

Time

The hobby was often simply an extension of ordinary paid work routine with the crucial modification that routine was replaced by autonomy and choice.

ROSS MCKIBBIN, *IDEOLOGIES OF CLASS* (1990), P. 160

Amateur time is inextricably tied to the notion of 'free' time, defined as the time notionally set aside from the obligation to work. Central to this experience, as described above by social historian Ross McKibbin, is autonomy – the individual freedom to decide how time is spent. Up until now I have looked at production that arises from amateur craft practice: the infrastructures that facilitate it and the ways of producing that emerge. By contrast this chapter focuses on the experience of occupying amateur time, and how the end product that derives from the craft process is subservient to the experience of doing it. As trainspotter John Stretton describes: 'For me the over-riding joy of trainspotting . . . is the peace at the lineside. For some it is fishing, reading or even a Hamlet cigar! But put me at the side of the railway line and I am happy. Almost, there is no need for an actual train, the place is therapeutic enough.'¹

Although the hobbies Stretton mentions – trainspotting, fishing, cigar smoking and reading – are not crafts in the conventional sense, Stretton's explanation of the near irrelevance of the final result elucidates the prioritization of process over material output that is critical to understanding any practice of amateur craft. The experience of time, in Stretton's case the therapeutic benefits of being close to the railway, is more important than the end result (a notebook containing a checklist of all the trains that pass).

Resources of time and money are poured into amateur craft in order to achieve particular temporal experiences. To analyse them we could plunge into the array of individual accounts of uplifting experiences or therapeutic benefits offered by amateur time, as many scholars have done.² However, as McKibbin states above, hobbies – the activities that occupy amateur time – are often 'simply an extension' of everyday work routine. Frankfurt School scholar Theodor Adorno was alert to the clingy co-dependence between free and work time, stating how 'free time is nothing more than the shadowy continuation of labour'.³ He showed in his essay 'Free Time' (1977) how the 'otherness' of amateur time – whether therapeutic, politically subversive or physical in character – is a condition of its unfreedom. With this critical perspective in mind this chapter assesses whether freedom is possible in amateur time, and what this freedom consists of. In our contemporary environment where every media outlet is full of a thousand and one suggestions on how to spend free time, it is hard to disagree that our decisions on how we spend our free time are determined in some way. Yet I argue that there are distinctive temporal characteristics that distinguish amateur craft: even if exactly the same production procedures

used under the conditions of salaried work are replicated in amateur practice, temporal differences arise from the amateur's notional freedom and the essential non-necessity of its undertaking. Amateur time is an extension of other temporal modes, echoing the differential aspect of amateur space, but by dictating the pace and conditions of labour's exploitation, amateurs can create personal, miniaturized utopias and alternative worlds, for a limited time only.

After accounting for constrained freedom of amateur time, with reference to Adorno and Marx, I seek to demonstrate the alternative temporal experiences that emerge from voluntarily undertaken labour, from play to therapy. I will then locate these experiences in the particular amateur craft of railway modelling. Analysis of the craft provides an opportunity to expand on propositions made in opening parts of the chapter, concerning amateur craft's differential status, its utopian leanings and the different ways it stretches normative temporal structures.

The distinctive temporality of amateur craft practice and its uniqueness have proved particularly attractive to artists and designers aiming to mine this fertile terrain of experience. In line with the other chapters, I conclude with case studies from contemporary art and design practice to analyse how various groups of artists and designers have occupied amateur time and the ways in which this sideways movement has the potential to rejuvenate practice. Empathetic observation of amateur time prompts a consideration of the temporal qualities of amateur craft practice and outlines why contemporary art and design practice should take heed of amateur experience in light of art's ever-increasing democratization.

Is free time free?

