair hats and ride about on donkeys" (Kim Il-sung 1964, 389)

Before Pyongyang's institutions had developed a level of functionality capable of managing the challenges of elite sporting endeavor, Party and community groups were capable of organizing ideologically acceptable and popular or semi-leisurely musical events. Kim Il-sung's denunciation of "Pansori" songs makes strong connection with the political vision of leisure activity presented in 1961's "A Happy and Cheerful Life for the Working People." (Kim Il-sung 1961) Amateur singing and performance activities were rooted in Korean traditions (Park 2000), yet could be connected to the needs of Korean Workers Party politics. Kim Il-sung's "On Creating Revolutionary Literature and Art" outlines a musical and ideological repertoire for these productions and for more general popular consumption. Kim conceives of this musical milieu as being very much one of leisurely interaction and consumption, yet at the same time asserts that it must fit with the needs of ideology, revolution and unification:

"Writers and artists engaged in such fields as literature, the cinema, music and dance have a very great part to play in inspiring people with revolutionary spirit... our literature and art should serve not only socialist construction in the north, but also the struggle of the whole Korean people for the south Korean revolution and the unification of the fatherland." (Kim Il-sung 1964, 381)

Leisure, Charisma and the Cinema

Having mastered some of the functionality required for the early arrangement of leisure spaces and infrastructures that would support live performance, Kim Il-sung's suggestion in the previous quotation moves the field of entertainment to the cinema. In spite however of the extraordinary edifices built elsewhere in the world for the production of film, Kim Il-sung conceives it as a form of leisure not restricted by site or complicated infrastructure. Cinema with a projector can be brought to people, citizens, and revolutionaries anywhere, so any space can be a place of ideological educa-

tion and leisure. Kim Il-sung in fact called the cinema “in many respects... superior to other forms of literature and art,” noting its site-based advantages.

“Plays or a chorus of 3000 people, for instance can be performed only on theatre stages.... Films, however can be screened anywhere, both in towns and villages, and can be shown simultaneously throughout the country.” (Kim Il-sung, 1966, 232).

This mobility and flexibility of conceptual or infrastructural form of course supported cinema’s co-option by Party and ideological interests. In part Pyongyang’s conception of the utility of its form and ease of use perhaps explains Kim Il-sung’s son and second leader of North Korea, Kim Jong-il’s later near obsession with film production (Armstrong, 2002) and the focus of wide national strategies towards the generation of greater, more artistic, more impactful, cinematic production (Kim, 2008).

While cinematic production, filmic output continued to be vital and key to Pyongyang’s leisure strategies and at times its diplomatic activities in the wider world (Armstrong, 2011) during the remainder of the 1960s and 1970s, as well as of interest to Kim Jong-il (Armstrong, 2002), Kim Il-sung offered little commitment or comment as to the generation of built leisure environments centered around film, leaving little tangible physical investment in infrastructure other than reconstruction of multi-use Party halls as Cinema houses (Berthelie, 2015).

While these revolutionary cultural forms may not immediately sound conventional in leisure terms, similar politics have produced similar ‘revolutionary’ outputs with which to occupy the leisure times and spaces of their citizenry. Artistic production on the socialist realist model in the USSR and the German Democratic Republic, for instance, resulted in the production of an enormous body of graphic and filmic work, meant not only to educate a politically conscious populace, but also to entertain (Dobrenko 2007). In somewhat more radical and perhaps less entertaining examples, theatric and performative self-criticism sessions were used to directly co-opt and occupy the leisure space and time of citizens of the People’s Republic of China during the Great Leap Forward (Vogel 1965) and

under the Khmer Rouge regime of the Democratic Republic of Kampuchea (Clayton 1988). While Kim Il-sung's approach was rigorous and denunciative, it was not as astringent as that of the Khmer Rouge and was willing grudgingly, to leave some cultural and leisure space that was not entirely sound in ideological terms: "There are quite a few crooning tunes amongst the songs composed by our people at the time of Japanese imperialist rule. Of course decadent crooning tunes are bad. But we can continue to sing those songs which are not degenerate but are fairly cheerful..." (Kim Il-sung 1964, 388.)

Returning to Physical Culture

Moving beyond the musical, and the 'cheerful crooning songs' of the colonial era and focus on cinema, Kim Il-sung's speech of 1972 "On Developing Physical Culture" appeared instead to pine for the lost past of colonial sporting physical prowess demonstrated by Son Kijong in 1936. The speech outlined a future institutional agenda and imperative serving as the progenitor of future sporting events, such as the World Table Tennis Championships (1979) and the 13th World Festival of Youth and Students (1989), both held in Pyongyang. The World Festival of Youth and Students was part of a wide repertoire of sporting interactions between Socialist and Non-Aligned Movement nations, organised initially in Prague in 1947 by the World Federation of Democratic Youth (Burgoyne, 1969 and Kurbanov, 2015). These events serve to run counter to the sporting competitions and campaigns such as the Olympics or FIFA World Cup. Given this framework of possibility for politically appropriate physical activity, Kim Il-sung was not required to outline a leisure or leisurely space focused or connected to paradigms of consumption or frivolous entertainment; sport and physical culture could still very much to be harnessed to the needs of politics and ideology:

"In our conditions, we can develop physical culture on a mass basis without difficulty. In a capitalist society or in the south Korean society, only rich people can go in for sports for amusement, but under the socialists system in our country everyone is provided with conditions for taking part on physical culture." (Kim Il-sung 1972, 315)

In short what Kim Il-sung demanded was the creation of the first real sporting spaces North Korea, the first geographical spaces of leisure with a distinct focus. From this infrastructural imperative would spring both some of the more dramatic sporting infrastructure of modern Pyongyang (such as the 1st of May Stadium and the Yanggakdo Stadium) focused on the banks of the River Taedong. North Korea's sporting diplomacy using both football and basketball in recent years (Green 2013), would be impossible but for the resultant infrastructure and development. And as for the less savory, assertive ethno-nationalism of strength, blood and power outlined and asserted by B. R. Myers (Myers 2012), it, too, can be drawn into this 'Kimist' imperative to physical improvement.

However "On Developing Physical Culture" bridges another gap in developmental terms, between the era in which North Korean landscapes were almost entirely regenerated to serve production capacity, generation or risk needs, such as those within early field of hydrological improvement and more modern spaces such as Munsu Water Park, a connection from one era to the next.

The riverbanks of Pyongyang on which this infrastructure was built have long been part of North Korea's political narrative (Winstanley-Chesters, 2013). For instance, the Potong River Improvement Project of 1946 served as the foundational event for post-liberation hydrological development. Once neglected, the Taedong River was reconfigured by charismatic axes of power and architecture (Joinau 2014), into a participant in the topographic theatrics of modern Pyongyang. The river connects the demonstration space of Kim Il-sung Square to the ideological monolith of the Juché tower. However beyond asserting the political requirement that the citizenry perform theatrical and physical supplication to *Kimism* (Kwon and Chung 2012), the recent past saw the development further infrastructures of leisure, entertainment and physical activity on the banks of the Taedong.

