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Leisure Geographies and Domestication in Middle-Class Households

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents the findings of a study that delved into the role of artifactual agents in shaping leisure experiences within middle-class households in Cali, Colombia. In-depth interviews were conducted with members of 26 households, supplemented by mapping and ethnographic visits to 10. The collected data identified home typologies based on family cohesion and attachment to tradition. These typologies are crucial in defining the interplay between artifacts and leisure. In homes with less traditional tendencies, leisure expands spontaneously, albeit at the cost of impoverished free time. In individualistic households, the bedroom emerges as the central hub for leisure, often overshadowing the communal dining room. Leisure is portrayed as a creative mechanism influencing the personalization of domestic spaces through artistic endeavors. In conclusion, this study underscores the significance of artifacts as influential agents in shaping leisure and advocates for a non-anthropocentric approach to understanding domestic leisure.

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Households; leisure; lifestyle; middle class

Introduction: regarding domestic leisure

A substantial body of research has explored family leisure, with studies by Dhar (2011), Harrington (2015), and Zabriskie et al. (2018) delving into its myriad benefits for individual members and the family unit as a whole. In this regard, there is a broad consensus on the positive impact of family leisure involvement and satisfaction on overall family well-being (Agate et al., 2009; Buswell et al., 2012; Poff et al., 2010). In the context of family functioning, characterized by a harmonious balance between cohesion, adaptability, and communication (Olson, 1993), the literature underscores the correlation between family leisure engagement and enhanced satisfaction with family life. Reviewed studies suggest that leisure is a privileged framework for fostering meaningful interactions, thereby contributing to developing effective communication skills and competencies. Moreover, Ward and Zabriskie (2011) posit that when consciously employed, leisure can positively influence various facets of family life. Shaw and Dawson (2001) introduced the term "purposeful leisure" to underscore the

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Table 1. Sociodemographic and family data of the studied sample[a].

Code	Pseudonym	Age	Occupation	Family type	#Adults per household	#People under 10 years old at home
1	Ofelia	36	Professor	Nuclear + Other members	6	1
2	Antonio	47	Insurance advisor	Nuclear	2	2
3	Aurora	37	Professor	Nuclear	2	1
4	Irene	41	Professor	Single/Divorced Father/ Mother + Other members	2	1
5	Ramón	28	Stamper	Single/Divorced Father/ Mother + Other members	3	1
6	Remedios	29	Head of Human Management	Nuclear	2	1
7	Enrique	39	Professor	Nuclear	2	1
8	Paz	37	Architecht	Nuclear	2	1
9	Abril	26	Barista	Single/Divorced Father/ Mother + Other members	3	1
10	Gloria	36	Speech therapist	Nuclear	2	2
11	Raquel	36	Nutritionist-dietician	Nuclear	2	1
12	Noemí	34	Business administrator	Nuclear	3	1
13	Marta	39	Environmental & Health engineer	Single/Divorced Father/ Mother + Other members	5	1
14	Daniela	26	Interactive media designer	Nuclear	2	1
15	Rosario	31	Professor	Single/Divorced Father/ Mother + Other members	3	1
16	Violeta	26	Anthropologist	Nuclear	1	1
17	Tatiana	38	Sociologist	Several nuclear families	10	2
18	Elisa	39	Professor	Nuclear	2	2
19	Natalia	39	Psychologist	Single/Divorced Father/Mother	1	1
20	Valentina	29	Professor	Nuclear	2	1
21	Jacinta	45	Commercial director	Nuclear	2	2
22	Elías	45	Commercial director	Nuclear + Other members	4	1
23	Rosana	33	Psychologist	Single/Divorced Father/ Mother + Other members	3	1
24	Ángela	39	Psychologist	Single mother	1	1
25	Vera	40	Professor	Nuclear	2	1
26	Sofía	31	Professor	Nuclear	2	1

The names of interviewees in each household have been modified at their request.

deliberate intent with which families, particularly parents, leverage family leisure activities to bolster cohesion, communication, and the overall functioning of the family unit.

Family leisure encompasses all recreational activities in which either all or some family members participate (Zabriskie et al., 2018), whether conducted within the confines of the home or beyond its boundaries (Zabriskie & McCormick, 2001). Given the centrality of the home in the current research, it is opportune, at this juncture, to transition the discussion from family leisure—managed by the family and occurring within or outside the domestic sphere—to domestic leisure. This term inevitably unfolds within the home and involves individuals who may not necessarily share legal or emotional ties as a recognized family unit. This distinction is articulated by López-Sintas (2015) when discerning between family leisure activities, such as going to the movies, and domestic leisure activities, like watching a movie at home. In the former, a family organizes a cultural consumption event, while in the latter, cultural consumption transpires at home and may involve individuals or groups not explicitly constituting a family. Despite their interconnected nature, delving into domestic leisure necessitates a deeper exploration of home life, its resources, and the myriad agencies interacting within a household. The focal point of domestic leisure is the intimate and private

dimension of life, traditionally overlooked and challenging for research. This approach allows for examining its inherent dynamics, shedding light on inequality and power relations issues. Viewed through this lens, houses and homes emerge as political arenas, as posited by feminist literature (Collin, 1994; Hooks, 1995; Woolf, 1993), wherein leisure unfolds as an experience shaped by unequal conditions of power and within contexts of disparate distribution of time and labor.

