

LEISURE, PLAY AND WORK IN URBAN SOCIETIES:

Liminal Experiences In Male Adolescents ¹

"..Take me on a trip upon your magic swirling ship.." Mr. Tambourine Man by Bob Dylan (1964)

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Introduction

Holidays, vacation and leisure and its conceptualizations are a modern Western phenomena which diffuse themselves to more and more cultures and societies. Holidays were originally Holy Days (and still are) and vacation was introduced in France for the first time. Leisure was at first connected with the nobility and was as a cultural pattern incorporated by the higher bourgeoisie when they had the financial means and power. It was diffused to the lower classes on a large scale only in this century. We know however very less on the sociogenesis of these cultural patterns of modern civilisation. There are several efforts to analyse the (cultural) interdependence of leisure and work. (Bacon 1972, Crandall 1976, Kiviahho 1978, Clesak 1978, Keyssar 1986, Wells 1988) Two central, actualized, cultural analyses are made by Chris Rojek of which the first focuses on the conservative, static, non-future directed foundations of Disney (parks) Culture (1993) The other study relies on Thornstein Veblen's theory of the leisure class in order to establish some western culture based assumptions on the sociogenesis of leisure. Rojek follows in Veblen's footsteps to look for a **basic human need of leisure**. (1995) Rojek's conceptions however still seem ethnocentric because it is not based on a thorough cross-cultural analysis. Such an analysis should have revealed that the Western interdependence between leisure, play and work is very culture-specific compared with a number of traditional small-scale societies. In the Netherlands Jaap Lengbeek developed a promising, phenomenological based, perspective to analyse work and leisure activities in modern Western societies. Leisure according to Lengbeek is a man-made reality and '.. is removed from the everyday and the obvious.' (1994, 237) He argues: '... the tension between the rationally organized everyday world and the contra-structure is at the heart of the issue of collective interest in recreation and tourism.' (ibid.) Lengbeek's perspective leave space to connect with an anthropological approach of the interdependence between leisure and work. Lengbeek however stays mainly within the European logic and misses the possibility to make use of the concepts from tribal cultures on the interdependence between leisure, play and work. And while he relies strongly on the concept of 'anti-structure' of the anthropologist Victor Turner which he modifies into 'contra-structure' Lengbeek misses the next step of van Gennep and Turner embedded in the concept of the liminal. (Lengbeek 1994,45-71)

The cross-cultural studies of Victor Turner on ritual and theatrical practices in African-Ndembu culture and European rooted cultures (Europe, USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand) are promising for a fundamental re-evaluation of the concept of leisure. (1969, 1977, 1982) In his sequence of publications Turner is claiming: while European rooted national societies have almost lost integral, collective, sacred rituals in which the **liminal** (to be on the threshold of two worlds) experience is central we need leisure which he calls a **liminoid experience**. Going to the ballet or a play in Sidney, to a Disney park in Paris as members of modern society is liminoid and definitely something else than attending a Ketjak dance or the Tjalon Arang drama as a Balinese male of female. It is even more different from a Hopi raintance where there are no spectators while everybody is active participating in the ritual, or the drama if you like. All three experiences would be, in Turner's conceptions, liminal. I would add to Turner's arguments and reflections that the liminoid is more connected with the European rooted culture of being a bystander of social and natural events while the liminal is more bound to the unconditional experience. The first is related to our idea of individual freedom: 'I only want to be part of collective events on my own (momentarily) choice.' The second with societies were the 'communitas', where collective experience is still a prime mover of people's actions and individual choice comes in a number of situations second. You cannot refuse to take part in rituals, but you have a choice how deep you involve yourself into it.

Turner tries to build an intercultural fundament to cross-analyse European rooted human activity of leisure with similar activities in tribal cultures. Connecting the Western phenomena of work, play and theatre at one side with collective rituals in tribal societies. At the other he manages, in my view, to open up a radical new view upon leisure activities. Following and extending his argument Western people are searching for liminal (f.e. on the threshold of the natural and supernatural, physical and metaphysical worlds) experiences in leisure activities. The emergence of f.e. pop concerts, house parties and many other kind of adolescent leisure activities can, from this point of departure, be viewed upon as (sincere but poor) efforts to reconstruct rituals of the **lost liminal experience**. Young people seem to want more participation and less spectation. So are other social groups in a number of other leisure activities.