As far back as 1997, at the end of the acute phase of the North Korean famine, social and temporal relations on the Taedong were being conceived of alternately. According to KCNA reports (KCNA 1997), this reconfiguration was due to Kim Jong-il's publication in September 1992 of the text "Let Us Improve City Management to Meet the Demand of the Developing Situation." In the light of Kim's theoretics the KCNA reported, "The past five years witnessed great

changes in the nation's city management." Intriguingly, while the text focuses primarily on technical issues of sewerage and water supply management, its author also notes that "streets and villages take on a new appearance... [and] boating sites have been built on the River Taedong and River Potong pleasure grounds." The following year, the urban architecture of the recently redeveloped Tongil Street was discussed by KCNA (KCNA 1998), including the fact that among the local attractions was "a 300-metre-wide promenade" that "stretches out to the riverside of the Taedong."

By the turn of the millennium, North Korea's narrative focused on the topography of the Taedong only paid momentary homage to either the foundational infrastructural events of 1946, or the sporting infrastructures of the 1980s, instead noting that: "Many people of all ages and both sexes are having a pleasant time on promenades and parks." This appeared an urban topography now unfamiliar to the urgent revolutionary narratives of previous years; a topography of pleasure rather than conflict. While the river bank still saw vestiges of contest, such as the hulk of the *USS Pueblo* and its commemoration of American defeat (Rodong Sinmun 2014), pleasure rather than violence would now be key to Pyongyang's contemporary urban planning.

Conclusion

It is unclear if these changes to urban planning, design and amenity in the later years of Kim Jong-il's rule in North Korea's institutional mind were accompanied by changes in Pyongyang's philosophical approach to the delicate relationship between various modes of human existence; whether leisure had become a key goal of Kim Jong-il's conception of 'military first' or Songun politics (Vorontsov 2006). Just as in previous manifestations, North Korea's ideological structure and direction in the field seems light on conventional theoretical principles, but extremely dense and demonstrative in practical terms (Winstanley-Chesters 2014). Urban planning and the embedding of leisure practices in the socio-political everyday seemed to, while supporting more complex spaces of consumption for example those on Rungra Island (KCNA, 2003 and 2007) equally also enable the restructuring of developmental goals within Pyongyang's bureaucracy and elite. The era of creating "a strong and prosperous nation" (Koh 2006) towards the end of Kim Jong-il's

reign, in particular, matched these political and developmental goals to any expansion of leisure activity and space.

The space, practice and socio-political manifestation of leisure, entertainment and consumption in North Korea at the point of Kim Jong-il's death in late 2011 had of course come a vast conceptual distance from Son Kijong and his sporting endeavour (De Ceuster 2003) during the Japanese colonial period, from the immediate post-Liberation urgency of Kim Il-sung's pronouncements in 1951 and from Kim Jong-il's focus on revolutionary cinema in the 1970s and 1980s. While ridding social relations of frivolous intent, frippery and ephemeral practice is no longer a key goal of *Kimism* or any of Pyongyang's ideologic forms and the developments on the banks of the Taedong river around the turn of the millennium suggest a refocusing of efforts towards servicing pleasure and consumption, this paper at its conclusion cannot move as it had intended and had done in earlier forms, beyond the limits of its analysis of narratives and discourse focused on North Korea's leisure history and its spaces and terrains.

While the author of this article has himself walked upon the banks of the Taedong and seen the infrastructure at Rungra, so far as leisure and pleasure is concerned, moving beyond the bounds of reportage, impressionism or touristic gaze is empirically highly difficult. Valérie Gelézeau and others (Gelézeau, 2015, Campbell, 2014) and Winstanley-Chesters, 2013) have recently commented in academic publications on the difficulties of conventional fieldwork and data collection in North Korea. Gelézeau, for instance suggesting that in Pyongyang's sovereign space "...traditional fieldwork methods are impossible to implement" (Gelézeau, 2015, 2). Given North Korea's reluctance to allow unfettered access to its citizens by which a researcher might garner an objective notion or suggestion of their perception and experience of its sporting or entertainment infrastructure, or even their perception of the notion of leisurely or consumptive time, the researchers gaze on its leisure present will always be incomplete, subjective and in some sense voyeuristic. To experience those spaces of leisure produced by North Korea in 2015 and beyond perhaps researchers and analysts will need to develop their methodologies, to as Gelézeau urges, challenge "a positivist view of what fieldwork is, as something external to be discovered and interpreted" (Gelézeau, 2015, 2). For the moment, however this

paper will have to conclude with having simply given a view, a vista of North Korea's leisure past, deeply integrated with and constructed by its political narratives and cultural diffusions, a distinct product of its vision of the Socialist modern.

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Where ever I lay my device, that's my home

Revisiting the concept of domestication in the Age of Mobile Media and Wearable Devices

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Abstract

The key interest of this article is the concept of *domestication* as a central framework for both sociological and ethnographic media studies. Domestication translates into that process through which both new informations and communication technologies, interactive digital media and wearable devices are "fitted" or "knitted" into the fabric of everyday domestic life. The purpose of the article is to investigate if changes in the media technologies have any impact on the analytical framework of domestication: Does the notion of domestication still offer a meaningful account for the use of mobile media such as iPods, iPads and iPhones, and the flows of applications and content? The theoretical context of the article consists of the British tradition of *media and information technology studies* (Silverstone & Hirsch 1992, Berker et al. 2006) and the American everyday life studies of mobile telephones (Ling 2004, Ling 2008). In relation to this journal's theme on *Leisure* the article assumes that domestication is both a process that happens in the context of the domestic sphere and as such is a central part of the structural dimension of *doing lei-*

sure. Leisure is communicating with your boyfriend on a "forbidden" mobile telephone, as well as using the mobile phone in rituals of both domestic consumption and individual uses. But what happens with domestication when the dominating context for leisure use of mobile phones or touch media no longer is the home or the household, but rather the passages and inbetweens we move through in our everyday life movements?

Keywords: #domestication, #mobile media, #wearable devices, #habituating urban space, #media context

Introduktion Tæmmede medier, frigørende medier?