It is imperative to clearly distinguish between the concepts of "house" and "home." "House" refers to an architectural structure utilized as a residence—a building where a group of people resides. In contrast, the notion of a "home" or "household," as defined by the National Department of Statistics (DANE, 2018), pertains to the person or group of people, related or not, who occupy all or part of a home, take care of basic needs from a common budget, and generally share meals [Own translation]. Notably, this article's title centers on "households" rather than exclusively on families or houses. The concept of home inherently involves a relational aspect between individuals and their surroundings—between a person or group and the shelter, shared sustenance, and possessions that constitute a dwelling. It is crucial to recognize that, on the one hand, individuals sharing a home may not always have familial ties, and families may not always cohabitate, while on the other, the home category encompasses not only individuals but also objects, particularly the residence itself and the material resources within it (Sánchez Bravo-Villasante, 2015). Therefore, homes can be aptly conceptualized as cyborg assemblages: entities comprising objects and individuals. Burgio et al. (2021) relate this cyborg condition of the home with two conditions that are common in contemporary houses: the non-human extensions of the house (e.g., electronic networks and electric cables and pipes) that allow the residents to live beyond the house itself; and the manner in which the external world can be captured and reorganized from within the house *via* mechanical and electronic extensions. This interplay between objects and people gives rise to a distinctive attribute used to characterize animals, things, practices, and, in the context of this study, *leisure*—the quality of the domestic.

Home leisure is synonymous with domestic leisure, as it encapsulates the convergence of the physical dwelling and its inhabitants. In this way, domestic leisure is a more flexible construct than family leisure, offering visibility to the house and its constituent elements—human or non-human agents, analog or digital—in a manner historically denied to them. While the scientific literature on domestic leisure is notably less extensive than that focused on family leisure, certain studies, amidst exploring family leisure experiences, delve into those that transpire within the home as an integral part of daily life. One noteworthy study is that of Bosch et al. (1996), which examines gender differences evident in leisure within the home. Other investigations, such as those by Buswell et al. (2012), Coyl-Shepherd and Hanlon (2013), and Brannen and Wilson (2023), address the issue of generational tensions within a household. Additionally, there is a plethora of research spanning decades dedicated to the study of domestic leisure and technology (Barrios, 1993; Fuenzalida, 1997; Lopez de la Roche et al., 2000; López-Sintas et al., 2017; Nimrod & Ivan, 2022; Orozco, 2001; Winocur & Vilela, 2016). Yet other studies explore the relationship between family dynamics, individuation, and technologically mediated leisure (Appel et al., 2012; Beck & Arnold, 2009; Buswell et al., 2012; Livingstone, 2007; Mesch, 2006). These investigations

showcase the diversity of topics, approaches, and perspectives that constitute the study of domestic leisure. Far from merely a derivative of family leisure, domestic leisure emerges as an independent scientific subject capable of investigating complex issues such as class structures, lifestyles, and strategies of distinction through leisure. It also addresses global phenomena like the digitalization of entertainment, gender inequalities in leisure contexts, or the prevalence of unwanted loneliness. In all these studies, a common thread is the locus of domestic leisure—the home—whose composition, size, income, leadership styles, and other variables shape the emergence of domestic leisure experiences. Objective factors, such as income, influence the material resources available for leisure (Aaboen, 2010; Bardasi & Wodon, 2010; Ramírez et al., 2020; Zelleke, 2018). Similarly, subjective elements, like the prevailing ideologies within a home, act as regulatory mechanisms for leisure experiences (Melton & Ellis, 2019; Sanz et al., 2018; Shaw, 2008; Taylor et al., 2007). Objective and subjective aspects converge in the home, not always harmoniously. Woodward (2009) encountered, in the decor practices of middle-class Australian homes, the existence of tension between two desires: to express a certain personal style and good taste and, simultaneously, to maintain an authentic and relaxing home. Consequently, domestic leisure is highly responsive to the specific characteristics of the homes in which it unfolds, underscoring the importance of considering differential elements that render some homes unique. Two significant markers of this uniqueness are class status and the lifestyle embodied in a home's culture.

