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„Orchestrating Aging -

Doing Age in the Field of Cultural Production“

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1 Introduction

Culture, in its manifold meanings, is ever-present yet under-theorized in gerontology. Since Margret Gulette's (2004) reminded us that we are not only aged by our bodies, but are also "aged by culture" (ibid., p. 12), Chris Gilleard and Paul Higgs have explored the "cultures of ageing" (2000), and Julia Twigg and Wendy Martin curated the "Handbook of Cultural Gerontology" (2015b), the notion of cultural aging has become a contemporary topic in gerontology.

There are several reasons for this steady, yet increasing, interest in culture and its relation to aging. First, scholars like Gulette (2004) argue that a cultural perspective on aging might enable developing alternatives to bio-medical models of aging and the "decline narrative" (ibid.) often associated with it. Culture, in that sense, is approached as an alternative perspective for the world: a potential for "imagining otherwise" (Karpen, 2019, p. 17), or a realm in which alternatives to dominant models of aging can be established and nurtured. Thus, culture, creativity and the arts might epitomize "the human capacity to look beyond the material present and imagine new creative possibilities" (Amigoni & McMullan, 2019, p. 1) for both older adults and researchers interested in age and aging.

Second, some developments in the humanities and social sciences seem to have fueled gerontology's interest in culture, as the "cultural turn" (Gilleard, 1996; Twigg & Martin, 2015a, 2015b) in the humanities and social sciences started to influence gerontological research in the last years. Diverse disciplines in the social sciences and humanities, including sociology, have witnessed a series of "turns" since the 1970s, with the cultural turn (Bachmann-Medick, 2016) being one of the most widely discussed. These developments have influenced gerontological research and supported the establishment of cultural gerontology, which:

> *can be described as a tendency, or a field, with a central focus on meaning, a desire to transcend old paradigms, and to bring a fuller, richer account of later years than heretofore presented in gerontology and geriatric medicine.* (O'Neill, 2015, p. 353)

Third, culture has traditionally been an important component of gerontological work on longevity. Kolland (2015) contends the importance of cultural factors in the aging process, highlighting that the longer individuals live, the more important it is to take cultural aspects into account when studying human behavior. Health, functionality and longevity—central

aspects of the aging process—are not, on their own, universal in their meaning and impacts on human lives, but rather a result of cultural interpretation (Fry, 2000). Furthermore, longevity requires humans and societies to develop new cultural architectures ("kulturelle Architektur", Baltes, 1999, p. 443) for later life (Rosenmayr, 2002).

These different approaches to culture in gerontology already highlight how diverse notions of culture are when studying age and ageing. Despite these shifts that have fueled the interest of gerontology in culture, meanings and definitions of culture often stay fuzzy and ill-defined in gerontology. Defining culture, Göbel (2010) reminds us, often feels like 'nailing pudding to a wall', which consequently leads to a wide variety of concepts and notions of culture used in gerontology. Culture as a gerontological concept is therefore often "open, broad and conflicting in usage" (O'Neill, 2015, p. 353) and often not conceptualized relative to age and aging.

Among other things, this PhD thesis attempts to give some structure to the 'pudding' known as culture in gerontology and the sociology of age and aging. It sets out to explore the role of culture in gerontological research, as well as the empirical experience of age and aging. It does so with a shift of perspective that refrains from taking culture for granted as a concept, but rather asks how, when and where culture is *done* and how these ways of *doing culture* correspond with meanings, experiences and subjectivities of age and aging.

To do so, this thesis bases its perspective in a practice-theoretical account of the sociology of the arts ("*doing culture*", Schatzki, 2014; Zembylas, 2014), the field theory of Pierre Bourdieu (2014, 2015), as well as practice-theoretical concepts of age and aging ("*doing age*", Schroeter, 2012, 2014). It empirically sets out to explore the field of cultural production, its diverse actors, institutions and structures and the role of age and aging within: How is culture being done, and which persons, things and forms of implicit knowledge are involved in this process? Which normativities of age and aging are performed in this process? Which subjectivities for older adults are built through these processes of *doing culture*?

Therefore, this thesis sets out to:

a) explore notions of culture in gerontological research
b) introduce the concept of "*doing culture*" as an empirical understanding of culture in relation to age and aging
c) empirically explore the field of cultural production and the meanings and experiences of age and aging that are prevalent in this field
d) derive a concept of doing age in the cultural field

In line with its field-based approach, this thesis methodologically follows a concurrent-nested parallel mixed method design (Kuckartz, 2014), in which the dominant qualitative part of this thesis is expanded upon with quantitative research data. The two strands of research are combined within the framework of field analysis (Bernhard & Schmidt-Wellenburg, 2012). The research project is divided into three research phases: 1) qualitative case studies with older artists, 2) quantitative survey data of older adults' patterns of cultural participation and 3) qualitative participatory research with older people on access to the theater.

2 Literature Review: The Pudding Known as Culture in Gerontology

As a first step, this literature review aims to bring some clarity into the fuzziness of concepts of culture in gerontology. Like in general sociology (Reckwitz, 2000, 2002, 2008), notions and concepts of culture in gerontology are widespread, often conceptualize different things and are explored with different methods. Diverse gerontological research fields also differ in how thoroughly culture is conceptualized, varying from explicitly using culture as an overarching theoretical category (see, e.g., the field of cultural gerontology [Gilleard, 1996; Twigg & Martin, 2015a]) to using culture as a frame to categorize research topics (see, e.g., literature on social exclusion in later life [Walsh, Scharf, & Keating, 2016], where social exclusion is seen to comprise "socio-cultural aspects" [ibid., p. 11] that encompass ageism, individual categories of aging and much more). Some studies in gerontology also use culture as a boundary concept, aiming to compare different cultures and their influence on the experiences, discourses and meanings of age and aging (e.g., in cross-cultural aging research, [Torres, 2011]). These differences in conceptualizing culture in research also shape relative conceptualizations of age and aging. Culture, as fuzzy as it might be, tends to reveal a greater ontology that lies behind empirical studies, with Carrithers, Candea, Sykes, Holbraad and Venkatesan (2010) arguing that often, "ontology is just another word for culture" (p. 155). Concepts of culture that are used in gerontological research therefore inevitably shape the ontological understanding of what age and aging is.

The following literature review illustrates three different notions of culture that are frequently applied in gerontological research. In doing so, it asks 1) which notions of culture are used in the respective field, 2) which aspects and phenomena of culture are given more empirical attention and which ones are placed in the background and 3) how these understandings of culture relate to understandings of age and aging. These steps aim to clarify three different points of view that different strands of research in gerontology have taken when conceptualizing culture.

This literature review is, however, exploratory in nature and therefore unavoidably incomplete. Nevertheless, the three approaches outlined below characterize three different aspects of gerontology's interest in culture as well as the methodological potentials and

limitations that accompany it. Most importantly, two bodies of literature are deliberately omitted from this review, as they would significantly go beyond the scope of this PhD thesis. First, cultural age studies in the humanities such as theater studies, literature studies or film studies (see, e.g., literary and narrative gerontology [De Medeiros, 2013; Kenyon & Randall, 1999; Wyatt-Brown, 1990; Zeilig, 2011])) are excluded. These research fields are not usually covered by sociological approaches within gerontology and are hence left out of this review. Second, the review also excludes studies that use culture as a mode of comparison, as is often done in cross-cultural aging research (e.g., when comparing cross-cultural differences in aging [Torres, 2011]). Such studies, which are often situated at the intersection of aging and migration studies, are undoubtedly influential in gerontology; however, they depart from the central focus of this thesis, which is concerned with the field of cultural production.

2.1 Culture as Intervention

The first strand of gerontological research that is concerned with culture can be summarized under the umbrella of "intervention studies", which are often concerned with conceptualizing and measuring the outcomes of cultural, artistic and creative interventions on older adults' everyday lives, their wellbeing and/or health. In its most recent application, this field is predominantly empirical, with most studies being either classical intervention studies, where an intervention is carried out and then evaluated (sometimes through randomized controlled trials [Lai, Chin, Zhang, & Chan, 2019]), qualitative work that describe the processes through which these interventions unfold their impact on older adults (Sabeti, 2014; Swinnen, 2016) or structured literature reviews on the effects that arts and culture have on older adults lives (Bernard & Rickett, 2016; Fraser et al., 2015). In recent years, this research field has seen the most publications by far, to the extent that scholars have critically noted that culture and the arts are scarcely explored outside of interventions in gerontology: "What might be gained", Fraser et al. (2015) ask, based on their scoping review of the effects of the arts on older adults, "if we valued the artistic experience, but did not imagine art as an intervention?" (ibid., p. 725).

Although this field of research has a long tradition—when compared to more recent developments, e.g. in the field of cultural gerontology' (Twigg & Martin, 2015a; b)—it has seen a significant upswing in publications in the last fifteen years (Bernard & Rickett, 2016).

In their review, Bernard and Rickett (2016) show that from all evaluated articles on theater in later life (ranging from 1979 to 2014), one third of the relevant documents were published after 2010. Hence, while the effects of arts engagement on older adults was a well-established gerontological research topic during the 1980s and early 1990s (see, e.g., Alpaugh, Parham, Cole, & Birren, 1982; Dohr & Forbess, 1986; Goff, 1993), a newfound interest in the creative engagement of older adults has arisen during the last fifteen years (Gallistl, 2020).

Hence, the field has seen a vast amount of empirical studies on different forms of cultural and creative engagement in recent years such as arts (Cantu & Fleuriet, 2017; Fraser et al., 2015), theater (Bernard & Rickett, 2016), music and dance (Krekula, Arvidson, Heikkinen, Henriksson, & Olsson, 2017; Wakeling & Clark, 2015) or writing (Gutheil & Heyman, 2016; Murray et al., 2014; Sabeti, 2014) and their beneficial effects on quality of life (Fraser et al., 2015), health (Castora-Binkley, Noelker, Prohaska, & Satariano, 2010), social inclusion (Gutheil & Heyman, 2016) or self-confidence (Cantu & Fleuriet, 2017) in later life. Thus, a great amount of literature in this field suggests that creative activity can contribute to successful aging (Fisher & Specht, 2000; Price & Tinker, 2014) and has shown that creativity can be beneficial to wellbeing in later life (Noice & Noice, 2013) (for a more critical examination of these studies see [Gallistl, 2018]). Therefore, this field is mostly interested in the effects and outcomes culture and the arts have on older individuals.

While largely empirically-driven, this field of culture-as-intervention research has also seen advances in theoretical and conceptual development, some of which is rather recent, accompanying the increased empirical interest in this research field since the 2000s (see, e.g., Baars, 2012) or dates back to the 1980s and 1990s (Alpaugh et al., 1982; Dohr & Forbess, 1986; Goff, 1993). In his pioneering work in this field, Gene Cohen (1994), demonstrated the role of creativity in later life and showed how “creativity occurred not in spite of advanced age, but because of it” (O’Neill, 2015, p. 354).

These more conceptual studies show that the interventionist logic applied to this field of research also comes with its own and specific ideas and conceptualizations about the arts and culture. It operates with a predominantly instrumental view of the arts and culture, conceptualizing culture either as participatory art (Cutler, 2009), creativity (Cohen, 1994, 2002) or late-life creativity (Amigoni & McMullan, 2015; Butler, 1990), which are seen as

instruments to spark change in either older adults or their social contexts. Art is therefore largely seen as an intervention. Art, culture and creativity are theorized using psychological concepts, understanding them as an expression of older adults' identity, or as instruments that support the development of a culture of aging (Baars, 2012). Creativity, from this perspective, is a tool that can be used to reflect and "respond to the limits and uncertainties of existence (…) cultivate purposeful and meaningful involvements" (Flood & Phillips, 2007, p. 391) in later life.

Ultimately, intervention studies on the arts and culture in gerontology have been widespread since the 1970s and have received greater (empirical) attention since 2010. These studies often operate with an instrumental view of culture, which is why (participatory) art and (late-life) creativity are the most common concepts used in this field. Based on this conception of culture in the context of aging, two arguments are used as points of departure for this thesis: First, this field must be acknowledged as painting a "somewhat reductionist picture of the effects the arts have on people" (Bernard & Rickett, 2017, p. e2). While the internal and psychological aspects of creativity and arts participation—such as processes of self-expression, building self-esteem of rethinking one's own images of aging—are often at the heart of these studies, the circumstances of artistic production as well as social processes of artistic valuation are seldom made a topic of reflection. Second, this field also enables thinking critically about contemporary discourses surrounding gerontology. As this field comprehends the arts and culture from an interventionist perspective, age and aging are often abstracted in relation to this logic, conceptualizing aging as a process that needs and calls for intervention.