¹ This is a fieldworkreport in an anthropological researchproject among 500 male adolescents (18-23 years) in clinical psychiatry 1983-1990 Utrecht, The Netherlands.

The intercultural proposition taking Lengbeek's and Turner's argument a step further would be: More liminoid activities (leisure activities in Western cultural sense) will lead to even more liminoid activities, because the craving for liminal (more integrated tension releasing) activities will be at the core of the leisure impulse. The core question is: where can one find liminal experiences in modern societies? My considerations on leisure and male adolescents here are generated from the idea that boys are frantically seeking for liminal (collective ritual) experiences, but they mainly find liminoid (collective- individually experienced) experiences. (see Turner 1982) Drug-abuse, house parties, tattoos, all kind of dare-devilling and many other adolescent leisure activities can be seen as manifestations of this search for liminal experiences.

In this paper I will restrict myself to the search for liminal experiences among male adolescents which is in my argument strongly connected with their craving for special kicks and (liminoid) risky, groovy, cool experiences. (van Bekkum 1996) I will present three cases to outline the connection between liminal and liminoid experiences. Another important connection cannot, for reasons of complexity and space, be elaborated in this paper. This is the relation between leisure and the need to be initiated in young males in urban settings. (Zoja 1989, Corneau 1991, Raphael 1993) Angela Philips in her book 'parenting the men of the future' she cites Robert Bly who claims that young males are hungry for a symbolic wound which is inflicted during most traditional male initiation ceremonies (Young 1965, Morinis 1986):

"... this wound has a symbolic significance It hints at an initiatory ritual administered by old men which we have forgotten. Apparently a leg wound, when accomplished ritually, strengthened young men." (Philips 1993, 194)

Three cases will be presented to demonstrate the linking of leisure, play and work with transition and liminal experience: the first case is from occupational therapy, the second form volleyball and the third case is a bull-fight ritual for boys still in use in the country-side of Portugal.

A consequent cross-cultural approach to a theme offers at all times a new and refreshing outlook. In most countries this approach is demanded because populations in urban areas have an increasing multicultural composition. Any theme in applied social science should therefore also be viewed from a strict cross-cultural angle. Most concepts in this paper are derived from the cross-cultural, that is, the anthropological tradition. This is not an easy task while a strict cross-cultural conceptualization demands a thorough screening of the culture-specific on ethnocentric connotations.

Work, play and leisure

Let us start with the Western concept of work. The contemporary cultural (in anthropological sense) conception and experience of work in Western civilization is related to and influenced by the Greek and Roman patterns (Willner, 1964: p. 540, cited in van Bekkum 1988):

"In the **Gorgias**, Plato, through the words of Callicles, asserts that no matter how useful the maker of war machines may be, 'you denigrate him and his art,' so that 'you would not wish to give your daughter in marriage to his son.' Nor should it be thought that Aristotle is judging casually when he puts forth his theory that making and knowing how to make things is the servile activity of slaves under the dominion of their masters, the virtues peculiar to master and slave being clearly distinct. It is consequently natural for Aristotle to regard work as a secondary activity, in the sense that though work seems to emancipate us from things, it really imprisons us. It is better for man, and more in accord with his essence, to retire within his true self by thinking, and thus to participate in the work of God. It follows, for Aristotle, that living is essentially learning and understanding, for knowledge contains the supreme virtue which actualizes and consummates in man the work of divinity. Man's destiny is to keep himself immune from the sensory world and to advance steadily to the world of pure thought, not merely in work () but in theorizing (). In the activity of thinking man attains his highest felicity or blessedness; the happiness which man can attain through practical virtue is secondary and is associated with the life he is compelled to lead in dealing with the world's external things. Ancient thought, however, does not lack various expressions of certain appreciation of human labour, apart from any prejudice that others may have had. In general such assertions are found among authors belonging to the school of Sophists and other minor schools. For example, Antiphon proclaims the harsh necessity of work insofar as life is accepted for what it is. This life is certainly not easy or sweet, but it nevertheless acquires meaning when it is crowded with success. An interpreter like R. Mondolfo bases his views on a dualism of ethnic groups by blaming the warlike aristocracy of the Dorians for imposing on the conquered Achaeans the yoke of labouring on the lands which had become their booty, even though such labour was contrary on the social rank of the conquered. Conquering groups prefer a contemplative life to one burdened by work; the conquered consider that keeping their pledge of labour is a duty though far from achieving perfect liberty. Work is the ransom paid for the sake of keeping alive.

