

# **`Productive` leisure and the `development of the self` : An analysis of free time in contemporary Romania**

**Keywords:** *sociology of leisure, free time practices, alternative spiritualities, self development, neoliberalism.*

I have found two strong justifications for writing my doctoral thesis, the first of them being a lack of sociological studies – especially qualitative ones – that look at leisure practices in Romania, and the second being the ubiquity of the various forms of alternative spirituality and the discourses that emerge around them, which demand of the individual a constant „development of the self”. I consider a study which focuses on the leisure practices of „(spiritual) self development” to be legitimate and might be of interest especially for the sociology of leisure. Until now, in the Romanian context, leisure has been studied mostly in quantitative studies, but there has not been a study yet that focuses primarily on the relations between the individual, leisure practices, and „power”.

What I think is essential to keep in mind regarding leisure are the following aspects: leisure is voluntary; even though leisure practices are voluntary, they must be seen in the context of existing ideological processes; leisure practices involve a struggle for limited resources; scarcity is the basis for competition, but also solidarity; analyses of leisure must always take into account the fact that space/place and context are in a dynamic relationship; the central problems of leisure are ethnocentrism and universalism, which can be overcome by comparative historical analyses; leisure practices always involve power, and power both constrains and legitimizes (Rojek, 2005: 48).

Integrating alternative forms of spirituality with leisure activities can be understood as the result of a combination of global and national factors. We include in these factors the expansion of leisure markets by diversifying the offers and shapes it can take, as well as extending its reach to most social classes. Because of the enhanced permeability of the established forms of leisure, both leisure entrepreneurs and regular people started searching for distinguishing ways of spending spare time – which would be inaccessible to the general public (for various reasons). Aside from the constant search for new means of leisure individuals embark upon in order to differentiate themselves from the mass consumers, the success of alternative forms of spirituality can also be seen as a consequence of a process in which the individual is required to be constantly involved in a process of self improvement.

What is happening now is a reactivation of a sense of guilt in the face of laziness, and any form of leisure that does not involve some kind of work, with visible results, becomes a potential target for criticism. The fact that individuals have spare time that can, in theory, be used as they please, creates a feeling of freedom, but this freedom is also associated with the subject's sense of self-responsibility, which implies a constant productivity, including his leisure practices, which thus become means of work, of the individual with the self.

Before understanding how the alternative forms of spirituality function in contemporary Romania, how their presence is justified in the calendar of leisure activities, and how the subjects gravitate towards such practices, the field work caused a series of reevaluations of the initial position, which was quite firm at the start, and a network of relationships between globalization, capitalism, spirituality, and leisure began to emerge, being much more complex than ever imagined. The field work showed me how even the more radical forms of spirituality have been co-opted into the neoliberal logic and transformed into goods meant for consumption and delivered to individuals who were looking for ways of making daily life more efficient. At the same time, the field work gave me a chance to see how globalization makes possible the appropriation of certain "convenient" elements from a culture of philosophical tradition and adapting them to a culture that is insufficiently prepared to understand their initial meaning.

When dealing with the success of alternative forms of spirituality, we look, on the one hand, at the local context, the fact that after 1989 Romania has seen a religious revival and an openness of individuals not only to traditional forms of religiosity, but also to ones that were new to Romania, these being compounded by entrepreneurial interest and the individuals' desire to diversify their means of leisure. On the other hand, we must understand the global context and the fact that this project of the development of the self involves "transnational networks" (Urban, 2015), ideas and capital from around the world and is of interest mostly to active individuals, with a mindset geared towards "success" and "fulfilment". These spiritual movements from Asia and India reach the West and merge into preexisting ideologies, after which they are adopted in Romania as well, in their already Westernized form, very close to the expectations of those who are attracted to these practices. This results in a collage of ideas, concepts and practices that support an entrepreneurial lifestyle and a strong focus of the individual on the self.