A key theoretical tension that helps us frame amateur time is whether it can be characterized as permitting genuine freedom. Amateur practice takes place in 'free' time, the time outside salaried labour, where Marx states the labourer feels 'at home', in stark contrast to the alienation suffered when he is compelled to make objects that satisfy others' needs.⁴ Although Marx used the term 'amateur' pejoratively to describe a political opponent (see Chapter 2), there is a domestic, hobby-like quality to Marx's vision of a utopia of freely undertaken labour.⁵ Once the necessity of human subsistence was taken care of by socialized forms of labour organization, an individual could 'hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, rear cattle in the evening, criticise after dinner, just as I have a mind, without ever becoming a hunter, fisherman, cowherd or critic'.⁶

Marx was optimistic about the fate of the labourer (Hannah Arendt's *animale laborans*), arguing in *The German Ideology* that once freed from the pressure of subsistence the energies previously spent working would be directed towards 'higher goals'. As discussed in the last chapter, Arendt and thinkers who follow her trajectory see no evidence to back up this optimistic viewpoint because amateur production was considered to be imitative and superfluous. As shown in Chapter 2, Arendt too quickly ties the quality of temporal experience with the need to produce things that, in her eyes, are genuine, valorised additions to the human artifice. The account of the trainspotter above shows how an individual might produce things of little significance, and even openly admit that fact, but the experiences that arise from such inane production can be akin to boundless freedom. This is the question though: how free is this freedom and what is its inherent nature?

Adorno's provocative assertion that 'free time is shackled to its opposite'⁷ constitutes an approximate equivalent to Arendt's thesis in the temporal dimension: in the process of succumbing to the cyclical biological necessity for endless production and consumption, the *animale laborans* spends free time engaging in activity that ensures further entrapment rather

than a release from conditions of capitalism. Adorno states: 'Free time depends on the totality of social conditions, which continues to hold people under its spell. Neither in work nor in their consciousness do people dispose genuine freedom over themselves.'⁸ Adorno echoes Marx's thoughts on alienation as being ruled over by a totalizing inhuman power, but he directs his critique specifically against those leisure activities that are presumed to be free. Going to the gym, visiting the Eiffel Tower, making a shed in the garden, and the entire gamut of possible uses of free time all in some way serve the interest of capital, fuel a market, or commodify an activity. This is the sophistication of late capitalism, according to Adorno. The abundance of free time made possible by increased productivity is neutralized by convincing individuals that they are in control of how this excess time is used, whereas in fact their desires, wants and longings are shaped by the institutional and social expectations underpinned by capitalist production. He adds that free time is only given once the imaginations of workers are sufficiently quashed, rendering them incapable of using this time effectively. This results in boredom, the continuation of bodily labour through competitive sports that ensures the ongoing fitness of workers, or the facile pursuit of the commodity fetish (he cites the example of women going on holiday to get a tan rather than be with their fellow man).⁹

It is within this context that Adorno criticizes hobbies as an engagement with mindless infatuations that exist 'in order to kill the time' that, in classic academic style, he resolutely distances himself from ('I have no hobby').¹⁰ Adorno, as a theorist, takes his work very seriously and refutes the conventional work-leisure bifurcation by insisting that everything he does fits in with his overall vocation – academic labour. In contrast, the hobby industry, like the leisure industry, is a 'continuation of the forms of profit-oriented social life', according to Adorno.¹¹ Instead of leading to a possible utopia, amateur labour taking place in free time confirms the capitalist colonization of all aspects of life as the labour undertaken in free time mimics the alienated conditions of normative capitalist work.

Despite Adorno's scepticism he does suggest that society 'cannot have it all its own way' in free time, hinting at the possibility of some form of release from capitalist structures. Yet this enlightenment in free time depends on what he refers to as 'maturity' (*Mündigkeit*), a specific ability to critique, through exacting erudition, the illusory nature of capitalism's edifice. His example is the self-critical reflection on how spectators 'consumed and accepted' Princess Beatrix of Holland's televised wedding whilst not quite believing in what they saw.¹² Adorno is clearly sceptical that amateur makers can reach such levels of criticality: 'What they [amateurs – *Freizeitler*] create has something superfluous about it. This superfluosity makes known the inferior quality of the product, which in turn vitiates any pleasure taken in its production.'¹³

Adorno's standard of maturity privileges his own conception of freedom as the self-realization of existence within the negative dialectics of capitalism, all the while bemoaning the way in which people spend their free time. Adorno's analysis, like Arendt's, too heavily weighs on the material thing produced at the end of amateur production rather than the different experiences of time that take place while making. Pleasure arises in amateur practice despite the 'inferior', slavish imitation of pre-given styles; indeed, from railway modelling to furniture restoration and embroidery the accuracy of the copy often is the barometer by which success and gratification is measured. Adorno might lament the spuriousness of hobbies based on the material content that is generated by them, but this spuriousness, marginality and political irrelevance can produce alternative temporalities within structures of modernity. As argued in Chapter 2, investigation of amateur craft demands a departure from judging the quality or content of production and a greater consideration of the alternative temporal experiences that arise in the course of making.