When we relate this cultural conception of work to e.g. the British aristocracy some remarkable similarities appear:

Many of us continue to idolize the English aristocracy and venerate the life styles of a caste which has learnt to enjoy a life of semi, if not total unproductivity. At the same time most of us are scandalized if poor people also want to, or even try to practise the patrician ideal. Most of us see this behaviour as deviant, and we bestow upon its practitioners the stigmatizing titles of scroungers, loungers, loafers or malingerers. (Bacon, 1972: p. 23)

In a study on the 'making of the industrial workforce' the last two centuries in several Western European countries Bacon pictures a long term coercive resocialization to create a class of industrial workers. After fifteen generations incidence became an unquestioned cultural pattern:

Most people in our society still structure the whole of their lives around the world of work. Most of them accept the inevitability of spending most of their adult lives at work. Most of them retain an antiquated Victorian conception of leisure. They see it in terms of marginal period of recreational time, which is ancillary to and can only be legitimately enjoyed through the successful completion of work. (Bacon, 1972: p. 24)

In 1813 a British traveller in 'industrialized France' wrote:

It is no unusual thing for a man, who, by course of severe industry and abstinence, has collected a stock of cash, to retire altogether from his home and live for a fortnight at a public house; during the whole time of which his only concern is never to allow himself to get sober. When he has expended all his money, he will return to his employment and toil away resolutely and cheerfully; but his industry benefits anybody but himself. (Bacon, 1975: p. 27)

Work in many non-western societies is connected with rituals, with the sacred, with sacrifice. In pre-Christian Greece.. 'liturgy' was derived from the Greek 'leos' of 'laos', 'the people' and 'ergon', 'work' The work of men is thus work of the gods'. The distinction from this standpoint is between the creator and created, between the gods and men, between sacred and profane work, not *between work and leisure*. In this dialectic (between) sacred and profane is something:

.. in which the whole community goes through the entire ritual round. ... Thus some rites such as those of sowing, first fruits, harvest, may involve everyone, man, woman, and child, others may be focused on specific groups, categories, associations, etc., such as men or women, old or young, one clan or another, one association or secret society or another. Yet the whole ritual round adds up to the total participation of the whole community. Sooner or later, no one is exempt from ritual duty, just as no one is exempt legal, or political duty. ... This conception of work is 'not work, as we in industrial societies know it and but has in both its dimensions, sacred and profane, an element of play.' (Turner 1982: p. 31)

Play in historical European conceptions is connected with games, sports, fights and battles (in a ritualized: strictly structured way). Play is also action, motion, activity especially when it is free, rapid, or light against the 'heaviness of work'. Play is free as work is necessary or obligatory. Play is associated with freedom of motion, amusement, recreation, fun, joking, non-serious, games. 'In liminal phases and stages in tribal and agrarian cultures work and play in ritual are in many cases hardly distinguishable.' (Turner, 1982: p. 34)

Turner defines: The 'Liminoid' as:

...represent(ing), in a sense, the dismembering, the sparagmos of the liminal; for various things that 'hang together' in liminal situations split off to pursue separate destinies as specialized arts and sports and so on, as liminoid genres. (Turner, 1977: p. 43)