Although the alternative forms of spirituality started being practiced since the beginning of the 1990s (some forms of yoga existing, at times, during the communist regime), the strong expansion of

the spiritual and self development programs can be associated, at least temporally, to the last economic recession. Unlike the forms of alternative spirituality seen until 2008-2009, in which belonging to the religious community was very important and involved a long process of integration into the community, along with acquiring the abilities needed in the process of spiritual development, these new forms are most often supplied as a service, during group meetings, seminars, or workshops, which offer “saving solutions”, attainable in a very short time, drawing on the ontology of presentism. The increasing interest towards this area of “personal development” has made possible the emergence of various programs and supporting materials (Binkley, 2007, 2011), and the alternative forms of spirituality come as a response to just this “need”, many times proposing viable alternatives for spare time activities. The goal of these services, which often times involve financial costs, is to transmit certain devices specific to religious subjectivation, but using a wide, sometimes diffuse, spectrum of ideas and practices with a religious tendency. These forms of spirituality focus on a specific way of imagining productive subjectivity, which helps individuals adapt to a given society, be more motivated, more efficient, and more competitive (Binkley, 2007). By practicing these activities, the subjects have the opportunity to adopt a style of living that facilitates comfort in a competitive and fast moving society, which demands of them to be responsible for their own lives.

Beyond the changing perspectives on leisure, which have facilitated a diversification of the forms it can take, and beyond the fact that it can no longer be perceived as a time of non-productivity, to better understand the success of spiritual practices as form of leisure, it would be interesting to consider their relationship with stress, which is not considered by most of the studies of leisure (Spracklen et al, 2017). Actually, coping with stressful situations, which as extrinsic to the individual, become, in a neoliberal logic, the direct responsibility of the subject. The responsabilization of the individual with managing these states is a major contributor to the success of all the methods for therapy, relaxation and development of the self, that have been embraced by individuals. In a climate where tensions, pressure, stress, and competition would not be felt, where there would be no need to perform in all aspects, it is likely that these programs, which are aimed as a means of “freeing” oneself from the problems mentioned above, would have fewer adepts and, as a result, would not function as a branch of the leisure industry.

The analysis of individuals involved in the processes of personal development, understood as leisure practices, reveals changes in perspective regarding the self and society as a whole. The empirical evidence that was the basis for this thesis has showed a very strong centering of the individual on the self, with the following quote being a prime example: “You are the most important

person in your life!”. What we see, along with this strong centering on the self and its development, is a strong responsabilization of the individual regarding all the aspects of his life, along with a deresponsabilization at the social level. The common good comes as a natural consequence of the improvements taking place at the individual level, furthermore, each person’s well-being becoming an individual responsibility. Thus, outside of a neoliberal ideological framework, which also involves a conceptual redefinition of the “self”, these new forms of leisure (centered on the forms of personal and/or spiritual development) would have had a much more difficult time developing and would not enjoy the success they enjoy today. I think it is very important to understand the close connection between the explosion in the number of leisure programs focused on “holistic development” and the newly found necessity to perform a new pattern of the individual, one with entrepreneurial spirit, proactive, responsible, competitive, and capable to cope with most everyday problems as an individual.

In order to articulate my thesis, it was essential to analyze the bibliographic material available in the field of spiritual development. Starting from an analytical framework proposed by Nikolas Rose, I tried to see how the literature in the area of spiritual development reproduces certain types of subjectivity specific to neoliberal governance. I was careful in capturing the way certain conceptions of subjectivation from psychology are now central and act in the name of the idea of freedom; in capturing in the texts the way self-control becomes an important instrument in developing the economic and political sectors. In what way must what seems to be an individual choice be in the interest of the state? In other words, does neoliberalism imply power structures by which the governance is aligned to the personal capacities of the individual? This aspect is connected not only to the idea of controlling, disciplining, normalizing, or reforming the subject; it is also related to the idea of making people more intelligent, happy, healthy, productive, docile, entrepreneurial, fulfilled, and empowered. Lastly, I wanted to see if these techniques work “under the authority of experts who claim that the self can achieve a better and more happy life by applying scientific knowledge and professional skills” (Rose, 1999: 157).

In order to prevent false interpretations of this text, I deem it necessary to specify that the purpose of this research is not to focus on the description of the universe of alternative forms of spirituality – I did not intend to achieve an ethnography of the most popular or best known forms of personal development being practiced in Romania, only to the extent necessary to offer a framework of understanding for them – but on the way in which, within the spare time activities centered around alternative forms of spirituality, neoliberal ideology is supported. Analyzing leisure practices that lean towards the spiritual can bring additional evidence regarding the eclecticism of the neoliberal system,

and its ability to attract elements from contrasting cultures and philosophies in order to ensure its survival.