Concerning social class, this study concentrates on middle-class sectors. In this context, Barr-Melej refers to the "elusive and elastic character of the middle class" (2013, p. 16), likening it to a black hole that can only be gauged "by observing the effects it generates in space" (Barr-Melej, 2013, p. 16). While distinguishing middle layers with unequivocal criteria is challenging, exploring some of the phenomena they manifest is feasible. The significance of the home in their lifestyles is one such aspect. The broader backdrop of this phenomenon traces back to the onset of industrialization, which, as highlighted by Rybczynski (2009), intensified the role of the house as a locus for private life. Segalen (1996) and Praz (1984) concur that this revolution in domestic space, stemming from early industrialization, transformed the house into a place—a space marked by attachments and philias, socially designated as a refuge, a protective exoskeleton (De Landa, 2011). This process is accentuated in cities like Cali, which have witnessed spikes in crime and violence.[1] Since the 1980s, the city has seen the proliferation of gated complexes of apartments and houses, reflective of urban anxieties and the pursuit of secure residential enclaves (Barajas, 2005; Lema & Monteagudo, 2016). Additionally, the inadequacy of space and leisure in public areas compounds this trend, a phenomenon shared by other Latin American countries like Venezuela (Díaz, 2022), Perú (Morales & Velásquez, 2022) and México (Vásquez, 2023). According to the "Cali, cómo vamos" Observatory (2019), data from 2018 indicate that only 16% of Calís residents attended concerts, 12% claimed to have attended festivals, and 12% visited monuments. The figures are even lower for attendance at theaters (11%), conferences (9%), and social gatherings (4%). Cinema is the most popular cultural consumption practice (41%), notably within shopping centers. These statistics pertain to the middle classes possessing less capital than the elites for venturing into less secure outdoor spaces but enough to create a comfortable home with leisure resources. The hypertrophy of the house aligns with the

inhospitality of the street: tenuous threads connect the opulence of domestic leisure with the inadequacy of urban and neighborhood amenities for leisure and entertainment.

A second distinguishing feature highlighting the uniqueness of households relates to their lifestyles (Chambers, 2016; Glyptis, 1981; Hayoz et al., 2019; Wheeler, 2012;), referred to here as home cultures. Proposing that different cultures coexist within a social class implies the assumption that intraclass affinities and affiliations arise from ideological alignment (Bennett et al., 2009), habitus (Bourdieu, 1990), modes of thinking (Douglas, 1998), or lateral connections through employment ties (Lamont, 1992). In all instances, class culture is depicted as a confluence of economic and cultural factors that crystallize into patterns that, in the context of this research, predefine the behaviors and choices a household makes regarding its leisure.

In essence, by stating that this research delves into leisure "geographies" and "domestication" in middle-class homes, we are referring to a spatial focus on leisure experiences within the residences of individuals who share a similar class status but display differences and unique cultural characteristics. This perspective informs the findings presented in this document and seeks to address the following question: what role do artifactual agents, in their interaction with individuals, play in shaping the emergence of domestic leisure experiences in middle-class family homes?

Materials and method

Participants

The research encompasses middle-class households raising children between three and ten in Cali, Colombia, where strata is identified based on income, home stratification levels,[2] and self-identification with a specific social class. With regards to social class, the city of Cali, like others in Latin America, manifests phenomena which are meaningful for the interests of this study: particularly the presence of a middle class of recent ascent within a context of urban violence and insecurity, in which homes become decidedly central to leisure experiences.

The non-probabilistic snowball sampling method (Parker et al., 2019) was employed to select households, utilizing a nondiscriminatory exponential classification system. Ultimately, the study's sample comprises 26 households with diverse family compositions. In the initial phase, an in-depth interview was conducted with one member of each household. The interviewees, aged between 26 and 47, included 22 women and four men. The following section provides the sociodemographic and family data of those interviewed:

Most of the interviewees belong to professional sectors, indicating that they have attended and completed a university program. Out of the 26 people interviewed, 24 are professionals, with three having incomplete doctoral studies, nine holding a master's degree, six possessing a specialization degree, and the remaining six not having pursued postgraduate studies. Additionally, one individual has technical studies, and another has completed their secondary education.

While interviews were conducted to collect information about the human agents, other techniques were conceived as strategies to make the *things talk*. Especially the

houses. That is why, in the second phase of the field work, domestic ethnographic and cartographic visits took place in a total of 10 homes.[3] These 10 were chosen from the initial 26 based on their willingness to continue participating in the study and their consent to allow the continued presence of the research team within the intimacy of their homes.

Research techniques

The conducted fieldwork, aligned with the qualitative question guiding this research, adhered to a phenomenological approach centered on the subjectivity of the actors and their interpretations of their everyday life.

Three techniques were employed for data collection: (1) in-depth interviews; (2) ethnographic visits; and (3) domestic cartographies. Each of these techniques addressed key questions in the research, as outlined in Table 2. The table exclusively presents the questions and axes assigned to each technique. In many instances, ethnographic visits and domestic cartographies provided opportunities to revisit topics already covered in the in-depth interviews. Specifically, each ethnographic visit led to the application of a protocol of observation. Two members of the research team were responsible for collecting all available information through visual registration in a so called "touristic tour of the house." This information consisted of two forms of data: observation notes in a field diary and video recordings. Some of the variables studied in the visits, and their operative expression, can be observed in Table A1 in Appendix A.

In this study, the techniques used, rather than addressing distinct dimensions of the research object, facilitated its iteration and deepening, which are characteristics of qualitative research. This iterative process was essential to grasp domestic leisure, as it necessitated delving into the private spaces and intimacy of individuals and inviting the protagonists to reflect upon aspects of daily life that are often overlooked.