2.2 Culture as Common Good

The second strand of gerontological research that look deeper into culture fits within the term "participation studies". This research field shares some characteristics with the intervention studies outlined above, e.g., a strong interest in the relationship between cultural participation and health outcomes and/or quality of life (Tymoszuk, Perkins, Spiro, Williamon, & Fancourt, 2019); however, the concepts used and consequently the empirical results produced are slightly different, as they do not share the emphasis on participatory arts and/or late-life creativity, but rather focus on the participation of older adults in activities at cultural institutions, barriers to participation and instruments to overcome these barriers. Unlike the first research field outlined above, older adults are hence not producers of art or

target groups of specific interventions, but seen as audiences and consumers of the arts and culture. While the first research field, therefore, offers a gerontological understanding of cultural production, the second offers a gerontological view of cultural consumption.

In this sense, this field does not evaluate art as intervention, but rather explores the participation of older adults in diverse art fields based on survey (Tymoszuk et al., 2019) or interview (Goulding, 2012; Newman, Goulding, & Whitehead, 2013) data. Thus, this field shares some research interests, and therefore overlaps, with the field of leisure studies, which has long studied participation in culture as part of leisure in later life (e.g., involvement in high culture and popular culture and its effects on wellbeing [Nimrod, 2007] or how involvement in cultural activities changes after retirement [Scherger, Nazroo, & Higgs, 2011]). Instead of designing and/or analyzing arts-based interventions, this research field often draws upon qualitative and quantitative cross-sectional—and sometimes longitudinal data—to look at how participation in pre-defined cultural activities (such as theater, opera, film and others) changes in later life and which barriers older adults face in access to these certain types of culture. Studies in this field have, e.g., shown that adults 65+ participate more in some forms of culture compared to the general population (Toepoel, 2011) or that even though 45–54-year-olds are the most culturally active group, participation declines after the age of 54 (van Eijck & Knulst, 2005). Studies in this field have also shown that participation in culture in later life declines in most European countries after the age of 65, indicating an inverted U-shaped relationship between age and cultural participation (Falk & Katz-Gerro, 2015; Hallmann, Artime, Breuer, Dallmeyer, & Metz, 2016). These studies, thus, often describe processes of disengagement from cultural activities in later life.

Taking these processes of cultural disengagement as a point of departure, research in this area has also built scientific knowledge around the instruments that support older adults' engagement in the arts. A specific subfield is concerned with education in and through the arts (Bamford, 2006) in later life where, especially in the German context, the field of cultural geragogy (Fricke & Hartogh, 2016) has developed. In reference to pedagogy (Bubolz-Lutz, Gösken, Kricheldorff, & Schramek, 2010), cultural geragogy is a field of research and practice that address older adults' learning through the arts and in the arts, and supports these learning processes to foster cultural participation in later life (Groote & Nebauer, 2008). Different to the intervention studies outlined above, however, cultural

geragogy aims at supporting the access of older adults to culture (such as museums, theatre or concerts), rather than using cultural activities as an intervention in later life.

What are the underlying concepts of culture that are applied in this field of research? Following the focus on participation that is prevalent in this field, culture is often handled as a relatively static category that encompasses different activities that older adults can be participate in, be included in or excluded from. The UNESCO framework, introduced by Morrone (2006), typifies such a view of the arts and culture. Morrone defines cultural participation as a threefold construct that comprises, first, cultural activities that happen outside of the home *(*"*culture de sortie*"—"going-out culture"). This domain includes activities that are usually understood and measured as cultural practices, e.g., going to theaters, museums and galleries. Second, he recognizes cultural activities that happen at home as part of cultural participation *(*"*culture d'appartement*"—"*home-bound culture")*, such as media consumption, reading or listening to music. Third, he acknowledges amateur creative activities as a part of cultural participation; as part of an "identity culture" ("*culture identitaire*") (ibid.). Culture and cultural engagement are therefore not seen as sociological or psychological constructs, but rather activity bundles that happen in specific fields of modern societies, or a common good, to which access should be facilitated for all. Hence, this field operates with a policy view of culture and the arts, which frames the access to culture as a challenge for cultural and social policy (Hogan & Bradfield, 2018). Culture, from this perspective, is viewed as a subfield of society to which access needs to be facilitated and supported (Keuchel, 2009).

To summarize, participation studies demonstrate a policy view on culture and cultural participation, which still does not depart far from gerontology's interventionist logic. Like the first strand of research, this field encompasses a considerable amount of studies on the relationship between cultural participation and wellbeing, yet doing so through "real life" data rather than intervention studies. Arts and culture are conceptualized less through an interventionist logic, and instead through one that asks how access to cultural institutions can be supported in later life. Further, this research fields highlight the challenges older adults face in access to (certain types of) culture. Learning and education are described as one of the most important ways to support older adults' access to culture (through, e.g. cultural geragogy [Fricke & Hartogh, 2016]). As this fields understands the arts and culture

from a participation perspective, age and aging are often seen as variables that limit participation in the later-life activities it analyzes.

Within this context of culture in the context of aging, this thesis takes two arguments as its points of departure: First, although processes of cultural disengagement in later-life cultural participation are often empirically observed by research within this field, it is important to highlight that they are seldom a topic of conceptual reflection: Age-associated changes in cultural activity are often seen as an outcome of health issues or correlated with spatial disengagement, but hardly reflected upon as an outcome of social power struggles and/or social class (which would be the main argument of the sociology of arts and culture when conceptualizing cultural disengagement [Gayo, 2017]). Second, while this field has presented empirical evidence on how cultural participation changes in later life, the perceptions and concepts used to define culture often remain static and are rarely theorized in relation to age and aging: As culture, cultural activities and cultural participation are treated as stable categories in this field of research, it is rare to question how and if definitions of cultural activities and cultural participation need to be sensitive to changes in later life. However, what comes to count as (cultural) activity in later life needs to be understood within the context of power structures (Katz, 2000) and requires asking how and why certain activities are acknowledged as cultural activities in this field of research, and which ones are left out.

2.3 Culture as Meaning

A third field of research literally concerned with the role of culture in gerontology is the field of cultural gerontology (Gilleard, 1996; Gilleard & Higgs, 2000; Twigg & Martin, 2015a;b). Within the last decade, this field has emerged as a new line of thinking concerned—in the broadest sense—with the subjective experience and meaning of later life (Twigg & Martin, 2015a;b). While not all research in this area can be summarized under one publication, the "Handbook of cultural gerontology" (Twigg & Martin, 2015c) has been one of the most influential publications in its field, combining approaches from cultural gerontology and critical gerontology, as well as age studies (Katz, 2014), under the "cultural gerontology" label.

Compared to general sociology, which has witnessed a series of turns towards cultural theory since the 1970s (Bachmann-Medick, 2016), the cultural turn to gerontology arrived

relatively late (Twigg & Martin, 2015b) and emphasizes the meanings, identities and lived experiences of later life. Society, cultural gerontologists claim, "can be seen as discursively constituted as a web of signs, so that the central focus of analysis becomes the interpretation and deconstruction of these" (ibid, p. 353). Culture, thus, is not an intervention or subfield of societies, but a ubiquitous state of the social; an ontological category which highlights the symbolic and aesthetic dimensions of all social phenomena.

While approaches within the field of cultural gerontology vary across disciplines and traditions, there are four generally agreed-upon elements to the cultural turn in gerontology: First, there is the epistemological turn that emerged from poststructuralist theories and is aligned with feminism and queer theory. One of its central tenets is its shift away from structure—and approaches that grant these structures a central status, such as Marxism—towards agency, identity, reflexivity and individuation (Twigg & Martin, 2015b). Second, there is the historico-social turn that emphasizes a general shift in society, asserting that culture and consumption play an unprecedented role in the making of the social and, especially, in the making of later life (Twigg & Martin, 2015a). Third, most cultural approaches in gerontology agree in their critique of mainstream gerontology as positivistic (Bengtson, Burgess, & Parrott, 1997) and emphasize the need of reflexivity in research (Katz, 2014). Cultural approaches in gerontology, hence, seek to question and criticize the epistemological practices of mainstream gerontology and its influence on policy and older individuals (ibid.). In that sense, cultural gerontology is not only concerned with "'what gerontology says' but also 'what gerontology does'" (ibid., pp. 18-19). Lastly, diverse cultural approaches in gerontology tend to agree that gerontology has not emancipated itself from being data-rich and theory-poor (Birren & Bengtson, 1988) and has too often overlooked the processes of power in aging research. Cultural theories, thus, might bring more exciting forms of theorizing to gerontology (Katz, 2014). Particularly important in this development have been feminist, LGBT and disability theories that have provided tools to theorize the power of age relations or dominant models of gerontology, such as successful aging (Calasanti & Slevin, 2006; Sandberg & Marshall, 2017).

Which understanding of culture is cultural gerontology based on? In contrast to the other two approaches towards culture outlined in the last chapters, cultural gerontology bases its empirical endeavors on a notion of culture that recognizes all social aspects of life as culturally embedded. Culture is therefore not a separate part of society or an activity, but an

inherent part of the social world. Studying the cultural, hence, does not turn our attention to creativity and/or the arts, but to aspects of meaning that are relevant in age and aging (Twigg & Martin, 2015b), and highlights the symbolic dimensions of later life (Buse & Twigg, 2014). Research in cultural gerontology therefore studies over multiple topics and research fields including technologies, materialities, everyday life and much more – and emphasizes the symbolic dimension of these research topics.

Therefore, cultural gerontology is a field of research that does not study culture as a stable phenomenon, but rather asks how age is constituted through culture. By doing so, this research field represents an inherently culturalist form of theorizing age and aging (Kolland, 2015), as it asks how age and ageing is constituted through culture, rather than asking how age affects cultural participation or creativity. This perspective is also concerned with the mundane character of everyday life and the ways in which age and aging are culturally structured. Empirically, hence, cultural gerontology—comparably—seldomly studies culture as an empirical phenomenon, such as older adults' access to theaters, opera houses or museums, but situates its empirical endeavors in the everyday lives of older adults and studies, e.g., ways of dressing (Buse & Twigg 2014, 2016; Twigg, 2013; Twigg & Buse, 2013) or patterns of everyday life (Pilcher, Martin, Williams 2016) and their accompanying symbolic dimensions.

2.4 Reflection: Culture in Gerontology

This (admittedly fragmentary) review over different notions of culture used in gerontology, first of all, reminds us to be careful of the different kinds of notions of culture that are used when studying age and ageing. Based on the review presented above, there are arguably two strands of thinking that can be identified about culture in gerontology: First, we can identify an inherently culturalist account of age and ageing that understands culture as an ontological category that highlights the ubiquitous symbolic nature of human existence (Reckwitz, 2008). In this line of thinking, culture is part of our everyday lives and all people are arguably involved in culture as it might encompass practices of consumption (for example, ways of dressing, travelling or eating), commonplace practices (for example, ways of reading or arranging our furniture) or shared values and beliefs (for example ways of framing age and aging). Culture is an inherent part of society, which "can be seen as discursively constituted as a web of signs, so that the central focus of analysis becomes the interpretation and deconstruction of these" (Twigg & Martin, 2015b, p. 353). Culture, in this line of thinking,

is a concept that sensitizes us to the many symbolic and aesthetic dimensions of human existence and—applied to gerontology—age and aging.

Second, we can identify an instrumental-functionalist theorizing of culture and the arts. Here, culture can be identified as a field of social differentiation within a society, dedicated to the production of aesthetic and symbolic worth through arts and cultural institutions (Reckwitz, 2008). Here, research is often concerned with how access to culture can be supported through interventions or by removing access barriers, which frames culture as a common good or a beneficial activity, in which participation and involvement should be supported to achieve desired outcomes for older adults (which might be quality of life, health, better self-image, but also higher social inclusion or cohesion).

What is striking in this literature overview of culture in gerontology is that the topic seems to be somewhat absent within critical gerontology, which would highlight the role of social inequalities in the definition, but also in access to culture. This is surprising since cultural sociologists have repeatedly argued that culture, its definition and application in research, is a deeply social process that is—above all—shaped by institutionalized and symbolic power structures and social inequalities (Gans, 1992). At the same time, social inequalities, age-related or not, are shaped by culture, just as "culture is shaped above all by class and thus particularly by economic and related inequalities" (ibid., p. vii). Social inequalities are symbolically established and reproduced through culture—even more so, social differences in cultural practice "freeze a particular state of the social struggle, *i.e.* a given state of distribution of advantages and obligations" (Bourdieu 1979/2013, p. 52).