I don't think there can be any doubt regarding the fact that in Romania there still are alternative forms of spirituality that center around community and helping each other and that manifest criticism of capitalism and a consumerist society, but the forms that constitute the subject of my study are based on the characteristics mentioned above: a strong centering of the individual on the self, on developing self-responsabilization regarding one's own life, and at the same time de-responsabilization at a social level, developing a sense of presentism, while generating new devices of religious subjectivation. These practices contribute to the adaptation of the individual to a given society, and by adaptation I mean more in the sense of acceptance, not change.

In the span of the five chapters I proposed a gradual move from the relevant theories regarding leisure practices to the contemporary practices centered around alternative forms of spirituality. A first undertaking in this paper was to create a general framework of sociological theories of the last century regarding leisure and an overall view of its practices. Then I got an overview of the existing statistics and explained the changes in perspective regarding leisure in the past two decades, to create the context needed for showing how the alternative forms of spirituality have a justified presence in the agenda of leisure practices. After the first part of the fieldwork, which involved taking 25 interviews with people representative of the middle class, from where we can draw the increased interest in "constructive", meaningful leisure practices, the contribution of which is perceived as being important to the holistic development of the individual and a better adaptability to a given society, my research focused on leisure practices with a spiritual component. Thus, in the second stage, I did a sociological and anthropological analysis on the leisure practices centered on alternative forms of spirituality in Romania (Yoga practices, holotropic meditation, Reiki, mandalas, etc.). I then investigated the way in which the literature that centered around personal and spiritual development, spiritual practices, along with the discourse of spiritual facilitators, configures techniques of "changing the self" which first implies a reevaluation of one's own person and an attempt at self-responsibility of the person and at the same time de-responsabilization of all others. The last plane of the research was focused on the link between these practices, the development of the subjectivated self, and neoliberal ideology, which underscores the development of individual competencies, of creativity, flexibility, and self-responsibility.

**This thesis is structured in five chapters, as follows:**

In the first chapter I considered it necessary to do a review of the various approaches and classical sociological theories dedicated to the sociology of leisure. The concepts that were brought up were *leisure class*, *conspicuous consumption*, and *pecuniary emulation* in the vision of Thorstein Veblen, as well as the significance of his analysis of leisure to later approaches, especially to the sphere of critical perspective. Afterwards, I discussed the context in which the sociology of leisure separated itself from other fields of study and was institutionalized as a branch of sociology, during the 1960s. These demarcation from other branches of sociology was possible in the climate of general “enthusiasm”, characteristic to that particular period, fueled by the tendency towards fewer working hours, economic prosperity from that period in western countries (Western Europe and the US), the development of the consumerist society, increased interest in leisure, as well as diversification in the forms of leisure.

As said before, the first period of the sociology of leisure is characterized by a general enthusiasm, fertile ground for developing the leisure society thesis, which talked about the emergence of a society in which spare time will take over daily life, gaining ground over the time allotted to paid work, in the context of a reduction in working hours. Even though it has gone through various stages, the idea of a leisure society has took hold once a clear separation was created between the time allotted to work and the time allotted to leisure activities (it began with industrialization).

When it became obvious that the predictions of leisure society would not come true, new debates regarding leisure gripped the academic agenda. The greatest questions were regarding the relationship of leisure and work, more precisely why work continued to dominate everyday life, despite the technological progress. In the 1980s, paradigm shifts appear, in the sense of reviewing existing theories and including in the analysis what spare time meant in the context of globalization and social changes, of changes in work and the increase in life expectancy of western countries. The updates to leisure theory focused mainly on aspects related to class, gender, and structural inequalities. Also, the studies from this period showed the limitations of an interventionist state in solving class inequality.

In the second period of the sociology of leisure, leisure practices are understood and interpreted by resorting to conflictualist theories. Thus, the analyses focus mainly on the concept of power and

class relations, many times placing them in a historical context. In addition to the fact that individuals can't decide on how much spare time they have, external factors decide to a great extent the way in which this time can be "consumed" (Rojek, 2005, 2009). There can never be a discussion on the undifferentiated access to leisure goods and services for all individuals.

In the last 20 years there has been no dominant paradigm in the sociology of leisure, but the study of leisure is becoming more and more challenging as the forms it takes become more diversified, fueled by a consumerist society and as new prerogatives emerge, which impose an excessive focus of the individual on the self. Here I mean the fact that individuals are being exposed to the idea of cultivating the self, by physical activities, or techniques for personal and emotional development, during their leisure time, in order to be better prepared for a demanding and competitive daily life.