Adorno's identification of the constraints of free time is critical in my attempt to conceptualize the bounded freedom of amateur time. Other twentieth-century Marxist scholars also recognize such constraints: for example, Braverman's assessment of autonomy within the workplace where management 'deliberately leaves insignificant matters open to choice'¹⁴ can be analogized to free time, where individual selection of one's hobbies is an unimportant choice that merely gives the illusion of control. Jean Baudrillard also claimed the 'ideology of freedom is the weak point in our Western rationality, including Marxism'.¹⁵ These scholars, influenced by Marx, help critique overly optimistic assessments of the character of amateur time as an individualistic, antagonistic (and anti-capitalist) release. But there is something unique about temporarily taking control of one's labour-power and alternative experiences of time (time-states) can emerge that stretch, exaggerate or highlight everyday reality: invention, critical thought and play.

Homo ludens and homo faber

Chief among the alternative temporal modalities generated by amateur practice is the experience of play. One would expect that amateur time surely involves play, given the voluntary nature of its undertaking and the expectation that humans would seek to fill excess time with enjoyable, pleasurable tasks. Yet interrogation of the notion of play within the discipline of sociology helps elucidate its more complex relationship with amateur practice. Critical to an understanding of play are Johan Huizinga's four key qualifications set out in his 1950 work, *Homo Ludens*. He states that play is voluntary; essentially superfluous because it can stop at any time; is not 'real' or 'ordinary', in that it requires its participants to 'play along' or 'pretend'; and is limited to specifically ordained times and spaces, such as the playground or moments of recreation during the working week.¹⁶ Huizinga distances play from the concept of a pure child-like innocence towards a more nuanced understanding of play as embedded in culture. Even in the purest acts play is bounded by rules, and Huizinga emphasizes the centrality of play as a social function: 'It adorns life, amplifies it, and is to that extent a necessity both for the individual – as a life function – and for society by reason of the meaning it contains, its significance, its expressive value, its spiritual and social associations.'¹⁷

In many respects, Huizinga's concept of play shares affinities with Lefebvre's celebration of the carnival as an interruption to everyday life that seems to depart from its foundations only to affirm the everyday more powerfully. As Huizinga states, play is 'an intermezzo, and *interlude* in our daily lives. As a regularly recurring relaxation, however, it becomes the accompaniment, the complement, in fact an integral part of life in general'.¹⁸ For Huizinga, music fulfils the essence of play, alongside dance and other elements of medieval court culture. Lefebvre also used musical metaphors in his lifelong effort to determine a methodology appropriate to locating the freedom and wonder manifest in everyday life, whilst being aware of the very real limitations that everyday life operates under. In his last work, *Rhythmanalysis* (posthumously published in 1992), Lefebvre constructed a methodology called 'rhythmanalysis', which involved the metaphorical translation of the various activities of everyday life into musical 'presences', each with a particular rhythm that possesses its own interior logic as well as the ability to co-exist with multiple surrounding harmonies.¹⁹ The disciple of this new science, the 'rhythmanalyst', is able to discern the co-existence of multiple rhythms, both social and biological, and read the harmonies that result. The carnival, according to Lefebvre, is the point at which these rhythms coalesce.