Liminal phenomena are centrally integrated into the total social process, forming with all its other aspects a complete whole, and in its specific essence representing the 'negativity' and 'subjunctivity' of that total process, rather than its 'positivity' and 'indicativeness'; its possibility rather than its actuality, its 'may be' and 'might have been' rather than its 'is,' 'was,' and 'will be,' or even a via negative entered by everyone, not just by mystics. On the other hand, liminoid phenomena develop most characteristically outside the central economic and political processes, along their margins, on their interfaces, in their 'tacit dimensions' (though, later, liminoid ideas and images may seep from these peripheries and cornices into the center). They are also, in contrast to liminal phenomena, plural, fragmentary and experimental – by 'fragmentary' I mean the total inventory of liminoid thoughts, words, and deeds. Individual liminoid productions may, of course, be highly coherent because they have passed, as Ben Johnson said through 'the second fire on the Muses anvil' craftsmanship:

Liminoid phenomena, being produced by specific named individuals or particular groups, 'schools,' 'coteries,' tend to be more idiosyncratic and quirky than liminal phenomena. (Turner, 1977: p. 44)

Turner claims that the collective, more obligatory 'liminal ... is no longer world wide. ..But for most people the liminoid is still felt to be freer than the liminal, a matter of (individual) choice, not obligation.' (Turner, 1977: p. 55)

From this point Turner's arguments take a turn to the concept of '**flow**' from the researchers of the adolescent life world: Csikszentmihalyi and Macloon. He connects liminal experiences with this being in flow:

..Flow denotes the holistic sensation present when we act with total involvement and is as state in which action follows action according to an internal logic which seems to need no conscious intervention on our part ... we experience it as a unified flowing from one moment to the next, in which we feel in control of our actions, and in which there is little distinction between past, present and future". (Turner, 1977: p. 56)

Flow can be achieved as well in individual as in collective activities.² The researchers extend the notion of 'flow' beyond play to 'creative experiences, drawing on many scientific and literary sources'. They outline six elements or qualities of 'flow experience':

- 1) experience of merging action and awareness.
- 2) centering of attention on a limited stimulus field
- 3) loss of ego experience
- 4) being in control of his actions and of the environment
- 5) non-contradictory demands for action with clear, unambiguous feedback to one's actions
- 6) needs no goals or rewards outside itself.

One further element I want to add which I founded in my research into arts/craft and sport (volleyball) is:

- 7) addictiveness of flow experiences

Liminal experiences in art and craftsmanship

From my fieldwork research in occupational therapy in clinical psychiatry I experimented many times within a multicultural research population of clients in manufacturing all kind of arts and crafts objects after their own liking and choice. I developed a three component program in which the therapeutic value increased. This was due to the ritual structure created in the workshop. This kind of work resembles very much the liminal conception of work and leisure of Turner's arguments above.

In a television interview a philosopher stated that the two professions in our European societies which have the greatest opportunity to create are the scientist and the artist. In my view the first is the representative of the Greek tradition of the power of the mind: the systematic creation of ideas in order to create society. The second is the contemporary representative of the human tradition of craftsmanship and synthetic labour: the systematic creation of pieces of art, expressions of their human history, of the ethnicity of their group or culture and of their individuality. The word artisan expresses most clearly the fusion of art and crafts. Most labour in European societies in professional situations is lacking art and craftsmanship. Synthetic labour, in combining the first two levels, is more and more monopolized in professions of designers of machines, of heating systems, of buildings and of all industrial products like cars, electronic apparatus, etc... The labour that remains is constructive and varies from highly skilled to unskilled labour. (van Bekkum, 1994: p. 257)

My experience as an occupational therapist, having guided several hundred male adolescents, is that they feel this fragmented reality, but have no conscious knowledge of it. It is a non-reality in our western culture, because the whole cultural ordering is focussed on utilitarian and economized goals in which fragmentarized labour plays a central role. When I communicated this analysis on verbal and non-verbal level and related it to their personal situation almost all responded with some kind of motivation in starting or continuing their work in therapy. A coherent perspective upon their occupational future in direct relation to the discovery or re-evaluation of their own need for synthetic labour seemed to release their possibly blocking tensions and resistance to manual work.