What is also surprising is that both of these accounts of culture outlined above represent a somewhat reductionist view on the arts and culture – as they both understand culture as a stable (theoretical), rather than a flexible (empirical) category. Scholars in the sociology of arts and culture would, however, argue that the phenomenon of culture cannot be as easily reduced and needs a more careful consideration, especially in asking how our understandings of culture relate to social power structures and vice versa (Lamont, 1992). It would also highlight that we need not only conceptual but also an empirical understanding of culture if we want to study it in-depth (Hörning & Reuter, 2004) in the context of later life.

What could characterize such a more nuanced understanding of culture in the context of later life? First, such a perspective would not only ask which age groups participate in culture and which ones do not, it would also ask how our understandings of culture are influenced by social power structures and which exclusionary processes are connected to our understandings of culture. As an example, studies on later-life arts participation often find that the majority of older adults report no arts engagement (Tymoszuk et al., 2019), which reflects both upon the decreasing participation by older adults, but also the limited measurements and concepts used in these studies, which are often not often sensitive to changes and vulnerabilities over the life course (Katz, 2005). Regarding old age in particular, cultural practice is not always an active behavior (Morrone, 2006), and might include consuming media, listening to music, or inventing stories while talking to friends and family, which are often excluded from traditional surveys. Cultural practice might also include the consumption of easier and more accessible "lowbrow" cultural activities (for example, watching music shows on TV) more so than in other life stages. From this perspective, a more nuanced understanding of culture in the context of age and aging must, hence, ask how it emerges that some activities are understood as (highbrow) culture, while others are not and how these differentiations are related to power structures between age groups in a society.

Second, and consequently, a more nuanced and critical account of culture in later life would take the institutionalized differentiation between "highbrow" and "lowbrow" forms of culture into account and ask in which forms of culture older adults participate. Although never uncontested, the notion of "highbrow" culture has signified the aesthetic refinement of the well-educated since the beginning of the 19th century (Hanquinet & Savage, 2016), while the term "lowbrow" taste was used to describe the culture of the socio-economic less-well off, for example, through their preference for folklore music, art and dance. From that perspective, high socio-economic status was connected to the appreciation of "highbrow" forms of culture, while lower social status led to "lowbrow" cultural activity and taste (Bourdieu, 1984, 1989). Thus, culture never happens outside of arts institutions, and these institutions of the art world (Becker, 2008) always need to be considered when culture is analyzed.

In its next steps, this thesis empirically explores such a critical-gerontological understanding of culture, which, first and foremost, recognizes culture not as a stable phenomenon but as a

social practice (Hörning & Reuter, 2004). It does so with a shift in perspective that does not take the concept of culture as research starting point, but rather asks how culture is being done in practice and which institutionalized and symbolic power structures—which images, notions and experiences of age and aging—are relevant in this process. This perspective of *doing culture* is, hence, the basis for this thesis. Instead of narrowing culture down to the notion of meaning—represented through texts, lifestyles, the visual and material aspects of our life-worlds—or taking culture for granted as a system of norms and values represented through the arts, the thesis aims to conceive culture as a social practice. *Doing culture,* therefore, views culture in its practical application (ibid.) including its situatedness in social power structures—a perspective that is laid out in the following chapter.

3 Perspective and Research Questions: Doing Culture

This thesis aims to broaden gerontology's perspective on culture by empirically looking at how culture is being *done,* the power structures that are inherent in this process and the age relations that are made relevant in doing so. This is achieved through a practice-theoretical approach to culture (*doing culture)* in relation to age and aging (*doing age)*, which combines a) an understanding of the arts and culture as a (dispersed and shared) social practice (Schatzki, 2014; Zembylas, 2014); that is b) bundled together in a field of cultural production (Bourdieu, 2015) and c) consequently shapes experiences and meanings of age and aging through age codings (Krekula, 2009, 2011). Which potentials does such a perspective hold for gerontology?

First, this perspective allows for appreciating the arts and culture as non-interventionist while letting us question where, how and through which social arrangements culture is being done. This standpoint renders visible the importance of the cultural field of production, in which understandings of what culture is, who needs to participate in it and who is excluded from it are continuously produced. Thus, the field of cultural production is a unique area of the social, as it is a powerful institutionalized system where symbolic value is continuously produced (Reckwitz, 2000, 2008). A perspective on *doing culture*, therefore permits asking through which processes in the cultural field symbolic value is being produced and which meanings and experiences of age and aging are relevant in this process.

Second, it reconceptualizes the making of art and culture as a shared process that is structured through the distribution of capital in the field of cultural production, rather than an individual process. Artists, institutions, audiences, industries, theater spaces and many other actors are involved in the making of culture. Likewise, age and aging are not biological traits or personal characteristics, but a form of knowledge and meaning that emerges from the relationships between these different actors in the field: The question of when an artist is considered an "old artist" or working on their "late style"; the question of when people are eligible for senior discounts from the theater, or the issue of which segments of the music industry target older audiences, all play a role in how older adults experience and make meaning in their aging process within the field of cultural production.

Third and consequently, such a perspective moves beyond viewing age and aging as an individual or biological process, but rather as emergent from the relationships between institutional arrangements, individual agency and symbolic power in the field of cultural production. It is such a relational account of age and aging in the cultural field that forms the basis of this thesis.

The following establishes a practice-theoretical perspective on age and culture, which lies in two pillars as outlined below: 1) A practice-theoretical understanding of culture and the arts and 2) a practice-theoretical understanding of age and aging. In the chapter's final section, it joins these strands of theorizing together and to subsequently outline the research questions of the empirical chapters of this thesis.

3.1 Understanding Culture as a Social Practice

The thesis' overarching theoretical perspective is, hence, practice-theoretical one. What characterizes such a perspective? In their most basic application, practice theories are concerned with knowledge, namely implicit and incorporated, rather than discursive or textual (Reckwitz, 2002). Practice theories, as developed by Bourdieu (1977), Schatzki (1996, 2002) or Reckwitz (2002), can hence be summarized within the category of cultural theories, as their primary focus lies in knowledge (ibid.). This, therefore, requires first acknowledging that all social practices are cultural practices, since they build on knowledge and meaning.

Most importantly, practice theories recognize social practices as the smallest unit of analysis (Schatzki, 2002), framing practice as a decentralized "a temporally unfolding and spatially dispersed nexus of doings and sayings" (Schatzki, 1996, p. 89), or an "organized collection of activities performed by different people" (Schatzki, 2014, p. 17). This provides a first orientation of how practice theories view (cultural) activity in later life: Instead of understanding action as initiated by an individual, it sees practices as a process that involves much more than just the (older) individual. Regarding creativity, Fox (2015) has, for example, highlighted how creative activity evolves not only around the creative individual, but also, e.g., around the knowledge about the right forms of creativity, other people appreciating something as creative, or the spaces in which a certain creative practice takes place. A social practice is therefore never done by one individual alone, but always

embedded in a network that includes subjects, objects, spaces, time, discourses. (Cultural) activity is, hence, an orchestration of many practices and the various actors involved.

This then also means that not only different actors are connected through practices, but that different practices are also connected to each other. Rather, phenomena, such as (cultural) activity, must be viewed as assembled through multiple practices. With reference to Fox (2015), creativity may entail diverse actors, such as a musician, a piece of paper, a guitar or a voice, but also diverse practices, such as practices of learning how to sing, practices of presenting artwork or practices of questioning the quality of the creative product. Several practices are therefore grouped together in "bundles of practices" (Schatzki, 2014, p. 18), or fields of practice (Bourdieu, 1989). Consequently, early practice theorists such as Pierre Bourdieu (1977), suggest that social practices take place within a field of power relations, a "locus of struggles" (Bourdieu, 1975, p. 16), in which different practices are connected with each other. A practice-theoretical perspective on culture would thus highlight that the *doing of culture* takes place in a particular social field, which Pierre Bourdieu has called *the field of cultural production* (Bourdieu, 2015). Practices of *doing culture*, are therefore not one activity or entity, but stand in relation to each other in a field (ibid.), a bundle (Schatzki, 2014), an art-world (Becker, 2008) of practices.

How are diverse practices and actors in a social field then "held" together? What is the "kit" between different practices within a field? Here, Schatzki (2014) reminds that diverse practices might share a general understanding of how things are being done, as "practices are organized by practical and general understandings, rules and teleoaffective structures" (ibid., p. 23). Several practices in the field of cultural production might therefore share some of these "practical and general understandings" (ibid.). To describe these subtle rules and orientations within a field of practices, Pierre Bourdieu (1996) introduces the concept of *illusio* (ibid.) to describe the rules of the game, which are in place within a field that differentiates between the "doing right" and "doing wrong" of a particular practice. The struggles for legitimacy in a cultural field, hence,

> *contribute to a continual reproduction of belief in the game, interest in the game and its stakes, the illusio. (...) Each field produces its specific form of the illusio, in the sense of an investment in the game which pulls agents out of their indifference and inclines and predisposes (...) to distinguish what is important ('what matters to me'), is of interest, in contrast to 'what is all the same to me', or in-different* (ibid., p. 738)

As Bourdieu has widely explored the field of cultural production and its illusio as an empirical site (see, e.g., 1996, 2015), some phenomena can be accepted as general characteristics of the field of cultural production. First, such general characteristics concern the question of value and legitimacy in artistic work. For Bourdieu, struggles for legitimacy, as well as the symbolic and economic value of art are central dynamics that structure the field of cultural production: "Fields are sites of collective symbolic struggles and individual strategies," Breiger (2000, p. 117) argues, in which "the value of a symbolic good depends upon the value assigned to it by the relevant consumer community" (Lash, 1993, p. 193). Valuation practices are therefore one central form of practices in the field of cultural production and should be considered when studying ways of *doing culture*. Second, Bourdieu's (2015) work on the field of cultural production prompts us to grant institutions from the art world a special status as actors within the field. While many actors are linked together in the field of cultural production, art world institutions are granted a particular position in the field (and the definition of its illusio), as they usually possess a high volume of capital: Institutions from the art world, especially renowned venues and stages, might have a considerable amount of economic capital through, e.g., the material resources from public or private funding, social capital. This might arise from, for example, having especially-renowned artists display their work on a particular stage, having access to consumer groups that are high in capital themselves or cultural capital deriving from the value of a company's prestige as an institution in the art world (Serino, D'Ambrosio, & D'Ragozini, 2017).

3.2 Understanding Age as a Social Practice

What place does such a practice-theoretical understanding of the arts and culture leave for age and aging? Applied to gerontology, practice-theoretical approaches claim that aging needs to be seen as a set of social practices and thus analyze age as a doing (Schroeter, 2012). Hence, gerontology is no stranger to practice theories; its main concepts of relationality and multi-agentiality have been widely adopted in the field of cultural and critical gerontology (see, e.g., in feminist gerontology [Calasanti, 2010], or material gerontology [Höppner, 2017; Höppner & Urban, 2018; Wanka, 2019; Wanka & Gallistl, 2018]). The concept of 'doing age' (Schroeter, 2012) perceives age neither as a biological or individual trait, nor a social role or a discursive formation, but as a flow of temporally- and spatially-dispersed social practices (Schatzki, 1996) that are incorporated, subconscious and routinized qualities of older adults' everyday lives. In a way, practice-theoretical understandings of age and

aging therefore build upon a long tradition of social constructivist perspectives in gerontology, which traditionally focus on revealing how processes of aging are influenced by social definitions and social structures on a micro and individual level (Bengtson et al., 1997).

Most importantly, such accounts, as suggested by Clary Krekula (2009, 2011), have introduced the concept of *age coding* to describe separating practices that take place based on age categories: Age codings can therefore be considered a specific kind of practice that separates between "young" and "old" through categorizations that are connected to different ages. Age coding practices might therefore be "age-based practices of distinction" (Krekula, 2009, p. 15) based on categorizations that can be used to (1) create age norms, (2) legitimize, negotiate and regulate symbolic and material resources, (3) act as a resource in interactions and (4) create age-based norms and deviance (ibid., p. 15). Applied to the field of cultural production, this highlights how a field's illusio might include categorizations based on age and therefore effectively work as a separating practice: Rules about which age groups are invited to arts schools, or rules about in how far the bodies of older actors are acceptable on stage of theaters.