What I tried to show in this chapter is that the various sociological theories conceptualize leisure in distinct ways, depending on a number of factors, such as social context, historical period, institutional affiliation, but most of all the perspective on leisure activities. In order to understand the forms of manifestation of leisure in contemporary, post-industrial, neoliberal societies, it was necessary to go through the main currents that have had an influence in the sociology of leisure, especially since the 1960s.

The second chapter of the thesis focuses mainly on tertiary or secondary analyses of quantitative data regarding leisure practices. I begin this chapter with a brief presentation of the history of studies on time utilization, after which I discuss their relevance, both in sectional research – they are very useful in describing the main ways individuals use (spare) time, as well as differences among individuals, by using a series of explicative factors – as well as in longitudinal studies, which capture very clearly social changes and the contexts where they take place. Starting from this data, researchers can compare time utilization not only within one country, but, because of data harmonization, they can also draw comparisons between situations described in Romania and other countries.

What the data I had at my disposal did not manage to capture was the way in which the means of spending leisure time, but also the individuals' perspective has changed, especially in the last decade, with the increased flexibility of work. Even if Romania would have had another wave of the study Research into Time Utilization, which would have allowed for a longitudinal analysis, and we would have observed if certain general patterns of time allocation had changed over the last 10 years, it still would not be enough to understand the meaning that individuals attribute to their actions and what are the possible factors that are behind individual decisions, so in order to answer these questions, a



qualitative study was needed, in which the researcher should combine interviews and participant observations, alongside a rigorous document analysis (artifacts produced in the field: books, blogs, vlogs).

In the first part of chapter three, my goal was to underline certain key aspects regarding the way leisure transitioned from a focus on hedonism into a new type of work, of the individual with the self (development of the self). This transformation did not happen instantaneously, even though it is becoming more clear since the last recession; this is precisely why I wanted to reiterate the ways in which leisure has been perceived in Romania in the last two decades, a stage I consider necessary in understanding how practicing alternative forms of spirituality makes its presence felt in the agenda of leisure activities. Before anything, I considered it necessary to understand that the ways of spending spare time are conditioned by a set of constraints which depend on the individual and the environment, of existent opportunities in various life contexts, of structural and contextual factors, and the dominant ideologies of the times. This is also where, using the theoretical framework, I stressed the fact that, as with other paid services, programs for personal and spiritual development become consumer goods.

A major change regarding the social perception of leisure takes place at the same time as a change in perception regarding work. The fact that work relations became more flexible can be strongly connected to a new perspective on leisure, and in this context I presented two forms of leisure: *casual leisure* and *serious leisure* (Stebbins, 1982, 1997, 2005) and I have showed how the forms of leisure that don't have a precise goal, that are not considered constructive, start to be incriminated.

In the second part of the chapter I did an analysis of the interviews that were taken in the first part of my research. Here I tried to show how leisure practices are heavily centered on the individual, and the most appreciated forms are those that facilitate the formation of a subjectivated self. Thus, the most appreciated characteristics were of activities that aimed for a specific predefined goal and were perceived as being "construsive" to the individual. In order to understand leisure practices, in the current context and in a connection to the state, it is important to see what the origin is for this need for a strong centering on one's own self and this identification of leisure as freedom, self-determination, and existential fulfillment.

In the fourth chapter, using participant observation and interviews taken with individuals who practice various forms of alternative spirituality, I set out to show how certain leisure practices can represent important resources for the consolidation of neoliberal ideology. In order to support this, I focused on the programs of spiritual development that take place within multiple institutions, but especially on the meaning that those involved attribute to their practices, and the functions that they



may serve, as outlined by the analysis of the interviews. Thus, in order to have an overview, I considered it necessary for this chapter to focus on the descriptive aspects. I described here the activities that take place in a center for spiritual development, the way in which community facilitators present these practices and what are the benefits being promised, on one hand, and expected, on the other hand, by the practitioners. Finally, I described the activities of community facilitators within corporations, which is increasingly becoming an area of interest in the current economic context, where the employees that are most appreciated are the ones with initiative, confident in their own strengths, proactive, competitive, and with entrepreneurial spirit.