"The telephone is an irresistible intruder in time or space, so that high executives attain immunity to its call only when dining at head tables. In its nature the telephone is an intensely personal form that ignores all the claims of visual privacy prized by literate man." (McLuhan 1964, p. 296)

"Whether we like it or not, wearables are bringing about a social revolution. People will start wearing more electronics near, on and in their bodies." (Toh 2014, p. 14)

Senest siden Gutenberg står det stadig klart, at medier gør en forskel i menneskers liv. Den canadiske medieforsker Marshall McLuhan iagttog i sin tid, hvordan telefonen blev betragtet som en ubuden men ikke desto mindre uimodståelig gæst, der udfordrede den visuelle tv-kultur. Fremkomsten af bærbare eller direkte "ikklædbare" teknologier (eng. *wearables*) gør det muligt for brugere at kommunikere og interagere med omverdenen via medier, der enten bæres på eller er fæstnet til brugerens krop (Toh 2014, Mann 2006, 2012, Starner 2002). Vores relation til de interaktive digitale medier bliver på en gang mere intim og mindre synlig. Smartphones bliver tyndere, flere funktioner konvergeres i samme mobile medie, og selve interaktionen med den mobile enhed kan ske via tale (fx Siri) og snart også via hoved- og håndbevægelser samt kropsimpulser (fx Myo). Disse teknologiske innovationer sker ikke i noget vakuum, men er

altid del af en social kontekst. Stig Hjarvard mener at kunne iagttagende, at en lang række felter i vores samfund *medialiseres* (Hjarvard 2008). For Hjarvard indebærer dette, at den sociale kontekst ændrer karakter, fordi hvert eneste felt begynder at medreflektere, hvordan medier fungerer og øver indflydelse på relationen mellem brugere, og derved smelter sammen med feltets praksis. For Hjarvard er både politik, sprog, religion og leg som sociale felter blevet medialiserede, og har derved ændret karakter. Hjarvard indikerer også, at habitus bliver medialiseret. På den måde har medier ikke blot betydning for individets adgang til og interaktion med medier, men også for individets opmærksomhed på og forståelse af medieindholdet, af sig selv og brugssituationerne. Medier får samtidig betydning for, hvordan individet overhovedet bliver del af samfundets centrale sociale institutioner, som fx familien.

Medialiseringsteorien kan betragtes som en modsætning til *domesticeringsteorien* (Silverstone 2006, Silverstone et al. 1992). Antagelsen for domesticeringsteorien er, at ethvert mediekonsum og enhver brug af medier for det første skal ses i forhold til *hjemmet* (eller husholdningen) som en primær brugskontekst, hvor brugerne - familiedlemmerne, parret eller singlen - gør centrale primære erfaringer med medierne. For det andet er præmissen for teorien, at den enkelte medieteknologi indlemmes og tilpasses til hjemmets moralske økonomi og habitus. Denne artikel er interesseret i, 1) om og i givet fald hvordan brugen af mobile bær/iklædbare medier øver indflydelse på domesticeringsprocessen, og 2) om brugen af de nævnte medier kalder på fornyelse af teorien. Artiklen vil med afsæt i analyse af fire cases (Telenorkampagnen *Fri + Familie*, palæstinensiske unge kæresters brug af mobiltelefon i Israel, hverdagsbrug af iPod i det urbane rum, samt en kampagne for brug af mobilapplikationen *Figurerunning*).

Når medier og medieteknologier domesticeres

Begrebet *domesticering* dukker nogenlunde samtidig op med fremkomsten af det etnografiske paradigme i 1980'erne og 1990'ernes internationale medieforskning. Medieetnografien havde som mål at forstå brugeres praksis med medier ved direkte at bevæge sig ud blandt disse, og for en tid at leve sammen med dem, eller på forskellig måde indgå i deres hverdagsliv (Andersen, 2005, Rasmussen, 1989). Disse etnografiske mediestudier – som mit eget – tog gerne

afsæt i en "fikseret" social institutionel kontekst. Denne kontekst kunne være skolen (Drotner 1998, Andersen 2005), fritidsklubben (Rasmussen 1995, Jessen 2001), kammeratskabsgruppen (Jerslev 1998, Povlsen 1999) eller familien (Lull 1980, Morley 1986, Tufte 2000). En anden forklaring på begrebets opdukken er konsekvenserne af de udlejringstendenser, som flere modernitetsforskere har påpeget (Giddens, Bauman, Bech i Andersen 2005). Grænsen mellem det offentlige og det private redefineres, og bliver i nogle tilfælde porøs, i andre tilfælde befæstet. Det er præcist i *transaktionen* mellem det offentlige og det private domæne, at Roger Silverstone og Eric Hirsch iagttager, at medier og informationsteknologier kommer til at betyde noget særligt (Silverstone & Hirsch 1992).

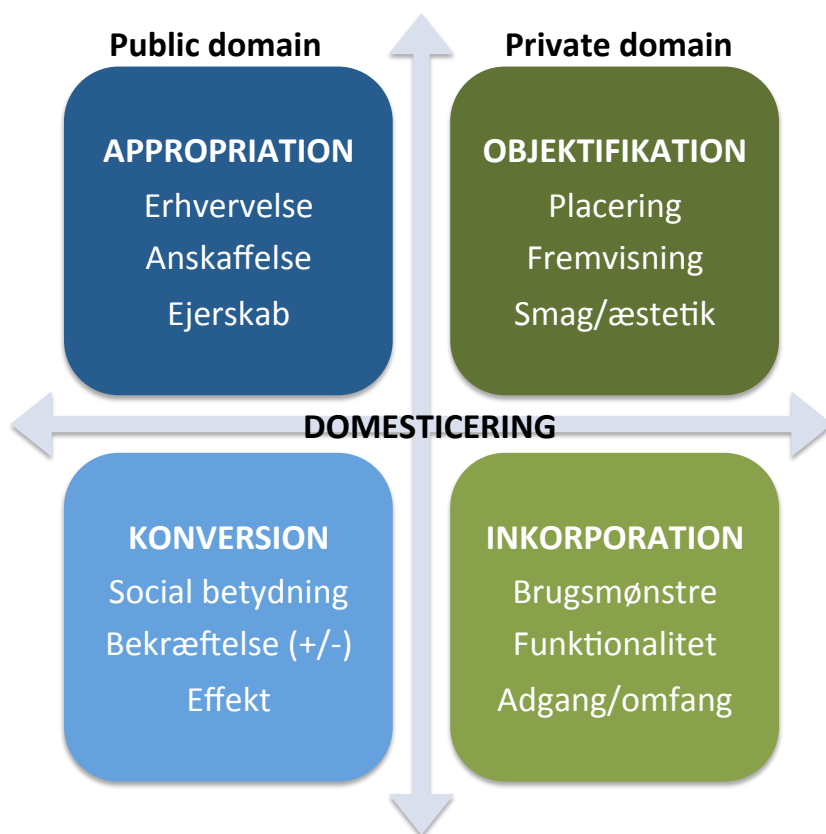
Teorien om *domesticering* tilbyder en forståelsesramme, der først og fremmest insisterer på, at det interessante ved medier som indhold og som teknologier er det, mennesker bruger dem til. Domesticering er den proces, hvor sociale enheder som familien (eller bredere "hjemmet") gør medierne til deres egne. Det interessante ved mediebrug i et domesticeringsperspektiv er, at de konkrete medier indlemmes og underlægges den sociale enheds værdier og hverdagskulturelle praksis, og bliver derved både en del af grundlaget for at gøre fritid med medieteknologier, og bruge disse i fritiden.