In addition to age codings via age categorizations, practice-theoretical accounts also suggest an alternative view to the subjective dimension of the aging process, as it sees subjective age as arising from the age codings described above (Krekula, 2011): If one feels old, and how old one feels in a particular situation, is therefore not an individual characteristic, but a result of social practice an individual is involved in. Consequently, practice theories offer a particular way of conceptualizing subjects, which helps question the subjectivities of older adults from a new perspective. From a practice-theoretical perspective, subjectivities are not a precondition, but an outcome of practice (see, e.g., the notion of *doing subjects* (Reckwitz, 2016))*:* Developing an identity is therefore a process that bases itself on codes of difference that are available in a particular field of practice. Thus, practice theory is

> *not founded upon an intentional and autonomous subject that is viewed as a pre-practical origin of agency. Rather, praxeological approaches presume that subjects arise through the incorporation of bodies in social practices. Therefore, the terms 'subject' and 'subjectivity' lose their status as fundamental concepts of theory and become its subject matter as part of symbolic-material culture: it becomes a matter of empirical research what the subject is* (Alkemeyer & Buschmann, 2016, p. 69)

Age subjectivity, hence, can be recognized as emerging from a binary difference (young/old) that is relevant to the social practices connected in a specific field. Subsequently, practices might include expectations and imaginations about in which age people should be involved in these practices, or at which stage in the life course the practice is done 'right' or 'wrong'. Practices of retiring, for example, have a clear age coding, as they are expected to happen at a very specific age (more concretely, at a country's official retirement age) (Wanka, 2019), and might therefore also be the basis for a specific experience of age and ageing (e.g. when feeling older after retirement).

The older subject is therefore not the start, but the aim of empirical research from a practice-theoretical perspective. This renders visible that *aging subjectivities* are not stable or fixed, but relational and depend on the context and practices older adults are involved in: If an older person enters a kindergarten, for example, they might experience themselves as old, as the binary category of being "young" (a child attending the kindergarten) or being "old" (being a guardian of a child that attends kindergarten) is one of the most relevant codes of this field. In that moment, a person might develop a sense of feeling old when included in cultural practices usually associated with younger adults, such as hip hop, punk or techno. The subjectivities people develop and their accompanying categorizations are therefore connected to codes that a practice entails, rather than the subjective experiences of identity.

Because of the age categorizations that are relevant in particular bundles of practices, social fields tend to develop *subject cultures* (Reckwitz, 2016), a concept which describes an ensemble of practices and discourses that produce a specific form of the subject: The older artist, the younger actor or the well-known director are thus not identities that agents bring to the field, but subjectivities that are developed because agents are involved in a field through a particular set of practice. This also means that these subject cultures put different subjectivities in a hierarchical order to one another. In the process of subjectivation, Alkemeyer & Buschmann (2016) argue that practices of subjectivation are practices of positioning participants and allocating resources based on these positions. These processes of positioning and allocating are always shaped by power relations, as they create differences by distributing the practitioners "into different positions with distinct perspectives" (Nicolini, 2012, p. 94).

From this perspective, age can be seen as the development of an aging subjectivity, or resulting from practices of age-subjectivation. In line with the theoretical assumptions outlined above, these processes of age-subjectivation are thus a process of becoming old through doing age. Doing age, therefore, means to learn to describe yourself as "old" based on the practices one is involved in. Within the context of this thesis, we might, for example, experience ourselves as younger when we are at a techno party, or as older when we attend a classical music concert. The practices we are involved in, hence, also allow for modes of age-subjectivations, or particular experiences of being old.

3.3 Bringing Them Together: Perspective and Research Questions

This thesis is based on a practice-theoretical understanding of culture (*doing culture)* in relation to age and aging (*doing age)*. This is achieved through combining a) an understanding of culture as (dispersed and shared) social practices (Schatzki, 2014; Zembylas, 2014) that are b) bundled together in a field of cultural production (Bourdieu, 2015), and c) consequently shape experiences and meanings of age and aging through age codings (Krekula, 2009, 2011). The overall practice-theoretical ontology of this thesis, which has been applied to the topic of aging in the field of cultural production in the chapter above, can be summarized in the following points:

- *Culture is a process of doing*, which means that it emerges through social practices that are an "organized collection of activities performed by different people" (Schatzki, 2014, p. 17). Social practices are never done by one individual alone, but embedded in a network that includes subjects, objects, spaces, time, discourses that are connected in bundles (Schatzki, 2014).
- The process of doing culture happens in a social field of practice, which can be labelled the *field of cultural production* (Bourdieu, 2015). The field of cultural production is structured by struggles between different kinds of actors for legitimacy and value in the making of symbolic goods (Breiger, 2000). Due to their high volume of capital, arts institutions have a particular position in the field of cultural production (Serino et al., 2017) and therefore a particular position in governing the field's illusio.
- The field of cultural production is stabilized and structured through a specific *illusio* (Bourdieu, 1996), which describes the rules of the game that are in place within a field that differentiates between a "doing right" and "doing wrong" of a particular

practice. Each field produces its specific form of illusio, that enables distinguishing between what is important and what is not (ibid.).

- The phenomenon of aging in the field of cultural production can be understood as emergent from two different sets of practices: Practices of *age coding*, that separate practices based on age-categorizations, and *age-subjectivation* practices, which are practices of developing a subjective age through a particular practice. Aging, therefore, can be understood as the development of an aging subjectivity, or practices of age-subjectivation. These practices are an outcome of subject cultures that are part of the illusio of the cultural field of production.
- Hence, from a doing-age perspective we can understand ageing as a process of becoming old through diverse practices (age subjectivity) that is based on age-codings (Krekula, 2009) of social practice. Social practices might include age codings as "age-based practices of distinction" (Krekula, 2009, p. 15) that are the basis of the development of an age subjectivity.

Through applying these conceptual tools, this thesis therefore attempts to answer the following research questions:

How is age being done in the field of cultural production, and which practices, actors and implicit knowledge are involved in these processes? How do older adults learn to experience themselves as old when participating in the field of cultural production?

- Which rules (illusio) are performed in these processes?
- Which practices of age coding are relevant in these processes?
- Which subject cultures and age subjectivities are relevant in these processes?

4 Methods

To explore these questions, this thesis draws upon a concurrent-nested parallel mixed-method design (Kuckartz, 2014), in which the dominant qualitative part is expaneded upon with quantitative research data. Before describing the detailed methodologies that underly the multiple steps, the following chapter provides a brief rationale for the methods and mixed-method designs used. Practice theories, as applied in this thesis, are a "theoretical orientation towards the study of the social where the methodological element remains central" (Nicolini, 2017, p. 19), making practice theory an "inseparable package of theory, method and vocabulary" (ibid., p. 19). The methodology in this thesis is therefore based on the assumptions of practice theory. Hence, there are certain aspects to consider when designing a practice-based methodology: What was kept in mind when choosing the "procedure of praxeologising" (Schmidt, 2017, p. 3) in this thesis?

Most importantly, practice theories operate with a flat ontology (Schatzki, 2002), meaning that social practices and the field in which these practices happen cannot be understood as two separate levels of analysis, but as an interrelated process that is constituted on a micro-level of sociological analysis: "Practices are mutually connected and constitute a nexus, texture, field, or network. Social co-existence is in this sense situated in the field of practice and is both established by it and establishes it" (Nicolini, 2012, p. 214). To study practices within a field, hence, we cannot differentiate between different levels of analysis, but need to ask where and how we can see the field of cultural production in practice. The different methods that are combined in the applied parallel mixed-method design therefore do not represent different levels, but different phenomena of analysis that are grouped together through bundles.

Consequently, practice-theoretical research does not aim to construct or deconstruct different levels of a social field, but rather aims develop an in-depth description of the social practices that constitute a field. The field of cultural production is hence not a separable part of practice but an element of it: Analyzing practices within a field always means analyzing practices and fields at the same time. The aim of research is therefore to achieve a good description that allows for making connections among phenomena: "Adding, not abstracting or deconstructing, is the crucial point" (Nicolini, 2012, p. 216). Therefore, the

methodological rationale underlying this thesis is to provide a rich description of the field of cultural production and the social practices that constitute this field.

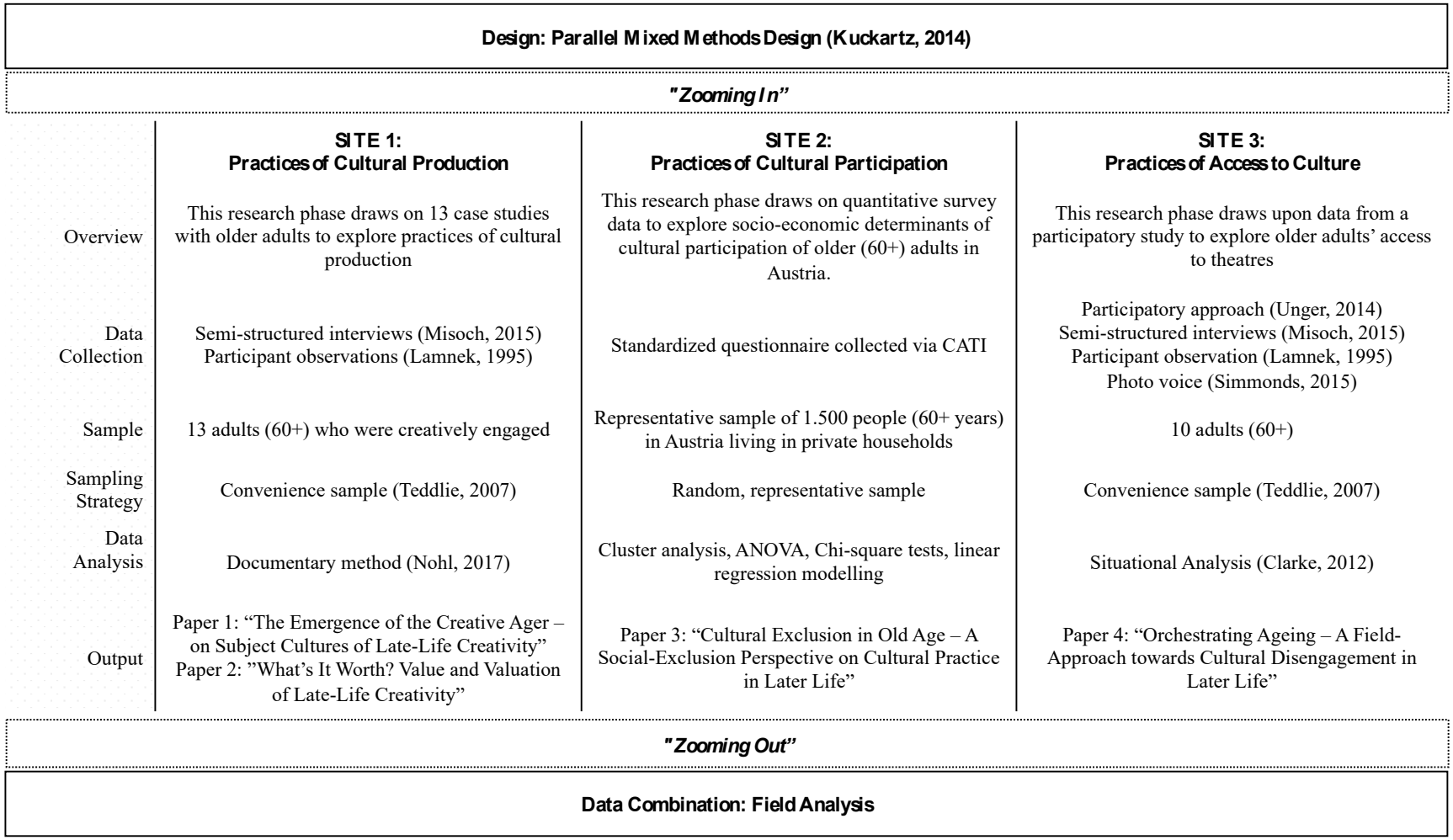
Finally, since the nature of practices is inevitably decentralized (see Chapter 3), practices within the field of cultural production cannot be found at one research site alone. Rather, the aim of a parallel mixed-method design, as applied in this thesis, is to make connections between different practices at different places and times that include different actors; then, in a second step, reflect upon these commonalities of diverse practices as a characterizing element of the field of cultural production. To study practice within a field, we hence need to slice a field in terms of practices (Nicolini, 2012) and then bring them together through reflection. This thesis therefore situates its empirical analysis at three different sites of the cultural field: Cultural production, cultural consumption and cultural institutions (see Figure 1). The results from the analysis of these three different sites of research were later combined through constant reflection (see Chapter 4.2.).