Spiritual practices are in complete accordance with the current requirements of the way in which spare time can be spent, ideally: they are strongly centered towards a detailed examination of interiority and introspection of the self, which develops individualities. If we reflect for a moment on the activities in the recreation and spiritual centers, we will notice how absorbed we have become with producing and consuming an identity. Building an identity has become a project that never ends, a process that involves time, energy, and resources and thus much of the time becomes allotted to a work with the self for the holistic improvement of the self. The fear of non-existence becomes the fear of non-productivity and this gives rise to a relentless work of producing and reproducing one's own identity. The activities taking place in a recreational center favor group dynamics, but in which the individuals focus on the self; even though they are in interaction or connection with the other participants, the expectation is that the attention is focused primarily on one's own person. Inside these spaces, leisure is instrumentalized signaling one of the many ways in which work itself becomes convertible to leisure. The practice of alternative forms of spirituality actually becomes a new type of permanent work, which the subjects learn to handle alongside the many other forms of work.

In the first part of chapter five, I describe the various forms of spiritual practices and explore the ways in which they are internalized in a complex lifestyle, which is articulated around living in the present. At the same time, I look at the similarities and the key concepts presented in the field – in the literature, on blogs, in the discourse of the spiritual facilitators – so that I may then identify what is asked of the individual to change about their own person. I was interested to know those ideas and concepts that are internalized so that I may then understand the project of changing the self entails and how it is connected to leisure. Starting from the Foucauldian framework of analysis, I have analyzed the ethnographic material produced during the fieldwork in order to see if there is any evidence to support common aspects between leisure practices and neoliberal ideology. The analysis of the personal development programs that have a spiritual tendency, as well as analyzing the discourse of the

suppliers of such programs outline the importance of developing a new subjectified self, responsible for their own path in life, free, happy, and with entrepreneurial spirit, all of which are important neoliberal characteristics. I mention in the text that not all forms and practices of leisure which strive for spirituality must be seen through this lense, because many of them bring a strong critique of the capitalist system, excessive consumerism, and don't produce the types of subjectivities discussed above.

Leisure has become a goal in itself and the most available means of relieving tensions created by the conditions and experiences of everyday life. The individual decides on his own what recipe to follow in order to alleviate these tensions, going through a constant individual effort, by processes of adaptability, in a society he is instructed from all sides to not judge and which he can only change by his own personal example: "be the change that you want to see in the world".

To sum up, mundane spiritual development actually becomes an individual project – of subjectifying the self – and at the same time a transnational project that involves more factors than can be estimated without a more in-depth analysis. The specific form of spirituality an individual might gravitate towards does not matter, because all these global forms focus on "individual spiritual experience" and the "ideal of personal freedom". By this process the individual develops all those capacities he considers necessary in order to increase the degree of self confidence and detachment from problems that are not strictly related to the individual, aiming mainly for their own benefit. The development of a subjectivated self contributes to a better "adaptation" in modern society and maybe also to the docile acceptance of a given social and economic system.

As I have discussed before, at the moment, Romania is home to a very wide range of "spiritual development" programs, accessible to an urban clientele, which is diverse (regarding lifestyle, availability for involvement, openness towards spirituality) and homogeneous at the same time (mostly part of the middle class, with material availability, as well as temporal availability to take part in these activities). Thus, the programs I managed to account for, and to a certain extent, to study in more detail, have varied with regards to the size of the group, the themes being approached, activities, interaction with other group members, degree of spirituality, prior training, financial costs, the language used (romanian or english). In essence, regardless of the programs that we refer to, what they manage to offer, beyond the degree of spirituality being invoked, beyond developing certain abilities, techniques, or procedures of development of the self, is a self-responsabilization of the subject and building a

“subjectified self”, “unique” and “authentic”. The trainers, shamans, or spiritual developers can serve as a guide, can facilitate the process of “developing the self”, but what becomes apparent in their discourse is the fact that the success of these programs relies entirely on the degree to which the active participants are able to capacitate themselves and internalize a new approach to life. Starting from this, the supplier is no longer responsible of the efficiency of the program on the student. In the same manner, the appreciation for a program is dependent upon the degree to which the experience of the students has been “revealing” for them.

My involvement in programs of personal and spiritual development was understood as an essential stage of the research, as it facilitated a better understanding of the personal and spiritual development industry, as well as of the relationship between the beneficiary (course participant, practitioner) and the service supplier. Unlike the interviews and bibliographical analyses, which followed predetermined analysis framework, because of the variety of workshops and trainings I took part in, I could not build a clear analysis framework before doing the fieldwork. But this aspect can not be seen as a disadvantage, because it meant that more attention was required and the observations had to be more rigorous throughout the events I took part in. The huge volume of information that each event generated was discussed at length and structured, both during meetings with the project team, with whom I worked for two years, as well as in the scientific papers written as a result of the project.