Huizinga and Lefebvre use these musical metaphors to foreground a temporal modality within which play and differentiality can be situated without breaking or interrupting the dominant harmony of everyday life. Both thinkers are attracted by the notion of alternative temporal experience (play and the carnival) that is bounded by rules but is never the same twice, thus providing an opportunity for individuals to deconstruct the world – the mechanics of social, political and economic reality – only to recreate them again. Henricks, in his monograph on play, emphasizes this feature: ‘To play fully and imaginatively is to step sideways into another reality, between the cracks of ordinary life. . . . Like wilful children, they unscrew reality or rub it into their bodies or toss it across the room. Things are dismantled and built anew.’²⁰

Play, as conceived by Huizinga, conveniently maps onto Lefebvre’s notion of differential space, and seems to reflect the experience of amateur craft: both are voluntary types of performance, bound to various spatial parameters – the home workshop, shed, etc. – and are superfluous compared with other practices of everyday life. However, Huizinga resolutely denies that there is any play in the practice of plastic arts, stating that the artist’s ‘inspiration’ may be free and vehement when he “conceives”, but in its execution it is always subject to the skill and proficiency of the forming hand’.²¹ The plastic arts transform free, potentially playful ideals into grounded material reality. The production of objects is inherently bound to the material world and hierarchies of skill, and therefore runs counter to Huizinga’s expectation that play should have an ‘unreal’ quality.

Friedrich Schiller, an earlier theorist of play, did not confine play to the immaterial, commenting on the play-drive inherently on view when lifeless marble is carved into ‘living form’.²² However, Huizinga’s separation of play from the objecthood inherent to the plastic arts conforms to the expectation that play purely occupies the realm of immaterial human interaction, whereas craft, or the making of things, solely involves the relationship between person and object. This serves to create an abyss between constructions of the *homo ludens* and the *homo faber*. Yet amateur time often incorporates elements from both of these human behaviours. In accounting for the complexity of amateur experience of time it is right that we examine how these instincts interconnect and map onto each other. Key is the idea that play constitutes an alternative temporality within the everyday (not against it) that is bound by cultural and social rules, which individuals can voluntarily move in and out of, as well as modify and adapt. The making that takes place in this temporal zone leads to temporary and differential experiences of time.

Amateur craft can contain this discursive potency as these examples demonstrate, but it can equally be about the absence of any message, individual narrative or overt self-expression. Compliance, invisibility, privacy and submission are among the temporal modes of amateur practice. For example, Jenni Sorkin has shown how the artist and friend of Marcel Duchamp, Beatrice Wood, assumed the guise of a 'coquettish amateur' by under-emphasizing the worth of her artistic talent and stressing her position as the female among the group of *avant garde* artists: a 'wilful subordination', Sorkin describes, that offered 'freedom precisely through diminishment'.⁴⁶ In a more everyday context, Alice Walker celebrated the invisibility of her mother's amateur craft – gardening – in her 1984 book *In Search of our Mother's Gardens*: 'I notice that it is only when my mother is working in her flowers that she is radiant, almost to the point of being invisible – except as Creator: hand and eye. She is involved in work her soul must have.'⁴⁷ Walker's example of her mother helps describe an alternative temporal modality of making with very limited self-reflection that must be key in any analysis of amateur time, 'a revolution staged in the least conscious domain of culture',⁴⁸ as Glenn Adamson has written. At this moment Walker's mother is not engaging in any act of rebellion or any overt statement of individual self-expression, neither is it flow – directed towards a goal-orientated end.

We could argue that this everydayness or compliance is emptied of any sense of subjectivity, but Walker's mother is still engaged in processes that involve skill and making. Her crafting can be described as the wilful subjugation to a structure of work. Georges Perec's metaphor of the puzzle-solver, in the introduction of his book *Life: A User's Manual*, is useful here. Completing a puzzle does represent some kind of subjugation to the puzzle's designer: like a paint-by-number or embroidery kit, every step has been planned in advance. Each act that joins one piece of the puzzle to another involves a degree of skill, yet becomes invisible in relation to its ongoing completion.⁴⁹ This metaphor is helpful in describing how a proactive craft practice can be channelled into a completely determined and invisible activity. The completion of a kit can communicate personal narratives, psychologies and subtle political messages or signs, and going over the lines is always seen as a marker of subjective expression. Yet there can be other experiences of amateur making that fall outside these characteristics where self-critical thought diminishes and subjective agency becomes increasingly thin.