"[The notion of domestication] was an attempt to grasp the nettle of socio-technical change where it could be seen to be both mattering most and where it was almost entirely taken for granted: in the intimate space of the home and household. [...] Domestication was something human beings did to enhance and secure their everyday lives."
(Silverstone 2006, p. 231)

Den mediesociologiske forhistorie for begrebet *domesticering* er lang (Andersen, 2005). Som et trin i den medievidenskabelige begrebsudvikling var den eksplicite hensigt med begrebet at insistere på, at uanset hvilke pågående og persuasive former nye medieteknologier antager, så forudsætter den konkrete brug en kontekstualisering. Ifølge Roger Silverstone, Eric Hirsch og David Morley kan denne kontekstualisering netop betragtes som domesticering, eller en særlig forhandlingsproces.

“Domestication as a process of bringing things home – machines and ideas, values and information – which always involves the crossing of boundaries: above all those between the public and the private, and between proximity and distance, is a process which also involves their constant renegotiation.” (Silverstone 2006, p. 233)

Denne proces er blevet visualiseret på flere forskellige måder, og nedenstående model er at betragte som en fortolkning af grundidéen om domesticering.



Figur 1: Visualisering af Silverstone, Hirsch og Morleys domesticeringsforståelse (1992 - egen tilvirkning).

Logikken i modellen kan udlægges som en proces over tid, hvor den konkrete medieteknologi eller -produkt (eksempelvis en ny

fladskærm, en ny bærbar computer, en Pebble Steel enhed, en Jaw Bone, adgang til en programpakke eller til en musikstreamingtjeneste), så gennemgår medieproduktet de fire trin. Medieproduktet *anskaffes* på måder, som er naturlige eller giver mening for brugerne. Medieproduktet gøres til del af "hjemmet" som kontekst (rum), der etableres mønstre for brug (tid, aktører), og endelig kommunikerer medieproduktets betydning og individets eller familiens habitus eksternt.

Sociologen Richard Ling anfører i sit arbejde med fremkomsten og brugen af mobiltelefoner i en vestlig kulturel kontekst, at processen kan tilføres nok et moment: *Imagination* eller øjeblikket, hvor medieproduktet bliver interessant og muligt at tilegne sig (Ling 2004). Pointen med dette femte moment er, at det har betydning for husholdningens moralske økonomi ("the moral economy of the household"). Dette kunne belyses yderligere ved at inddrage sociologen Everett Rogers' forskellige brugersegmenter i teorien om "diffusion of innovations" (Rogers 2003). Der er naturligvis forskel på, om hjemmets moralske økonomi indebærer, at det habituelle er orienteret imod en selvopfattelse som enten "firstmover", "tidlig majoritet" eller "dem der halter bagud" (eng. "laggards"). Dette moment inddrages ikke i denne artikel, selvom det muligt kunne indikere identitet som en potentiel dimension ved domesticeringsteorien. Betragtningen er imidlertid relevant i forhold til den særlige handling, som kendetegner alle medieteknologier og medieprodukter. De skal fra tid til anden, men altid med garanti, opdateres. Silverstone indikerer selv dette ved at pege på en særlig naivitet i domesticering, som handler om et særligt filter, svarende til Rogers diffusionsforståelse, som ikke nødvendigvis er knyttet an til kapital, men handler om en særlig vurdering i forhold til brugen af medieproduktet. Appropriationshandlingen *at opdatere* kræver en form for investering, selvstændig opmærksomhed og ikke mindst en forestilling om, hvad det vil betyde for flowet i hverdagen at opdateringen foretages.

Selvom dette korrektiv til forståelsen af domesticering har relevans, og vil kunne bidrage til at forstå konkrete empiriske eksempler på brugen af mobile medieteknologier og wearables, så indebærer grundidéen med domesticering som rammeverk, at selve processen bidrager til at udfordre grænserne mellem offentligt og privat, mellem "inde" og "ude" (socialt set), og mellem fortid og

nutid, og sidst hvordan man kan betragte mennesket i en verden af medieteknologiske produkter. Her peger Silverstone på det interessante forhold, at selvom domesticeringens konserverende funktion, for både mulige brugsmønstre og etablering af grænsen mellem "inde" og "ude", så sker der noget med "hjemmets" forestilling om sig selv.

"Home, then, is no longer singular, no longer static, no longer, in an increasingly mobile and disrupted world, capable of being taken for granted. But if the human condition requires a modicum of ontological security for its continuing possibility and its development, home – technologically enhanced as well as technologically disrupted – is a sine qua non. We cannot do without it, within or without the household. To be homeless is to be beyond reach, and to be without identity." (Silverstone 2006, p. 242f)

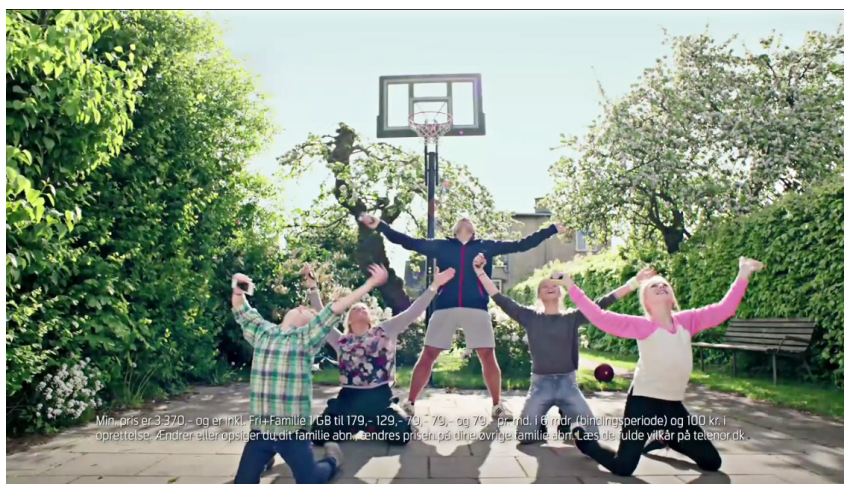
Silverstone åbner her for den betragtning, at domesticering *i sig selv* bidrager til en mulig destabilisering af "hjemmet" eller den institutionelle enhed, der stræber efter at tilpasse nye medieprodukter til en virkelighed, der i mangel af bedre kan betegnes *føjelig*. Spørgsmålet her er, om domesticering som proces i kraft af sine trin bidrager til at destabilisere grænserne for den institutionelle kontekst, fordi medieprodukterne i stigende grad bliver både mobile og "iklædbare". Ling giver med sine brugsstudier af mobiltelefoner en indikation af, at tilegnelsen og den daglige brug af og omgang med medieprodukterne om ikke har destabiliseret måderne at drage grænser på i hverdagens mikrosociale interaktion, så i det mindste har skubbet til disse grænser (Ling 2004; Ling, 2008). Ling har dokumenteret, at vi som brugere af mobiltelefoner (og smartphones) har etableret koder for og en accept af, hvordan det er muligt at føre private samtaler i offentlige rum, og hvordan det er muligt at håndtere nærvær og samvær med fysisk nære såvel som fysisk fjerne aktører i en og samme situation. Med domesticeringsbegrebet er det muligt at betragte denne accept af nye mobile medieritualer i lyset af både objektifikation og inkorporation. Rumligt og tidsmæssigt etableres der et brugsmønster, som forhandles på plads. Forskellen er dog, at kon-

teksten for denne forhandling ikke sker i hjemmet som kontekst, men i det urbane som kontekst.