To explore these three different sites as 'slices' of the field of cultural production, this thesis follows a concurrent-nested parallel mixed-methods design (Kuckartz, 2014) that combines quantitative and qualitative methods. Mixed-method methodology, which was first developed in the1990s, is an umbrella term typically used to describe the methodology of studies that combine qualitative and quantitative methods (Kelle, 2014). It seeks to reconnect qualitative and quantitative sociology and currently describes a particular and own tradition of methodologies. While practice theories are often used in qualitative studies, Bourdieu himself explicitly advocates for the use of a variety of research methods when studying practices, and has argued for 'methodological polytheism' in research (Everett, Neu, Rahaman, & Maharaj, 2015). Building on the notion that sociology's observations— quantitative and qualitative— are always theory-laden, he argues toward reflexivity in using both qualitative and quantitative methods, rather than deciding on one of the two (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). In field analysis, there have hence been attempts to combine qualitative and (critical) quantitative research, e.g., in using quantitative methods to provide a first mapping of the field that is later analyzed in-depth through qualitative methods (Everett et al., 2015) and Bourdieu relies just as much on statistics and correspondence analysis as on case studies (Everett, 2002). In line with this approach towards the pragmatic and reflexive combining of qualitative and quantitative methods, this thesis combines:

a) Qualitative case studies, which combine participant observations and semi-structured interviews to gain an in-depth look into processes of cultural production that older adults are involved in
b) Quantitative data analysis of survey data on older adults' cultural participation to map the socio-economic structures of cultural participation in later life
c) Qualitative participatory research to explore older adults' access to theaters, which draws upon participant observations, photo voice and semi-structured interviews

The detailed methodologies of the three steps in this study have been described in detail in the empirical papers for this thesis. The following, therefore, gives a broad overview of the three empirical stages (see Figure 1) and then discusses the combination of data from the three different research sites through field analysis (Bernhard & Schmidt-Wellenburg, 2012). While the three research steps were used to "zoom in" (Nicolini, 2012, p. 228) into the different sites of the field of cultural production, the research then "zoom[s] out" (ibid., p. 228; Nicolini 2009) to discuss how these diverse practices are linked together and what that demonstrates about the age codings in the field of cultural production.

FIGURE 1: EMPIRICAL PHASES OF THE RESEARCH PROCESS



4.1 Slicing the Cultural Field in Terms of Practices: Three Research Sites

The research data that was used for this PhD thesis were collected as part of two research projects by the research group "Ageing, Generations and the Life Course" at the Department for Sociology, University of Vienna between 2016 and 2019. These third-party funded projects comprised:

- "Kulturstile älterer Menschen" (2016-2019), principal investigator (PI): Ao. Univ. Prof. Dr. Franz Kolland, research assistants (RA): Vera Gallistl, MA, Eva Wimmer, MA, Julia Wohlfahrt, MA, Clara Overweg, BA
- "Bildung als Voraussetzung soziokultureller Teilhabe" (2017-2019), PI: Ao. Univ.-Prof. Dr. Franz Kolland, RA: Vera Gallistl, MA, Viktoria Parisot, MA, Julia Birke, MA, Karoline Bohrn, BA

4.1.1 Site 1: Case Studies with Older Artists

First, data were used from thirteen qualitative, semi-structured interviews and participant observations, which were conducted in 2017 with creatively-engaged older adults (60 years and older) in Austria. The final sample consisted of seven older men and six older women that were engaged in different fields, which ranged from more traditional forms of 'highbrow' culture (e.g., classical music, orchestra) to 'lowbrow' cultural activities (e.g., textile work). The sample also included cases from 'subcultural' fields (e.g., bodybuilding, drag) (for a detailed description of the methods used see Gallistl, 2018; 2020).

To reach a heterogeneous sample, researchers distributed an open call to participate in the study through individual contacts and social media that invited regularly creatively-engaged older adults to contact the research team. The study sample was intentionally kept broad and included both professional and non-professional artists to account for the variation in the boundaries between both artist types in each field of artistic practices and that setting these boundaries reflects manifestations of power structures in artistic fields (Bourdieu, 2015).

Interviews were organized using a semi-structured interview guide that covered questions about the creative activity (Please tell me everything that comes to mind when you think about your creative activity); the creative production process (How do you deal with the products of your creative activity?); everyday routines (Please tell me in detail what you do on an ordinary day.) and respondents' personal meanings and attitudes towards aging

(Generally speaking, what does it mean to grow older for you?). Interviews lasted between 80 and 120 minutes and were transcribed verbatim in German.

The interview transcripts were analyzed using the documentary method, which aims to analyze the routine and everyday knowledges that are part of practices (Bohnsack, 2014), using two steps: First (formulating analysis), interview transcripts were coded to establish the central topics of each case. This analytical step identified thirteen superordinate themes in the data material. The second step focused on the latent meaning (documentary meaning) of each case. Here, the documentary method aims to interpret the more nuanced and hidden forms of how knowledge is expressed in interviews, which frames of reference are used in a field, which words are used and how. Based on the formulating analysis, parts of text that dealt with similar topics and each case were identified and followed by a comparative, fine-structured analysis in which these parts of the text were discussed with other researchers in four group sessions.

4.1.2 Site 2: Survey Data on Older Adults' Cultural Activities

Second, data on the patterns of cultural participation of older Austrians were analyzed using data from the "Kulturstile älterer Menschen" survey, which was collected in 2018. This is a representative survey where adults over the age of 60 years are interviewed. Data was collected via CATI (computer-assisted telephone interview) to reach a random sample of 1531 older adults in private housing, which means that older adults in institutional living arrangements (for example, long-term care) were excluded from the sample. Data was weighted to ensure representation of the average older population in Austria. The survey covers several topics, not all of which were used for this thesis. Table 1 gives an overview of topics and measurements included in the survey.

TABLE 1: MODULES AND TOPICS INCLUDED IN THE SURVEY "KULTURSTILE ÄLTERER MENSCHEN" (2018)

Module	Topics
Culture d'Appartement	Topics included frequencies of cultural practices that happen predominantly at home and in private settings. This included questions on media consumption (watching TV, listening to the radio, reading newspapers) and questions on reading, gaming, listening to music and sports.
Culture de Sortie	Topics included frequencies of participation in cultural practices that predominantly take place in public spaces, such as visiting arts institutions (e.g., theaters and museums). This module also included questions on the reasons for non-participation in such activities, and strategies to obtain information about cultural events.
Culture d'Identitaire	Questions in this module included the engagement of respondents in creative activities as well as the circumstances of these activities (e.g., whether they are done in groups or as individuals). The Inventory of Creative Activities and Achievements (ICAA) was used in this module.
Images of Aging	Questions in this module included questions on respondents' experiences and images of aging on an individual and societal level. This module also included questions about anti-aging practices.
Taste Orientation	This module included a shortened version of Gerhard Schulze's instrument "*Alltagsästhetische Schemata"* (Schulze, 2014), which aims to explore respondents' taste orientation and aesthetic preferences.
Quality of Life	This module included questions on respondents' subjective quality of life, feelings of social connectedness and locus of control.
Socioeconomic Variables	Questions included: Sex, age, place of residents, subjective health, activities of daily living, household size and composition, current employment, retirement transition, household income.

The survey's definition of culture was based on the cultural participation framework as suggested by UNESCO (Morrone, 2006), which defines cultural participation as a threefold construct comprising, first, cultural activities that happen outside of the home ("culture de sortie"—"going-out culture"). This domain includes activities that are usually assumed and measured as cultural practices, e.g., going to theaters, museums, and galleries. Second, Morrone (2006) defines cultural activities that happen at home as part of cultural participation ("culture d'appartement"—"home-bound culture"), such as media consumption, reading, or listening to music. Third, he acknowledges amateur creative activities as a part of cultural participation; as part of an "identity culture" ("culture d'identitaire").

4.1.3 Site 3: Participatory Theatre Visits with Older Adults

In the third research phase, data from a qualitative and exploratory study with participatory elements (von Unger, 2014) was analyzed to explore the access of older adults to theaters as one example of an institution of "high culture". In line with the participatory approach of this research, ten older adults were invited to explore the illusio of the theater as co-researchers with members of the Ageing, Generations and the Life Course research group.

To gather this data, the project took three methodological steps. First, ten older (60+) adults were recruited as co-researchers and, with their consent, informed about the purpose and methodology of the study (for a detailed description of the sample and sampling procedure, see Gallistl & Parisot 2020). Second, the older co-researchers were asked to organize one theater visit for themselves and a researcher from the project team and document their experience through a photo diary (Photo Voice [Simmonds, Roux, & Avest, 2015]). The researchers from the project team documented their experiences at the theater in an observation protocol. Third, semi-structured interviews with narrative elements were conducted with the (older) co-researchers (Misoch, 2015). The joint theater visits between researchers and co-researchers took place at three well-established theaters in Vienna, Austria, namely the Burgtheater, Theater in der Josefstadt and Schauspielhaus. Different dates for the joint visit were chosen, and the co-researchers had the task of picking a play and a date, coordinating it with the respective researcher, buying tickets and arranging a meeting point with the researcher on site. Costs for the tickets were later reimbursed by the University of Vienna or prepaid to the co-researchers. Interviews were structured with an interview guide and covered questions about everyday life (e.g., How has your life changed in retirement?), cultural activities (e.g., What's the role of cultural activities in your daily life?) and theater in particular (e.g., What do you think are the reasons why older adults often don't go to the theater?). Interviews were fully transcribed verbatim (in German). Fourth, two group discussions with co-researchers were conducted. In these group discussions, the co-researchers shared their photo documentation from the theater visit and discussed which barriers older adults face when going to the theater with the other co-researchers. This process was supported by the researchers from the project team through analytical questions (e.g., What do you see on this picture? Which barrier does this picture depict?). The two group discussions lasted between 60 and 120 minutes each and were fully transcribed verbatim (in German).

The data basis for the analysis consists of 1) ten interview transcripts, 2) transcripts of two group discussions and 3) ten participant observation protocols. In a first step, data was analyzed through open, axial and selective coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1996) supported by the software MAXQDA. In a second step, we developed 'situational maps' for each case. Situational maps are one of the tools suggested by Adele Clarke's 'situational analysis' (Clarke & Keller, 2012). This means that each theater visit was analyzed as a research situation, and the research team used dominant topics from the first step to identify the relevant actors, discourses, rules, materials and symbols at each theater visit. The data for each visit was hence transformed into a map, which visually outlined the most important topics and their relationship with those visits. Lastly, the different case maps that emerged from the coded data were conflated in group sessions in which three researchers at the University of Vienna participated.

4.2 Data Combination: Field Analysis

In reference to Pierre Bourdieu's work on the arts and culture, this thesis used field analysis (Bernhard & Schmidt-Wellenburg, 2012) to combine the different data sets and results outlined above. Field analysis is an analytical tool for triangulation studies in which the results (rather than the data) from different steps of analysis are combined to achieve the combination of a micro- (predominantly qualitative) and macrosociological (predominantly quantitative) perspective (ibid.). Field analysis, in that sense, is a perspective rather than a method, as it has a conceptual center where the social field is analyzed as the main phenomenon of interest. The field, thus, is the central entity of interest and field analysis a method of reflection where all "theoretical and empirical phenomena gain their relevance through the connection with the totality" (ibid., p. 135) of the field.

Field analysis often operates through a mixed-methods design, as its main goal is to analyze the relationships between different elements of the field, which can be naturally reconstructed at different research sites. This, however, does not suppose analysis at different levels, but rather the application of different concepts at different times during the research process, as the "formation of (…) fields is inherently bound up with the simultaneous creation of stakes and positions in multiple spaces and at different levels" (Savage & Silva, 2013, p. 124). Field analysis, as it was applied in this thesis, is a process of reflection than a method of structuring and coding data, in which the results from all research phases were combined to derive an in-depth description of the cultural field and its

age codings. The last step of the research process jointly interprets the results from the individual phases through a field-perspective and its central concept used in this thesis, the illusio of the field of cultural production, the results of which are the basis for the next chapter.

5 Overarching Results

The empirical chapters from this thesis aimed to explore the field of cultural production as one site in which culture is being done and analyze the meanings and experiences of age and aging the field of cultural production. The empirical contributions from this thesis explored different practices within the field of cultural production and the role of age and aging in these practices. Drawing on Krekula's (2009) concept of age codings, the thesis has critically examined the processes of "doing age" in the field of cultural production at three different sites:

(a) At the site of cultural production, it looked at the age codings of creative practices (Gallistl, 2018; 2020)
(b) at the site of cultural participation, it looked at practices of cultural participation of older adults (Gallistl, in press) and
(c) at site of arts institutions, where it looked at the practices of regulating the access of older adults to modern theaters as an example of 'highbrow' culture (Gallistl & Parisot, 2020)

Naturally, these different sites come with their own complexities, ambivalences and contradictions, some of which have been discussed in detail in the thesis' individual papers. The following results chapter, therefore, does not go into detail for all findings, but instead discusses the overarching results. This chapter thus aims to highlight the most important characteristics of the age codings in the field of cultural production and ask which age-subjectivities arise from these codings for older adults that are active in this field. While the individual papers allowed us to 'zoom in' (Nicolini, 2012, p. 226) on different social practice sites under scrutiny in this thesis, the following 'zooms out' (ibid., p. 226) and asks what has been learned about the field of cultural production and its age codings.