Regarding domestic cartographies, it is important to note that they are unconventional from a methodological standpoint, and their significant advancements have primarily taken place within the realms of feminist geographies and phenomenological geographies (Collignon, 2010; Harding, 1998; McDowell & Sharp, 2016). Collignon (2010) specifically contends that geographers have systematically overlooked the house due to its micro-scale compared to the larger dimensions typically addressed in geography and the absence of

Table 2. Research techniques: questions and axes.

	Central questions	Analyzed variables
In-depth interviews	1. How do people experience the emergence of domestic leisure? 2. What role do you attribute to artifactual agents?	1. Daily home life and domestic routines. 2. Home economics. 3. Cultural consumption and leisure. 4. Parenting work.
Ethnographic visit	1. What is the domestic provision for leisure? 2. What signs and objects denote the prevalence of certain domestic leisure experiences?	1. Signs of the prevalence of domestic leisure. 2. Technological and artifactual provision for leisure. 3. Signs of sex and generational divide in the household. 4. Signs of homely individualism/communitarianism.
Domestic cartography	1. How are spaces and objects for leisure at home socially divided? 2. How does this division transform throughout the day?	1. Division of domestic spaces between household members. 2. Division of domestic spaces according to the time of day (morning-afternoon-night). 3. Division of domestic spaces for the home meeting vs. the individual experience.

social groups and human settlements of considerable size. Feminist geography introduces a nuanced perspective to this notion, as supported by Lussault's (2015) concept of spatial capital. According to this view, when comparing the historically dominated spatial capitals of men and women, the quintessential feminine spatial capital is the house. The generic house constitutes a large-scale space, albeit fragmented and dispersed across apartments, mansions, artisanal constructions, subnormal settlements, and others through which households are represented in social life.

In this study, the domestic cartographies represented a collective construction of a social map of every house by its inhabitants. As a first step, a social plan of the house was drawn. Subsequently, the inhabitants were asked to identify, as per their quotidian family practices, the areas for: children and adults; collective or family meeting spaces; day and night activities; and private and public matters. During the process notes were taken about the conversations, discussions, agreements and other relevant matters.

Most certainly, in this study, the techniques used, rather than addressing distinct dimensions of the research object, facilitated its iteration and deepening, which are characteristics of qualitative research. This iterative process was essential to grasp domestic leisure, as it necessitated delving into the private spaces and intimacy of individuals and inviting the protagonists to reflect upon aspects of daily life that are often overlooked.

Procedure

The interviews, spanning approximately 6 h each, were segmented into two or three sessions conducted at the interviewee's preferred location, often their homes. This approach facilitated simultaneous progress in interviews and home observations, fostering a sense of intimacy with the participants.

Ethnographic visits extended from 4 to 10 h, split into two or three sessions. The term "visit" was chosen to describe how these ethnographic observations inadvertently replicated the protocols of familiarity, intimacy, and politeness typically observed when visiting the homes of others. During these visits, a "house tour" was conducted in addition to documenting observations. This guided tour was captured audiovisually, and the resulting videos were incorporated into the field notebooks for subsequent analysis. In some cases, people who had not previously been interviewed were included in both the visits and domestic mapping.

Map development occurred in two stages. Initially, family members were requested to draw a floor plan of their house. Then, they were tasked with using different symbols and conventions on the home maps to depict the political and cultural imprints of the inhabitants, resulting in a social map of households. The epistemic foundations guiding these cartographies primarily draw from the works of Béjar (1990), Douglas (1998), Elias (1998), Lebrusan (2019) and Serrano (1994), each proposing, from distinct perspectives, that the house constitutes a specific space influencing conditions of unequal power and negotiations for the appropriation and significance of space.

Before starting data collection, permission was requested from all participants to record the information, for transcription purposes, and they were informed that they could refuse to answer questions, interrupt and/or withdraw from the interview or ethnographic visit at any time. It was emphasized that the information obtained was confidential and anonymous, using pseudonyms. Regarding formal ethical

considerations, both Colciencias—the Agency that governs research in Colombia and the Research Committee of Anonymized University—qualified this research as minimal risk, so it was not necessary to follow a specific ethical protocol.

Analysis

Finally, all the gathered data, encompassing interview transcripts, field notebooks, audiovisual and photographic records of homes, and maps from cartographies, were subjected to analysis using the qualitative analysis software ATLAS.ti 8.0. The analysis was conducted through a codebook that included both a priori categories and emergent categories that surfaced during the research.

Results and discussion: leisure geographies and domestication

To interpret artifactual agents' role in the emergence of leisure experiences, this research framed leisure experiences within specific home cultures. Home cultures are construed as both *styles* and projects, representing what a home is and what it aspires to be. These cultures are intertwined with subjective and objective elements, encompassing ideologies, financial resources, material possessions, and aspirations. In this study, social class is a key objective element, given that all households are middle class. For example, these households possess the means to engage in consumption and provide entertainment within their homes while simultaneously facing limitations in diversifying their entertainment options. The middle-class status thus provides a homogeneous socioeconomic context within which diverse home cultures emerge. To establish the proposed home cultures, households were categorized along two axes. The first axis revolves around the cohesion-individualism relationship, indicating the degree of cohesion or individualism within a family. The second axis pertains to the certainty-uncertainty relationship, encompassing both objective (related to one's occupation, where, for instance, a public sector employee may experience more certainty than a self-employed entrepreneur) and subjective (attributed to factors like attachment to tradition or planning strategies for the future) aspects of certainty. This analytical process classified households as cohesive or individualistic, uncertain or certain. These typologies facilitated examining how cohesion, individualism, home certainty, or uncertainty impact the geography of domestic leisure and, consequently, the relationship individuals establish with artifacts in leisure experiences, with the domestic space being a significant component among them.