Domesticeringsteorien lægger op til at forstå brugen af medieteknologier som en særlig tilpasningsproces, der dog er åben nok til at kunne anskueliggøre, hvordan "tæmningen" af nye medieteknologier og -produkter kan indebærer en accept af en vis føjelighed, og derfor ikke er ren reproduktion af hjemmets (eller familiens) moralske økonomi. Resten af denne artikel søger gennem fire cases at vise, om domesticeringsteori kan anvendes i forhold til mobile og "iklædbare" medieteknologier.

Domesticering af mobilen i Telenor familien

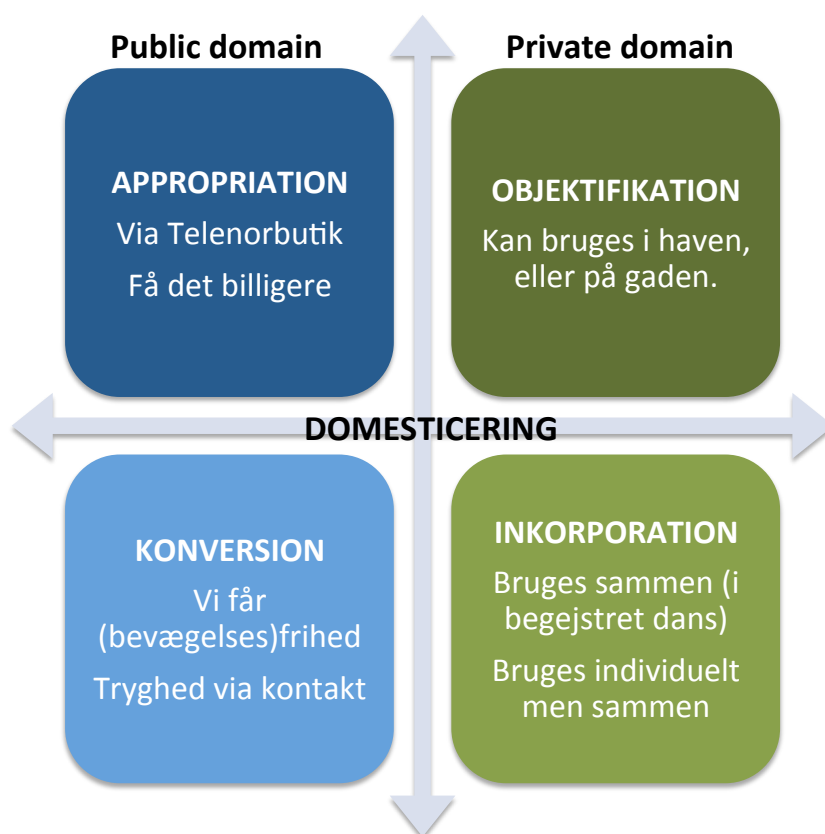
Den første case omhandler televirksomheden Telenors danske 2014-kampagne for produktet "FRI + Familie" (<http://youtu.be/rOF0jzvhyMo>). Virksomheden har i 2015 præsenteret en lignende kampagne, hvor brugergenereret indhold er det bærende for budskabet: Vores produkt giver din familie frihed, tryghed og fritid! Teknologien er en del af familien, vises og anvendes i fuld overensstemmelse med domesticeringsteorien.



Figur 2: Familien Stenholds dans for/med Telenor

Familien i kampagnevideoen er netop er i færd med at domesticere mobilteknologien. Det er ved at tæmme det "uendelige" og "vilde" inter- og telenet ved rituellet at væve både de mobile enheder og nettene ind i familiens hverdagsliv, markeret med den rituelle dans. De

gør både nettene og enhederne til en del af det at *være sammen som familie*, samtidig med at de gør den en del af det at *være familie*: At have frihed til at have sin egen mobile enhed, og interagere med indhold eller tjenester, der passer den enkelte, uden at det skaber en konflikt for familien. I hvert fald på overfladen, for problemer med overforbrug af taletid, behov for spæringer og blokeringer, tilfælde af tyveri og smadrede skærme, problemer med online mobning, med oplevelser af social eksklusion, med ængstelse for at gå glip af noget, med hemmeligheder og andre personlige udfordringer præsenteres vi ikke for. Hverdagen holdes i reklamens retoriske udtryk på afstand, og der præsenteres en helt almindelig mobilforbrugende familie i harmoni med sig selv. Disse iagttagelser kan sammen-



Figur 3: Familien domesticerer de mobile medieprodukter

fattes i nedenstående figur over Familien Stenholds domesticering af de mobile medieprodukter.

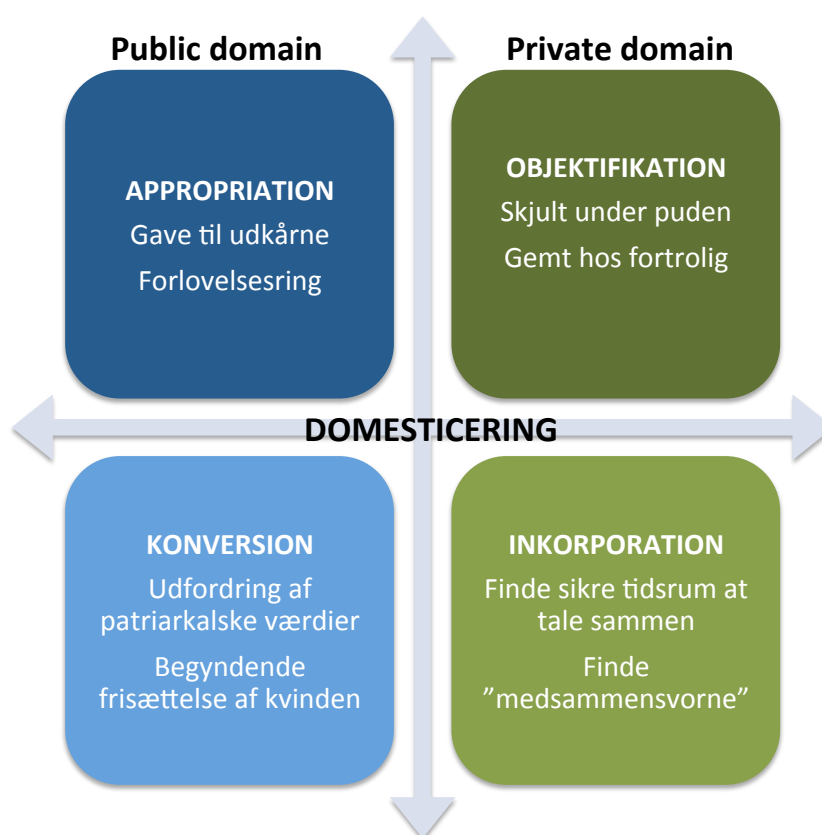
Når domesticering er en leg med mobil ild