From these experiences I developed a three level analytical (diagnostic) and guidance (educational) method of working.

- a) FUNCTIONAL LEVEL OF CRAFTSMANSHIP
- b) AESTHETIC LEVEL OF CRAFTSMANSHIP
- c) SYMBOLIC LEVEL OF CRAFTSMANSHIP

² There is a remarkable similarity between the concepts of 'being flow' of Csikszentmihalyi, 'liminal experiences' of Turner and the concept of 'being in sync' of the USA anthropologist Edward T. Hall (1959, 1966)

Making a functional product is very common for European socialized persons. We are brought up to do useful, material focussed things. Work is needed, that is: useful profitable work. 'Arbeid adelt' we say in Dutch, meaning metaphorically that work leads to nobility. It doesn't matter what you do, but work is your future for every boy and increasingly for girls. Beauty in daily life is something you create in your private life, your home, in the composition of (bought) colours, furniture, curtains, floor covering, reproductions on the wall, etc. and not in your working life. We Europeans express beauty e.g. in clothing. It is connected with a trend fluctuation on a macro scale we call fashion. It is an expression of our individuality and there is less and less a direct connection with ethnic, national, religious, or political tradition. We seem to be heading to total expression of individual beauty. But for most children creating something for themselves in their own style is increasingly difficult. It is not fashionable; you buy your beauty. To combine the functional level with the aesthetic level is difficult for the majority of the adolescents I guided, but when offered such a vision many of them took it as a challenge and created beautiful things. From these observations I saw western fragmentation of labour in practice and...the possibility of re-integration.

The symbolic level is even harder to integrate with the two others. Male adolescents are capable of integrating two levels in products like combs, engravings, or abstract forms, but only a minority managed to combine all three. The fragmentation of synthetic labour also means the splitting of the symbolic. For example, western advertisement is build upon the use of symbols split off from their real context and the remerging with the advertised product. The fieldwork material shows a strong variation of different coping styles with and managing of the integration of the three levels.

Synthetic labour is a constructed, scientific analytical tool, an ideal type in the sense of Max Weber, that is, a concept based on empirical-historical research. It can also be used as a tool in western occupational therapy as a diagnostic and program structuring device. Whenever a boy managed to combine two or three of the levels the integrating-healing results were noticeable. The level of concentration and satisfaction increased. The other group members were also effected because they admired the commitment of the manufacturers these products of creativity in form, in function, in beauty, and...in the symbolizing. This was felt and was often fascinating to the others, but not always clear because the maker kept the freedom to keep the symbolizing level to himself. To design and make something that you can use in your daily life, that embodies your own sense of beauty and...symbolizes something of yourself, had a great impact on the patient and on other members of the therapy group. (van Bekkum, 1994: p. 258)

In this therapeutic context many times young men being in 'flow' were observed and experienced by the author. This has also something to do with the antiquity of art and craft manual work in human history. The almost unsuppressible urge to create something with your hands whenever the right context en environment is created is elaborated in another fieldworkreport on the Arts and Craft Impulse (ACI).(van Bekkum 1997) All the seven elements of being in flow were present regularly. Modern industrial labour has developed a particular division between *work and leisure which by Westerners is mostly seen as the only possible division of labour*. The way industrial work has developed the experience of flow in labour, being a intrinsic part of craftlike occupations, has declined steadily. Is it coincidence that the emergence of leisure starts with the establishment of industrial labour as a cultural patterns ? In early Europe the major cultures knew more then 150 workless days a year. ... "Leisure presupposes work: it is a non-work, even anti-work, phase in the life of a person who also works." Leisure, according to Turner, in Western sense (Turner 1982,35,36):

'...arises ... under two conditions:

- 1) society ceases to govern its activities by means of common ritual obligations (e.g. sowing and harvesting ceremonies) : some activities, including work and leisure, become, at least in theory, subject to individual choice,
- 2) the work by which a person earns his or her living is 'set apart from his other activities: its limits are no longer 'natural' but arbitrary-indeed, it is organized in so definite a fashion that it can easily be separated, both in theory and in practice, from his free time.' It is only in the social life of industrial and post-industrial civilizations that we find these necessary conditions....Leisure is predominantly an urban phenomenon, so that when the concept of leisure begins to penetrate rural societies, it is because agricultural labour is tending towards an industrial, 'rationalized' mode of organization, and because rural life is becoming permeated by the urban values of industrialization-this holds good for the Third World today as well as for the rural hinterlands of long-established industrial societies....'