Domesticated time in certain vs. uncertain households

The striking relationship between uncertain home cultures and allocating spaces and times for domestic leisure is noteworthy. It is crucial to emphasize that the category of uncertainty extends beyond the organization of home life to encompass the deregulation of associated protocols. An uncertain home suggests poorly rationalized forms of daily life organization, marked by the absence of routines and detachment from formalized schedules and protocols, allowing for significant space for improvization. Such homes often grant children greater autonomy to freely propose and arrange leisure experiences. Typically, these households are characterized by adults with flexible jobs, facilitating the presence of unstable routines and creating an environment conducive to spontaneous leisure

experiences. Homes like Paz's exemplify high uncertainty, where life unfolds in a *laissez-faire* manner, turning everyday activities like breakfast into games, and meals can be enjoyed anywhere in the house. Simultaneously, with less emphasis on structured routines, these uncertain households tend to be *time-poor* and chaotic, resolving daily life on the go and in haste. In these homes, *time is wasted* looking for socks and solving domestic emergencies. Paradoxically, while these homes are more predisposed to spontaneous leisure activities that expand throughout the house, they often have less time to experience them fully. In Paz's case, in her home, day-to-day life is organized with care, and apart from specific rituals of compensation and leisure, nothing follows a rigid routine—neither waking up time nor the processes involved in getting the child ready for school. In contrast, other more organized homes incorporate small games during breakfast—Aurora engages in morning playtime with her daughter, and Vera and her son share a lengthy hug in what they fondly call the wake-up hug. Paz and her husband, however, find themselves rushing after their son, e.g., vb. "I have to take him to school three times a week because the bus leaves him behind" (Paz, nuclear home).

Elías's highly orderly home, characterized by cohesion and certainty, is at the opposite end of the spectrum. In this household, times and rhythms are predetermined by family hierarchy, housework is meticulously distributed, and the family has established fixed rituals. The daughters' study and extracurricular activities fill their afternoons, and nights are typically marked by exhaustion. Elías acknowledges the family's strict adherence to order but occasionally questions the potential benefits of introducing a bit of indiscipline into their home: "I think so: we are happy. I think we would all say we are a happy family, but I'm also aware the girls criticize us because we are strict with the house, with cleanliness."

Hence, in both Paz's and Elías's homes, the model of daily life administration significantly influences the emergence of leisure. In Paz's house, the uncertainty surrounding day-to-day planning plays a pivotal role, while in Elías's house, excessive planning leaves little room for spontaneity or deviation.

Topological contraction of leisure in uncertain households

In contrast to uncertain households, those with certainty experience a more confined geography of domestic leisure. This contraction is evident in individualistic homes with certainties, where family members territorialize specific areas of the house for their individual leisure. A prime example is Abril's home, which stands out as particularly atomized compared to other studied households. While the living room, kitchen, and patio serve as family gathering spaces, the house's three bedrooms operate as islands with their own rules and autonomy. Notably, there are no collective regulations for room hygiene, and activities in private rooms face only mild restrictions. Although the family expresses the desire that Abril's boyfriend does not spend the night at their home, he occasionally does so without raising any objections. Abril also frequently socializes with her friends in her room, vb. "I have had up to 8 friends here in bed watching a movie, listening to music, messing around, drinking beer" (Abril, single mother + other members, personal communication).

Like Abril's case, the bedroom often becomes the object of territorialization, especially in individualistic homes. Scholars like Madigan and Munro (2002), Livingstone

(2007) and Blackwell et al. (2016) have referred to the significance of the bedroom in adolescent culture as a space where identity is constructed. This centrality appears to extend to individualistic homes and extended families, where bedrooms are natural spaces for expressing individual identities. This individual leisure, often grounded in personal preferences and vocations, is not immune to the tensions inherent in belonging to a family unit. One of the key paradoxes in this study revolves around how home cultures navigate the tension between individuality and collective belonging—how they manage the relationship between the individual and the collective. Leisure activities play a crucial role in this dynamic. Some homes lean toward cohesion, often with routines of family gatherings that are ritualized and inviolable. In such cohesive homes, characterized by a greater certainty, hierarchy, and tradition, assign clear spaces for individual and collective activities. In uncertain homes, the situation becomes notably more complex. In uncertain, cohesive homes, the aspiration for family unity clashes with the absence of traditional regulations governing collective life at home. Families aspire to function as communities while seeking ample space for individual expression. These contradictions are heightened when considering generational relationships. Adults aim to preserve their space and identity beyond their parenting roles, while desire to share memorable experiences with their children and be good parents. Various strategies come into play to safeguard individuality while nurturing family life, often revolving around leisure and the home's spatial configuration. These strategies manifest in communal gatherings in the dining room, closed bedroom doors, shared rituals on Sundays, and the spatial divisions created by members.