I modsætning til reklamekampagnen for Telenors mobilprodukt viser Hiyam Hijazi-Omari og Rivka Ribaks *"Playing with fire"* et kvalitativt mikrosocialt studie af, hvordan palæstinensiske unge i Israel domesticerer mobiltelefonen (Hijazi-Omari & Ribak 2008). Det interessante ved studiet er, at domesticering ikke nødvendigvis er en ligetil proces, men ofte indebærer skjulte handlinger, der på punkter modarbejder værdier, der er indeholdt i hjemmets moralske økonomi, men paradoksalt også understøtter særlige kulturelle værdier og handle-mønstre (fx maskulinitet). For Hijazi-Omari og Ribak er domesticering alt andet end en kollektiv glædesdans, men en intim og risikofuld gemmeleg. Deres analyse rammesættes på følgende måde:

"[...] we are invited to explore both the significance of secretly owning a medium of communication that can ring, that requires charging, that has a memory that can be transferred from one machine to the next, etc.: at the same time, we are invited to study its evolving uses and the practices that are involved in ensuring its availability; the meanings of unprecedented long cross-gender conversations; and the negotiations over gender and cultural identities that are occasioned by the use of the mobile phone."
(Hijazi-Omari & Ribak 2008 p. 151)

Forfatterne anvender eksplicit domesticeringsmodellens fire hovedfaser til at identificere, hvordan de unge palæstinensere praktiserer "irregular courtship", altså emotionelle relationer og kærlighedsliv så at sige under forældrenes moralske "radar". Konteksten er unik på den måde, at sociale relationer i Israel er under et kulturelt og socialt pres, der direkte skyldes konflikterne i den mellemøstlige region. Kæresteforhold på tværs af kulturelle skel er i case-studiet en prekær affære, og dette forhold er en aktiv faktor til, at brugen af mobiltelefonen i intime relationer holdes skjult. Hovedpunkterne i forfatterens analyse fremgår af nedenstående figur.

Appropriationen sker ikke ved, at den unge kvinde selv anskaffer sig en mobiltelefon, men får den foræret af den mandlige kæreste, og at eje en mobiltelefon som ung kvinde betyder i casen *de facto* at have en kæreste. Mobiltelefonen antager derfor form af en slags digital forlovelsesring, hvor karakteren af romancen på den ene side er knyttet til den unge mands indkomst (råd til at købe en



Figur 4: Palæstinensiske unges gemmeleg med mobiltelefonen

ekstra mobiltelefon), og på den anden side repræsenterer en mulig åbning for den unge kvinde til at bidrage til forholdet, ved konkret at have råd til at købe taletid. *Objektifikationen* handler for den unge kvinde om løbende at finde passende skjulesteder til mobiltelefonen, at finde sikre gemmesteder, når den ikke er i brug. I casen beskrives også, hvordan den unge kvinde beder veninder om at passe på mobilen i de tilfælde, hvor forældrene måske har fået

mistanke om det intime forhold. På den måde indebærer objektifikationen af mobiltelefonen også aktivering af tillid; tillid til at vensindens forældre ikke finder mobiltelefonen og giver hende et forklaringsproblemer. Denne særlige praksis for objektifikation (at skulle placere eller gemme "irregulære" artefakter i "irregulære" relationer) er også dokumenteret i dansk medieforskning fx i forhold til praksis omkring piratkopiering og fildeling, selvom præmisserne åbenlyst er forskellige (Andersen 2005).

For unge palæstinensiske kærestepar tager *inkorporation* hovedsageligt form af særlige uforstyrrede og sikre tidsrum, hvor forældrene enten sover, eller i stunder, hvor parret fra hver deres lokation i overensstemmelse med deres hverdagsritualer kan tale sammen. I denne fase peger forfatterne imidlertid på det interessante forhold, at den mandlige part i parret har formuleret regler for brugen af mobilen. Det gælder ikke mindst, at mobilen ikke må bruges til at tale med andre, især andre unge mænd. En del af inkorporationen for disse unges særlige praksis med mobiltelefonen har således et klart magt- eller kontrolaspekt, der på den ene side spejler de kulturelle værdier for både samfundet og de konkrete hjem, men også indikerer, at modstand samtidig sker indenfor en genkendelig kulturel kode; manden bestemmer over brugen *i brugen*.

Det sidste moment, *konversion*, handler for de unge palæstinensere om en særlig form for ambivalens. På den ene side gør mobiltelefonen det muligt for de unge at etablere intime, romantiske relationer, men for den unge kvinde giver mobiltelefonen på trods af forskrifter om ikke at gøre det, en mulighed for at udvide sit potentielle netværk, også af andre kærester: "Thus using a mobile phone connoted both involvement in romantic relationships and membership in a loyal network, which paradoxically both resisted and perpetuated the patriarchal order from which it derived its raison d'être." (Ibid, p. 161)

Denne case illustrerer, at domesticering for unge ikke kun handler om eksplicit at forhandle sig til en legitim måde at anvende mobiletelefonen på, men netop implicit handler om at kunne skabe relationer på trods af hjemmets moralske økonomi. Casen illustrerer videre, at domesticeringens indre linjer (objektifikation og inkorporation) trækkes udenfor hjemmet, og at disse linjer indebærer en mulighed for at kunne etablere sin identitet (som kæreste/par).

Når mobile medier skaber eksistentielle ikke-rum udenfor hjemmet

I de to tidligere cases har konteksten enten direkte eller indirekte været hjemmet. Michael Bull peger med sit studie "No Dead Air" The iPod and the Culture of Mobile Listening" på, at studier af mobile medier og brug af musik som mobile medieprodukter er nødt til at ændre fokus fra "domestic consumption" til nye processer, der handler om at bebo eller skabe egen-kontekst i det urbane rum (Bull 2004). Selvom Bull ikke direkte anvender begrebet *wearable media technology*, så peger hans analyse af brugernes etablering af en intim relation til medieproduktet (iPod enheden og playlisterne) i den retning. Bull skriver:

"The use of these mobile sound technologies informs us about how users attempt to 'inhabit' the spaces within which they move. The use of these technologies appears to bind the disparate threads of much urban movement together, both 'filling' the spaces 'in-between' communication or meetings and structuring the spaces thus occupied. (...) the iPod user struggles to achieve a level of autonomy over time and place through the creation of a privatised auditory bubble." (Bull, 2006 p. 344)