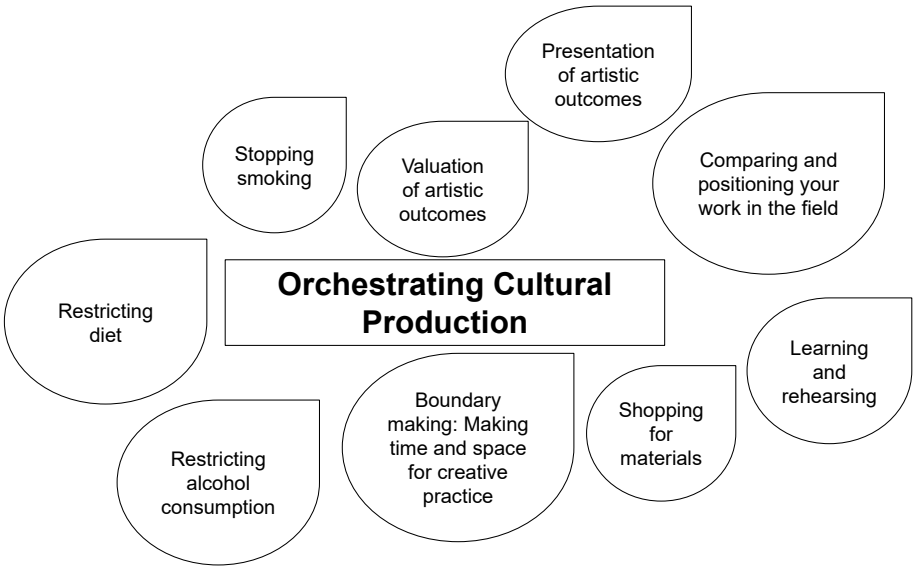
5.1 Orchestrating Cultural Production

The first two papers from of this thesis "zoomed in" (Nicolini, 2009, p. 1391) on creative practices in later life and how older adults experienced the processes of cultural production. They analyzed the material from a practice-theoretical perspective, looking at the "creativity-assemblages" (Fox, 2015, p. 528) older adults were involved in. From such a

practice perspective, data revealed that creativity in later life was not a leisurely activity, but emerged from the carful organizing of many different practices the interviewed older adults were involved in. Being creative (or producing an artistic product) in later life was not done through creativity alone, but was the result of balancing learning, practicing, finding spaces to perform in, networking, restricting food intake, stopping smoking or restricting alcohol intake (Figure 2). A practice perspective on creativity in later life revealed how late-life creativity happens at different places, at different times and through different actors, and highlighted how creativity in later life is not a single practice but emerges from a bundle of many different practices, among which valuation practices (Gallistl, 2020) and subjectivation practices (Gallistl, 2018) were identified as the most important bundles.

This multiplicity of late-life creativity also highlighted the diverse latent rules, values and expectations that were part of these practice bundles of creativity and therefore revealed the specific illusio of cultural production. The material showed that in order to do creativity right, older adults had to carefully negotiate their way through all these different practices: They had to learn how to produce artistic products that were high in value; they had to present their work in front of an audience and sell products; they had to rehearse and make their aging bodies fit with the creative practice they were involved in through e.g., restricting their diet, stopping smoking or restricting alcohol consumption on the day before a show. To the interviewed older adults, late-life creativity was consequently more than a leisure activity: It was a careful orchestration between the many “doing wrongs” and “doing rights” of the field of cultural production. Figure 2 provides an overview of these practices of orchestrating hat had to be done for creativity to work correctly.

FIGURE 2: ORCHESTRATING CULTURAL PRODUCTION.



Note: Topics established from the most dominant codes in the interview material (see Gallistl, 2018, 2020).

5.2 Age Codings Of Cultural Production

How did age and aging come into place here? Which age codings were identified in these practices of cultural production? The analyzed data demonstrated that managing the aging process was one important practice that had to be done in order to orchestrate late-life creativity. In the individual papers (Gallistl, 2018; 2020), I have therefore argued that the creative process is age coded, meaning that creativity included "age-based practices of distinction" (Krekula, 2009, p. 15). In the case of creativity, age codings became visible through three different aspects: a) Temporal categorizations of creativity, b) institutional categorizations of creativity and c) subjective categorizations of creativity. Each of these categorizations also revealed a different regime of value (Gallistl, 2020) that was relevant in negotiating the worth of late-life creativity.

For temporal categorizations of late-life creativity (a), it became clear that creativity had to follow a certain temporal structure, which was not easily achieved by all older artists. In the analyzed material, good creativity was creativity that was done for very long time. Being creatively engaged for a very long time was consequently a central expectation towards older

adults. This cumulative logic of the field of cultural production was, hence, one major challenge for the inclusion of older artists, not all of whom started their careers early in their life.

Regarding institutional codes (b), valued creativity was creativity that happened in highly-renowned institutions of the art world. Access to these institutions, however, was regulated in a way that often made it hard for older adults to access them: The actress describes how unsuccessful castings can be when younger actresses are around; the singer describes how she stands in the background of her choir now that her voice is "old", and the musician describes how he now plays in the back of the orchestra to give more space to younger musicians. These processes, which often included the marginalizing the work of older artists, are not surprising nor haphazard, but an expression of how art world institutions regulate the role older artists are allowed to play in the process of cultural production. The institutionalized logic of the cultural production field was therefore a second challenge for the interviewed older adults.

With subjectivity codes (c), the analysis revealed how subject cultures in the field of cultural production were strongly built around ideas of active and anti-aging. Drawing on Reckwitz's (2016) concept of subject cultures, subjectivity codes describe how individuals are allowed to develop images of themselves based on the practices they are involved in. Here, the first individual paper (Gallistl, 2018) showed how creativity—above other things—was perceived by the interviewed older adults as a process of artistic value production in which productivity and innovation played a major role. These narratives of innovation also narrowed down the available age-subjectivities, which were mainly organized around anti-aging or a denial of aging. One of the most telling examples here is a quote from the drag artist I interviewed:

> *I told myself, I want to be like Dorian Gray. And I will do everything I can do to make that happen. And it will only end, when I, myself, detach emotionally from myself. I would not have to be sick for that, it is more about me saying: 'Now, it's enough'* (see Gallistl, 2018)

These examples described in the first individual paper of this thesis highlight how the field of cultural production followed an innovation and productivity discourse, which left no place

for age and aging. Aging successfully while being creatively engaged, for the interviewed older adults, meant not aging or denying aging. The dominant subject culture of the field of cultural production was therefore one that was centered on anti-aging and a denial of aging.

Further, empirical data has demonstrated that the field of cultural production builds on specific regimes of value. Data from the case studies with older adults involved in creative practices have exemplified that practices of valuation are one important part of the artistic production (whether professional or hobby artists) and that these valuations are oriented towards three specific regimes of value in the field of cultural production: Economic value, in which valuable creativity was given away at a high revenue; field value, where valuable creativity was appreciated by institutions or other artists in the field and life-course value in which doing a creative activity for a long time meant being able to produce a creative product that was high in value.

While of the potential for cultural production did not specifically change in later life for the interviewed older adults, so did the practices of valuation of the cultural products they produced. Even more so, their experience of age and aging (or experiencing yourself as "old", or an "older artist") was mainly based on dealing with changes in the value assessment of their work: Because of their age, they had to compete in different categories and therefore included less competition (as has happened in the case of bodybuilding), or they had to change the rationale of their work, e.g., towards producing for family and friends instead of for the art market. This was inevitably of high value for the interviewed adults; however, it was not a value that was considered legitimate in the field of cultural production. Hence, these processes often worked to the disadvantage of my interview partners, leading to the outcome that they had less chances to produce a cultural product that was high in value because of their age.

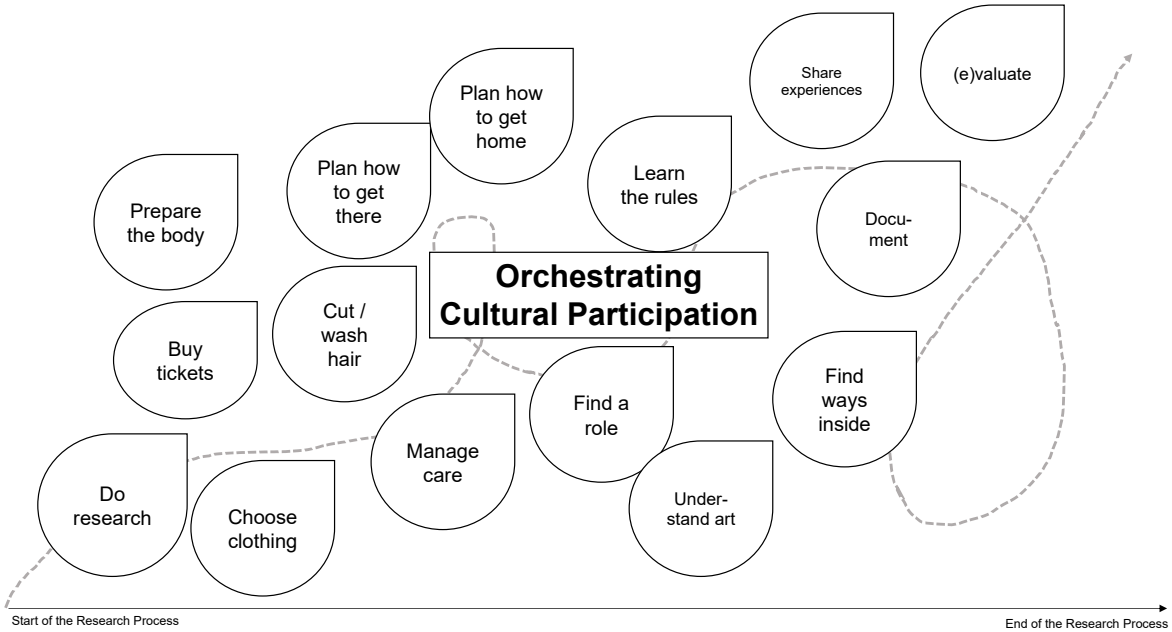
5.3 Orchestrating Cultural Participation

The third and fourth individual paper of this thesis (Gallistl, in press; Gallistl & Parisot, 2020) looked at the processes of participation in highbrow forms of culture with quantitative and qualitative data. The analysis of representative survey data on the cultural participation of older adults highlighted that cultural participation does not necessarily decrease, but shift in old age: It shifts from more public to private spaces (reminding that cultural disengagement often accompanies spatial disengagement), and it shifts from engagement in

"highbrow" culture in "lowbrow" culture, as the strongest age-related decline in participation is visible for highbrow culture activities, such as theaters, museums or opera houses (Gallistl, in press).

These processes of cultural disengagement that were visible in the (cross-sectional) quantitative analysis were hence further informed by qualitative data, which has taken an in-depth look into the challenges older adults face when participating in "highbrow" forms of culture (Gallistl & Parisot, 2020). Taking the theater as an example of "highbrow" culture, the analysis looked at the specific set of rules (illusio) at the theater that older adults' had to follow: What to wear and what to do at the theater, who to take with you, when to go and when to leave, how to get there and how to get home. Figure 3 summarizes these processes of orchestration that accompanied a theater visit and shows all the practices involved in the process of cultural participation.

FIGURE 3: ORCHESTRATING CULTURAL PARTICIPATION.



Note: Topics established from the most dominant codes in the interview material (see Gallistl & Parisot, 2020).

The wide variety of these practices made clear that going to the theater was not one activity, but a constant process of orchestrating between the different "doing rights" and "doing wrongs" for the older co-researchers who visited and collected data at theaters in Vienna. Further analysis also made it clear that due to these manifold expectations towards older

audiences at the theater, older adults were often left to feel vulnerable, as they were not willing (or able) to meet all of the expectations and rules that were in place in the cultural field: Making it necessary to go out at night, making it necessary to discipline the aging body to make it fit in the theater all taught our interview partners the lesson of being old, out of place and feeling vulnerable.