In domestic life, the dining room emerges as a noteworthy device that amplifies domestic leisure, particularly in homes with greater cohesion and certainty. These are often the homes where family members dine together, at least on weekends, and where conscious efforts toward family integration are more evident. The dining room also assumes an intriguing role as a space for leisure experiences and individual entertainment practices that unfold in proximity to others. For instance, at Elías's, the family congregates in the dining room for various activities. While the eldest daughter checks her social networks on her computer or phone, the younger one draws, and the parents read the news or check emails, sometimes engaging in activities like assembling a puzzle together. Though primarily individual, these activities create a shared experience that oscillates between immersion and conversation. While each family member could pursue them individually, there seems to be a certain joy in sharing these experiences in the dining room, transitioning from solitary immersion to conversation and back again. Similar situations unfold in Elisa's family, where her daughters do homework together in the dining room, and in Abril's, when they gather in the living room on Sundays, each engaged in their activities but enjoying the shared space. This role of the dining room, serving as a space that converges individual leisure experiences—sometimes in parallel and sometimes transforming into collective experiences—aptly illustrates the concept that spaces and objects can act as leisure agents.

Leisure and esthetic concerns for the house

On the contrary, when exploring homes where domestic leisure predominantly occurs in bedrooms or explicitly designated areas, a heightened characteristic of certainty stands out:

an esthetic concern for the home. These households, driven by the order and upkeep of domestic decor, tend to steer clear of leisure experiences in more public areas with higher esthetic investments. For instance, Tatiana's home has established rules to uphold order in the common room, and Gloria and Valentina have delimited play areas, excluding the common room and the bedrooms: Valentina remarks "I get so exasperated seeing the house in disorder that sometimes I get carried away and don't allow them to do many things in the common room living room. At least we have the patio, they can create as much disorder as they like there". In such cases, the bedroom becomes a sanctuary to safeguard, reflecting an intentional withdrawal of disorder, leisure, and family intimacy from the visible spaces. Homes with a pronounced esthetic focus on the living room tend to concentrate decorative efforts while neglecting less visible areas. This pattern directs investments toward external layers, intentionally overlooking the less conspicuous spaces. Consequently, domestic leisure experiences tend to retract into private rooms and bedrooms. It's worth noting that more cohesive households tend to foster collective domestic leisure experiences, shifting these experiences toward communal areas. In certain instances, such as in Vera's home, this common area might be the parents' room, while in Tatiana's house, the communal room typically serves as the gathering space. Despite the inclination to restrict domestic leisure, there is some compensation in these cases. In Enrique's home, for instance, collective leisure experiences unfold in the same room, subject to esthetic concerns. The density of the bond and the communal demands stemming from it appear to necessitate a slight relaxation of controls exercised over household order. Efforts in such cases are more oriented toward restoring order after the leisure experience than rigidly maintaining it. Enrique emphasizes, "We play charades with my family, and this [the living room] becomes a tremendous mess (…) My wife always says, 'mess up whatever you want, but leave it as you found it'."

The size of the house does matter

In a different order of ideas, it's crucial to highlight that house size plays a pivotal role in the emergence of collective leisure experiences. One might assume that a family confined to a small space, compelled to be nearby, would engage in more shared leisure and entertainment activities. However, evidence indicates that in smaller houses, like Abril's, measuring 65 m^2, individual leisure is preferred. In contrast, Tatiana's vast residence, close to 300 m^2 and situated on a 1,500 m^2 lot, typically fosters collective activities leading to shared leisure experiences. Several factors contribute to this phenomenon. Smaller houses often serve more functional purposes, with spaces designed according to an instrumental logic: bedrooms for sleeping, dining rooms for eating, kitchens for cooking. Conversely, larger spaces provide more room for indeterminate and non-instrumental uses, creating conditions conducive to the emergence of shared leisure experiences. Additionally, a curious observation emerges: the scarcity of spaces appears to result in a stronger bedroom culture and amplifies techno-mediated entertainment. Given the confined nature of the small house and the impossibility of occupying common spaces without encountering one another, individuals tend to transform rooms and screens into spaces for individual expansion. Abril's house stands out as the most densely populated in the study, with two television screens, but only the one in the living room has cable service. The family typically watches TV while eating, a practice uncommon in other homes studied, which often prohibit

screen consumption at the table. The positioning of the television in the living room is also unusual; generally, larger screens are found in TV rooms or bedrooms. April has a second television in her room, frequently watching movies but lacking cable service. The living room is consistently occupied as neither her little sister nor her parents have screens in their bedrooms. Despite high individuation, this family spends considerable time together, experiencing intense collisions and bodily encounters in the small house, fostering both shared experiences and greater retreat into their limited private spaces.