Denne særlige brugsform ser Bull som noget andet end "domestic consumption", og derfor som noget, der muligvis ligger ud over domesticeringsbegrebets forklaringsramme (Ibid, p. 345). Selvom fokus her er på iPod og personlige *playlister*, så er denne artikels pointe, at noget lignende gør sig gældende for brugerens interaktion med andet medieindhold (som brug af taletid til samtaler mellem fortrolige, som forældre eller andre myndigheds personer ikke skal vide noget om), når konteksten er bevægelsesstier i det urbane rum. Spørgsmålet er imidlertid om dette ikke fortsat kan beskrives som et sammenfald mellem domesticeringens objektifikation, inkorporation og konversion, eller om der er noget andet på spil, end at etablere et mønster, der kan bidrage til såvel reproduktion som stabilisering af de værdier, der knyttes til mobile medier? Her præsenterer Bull et alternativ til at forstå, hvordan brugen af mobile medier både forudsætter og indebærer noget andet end domesticering:

"iPod use re-orientates and re-spatialises experience which users of the describe in solipsistic and aesthetic terms. (...) iPod use functions to simplify the user's environment thus enabling them to focus more clearly on their own state of being precisely by minimising the contingency of the street (...)." (Bull 2004, p. 348)

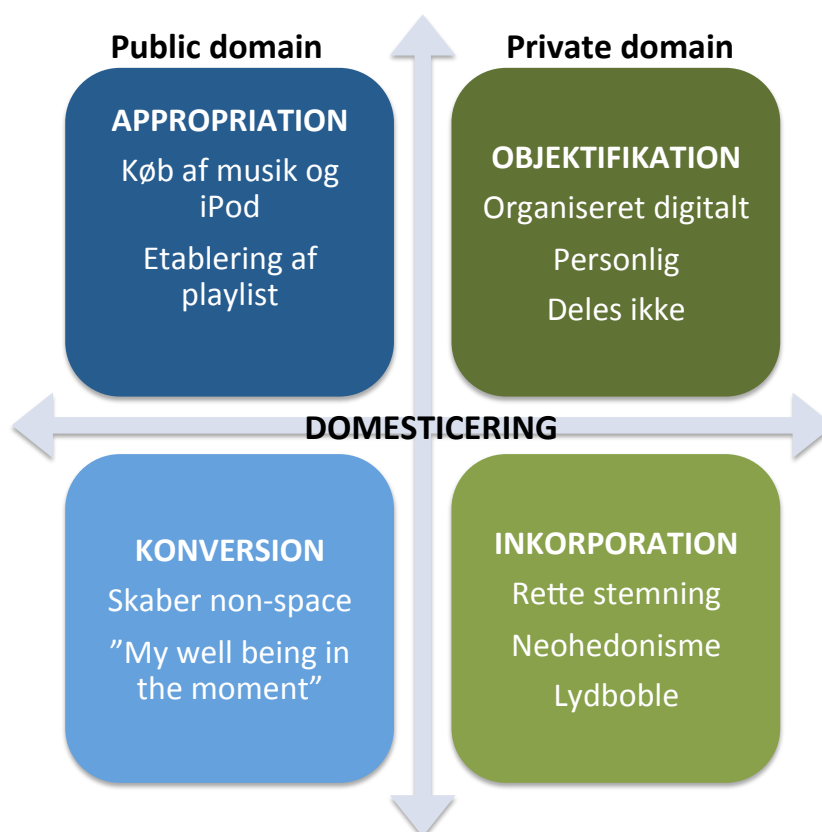
Bull uddyber dette ved at understrege, at brugere oplever et særligt velvære ved at være, "(...) warmly wrapped up in their own personalised space (...)" (Ibid.) Dette særlige træk ved brugen af mobile medier er noget andet, end den stabiliserende funktion som domesticeringsteorien beskriver, selv når føjelighedsaspektet medtages. At skabe et kollektivt eller individuelt rum til at inkorporere medieteknologien i hjemmet som kontekst er noget andet end at skabe "lyd-bobler" og at føle sig hjemme på de stier, der markerer vores bevægelse i hverdagen.

"It appears that as users become immersed in their mobile media sound bubbles, so those spaces they habitually pass through in their daily lives may increasingly lose significance for them and progressively turn into the 'non-spaces' of daily lives which they try, through those self same technologies, to transcend." (Ibid, p. 353f)

Netop dette "non-space" indikerer, at der er noget andet end domesticering på spil. Noget der er knyttet til det mobile medie og det særlige medieindhold, som brugeren vælger at aktivere i konteksten "at være på vej". Nedenstående figur søger at præsentere Bulls analyse som domesticering, selvom det måske netop handler om noget andet.

Når løb med mobile medier skaber iklædbare medieprodukter

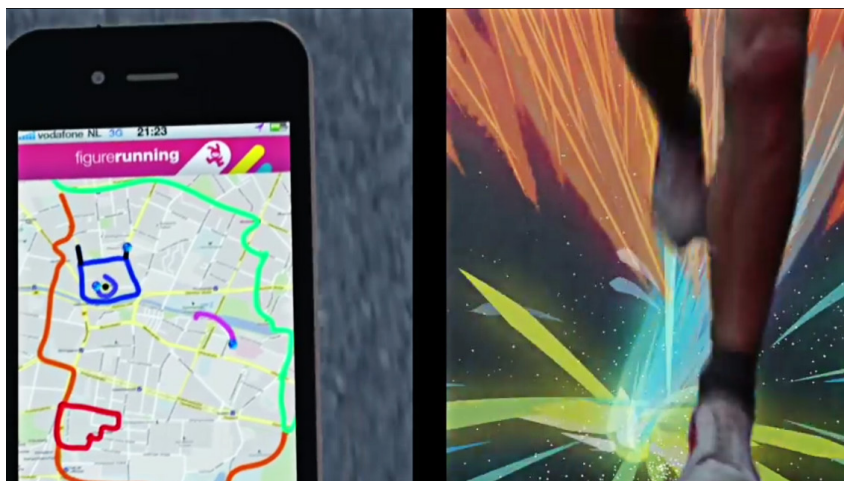
Bevægelse og motion ikke mindst i form af løb er en af de store sundheds- og motionstrends i såvel en dansk som en international kontekst. I den kontekst giver mobilapplikationen *Figurerunning*, som blev frigivet i 2012, god mening. *Figurerunning* er i denne artikel det, der kommer tættest på en *wearable technology*, fordi der designes løbeudstyr, som gør det muligt at iklæde sig produktet (fx



Figur 5: Domesticering af ikke-rum og lyd-bobler i hverdagens urbane bevægelsesstier

på håndled, på hofte, i løbeskoen, som pandekamera). Thad Starner (2002) og Steve Mann (2006, 2012) præsenterer en række alternative eksempler på *wearables* (eller "wearable computing") som fx *eye-wear* teknologi. Denne medieteknologi lover at kunne hjælpe brugeren i situationer, både behagelige men også situationer, der truer brugerens autonomi (som Bull også berører). I en dansk kontekst er produktet *Jaw Bone* et eksempel, der ikke handler om at kunne interagere med medieteknologier på andre måde end *touch and swipe*, men tilbyder brugeren at kunne iagttage egne fysiske præstationer gennem biometriske data (fx puls, perspiration, tid). Et centralt element ved denne medieteknologi er dens selv-persuasive og performative træk. Dette teknologiske medieprodukt lover brugeren at hjælpe med at minde om, at det er tid til at bevæge sig (i en

lavteknologisk form, skridttælleren) samtidig med, at dette selv-indhold lader sig dele og kommunikere via andre medieprodukter (som Endomondo, Nike+ Running, RunKeeper).