Perhaps the idea of repetition best characterizes this space of amateur craft that is bereft of agency: exactly copying a kit and keeping within its lines merely repeats someone else's design. Again, Henri Lefebvre proves useful in providing the critical tools to approach this subject with empathy. In *Rhythmanalysis* Lefebvre presents the truism that $A = A$, but does not see this as plain equivalence as we might expect, but a demonstration of difference in repetition: the second 'A' is different for being second in the order of As. He concludes: 'Not only does repetition *not* exclude differences, it also gives birth to them; it produces them.'⁵⁰ Lefebvre's conclusion that difference happens within a model of repetition helps further our understanding of amateur time and chimes with Felski's proposition that 'repetition can signal resistance as well as enslavement.'⁵¹ Amateur experience is often far more imitative, reliant and devoid of subversive political content than many of its advocates care to admit. However, this repetition involved in following a pattern still 'gives birth' to difference but it is a difference that only makes the weakest incursions into the discursive realm.

The example of Walker's mother highlights the quiet, invisible and politically muted temporal experience of amateur craft that is often not reflected in contemporary understanding of amateur craft due to the tendency to attribute agency to this act of making. In a recent article for *Design and Culture*, Fiona Hackney coins the phrase 'quiet activism' to describe amateur craft practices, but her emphasis is on the potential of amateur craft as a site of individualistic expression and

as a direct alternative to existing forms of association and making.⁵² Although Hackney frames amateur craft as 'quiet activism' it is clear that she perceives craft activities as containing an activism of sorts as shown by her reference to Craftivism, de Certeau's *la perruque* and Matthew Crawford. This is another example of how critical attention ignores the much broader range of experience within amateur craft that departs from the idea that it is a conduit for powerfully subjective individual expression.

As noted above, Ian Carter states that the amateur railway modelling world 'looks remarkably like' Marx's dream of communist utopia, suggesting similarity between amateur craft and utopia, not equivalence. Key differences do remain. Amateur time can, of course, include both the competitive temporal modality suggested by Csikszentmihalyi, and the political purposefulness often invested in it, but the plurality of amateur experience cannot be reduced to these two theoretical trajectories alone. Amateur time often lacks discursive power, is more discrete, compliant, weak, temporary and dependent, closer to Jameson's understanding of utopian constructions: 'an aberrant by-product . . . its possibility dependent on the momentary formation of a kind of eddy or self-contained backwater'.⁵³ Amateur time has an elusive quality and does not fully satiate the dream of non-alienated labour but instead offers the possibility for temporary control of one's own labour alienation. Utopianism in amateur time is constrained and it is these limitations that ensure its differential status.

This slippage between utopian possibility and actuality will be kept in mind as I analyse the craft of railway modelling. For the moment, however, the status of amateur time can be described only as partially utopian. It is not the time in which a complete escape from a disenchanted capitalist world is possible, but the chance to temporarily control the means of one's own labour alienation. Like play, amateur time is temporary, constrained and reliant; it is an impermanent temporal displacement.

Amateur time as displacement: 'the busman's holiday'

In conceptualizing amateur time, the idea of displacement proves more useful than any of the options above: whether Adorno's demand for critical self-reflexivity, Arendt's valorization of the *homo faber*, Csikszentmihalyi's emphasis on 'sportization', or contemporary commentators who place amateur craft as some form of subversive opposition. The sole thing that unites the plurality of amateur craft practice is the temporal mode of displacement: that it takes place during 'time left over' from other activities. This framing of amateur time encapsulates its inherently strong relationship to the structures that define and pace everyday life, as well as the particular quality of its departure from these same structures. This limited temporal freedom arises from the fact that amateurs control the conditions of their own alienation for a while – the individual choosing to engage in work of his or her own devising. Amateur time is still the freest temporality available in modern capitalism – it might appear to signal the continuation of work during free time, but it allows some form of suspension of normative temporal conditions.