Volleyball as liminoid and liminal leisure experience

From 1980 till 1990 I trained and coached many volleyball teams. The last 5 years of that period I focussed more and more on adolescent teams and developed a training and coaching program in which winning alone was not the only main goal. Playing-together with pleasure (spelplezier) was in fact the first target and winning was in those moments almost a direct result. This was of course no easy message to deliver to the teams of young males we are eager to win. Let me follow Turner's set of six core elements of being in flow and connect these with my observations and experiences with these adolescent volleyball-players.

Every sportsman or sportswoman is trying to reach momentarily 'merging action and awareness'. (see above page 5-6 qualities of flow experience)

- 1 Action is experience and awareness is cognition, rationale. In the training context there were always longer and shorter remarks to sharpen the awareness. Before matches a team talk and the yell were preparations this merging of action and awareness. Every sport has its own >limited stimulus field= in which to achieve coincidence of body and mind.
- 2 Volleyball is particular sensitive for mental 'tuning' because the 'communal' activity of six players within the play field of 9 by 9 metres is so intense and dense that ego boundaries are touched permanently.
- 3 If the players do not loosen up their ego boundaries no collective, no greater body can emerge out of all the individual actions. In fact the success of the team and of the trainer/coach is directly bound with the ways and tricks to challenge and encourage the team members (mostly non-verbally) to give up a considerable part of their ego strength in order to strengthen the team. Every volleyball player knows the empowering feeling of being in control of her/his own actions and of her/his environment. At moments when the team is in flow personal capabilities increase to a higher level. Defensive and offensive actions are more and more physiologically and mentally intuitive.
- 4 Doing something wrong or not quite fitting for the team effort you know it immediately and how you went over this boundary. You can also more easily be reached with corrections than in daily life.
- 5 Experiencing being in flow with your self and your team is enough to keep you going to tiring training session and undergoing others hazards. The flow experience is enough as goal and reward in itself.
- 6 Being in flow is, when the experience has grounded itself in your system, rewarding in itself.
- 7 You want to have it again and again. When this is connected with playing for a public and winning the satisfaction is tremendous. It is addictive!

I was aware of the interface between the results of both my occupational therapy as sport training activities, but I could not bring them rationally and methodologically home. With the concepts of liminal, liminoid and flow I could. Adults can provide circumstances in which adolescents will experience liminal and flow experiences. Verbally reflecting on these experiences with adolescents is very difficult, because of the experiential nature of both the liminal and flow. All seven elements which can also be traced in arts and craft activities but in a more individualized way. Materializing a feeling, a conception, an idea, that is creating (being a in flow experience), is very rewarding but demands another mind-set than the playing of volleyball.