All these programs that I took part in try to introduce, using various techniques and degrees of knowledge, certain abilities that have as ultimate goal the „holistic development of the practitioner’s self” (body, mind, and spirit). What these programs manage to offer are certain procedures, techniques, and knowledge that every individual is able to use in order to manage their own „development” (spiritual, personal, and, why not, professional), independent of outside factors, in a tight connection to the “energy of the Univers”. In other words, important elements for the support of neo-liberal ideology are internalized, in manners which are pleasant and often easy for the participants. By acquiring these abilities, individuals become much more attentive to, and responsible for, their own lives, developing a strong entrepreneurial spirit, and moving their attention away from what the institutions of the state might do for them. Thus, following the discussions I analyzed, I believe that involvement in these practices of personal or spiritual development contributes to a great extent to the ideological repositioning, and to the process of individualization and legitimization of the economic and political neo-liberal system.

The experiences of the fieldwork facilitated my understanding of the alternative forms of spirituality, with respect to their openness towards the neo-liberal subjectivity, and towards a certain type of connection of the subject to the self and to society. All the programs that I attended during my research project had the following in common: a centering of the attention on the self, the vision being one of holistic development of the self; (conscious) living in the present, which implies an intensification of present experiences and detachment from possible fears regarding the future, as well as from possible unpleasant past experiences; maximizing ones own happiness, fulfillment, and general well-being, developing an entrepreneurial spirit, or raising the degree of self-responsabilization. During some of the spiritual programs I attended, the discussions intensified around ways of maximizing those characteristics which are highly appreciated in an area that is very secular, meaning aspects such as: communication skills, increasing success, developing individual abilities, coping with stress or pressure, multi-tasking with short deadlines. Other programs, however, avoided almost completely discussions around the benefits of personal and spiritual development on work, focusing instead on well-being or on adopting certain procedures which could be easily extrapolated by the practitioner to almost any other aspect of their life.

All these forms would not have diversified this much and would not have become so widely popular if a need had not been created first. Beyond the changes in perspective regarding leisure, which have facilitated a diversification of the forms that are possible and beyond the fact that it can no longer be perceived as a time of non-productivity, to better understand the success of spiritual practices as a form of leisure it would be interesting to view them in the context of their relationship with stress, which most studies of leisure fail to do (Spracklen et al, 2017). Actually, managing stressful situations, which are extrinsic to the individual, become, in a neo-liberal logic, the direct responsibility of the subject. The responsabilization of the individual in managing these states is what greatly contributes to the success of all the therapeutic, relaxation, and self development techniques that are embraced by individuals. In a climate that does not give rise to tensions, pressures, stress, and competition, and the need to perform in all aspects of life, all these programs, which have as a goal freedom from the problems mentioned above, would find much fewer adepts. Leisure has become a goal in itself and the most accessible way to eliminate the tensions created by the conditions and experiences of everyday life. The individual decides on his own recipe to alleviate the tensions, by going through a perpetual individual effort, by processes of adaptability, in a society about which he is told constantly not to formulate value judgments and which he aims to change only by the power of his own example.

Beyond the meanings that are attributed by those involved in the processes of spiritual development, beyond the discourse of spiritual facilitators and the huge amounts of literature and services that have developed around alternative forms of spirituality, I believe it is a sociologist's job to look with a critical eye at these processes that take place at an individual level, but whose consequences are felt at a social level. At the moment, the sociology of leisure, in Romania at least, is not one of the central branches of sociology, its object of study being often of interest to other connected branches, such as the sociology of lifestyle or the sociology of work. An increased attention to the characteristics and mechanisms behind leisure practices would certainly offer a clearer picture of the social processes that exist in Romania. Beyond the macrosociological analyses of the patterns of leisure, which I consider to be important especially for the overall perspective that they offer and for allowing comparisons to be drawn, qualitative studies from this area of interest should be better represented. I consider this plane of everyday life to be deserving of investigation in greater detail, on the one hand because it offers a very complex medium of analysis of social processes, with respect to inequality and the ways in which power can manifest itself, and on the other hand because it is of great interest both to the individuals that invest time, energy, and money, but also to very prosperous industry that appeared around it.

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