The displaced condition of amateur time is aptly described by the phrase 'busman's holiday', which describes the situation when an individual spends holiday or 'free' time engaged in a similar activity to his or her work.⁵⁴ The phrase originates from the idea of a bus driver spending his holiday on a bus or coach, but it is pertinent to all professions: concert musicians who compose independently or play a different instrument in their free time, businessmen making deals on the golf course, politicians extending their influence by accepting holiday invitations

from foreign statesmen,⁵⁵ a whole range of ways of spending time that has a tie to one's everyday vocation. Although individuals might replicate skills, abilities, and behaviours inherent to their everyday vocation, the busman's holiday represents some kind of temporal suspension and occupies a differential realm of culture.

Analysis of a hypothetical busman on a holiday might reveal a number of different experiences outside a mere continuation of sensations experienced whilst working to the normal timetable. For example, a busman riding a tour bus might derive great pleasure by seeing someone else do his job and delight in the passivity of being a passenger with someone else in control, or he might criticize and bemoan the driver's lack of skill. Another scenario might situate the driver as driving the bus himself as he would whilst at work but with the difference that he is free from having to observe a timetable, a set route, health and safety standards, perhaps driving his own heritage bus or transporting friends to a holiday destination.

The busman's holiday describes the state of displacement inherent to amateur time while maintaining a link to one's other everyday experiences. An individual does not completely 'switch off' in free time, as we might presume, but continues to engage with the skills, tools and mentalities that are familiar to vocational practice. Once again the comparison to Jameson's description of the science-fiction novel is useful; amateur time is similarly 'momentarily beyond the reach of the social', politically powerless, but nevertheless a zone 'in which new wish images of the social can be elaborated and experimented on'.⁵⁶ The displaced condition of amateur time facilitates multiple alternative temporalities that constitute an elaboration, exaggeration and extension of normative experience, which subsequently feeds back into social reality. I aim to account for some of these differential time-states in the course of the case study that follows on amateur railway modelling.

The busman's holiday manifesto

For there is no prison that does not have its chinks. So even in a system that tries to exploit every last fraction of your time, you discover that with proper organisation the moment will come when the marvellous holiday of a few seconds opens up before you and you can even take three steps backward and forward, or scratch your stomach or hum something: 'Pompety pom . . .' and assuming the foreman isn't around to bother you, there'll be time, between one operation and the next, to say a couple of words to a workmate.

ITALO CALVINO, *The Workshop Hen* (2009), p. 45

In his short story about a security guard who decides to keep a hen in the disused courtyards of the factory in which he works, the Italian writer Italo Calvino succinctly explains the potential for individual autonomy even within the most regimented structures of everyday life. His words echo Adorno's presumption that capitalist regulation of time and space severely restricts individual autonomy, but highlights how everyday activities usually considered unimportant – humming, taking strides backward and forward and chatting with a co-worker – offer a degree of individual empowerment. This diversionary gesture, existing within the system, is analogous to amateur craft. Once equipped with the necessary tools and materials, amateurs can occupy the time and space of these constrained freedoms within capitalism and produce some kind of expression.

In this chapter, and in the book as a whole, I have attempted to highlight the differential characteristic of amateur craft: how its practice operates within structures of everyday life in ways that are unexpected and unique. Despite the constraints inherent to amateur time, self-imposed and otherwise, there is still potential for utopian impulses to bubble through to the surface. This motivates the appropriation of features of amateur craft among curious artists, designers and craftspeople who have been drawn to its unpredictable, roguish, anarchic, weak, quiet, idiosyncratic, playful, regenerative, socially orientated and politically ambiguous qualities.

What unites and underpins the plurality, complexity and richness of amateur experience is its relational status, the fact that it is a reply to other temporal experiences of everyday life, as Friedmann stated, not an escape: the potential to temporarily control one's own alienation. This is true of contemporary artists 'taking a break from their own cleverness' and nineteenth-century housebound wives creating patchwork quilts from offcuts and scraps. Both activities relate to a form of more overt labour alienation yet at the same time constitute a temporary release.