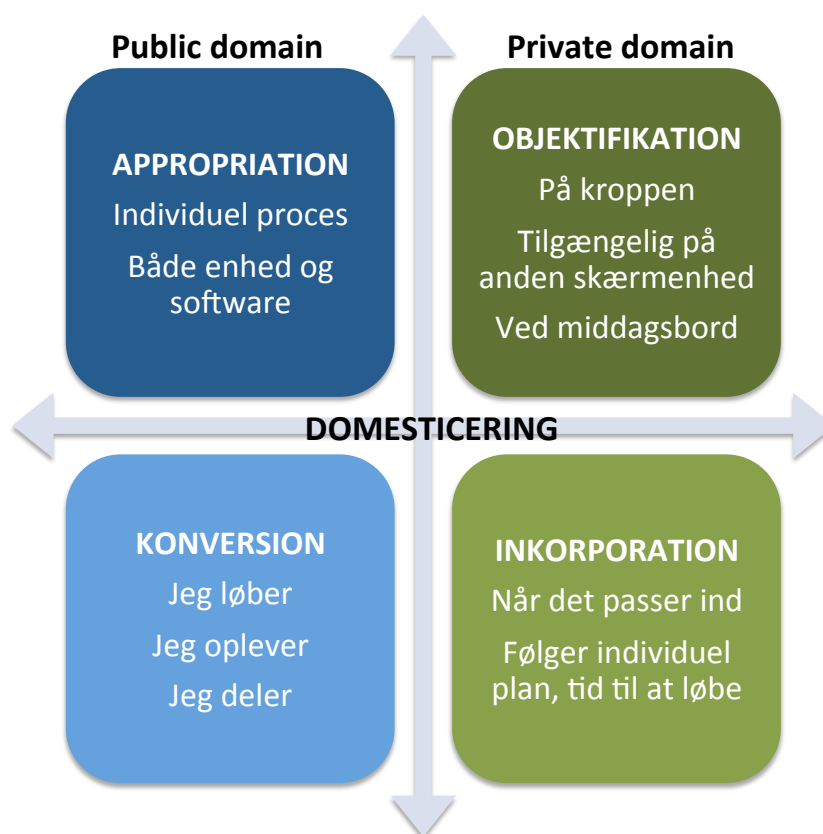


Figur 6: Billede af Figurerunning, in motion

Der foreligger hverken empiriske data for hvor mange brugere, der konkret anvender denne applikation, eller hvad FigureRunning reelt bliver brugt til og betyder for brugerne. Men kampagnevideoen præsenterer Figurerunning som et produkt, der gør det muligt for brugerne, at dokumentere sin bestræbelse på at føre en bevægelsesrig og sund tilværelse, og samtidig at gøre løbeturen til noget sjovt, ved at tegne figurer med sine fødder og lade det være styrende i modsætningen til en fast rute. Disse handlinger - at løbe, at tegne og at dele sin performance - har ikke samme karakter af boble eller "non-space", som Bull beskriver. Netop fordi løbeturen (via den digitale repræsentation) kan deles, også med personer i hjemmet, har processen en social konversionsdimension, der taler ind i den moralske økonomi.

I materialet italesættes Figurerunning applikationens brugsværdi ved at antage, at løb i mange tilfælde er en ensom affære, og til tider surt slid. På den anden side præsenteres applikationen imidlertid som en mulighed for at dele dette "sure slid" og gøre det til noget andet, den netop surt slid. Som det fremgår af illustrationen, gør applikationen det muligt at sætte kulør løbeturen, der i præsentationsvideoen (<https://youtu.be/R0RPJ7FLDo4>) netop sker i gan-

ske grå og dunkle omgivelser. Denne anvendelse af mobiltelefonen og applikationen, kan uden problemer forstås ud fra både objektivering (mobiltelefonen har en plads på løbeture, ud over at kunne levere et *soundtrack* eller et *sound mood* til handlingen) og inkorporation (det er selvfølgelig at dele handlingen som digitale kreationer). Dertil kan den betydningsmæssige værdi (underholdning, selv-persuasion) forstås som en form for konversion (at løbe er sjovt, også for dig, der ikke løber). Dette understreges i videoen med en sekvens, hvor "løbefiguren" ses af personer i hjemmet.



Figur 7: Domesticering af løbeture med wearables?

Analysen af denne case i forhold til domesticeringsteorien er sammenfattet i ovenstående figur. På punkter minder den præsenterede brug af Figurerunning om Bulls pointer omkring brugen og betydningen af musik og iPod medieteknologi, når brugeren bevæger

sig i det urbane rum. Om Figurerunning konceptet har helt samme æstetiske og eksistentielle (transcendente) karakter som Bull lægger op til (at reducere kontingens, at skabe "own sense of being", at skabe et "non-space") er en helt ny diskussion.

Konklusion **Domesticering i de mobile og** **wearable mediers tidsalder?**

Denne artikel har søgt at belyse brug og betydning af mobile og iklædbare medier ud fra et domesticeringsperspektiv. Hensigten har været at undersøge, 1) om og i givet fald hvordan brugen af mobile iklædbare medier øver indflydelse på domesticeringsprocessen, og 2) om brugen af de nævnte medieteknologier kalder på fornyelse af teorien. Baseret på analysen af de fire cases er konklusionen, at domesticeringsteorien fortsat kan fungere som en ramme til at forstå, hvordan vi gør mobile og iklædbare medieteknologier meningsfulde og får dem vævet ind i vores hverdagsliv og ikke mindst som del af en "moralske økonomi". Spørgsmålet er imidlertid om denne "moralske økonomi" med de mobile medieteknologier og -produkter forskydes fra hjemmet som kontekst til de biografiske bevægelsesruter.

Analysen af casene med musik/iPod samt Figurerunning konceptet indikerer, at der er et individuelt, måske endog eksistentielt moment, som domesticeringsteorien ikke klart har eller kan anskueliggøre med sine begreber. Spørgsmålet er derfor, om handlingen at "gribe sig selv" som individ i bevægelse i det urbane rum kan begribes af en (del af) domesticeringsprocessen? Skaber brugen af disse medieteknologier en kontekst *i* eller rettere *ved siden af* hjemmet som kontekst, eller er domesticering af medieteknologierne en forudsætning for, at vi kan skabe mening for os selv, når vi bruger dem uden for hjemmet? Tager vi reelt hjemmets moralske økonomi med os, når vi bevæger os ad stier i det urbane rum, eller skaber vi noget helt andet end en moralsk økonomi? Disse spørgsmål indikerer, at selvom mobile og iklædbare medieteknologier anvendes *naturligt* og i stigende grad, så er den mening, vi skaber med dem for os selv og andre, ikke helt åbenlys.

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