The relative power of screens

Concerning screens, it's important to highlight that digital leisure is central to home life. However, contrary to what technological determinism proposes, the influence of screens is conditioned. In concordance with. Cuerdo and Navas (2022), while it is true that today's home has converted into a multifunctional center of entertainment, three characteristics of domestic life influence the intensity of the relationship with screens: firstly, when houses are smaller, and techno-mediated entertainment becomes a means to escape the presence of others (e.g., April's home); secondly, when the number of children is smaller, and screens serve as effective entertainers for children's solitary time. Finally, when adults experience more time constraints or exhaustion, and screens, especially television, offer a relaxation alternative with minimal personal commitment. Similar phenomena were identified by Calderón Gómez and Gómez Miguel (2022) in Spain. These researchers identified that the use of screens at home depends on socio-economic factors, available space and the routines and needs of the inhabitants. As such, for adults with limited free time, screens become a source of low-effort entertainment that is adaptable to the fragmented availability of their free time. These results suggest that the centrality of screens in home leisure is less about the hypnotic power of the screen, as warned by technological catastrophists, and more about socio-demographic characteristics and household work and life features in the studied homes.

The fieldwork revealed the significant role of objects, spaces, and artifacts as leisure agents in all home cultures. The most meaningful leisure experiences occur on Noemí's terrace sofa, Sofía's living room tent, or the stairs where Marta sits to watch her mother cook ("I sit on this step and we gossip" says Marta). Objects and spaces influence leisure and actively contribute to their creation. Frequently, leisure experiences generate small works, referred to as "mundane" by Gómez et al. (2016). For instance, recycled furniture repaired by the entire family in Vera's home, murals painted by Irene, and houses built for Violeta's daughter's dolls are mundane works produced through leisure. These works, emerging from leisure activities, accentuate the domestic esthetic or enhance sensory experiences in various ways, such as providing visual pleasure, magnifying emotions, or enriching the taste of the home.

Conclusion

The concept of domestication in the context of this research refers to the process by which the home exerts influence on the objects and individuals within it. Animals, devices, and routines undergo domestication, making people, things, and foods suitable for the home environment. Both Pérez I. and Power (2012) coincide on the idea that

domestication implies a process of negotiation among people, non-human animals, nature and objects within domestic space. Therefore, domestication transforms and influences the organization of the domestic environment. Furthermore, it also reflects the way in which objects, animals, plants and devices are molded to suit the ideals of the home. From this perspective, domestic leisure is essentially "domesticated leisure," a form of leisure that undergoes processing within the cyborg assemblage constituting home life. In this view, the study of domestic leisure should not solely focus on human practices or the behavior of artifacts but consider the interactions between them. While acknowledging the agency of artifacts -following Latour's (2008, 2009) concepts- which implies that artifacts have the power to shape human actions, the findings of this research emphasize that the agency of leisure experiences arises not just from things or people but from the interactions between them. For instance, the significance of techno-mediated domestic leisure is not solely attributed to the power of screens but is also influenced by the relationships between social groups and the city, housing characteristics, and collectively constructed lifestyles. Therefore, relational approaches are essential for understanding domestic leisure and domestication processes more broadly. Thus, the role played by artifactual agents in the emergence of domestic leisure experiences is determined by the home cultures in which they are situated and how these home cultures assign roles and attributes to these artifacts.

In parallel terms, the way in which sexual distribution of domestic work supports many of the phenomena identified in the research is noteworthy. In many cases, the concerns related to esthetics are correlated with effort by the women of these homes to offer wellbeing and care, where such effort is manifested in maintaining a clean, orderly and comfortable home. In a previous publication (Unás, 2021) we describe how the rituality and cohesion of the family—which determines a certain geography and mode of habiting the house and contributes to drawing limits between the public and the private—is supported a great deal by feminine work.

The study acknowledges a limitation related to the lack of analytical devices to contrast family compositions. The research includes households with diverse family compositions, and initially, it was anticipated that this diversity would contribute to establishing contrasts between home cultures. The results revealed the significant impact of family composition on the emergence of domestic leisure experiences. For instance, the study notes that in extended families, even the most cohesive ones, and in single-parent homes, individual leisure tends to be more diverse and frequent than in nuclear families. Nuclear families often revolve around the child, promoting practices of gathering and collective entertainment that leave limited room for individual enjoyment. The proliferation of individualities in extended households presents a complex challenge for study. The study recommends that future research incorporate methodological resources to address the challenge posed by such a diverse sample of households, especially when dealing with extended households characterized by numerous individualities. This would involve developing analytical tools capable of comprehensively approaching the dynamics of extended families as a whole.

Regarding future research directions, it is crucial to inquire into how the confinement from the COVID-19 pandemic has fundamentally reshaped the material organization of households. Concurrently, it has impacted the roles played by artifacts and spaces in the dynamics of domestic leisure. Presumably, during the lockdown, as the domains of

work and education abruptly infiltrated the home, a profound transformation in customs, rituals, and routines ensued. Some of these changes have dissipated a couple of years post-lockdown, while others have become ingrained. How has the structure of the home and the daily life within it been altered? Have the locations and objects associated with work assumed a more central role within the domestic sphere? Moreover, have there been emergent patterns in leisure practices and experiences? This juncture presents an opportune moment for social science and leisure studies to delve into these inquiries.