The phenomenon of amateur craft in modernity is more effectively grasped when it is understood as an *alternating* feature of everyday life (occur in turn repeatedly), rather than the *alternative* (available as another opportunity). This is the busman's holiday manifesto, a call for permanent part-timeism. Nineteenth-century French philosopher Charles Fourier provides the intellectual backbone for this manifesto as he argued that the human condition was better suited to variety rather than specialization, stating that 'the liveliest pleasures become insipid if others do not promptly succeed them'.¹⁴⁶ He named this characteristic the butterfly passion. Even something as pleasurable as fine dining depends on its temporary appearance within the routines of the everyday, as Fourier observed. He even went so far as to suggest that any activity could not be pursued profitably if it lasts longer than two hours without a break.¹⁴⁷

Fourier's radical suggestions, cited by fellow theorist of utopia, Jameson,¹⁴⁸ contrast with the specialization and pursuit of a single vocation that had come to define the organization of labour in Western capitalism at least, and the attendant notion that mastery of a particular skill should be socially valued in and of itself. What Fourier and Jameson realized is that commitment to a single task, even if you love doing it, needs to be offset by frequent, temporary releases, through idleness, play, or deploying one's labour in a different context. Amateur craft principally concerns this re-deployment of labour, which, as I have shown, provides differential experiences of working, making, organizing, and thinking. To continue the musical metaphor that I introduced in the opening of this chapter, the melodies of amateur time have to be laid on top of the dominant harmonies of everyday life and they only make music when joined.

Amateur craft cannot exist in isolation. The optimism of Aram Sinnreich, who wishes that the whole world be 'composed of amateurs' pursuing activities out of love alone,¹⁴⁹ needs to be qualified. This is because amateur time only gains content through its mutual relationship with other temporal experiences and is only possible if structures of capitalist infrastructure survive – whether it be legal frameworks that limit the hours of the working week, or global networks of artistic supply, that would allow me, if I wanted, to take up rosewood carving.

This manifesto of labour diversification is not an attack on specialization and the social value placed on the mastery of a skill. There have been many examples of artists, highly specialized within their field of practice, who excelled in areas outside their primary vocation. French artist Jean Auguste Dominique Ingres (1780–1867) was a concert violinist, and the phrase 'Violon d'Ingres' – deriving from the title of a Man Ray painting influenced by Ingres (*Le Violon d'Ingres*, 1924), in which Man Ray transformed a photograph of a nude woman's back through the addition of painted 'f' holes – has become a term to describe a supplemental activity in which one excels, blurring the boundary between primary and secondary occupation. Another example where the dynamics of the 'Violon d'Ingres' were to the fore was when the small watercolour paintings and sketches of the nineteenth-century French romantic novelist, Victor Hugo, attracted critical attention in the 1910s. Art historian Henri Focillon claimed that Hugo's painted art was more unique than his well-known literary oeuvre.¹⁵⁰ Regardless of this critical reception, for Hugo painting offered him frequent and miniature distractions. In a letter to Charles Baudelaire in 1860 he stated of his painted art: 'It keeps me amused between two verses'.¹⁵¹

Amateur craft, the distraction, the aside, the supplemental is an expression of Fourier's butterfly passion: the pursuit of transferring between different tasks each replete with their own skills and structures, with each benefiting from their mutual undertaking. This busman's holiday manifesto for many merely reveals what is hiding in plain site. Diversification of labour is the default for many artists, designers, and craftspeople, as both Lippard and David Pye observed in the 1970s,¹⁵² their income usually supplemented by teaching, writing, lecturing, private tuition

and a variety of voluntary and social activities. The result is that the artist's primary labour is confined to the day off, weekend or spare time: the alternate temporal modality known as amateur time.

The 'Violon d'Ingres' is an intensified version of the busman's holiday whereby the individual excels in activities taking place both in and outside amateur time. However, both phrases accentuate the importance of harnessing labour-power to multiple ends and the need to withdraw from one structure of labour deployment to another. To learn from amateur craft practice, the artist and any other individual should recognize the differential qualities of this reprieve and how it both departs from and is linked to everyday experiences of life. Winston Churchill, voted the greatest Briton in a 2002 BBC poll, inhabited the *alternating* state offered by amateur craft when he painted landscapes in oils in order to exercise a different set of 'mental muscles' from those required for the affairs of state.¹⁵³ Do you?