Like the subjectivity codes in the area of cultural production, the data therefore shows that aging subjectivities are not a precondition, but an outcome of being involved in age-coded practices—and in this case, did not allow for the anti-aging subjectivity outlined above, but a vulnerable subjectivity at the theater. The cultural disengagement of older adults in the situation of 'highbrow culture' can, in this case, be understood in the context of age codes that marginalized the realities of older adults: Going to a theater, where breaks are too short, stairs are too high and which happen at night was unlikely to be a pleasurable leisure activity for the older adults involved in this study, but rather fueled a feeling of vulnerability and marginalization for study participants.

Finally, what do these results tell us about doing age in the cultural field? The data analysis has shown that all the practices that are bundled together in the field of cultural production include age codes, which means that these practices were used as a differentiating criterion between young and old agents in the field. This was the case for both older artists and older participants and therefore reveals how the field of cultural production includes manifold age codes that make it challenging, and at times even impossible, for older adults to participate. Age-subjectivities in the field of cultural production were thus either based on active and anti-aging (for cultural production) or feeling marginalized and vulnerable (for cultural participation).

6 Discussion: Orchestrating Aging

This thesis set out to give some shape to the pudding known as culture in gerontology. It aimed at exploring notions of culture in gerontological research, empirically analyzing the field of cultural production and the meanings and experiences of age and aging that are prevalent in this field and derive a concept of doing age in the cultural field based on empirical data. The results of this thesis have been laid out in the respective individual papers (Gallistl 2018; Gallistl 2020; Gallistl in press, Gallistl & Parisot 2020; also see Chapter 8). In this discussion, hence, rather than going into detail on the empirical findings, I focus on in how far the theoretical perspective established in this thesis has been successful, which phenomena it has brought to center stage, which ones it might have rendered invisible, and which limitations go along with it. Following such a discussion, I then suggest "orchestrating aging" as a concept to describe aging in the field of cultural production.

The empirical papers for this thesis have demonstrated that the field of cultural production includes age codings, as many of the practices under scrutiny included categorizations and distinctions between "younger" and "older" artists and participants. This included practices of cultural production, which strongly built on subject cultures of innovation and productivity, that were often accompanied by notions of anti and active aging. This was also visible through the different regimes of value that were relevant in the field, as successful creativity called for the establishment of economic, field and life-course value in order to be considered valuable: Producing art for a very long time was considered a central value, which, for older artists, meant that they had less chances for succeeding if they started their creative activity later in life. This accumulative logic that is part of the illusio of the cultural field, hence, marginalized the work of older artists that started their engagement with the arts later in life. Further, the establishment of economic value was central in the field of cultural production. This economic logic that is part of the illusio of the cultural field meant that older artists who often produced art for their families or friends automatically had a marginalized position in the field of cultural production. Older artists, who were frequently in retirement and produced creative products for other reasons therefore struggled with being perceived as legitimate artists. The subtle rules (*illusio)* of cultural production were thus based on a belief in economic, life-course and institutional value, and a belief in innovation and productivity, which lead to subject cultures around anti- and active aging that were relevant in the field.

The analysis of cultural participation has shown that the illusio of the cultural field is further based on beliefs of an able-bodied and mobile agent, which was visible through how theaters were socio-materially and temporally organized. For older participants at the theater, this meant experiencing how breaks are too short or venues are too far away or hard to reach. This ordering of practices at the theater also had an influence on the age-subjectivities that were relevant in this field: Making it necessary to go out at night and making it necessary to discipline the aging body to make it fit in the theater all taught our interview partners the lesson of being out of place and feeling vulnerable. The illusio of the field of cultural production, in this case, did hence not allow for the anti-aging subjectivity outlined above, but a vulnerable subjectivity for older participants.

Even though these subtle differences were easy to overcome for most of the study participants through planning and preparation, it also made explicit that their realities were not the legitimate or "normal" position expected from an audience at the theater. Data therefore highlighted how the specific timings, social and spatial arrangements of the theater pose diverse challenges to older audiences and thus exemplifies that the illusio of modern theater is age coded (Krekula, 2009), as it included specific expectations and assumptions about the age of legitimate audiences.

Navigating through this illusio in the field of cultural production often meant that preparation was key for the older study participants in securing their position in the field. Many described how they had to carefully plan, direct, negotiate, justify and legitimate the position they had in the field through learning, preparing, shopping, and many other activities. Doing age, in the field of cultural production, was hence a process of orchestrating, which describes the subjects' practices of organizing based on the different rules and expectations towards older adults. To describe these organizing practices in more detail, the following introduces the concept of *orchestrating aging* to express the manifold processes through which older adults navigate and justify their position in the field of cultural production against the backdrop of an illusio that marginalizes their realities.

The metaphor of *orchestrating aging* therefore highlights two important aspects of age and aging: First, it highlights that aging is not done in an empty space, but against the backdrop of very specific rules and expectations (*illusio)* of behavior in a social field. These rules and

expectations are not individually posed upon older adults, but derive from a nexus of institutional rules, socio-material arrangements of spaces, narratives and discourses around the arts and culture as well as age and aging. Just like an orchestra, experiences of age and aging take place in a specific historically and symbolically meaningful times and places, and subjects needs to be fit, prepped and regulated to conform to these arrangements. This fitting, preparing and regulating within the context of an age-coded illusio is the first aspect that the concept of orchestrating aging highlights. Spaces and place of age and aging, as intensively studied by environmental and geographic gerontology (Skinner, Andrews & Cutchin, 2017; Oswald & Wahl, 2016), come with a specific meaning, and subtle expectations towards subjects in these places. It is these subtle expectations that orchestrating aging, and its central concepts of *social field* and *illusio*, highlight.

Further, the notion of orchestrating highlights the agency that older adults have in this process of negotiating age and aging. Despite the many parts of illusio that marginalized the realities of older adults, the study participants found manifold, diverse (and often creative) strategies to negotiate this illusio: They regulated their food and drink intake before going to the theater; they stopped or introduced new medication to feel comfortable when going to the theater; they masked their age on stage through ways of dressing or doing their makeup. It was therefore not the field that orchestrated the aging experience, but older adults who played a vivid role in the ways they orchestrated their aging experience. Consequently, orchestrating aging builds upon other practice-theoretical accounts of age and aging, which show that aging is not linear process, but rather a practical accomplishment—a work that continuously needs to be done by older adults (for similar accounts of retirement, see (Wanka, 2019)). Hence, the concept of orchestrating aging adds to cultural gerontology's call to include the subjective experiences and agency of older adults more strategically in gerontological research (Gilleard & Higgs, 2000; Twigg & Martin, 2015b). However, as orchestrating aging builds on practice-theoretical accounts of subjects—most importantly the concepts of *age-subjectivation* and *subject cultures*—it allows for exploring the agency of older adults as an empirical phenomenon, instead of a theoretical concept: The extent to which older adults are granted agency in the process of orchestrating aging, should thus be empirically studied in different contexts and eras.

6.1 Added Value

To the sociology of age and ageing, this thesis contributes the rich description of one exemplary case that show how ageing is not an individual process that happens to (or within) an ageing individual, but a carefully governed shared social process that involves multiple stakeholders: Circumstances of artistic production, modes and registers of value related to it, arts institutions and their access regulations and related policies. Aging, in this case, was not a subjective experience or identity, but a process of setting up, orchestrating and continuously coordinating a broader mix of politics, governance and knowledge from several domains. This thesis and its central concept of "orchestrating ageing" thus adds to theories of age and aging that have conceptualized aging as a relational, multi-agential, and decentralized experience (Calasanti, 2010; Höppner & Urban, 2018; Krekula, Nikander, & Wilińska, 2018; Wanka, 2019; Wanka & Gallistl, 2018). It would therefore strengthen theories and concepts that move away from understanding aging as a (only) subjective experience by viewing age and aging as a social construct that happens in relations (as, e.g., the field of material gerontology does [Höppner & Urban, 2018]). This field adds the concepts of *social field* as well as *illusio* to such relational theories of age and aging to describe the subtle rules and expectations towards older adults in different social contexts.

To cultural gerontology, this adds an understanding of *doing culture* as a tool to empirically explore the role of culture in later life. The literature review has shown that notions and concepts that explain culture in aging research usually interpret culture either as an intervention or as an ontological category that encompasses all areas of human existence. It further identified the lack of a more empirical approach to culture in gerontology, as well as a critical examination of the concept of culture, as two major gaps. Through the concept of *doing culture*, this thesis adds a more empirical understanding of culture in gerontology that departs from viewing culture as a stable or ubiquitous category, and instead analyzes its making as a flexible and socially embedded process.

Such an understanding of culture might be fruitful for cultural as well as critical gerontology, since it builds on Bourdieu's cultural class analysis (1996). Since Bourdieu's work on *La Distinction* (1984) and *The Rules of Art* (1996), cultural sociologists have argued that cultural participation can never be fully understood if power relations are overlooked in its analysis and vice versa. Studying the differences in cultural participation between age groups, hence, means to appreciate these difference as "a particular state of the social

struggle, i.e. a given state of distribution of advantages and obligations" (Bourdieu, 1979/2013, p. 52). Which age groups participate in cultural activities and which do not, from this perspective, is not a question of individual motivation or interest, but an expression of social power struggles through which the access to culture is carefully regulated.

Further, this thesis argues for reviving theories of active or successful aging (Baltes & Carstensen, 2008; Havighurst, 1961) in critical gerontology. Even though theories around active and successful aging have received considerable criticism (Bülow & Söderqvist, 2014; Katz & Calasanti, 2015; Madero-Cabib & Kaeser, 2016; Marhánková, 2011; Pfaller & Schweda, 2019), this study showed that the (cultural) activities of older adults are central to the analysis of age and aging. However, this thesis proposes removing normative and individualist accounts of active or successful aging and instead focusing on the shared and decentralized notion of practice in active aging research. Future research, therefore, can build upon a notion of "aging-in-practice" instead of "active aging" and hence find new concepts and analytical tools for critical aging research. A practice-theoretical framework of activity in later life shows future research that active aging is not an individual process, but emerges from the complex relationships between institutional arrangements, individual agency and symbolic power in diverse fields of practice.

For research on cultural policy, this study is one of the first to demonstrate the need to think more closely about how demographic change and an aging population needs to be addressed by cultural policy. While cultural policy often emphasizes the importance of cultural and arts education for children (Bamford, 2006), older adults are less often seen as a target group. Recently, the European Commission formulated a wider ambition to use arts and culture in fostering the cultural capacity and participation of all people living in EU countries and to promote social cohesion and well-being via shared cultural values (see European Commission, 2018); yet, older audiences are not mentioned within these frameworks. Furthermore, the implications of implementing cultural rights (e.g., equal access) goes beyond its formal, legal aspects: It also comprises the non-age-sensitive illusio of the cultural field and related discriminatory practices or the absence of cultural educational opportunities for older adults, all of which affect individual claims related to basic rights for cultural participation (Belfiore, 2018).

To date, older audiences are hardly reflected upon by research in cultural policy, which shows that mainstreaming aging in the cultural field is still very much a topic at the margins of policy (and scientific) discourse (Keuchel, 2009). Research on cultural policy often describes demographic change as a threat to cultural institutions with buzzwords such as the feared "concert in a silver lake" (Sievers, 2009, p. 65). From a gerontological perspective, such matters of concern can, for cultural policy, be situated within negative, stereotypical and homogenizing images of aging (e.g., as part of an "alarmist demography" [Katz, 1992, p. 203)] that are prevalent in this research field. Cultural policy, hence, has yet to grasp the potentials older audiences have for cultural institutions across Europe or consider the heterogeneity of older audiences along with their patterns and barriers to cultural participation. This thesis, therefore, further strengthens existing calls for action in the cultural sector to more intentionally include and address older adults (Gallistl, Parisot, & Birke, 2019; Groote & Nebauer, 2008) as target groups of the arts and culture.

6.2 Limitations and Outlook

The study has considerable limitations that need to be acknowledged: First, the cultural field in Austria is a special one, which is strongly characterized by its monarchial history and a high importance and value placed on institutions of 'high culture'. Findings might consequently be different from other national contexts that traditionally have a differently-structured cultural sector, such as the UK or USA. Second, this study has treated the notion of the cultural field rather loosely, which also implies that the field of cultural production was not structured from the beginning of the research process. Future studies that attempt to apply a field perspective in the context of age and aging should therefore start with thorough research on governance practices, policy guidelines and the rules of institutions that structure a certain field. Third, although this thesis applied different methods in the three outlined research steps, field analysis as a methodological step was not given the same attention as the others. Moreover, this step was conducted as a reflexive step rather than as an application of new methods. This is inevitably a central limitation of this study. However, this study's theoretical framework also showed that employing the "social field" and "illusio" concepts, as suggested by Pierre Bourdieu (1996), are highly useful when applied to aging research. Taking the framework of the social field one step further in aging research, hence, also calls for methodological innovation and finding new ways to integrate field analysis methods into aging research.