Notes

1. Despite a notable decline in the homicide rate—achieving a rate of 45.1 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants in 2018, the lowest in the past 25 years, according to the Observatorio de Seguridad Ciudadana (2020)—Cali continues to be recurrently listed among the world's most violent cities. In a recent global ranking, Cali held the unfavorable position of No. 27, as reported by J. and P. C. citizen for public security and criminal justice A. C. Seguridad in 2020.
2. Colombian Law 142 of 1994 establishes a regulatory framework for determining the tariff rates for public services, classifying homes into strata based on their material conditions. This classification considers various factors, including: (1) Residences in the neighborhood with main entrance; (2) state of access roads; (3) presence or absence of contamination sources; (4) presence of platform and green areas; (5) presence of a front garden and its size; (6) presence of a garage and its capacity; (7) material and condition of the facade; (8) material of the main door. As per this framework, stratum 1 and 2 homes are subsidized by the State and other taxpayers, as they are deemed to belong to economically disadvantaged sectors, while stratum 6 is associated with the elite. Strata 3, 4, and 5 are presumed to house the middle classes. The final sample in this study exhibits the following distribution: 2 households in stratum 6, 6 in stratum 5, 13 in stratum 4, and 3 in stratum 3.
3. The selected households were those of Ofelia, Aurora, Antonio, Irene, Ramón, Paz, Abril, Noemí, Elisa, and Vera.

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Appendix A

Table A1. Ethnographic visits.

Topics	Specific places of observation
Prevalence of leisure in the home	Signs and objects for domestic leisure. Attention to objects in the house for sports/artistic practices. Placing and number of screens in the house. Presence of television screens in the children's bedrooms. Presence of games of luck and board games. Presence of a bar, alcohol, inhalers for the consumption of cannabis, etc. Objects which indicate gastronomic leisure in the kitchen. Presence of delimitation between work and leisure aras.e
Technological equipment in the house	Number and placing of screens in the house. Digital/smart electrical appliances. Security system in the house including alarms. Incorporation of high-technology in the house.
Relevance of the house in daily life	Comfort of the furnishings. Signs of usage in the objects and places in the house. Prevalence of places and objects for family reunion.
Domestic entertainment services	Netflix, cable TV, internet (modem), landline telephone and mobile phones.
Esthetic concerns	Evident financial investment in domestic esthetic. Signs of personal style. Cohesion and planning of the home's decor. Order vs. disorder in the house.
Individuation or communal belonging at home	Individuation and esthetical distinction of individual/personal areas vs. collective/family areas. Belongings of the habitants on chairs, tabletops, other spaces.
Relation with the extended family/ Cohesion with the extended family.	Observe signs of presence of the extended family. Family photographs. Gifts and shared objects.
The child's place in domestic life	Areas of prohibited/restricted access for children Child colonization of the house: objects restricted to one place or distributed across the house. Infantilization of the communal areas of the house. Concealment or exhibition of children's toys. Objects hidden away or restricted from children.
Changes in the house during domestic routines	Places in use and disuse at different times of the day. Places that are subject to cleaning and ordering during the day.
Privacy/lack of privacy in the house	Presence of a guest room. Prevalence of bathroom decor: differences between public and private bathrooms. Places that the researchers are allowed to access or not. Signs of discomfort upon entering certain places.
Sexual division in the house	Presence of places marked for particular sexes Occupation of the areas of the house according to gender. Feminization/masculinization of the home's esthetic.
Objects/furnishings that are relevant for family life	Presence of inherited furnishings. Relevant objects and ornaments.
The most relevant financial investments in the house (places and objects)	Signs of ostentation. Investment in the bedroom. Most costly objects of the house. Areas of the house with the highest financial investment.
Conservatism/progressiveness	Observe signs of piety. Signs of beliefs or political and identity adhesions (for, e.g., ethnical, of sexual citizenship, environmentalist).
Cultural capital	Library. Music collection. Video collection. Collections. Art.
Modernization and renovation of the house	Presence of electrical appliances and new technological repertoires. Quality and maintenance of furnishings.
Generational division of the house	Areas of adult confinement. Areas of child confinement (the room, what it is like, presence of things). Places and objects in disuse.

(*Continued*)

Table A1. Continued.

Topics	Specific places of observation
Consumerism/anti-consumerism	Presence of aged electrical appliances. Presence of damaged/aged furnishings. Signs of accumulation.
Signs of parenting culture	Types of boys and girls toys (sexualisation of toys, incorporation of high-tech). Decoration of children's spaces.
Security and others.	Presence of plants and pets. The exterior of the house: examination of the facade, neighborhood, gated estate. Communal areas: pool, parks. Window bars and other security options. Mesh protection in balconies. Decorative objects on the fridge: what type of take-away services? Souvenirs?

Observation topics and variables.