Leisure and a survival of a liminal European transition ritual

In the last example I was only a spectator myself. In outdoor fieldwork search for more original ethnic patterns I visited Spain and Portugal in August 1992. In European rural areas and in regional ethnic minorities in Europe ancient, tribal like, transitional rituals exist until this day, despite the suppression and destruction by the catholic church and state ideology. In our field trip to Portugal we attended a bullfight festival in a little village. The Portuguese have different forms of bullfighting than the Spanish and one is the Forcados. About 8 men are diametral lining up while the bull is distracted on the opposite side of the arena. In this case it were not adult men but children and adolescents as is the bull. The younger ones are in front and the older ones in behind. Then the boys began to shout to attract the bull's attention. The smallest boy in front of the row wears a red band around his waist, the bull looks, aims, makes a start and runs into the line of boys of which the first, the smallest, throws his arms over the horns and clings himself to the young bull while the others put their heels into the sand and together they bring the bull to a standstill and his head to the ground. Then for a few seconds the children and the bull are totally equal after when the boys flee to the protecting fence. The most courageous boy holds one to the bull's tail who tries to reach in vain for him with his horns. The entire village in the stands cheer and applaud for the boys. The master of the ritual, a well-known bullfighter, with his assistants, bring the animal out of the arena and makes a lap of honour with the boys while everyone is shouting, congratulating and clapping their hands. Later on the boys were roaming the village streets boasting and congratulated by passers by. Then they went with their mentor to the community centre where further ritual components followed. Afterwards I was told that this initiation ritual was performed every year and that every boy could participate about 4 to 5 times between 13 and 18 years of age. The ritual was imbedded in the harvest ritual of this agricultural community. In this initiation ritual important universal components, like incorporation in the adult community, farewell to mother's protection, controlling of fear and aggression, making primal connections with nature (fighting the bull) and transmission of secret cultural traditions were still present here in 1992 Portugal.

The six elements of being in flow can be applied to the ritual of the Forcados. I would consider this a communal liminal experience which is connected with a special case of leisure and play seen from the eyes of the boys. The male adolescent craving for risk, for danger, for kicks, for leisure, for play is purposely coincided with another, more social, structure. '...The crude energies of the young human animal are to be cowed, broken, re-coordinated to a larger format, and thus at once domesticated and amplified...' (Campbell 1955) Their adult responsibilities, and privileges, their male position in the survival of the community norms and values are transmitted partly on a cognitive and partly on a unconscious level.

What is different from the cases of occupational therapy and from the volleyball is:

- a) The 'communitas' context in which the liminal experience is placed (the whole community is present) and
- b) the connection of the initiation ritual with the natural cycle of the seasons.

It is this sacredness agrarian groups experience in the cycle of the seasons which even Christianity could not suppress which seems to have been lost in urban settings as Turner suggests.

Conclusion

In this article leisure was conceptualized as being a Western bound cultural pattern, strongly connected with our historical interdependence of aristocrats and slaves/serfs, with our history of industrialization and with our historical interdependence of blue and white collar labour. In many non-western cultures, and in historical cultures like the early Greek, such a conception and experience of leisure does not exist. Work is for example then connected with holy and ritual activities of which leisure and play are intrinsic. This is hard to conceive for most Westerners socialized and conditioned for many generations in work as wage labour and legitimated by the church interpretation of the bible: 'By the sweat of your brow you will eat your food.' Many leisure activities, according to Victor Turner, have a liminoid component, which is a Western counterpart of the more collective ceremonial liminal experience, meaning being 'on the threshold', being 'in between'. Three cases were outlined in which the craving for liminal experiences of young 'aboriginal.' European males are described. Being in flow, being a very human peak experience, was detected in all three cases. Adolescent leisure activities, liminal experience and being in flow seem to have a common interface still to be objectified. The connection of specific craving for certain adolescent activities like substance abuse, peer group and gang behaviour, dare-devilling, house parties can be viewed as efforts to reach liminal experiences and an expression for the need to be initiated. The Belgian anthropologist Arnold van Gennep made a three phase distinction of rites of passages found in many cultures: separation-transition-incorporation. The second phase is elaborated by Turner in the concept of the liminal.

During the intervening phase of transition ... the ritual subject pass through a period and area of ambiguity, a sort of limbo which has few of the attributes of either the preceding or subsequent profane social statuses or cultural states. ...The third phase ... includes symbolic phenomena and actions which represent the return of the subject to their new, relatively stable, well defined position in the total society. (Turner, 1982: p. 24)

From these considerations connecting research of folk celebrations with research of leisure activities will generate important insights very much needed to bridge the intercultural gap between Western conceptions of leisure and those of indigenous ethnic groups within European nation like the Scots, the Welsh, the Catalans, the Frisians (Netherlands) etcetera and with those of many non-Western small-scale societies. (Turner 1982, see also Boissevain 1992) More crucially, it will enlighten our Western-bound awareness of the phenomenon of leisure and tourism.

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