Some critical questions for future research arise of this context:

- How are cultural fields structured differently in diverse national and governance contexts?
- How did structures in the field of cultural production evolve? Which institutional histories and trajectories are involved in this?
- What are other fields (besides the field of cultural production) in which culture is being done today? What are similarities and differences between the practices of *doing culture* in these fields? At which other sites are symbolic goods developed, negotiated and given value and what is the position of older adults in this field?
- Which methods can be fruitfully applied to conduct field analysis in the context of aging research?

Most importantly, however, this thesis adds to the theoretical development within gerontology. Gerontology, which has long been dominated by models of disengagement theory and activity theory as one of the most dominant theories of age and aging (Bengtson et al., 1997), can benefit from a practice-theoretical perspective that contextualizes activity in later life and acknowledges that activity is not a an individual and intentional process, but an orchestration between older adults, institutions, materialities, discourses and much more. Such a perspective, hence, alerts us that age and aging can only be understood as relational, and therefore finds more complex ways to explain and conceptualize (cultural) activity in later life.

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8. Individual Papers

8.1. Paper 1: The emergence of the creative ager – On subject cultures of late-life creativity

8.1.1. Abstract

Objectives: In the last fifteen years, research on aging has seen a new interest in creativity in later life. While late-life creativity has often been described as a method to unpack the potential of older adults in the face of demographic change, this newfound interest is arguably linked to the commodification of late-life creativity itself in terms of innovation and productivity. These new modes of creativity might then also establish new ways to age. Has the homo aestheticus spread into old age?

Method: To explore this question, this paper first lays out a praxeology of late-life creativity. In this framework, creativity as well as age is understood as a social practice through which the artwork as well as the (older) artist is continuously produced. Second, this paper draws upon data from thirteen semi-structured interviews with older adults regularly involved in creative practices in their everyday lives. Using the documentary method, data shows how older adults describe the creative practice and what meanings they attach to growing older within these practices.

Results and discussion: Analyzing subject cultures that emerge from creativity in later life shows how creative practice calls for a specific self-image that is centered around productivity, the preservation of field positions despite growing older and active as well as anti-aging. Studying late-life creativity through a praxeological lens allows for critically evaluating current modes of creativity and the normative positions that are inherent in these practices.

8.1.2. Publication Status and Authorship

The paper has been published in the Journal of Aging Studies: Gallistl, V. (2018). The emergence of the creative ager–On subject cultures of late-life creativity. Journal of aging studies, 46, 93-99. Vera Gallistl is the sole author of this paper.

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The emergence of the creative ager – On subject cultures of late-life creativity

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ABSTRACT

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Introduction

While late-life creativity was a well-established gerontological research topic during the 1980s and early 1990s (see, e.g. Goff, 1993; Alpaugh, Parham, Cole, & Birren, 1982; Dohr & Forbess, 1986), a newfound interest in the creative engagement of older adults has arisen during the last fifteen years. In their review, Bernard and Rickett (2016) show that of all articles on theater of older adults evaluated in the study (ranging from 1979 to 2014), one third of the relevant documents were published after 2010. Beyond a broader cultural turn in gerontology (Twigg & Martin, 2015), this was mainly due to a rising interest in the effects creative engagement might hold for older adults in their everyday lives. Hence, the field has seen a vast amount of studies on different forms of creative engagement in recent years such as arts (Cantu & Fleuriet, 2017; Fraser et al., 2015), theater-making (Bernard & Rickett, 2016), music and dance (Krekula, Arvidson, Heikkinen, Henriksson, & Olsson, 2017; Wakeling & Clark, 2015) or writing (Gutheil & Heyman, 2016; Murray et al., 2014; Sabeti, 2014) and their beneficial effects on quality of life (Fraser et al., 2015), health (Castora-Binkley, Noelker, Prohaska, & Satariano, 2010), social inclusion (Gutheil and Heyman, 2016) or self-confidence (Cantu & Fleuriet, 2017). Overall, a great amount of literature suggests that creative activity can contribute to successful aging (Fisher & Specht, 2000; Price & Tinker, 2014) and has shown that creativity can be beneficial to well-being in later life (Noice & Noice, 2013). Hence, late-life creativity was increasingly studied as an aspect of late everyday-life, which was not exclusively available to older artists, but to a majority of the older population.

This newfound empirical interest in creativity in later life was also accompanied by advancing theoretical development in the field. As Jan Baars argues in his “Aging and the Art of Living” (2012), creativity in later life can be conceptualized in the context of individuality. As youth-oriented societies today confront older adults with generalizations and the denial of their individuality, creativity might be one method to unfold this potential of older adults. O'Neill (2011) argues in a similar pattern. For him, late-life creativity can provide a lifeline to understand what older adults have to offer in the face of demographic change. Creativity, in this sense, is a concept that relates to self-

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expression of older adults. While literature acknowledges the difficulties older adults face towards their self-expression in modern societies (Baars, 2012), creativity is conceptualized as a counterpart to these challenges. Creativity holds the potential to reveal individuality in all stages of the life course.

Within the context of this theoretical framework, most studies have focused on creativity as a human competence: Creativity is understood as part of the most inner self; a resource that needs to be discovered, supported and – in some cases - pushed to become public. More critically, scholars have also argued, however, that creativity has been commodified in recent years to fit neoliberal agendas of productivity and self-realization (Florida, 2004). As Reckwitz (2017) argues, studies on creativity have been historically rooted within a paradigm of self-realization that unfolds around two elements: the development of a creative individual that is then creative not only in the practice of art production, but in every aspect of everyday life. This paradigm of self-realization in studies on creativity therefore comprises: "First, the unfurling of some inner core of individual potential pushing against outside resistance and second, an aesthetic transformation of everyday perception" (Reckwitz, 2017, p. 41).

The narrative of self-realization that surrounds creativity studies has not only transformed what is understood as creative but also – and more importantly – what can be understood as a self-realized self: Through this narrative of the creative and self-realized individual, Reckwitz (2017) argues, the self appears as a "structured ensemble of resources, which can be exploited (…) to produce (…)" (Reckwitz, 2017, p. 152). Creativity, in that sense, is understood as a transformative power from which self-realized and – notably – productive subjects are constantly created in late modernity.

In late modernity, Reckwitz (2017) claims, we witness the emergence of the creative subject – establishing both the demand and the desire to be constantly creative, innovative and bring something new into the world. "Late modern society", he argues, "has been fundamentally transformed by the expectation and desire to be creative." (Reckwitz, 2017, vii). Therefore, "creativity is not simply a superficial semantic phenomenon, but, rather, a crucial organizing principle of Western societies" (Reckwitz, 2017, p.2). The newfound emphasis on creativity in late modernity, these scholars argue, can be contextualized in a general emphasis on productivity and innovation in society – urging individuals to constantly showcase their productivity in every aspect of their daily life.

This narrative of the creative and the productive self might, then, have also spread into old age. Numerous studies have shown how old age today is commodified in terms of productivity, consumption and anti-aging (Gilleard & Higgs, 2000, 2002), however, a consideration of late-life creativity in this context is currently lacking.

Against this backdrop of a commodification of creativity, this paper explores how the image of the homo aestheticus' has spread into old age. Critically evaluating the notions of self-realization and productivity inherent in practices of creativity calls for a theoretical framework that enables the understanding of ways to interpret, know and make sense of the world not as part of individuals' most inner selves, but as part of a shared social practice. This can be achieved through a practice-theoretical framework that understands practice as a "routinized way in which bodies are moved, objects are handled, subjects are treated, things are described and the world is understood" (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 250). Through this framework, the fully-realized productive creative ager is not shown as a casual bystander or a precondition of creative practices. Rather, creativity in later life arguably form certain types of practice through which the image of the creative, self-realized aging self is constantly created.

Theories: a praxeology of late-life creativity

What does it mean to develop a practice-theoretical perspective on creativity? First, this framework is established on the assumption that creativity is a social practice (Fox, 2015). Within these creative practices, the artwork as well as the (older) artist and the social conditions of the creative activity are continuously produced. These assemblages of artistic creativity (Fox, 2015) might then be age coded (Krekula, 2009) as they may allow for specific modes of self-description and subjectivity for older artists.

Understanding creativity as a social practice means understanding creativity as "spatio-temporal nexuses of doings and sayings" (Schatzki, 2014, p. 18) instead of a human capacity. In that sense, creativity is not something that humans are or possess, but something that is continuously done. This idea has been applied both to creativity (Reckwitz, 2012, 2016) and art (Schatzki, 2014). In both cases, the practice-theoretical framework shifts away from the question that benefits, effects or restraints to creativity exist, but rather asks the question of how creativity is produced.

Taking this approach seriously, therefore, means to conceptually move away from the active and agentic creative individual – hence, it means to decentralize the subject. This means understanding creativity not as a human capacity or resource, but as a social phenomenon that is done through human, non-human and discursive actors. Schatzki (2014) has framed these packages of actors and practices as "art bundles" (Schatzki, 2014, p.17): The practices of music, for example, do not just consist of playing the instrument – they also involve seeing and reacting to a (present or imagined) audience, managing the instrument and sounds. It could also involve a guitar, the room in which the performance takes place or microphones.

Fox (2015) takes this thought further: Moving away from art bundles as a set of practices, he defines creativity as emergent from assemblages, which can consist of humans as well as non-humans and much more. The practice of painting, he argues, is not just done through the artist alone: The colors and pencils, the room in which the painting takes place, the idea of what it means to paint (and motivations for doing it) are all equally involved in creating the practice of painting. Creativity is then a relational category: "Creativity should be considered not as a human capacity, but as emergent from assemblages of relations between the human and the non-human (things, ideas, social formations)" (Fox, 2015, p.523).

What does productivity mean against the proposed practice-theoretical backdrop? What (and who) is produced through creative practices by what (and whom)? As Fox (2015) has argued, it is not just the painting that is the result of a creative practice in an assemblage, it is also the painter him- or herself that is created through the relation of actors involved in the practice: "Both the creative product and the creator are consequently outcomes of the creativity assemblage: the artist is as much produced as is the painting or any other product" (Fox, 2015, p. 525).

In this sense, the creative older adult might be a product of the creative practice he or she is involved in: We learn to describe ourselves as creative (and as older) through taking pictures, making music or painting. In a practice-theoretical framework, creative subjects are therefore produced through creative practices. To understand the subject as a product of social practices then allows for analyzing certain forms of identity as a cultural practice – it means to ask in which ways practices lead to certain images and narratives of the self. Practices in this approach are then part of subject cultures (Subjektkulturen (Reckwitz, 2016, p.77)): an ensemble of practices and discourses in which a certain form of the subject is created and reproduced. The form of the subject (Subjektform (Reckwitz, 2016, p. 76)) is then the specific cultural way in which the subject is expected to behave, act or talk about him or herself. Human agents with their individual characteristics, attitudes and wishes are produced according to the practices they are involved in: "They understand the world and themselves and use know-how and motivational knowledge according to the particular practice" (Reckwitz, 2002, p. 256).

To empirically analyze creative practices in later life, this means to move away from analyzing reasons or motivations for creative

involvement in later life and to reflect on the ways older artists describe themselves through taking part in creative practices. Which elements of self-perception gain importance as older adults describe themselves as participants in a creative practice? Which images of themselves are presented in the interviews? Which aspects are factored out? Which normativities are related to these patterns?

Analyzing how these forms of subjects in creative practices are related to certain experiences of growing older requires analyzing more closely which meanings of old age are part of subject cultures founded in creative practices: What does it mean for creative older artists to grow older? How does aging change the way older adults perceive themselves as e.g. painters, writers or photographers?

In practice theories, these questions might be reflected upon through concepts such as doing age (Schroeter, 2012) or age codings (Krekula, 2009). Within these frameworks, it might be theorized that creative practices include certain notions of what it means to grow older through these practices: Aging, arguably, might be done differently if one is involved in e.g. practices of classical music as opposed to techno parties. Creative practices might therefore include age codings as "age-based practices of distinction" (Krekula, 2009, p. 15). These age codings can be used to (1) create age norms, (2) legitimize, negotiate and regulate symbolic and material resources, (3) as a resource in interactions and (4) to create age-based norms and deviance (ibid., 15). Thus, if aging is something that diverse actors do, not something that they are (Schroeter, 2012), certain old age normativities may be perceived through the things individuals do. Hence, a practice-theoretical perspective introduces the following questions: How is old age being done through creative practices? Which normativities and age distinctions are part of subject cultures founded in creative practices?

Methods

These questions are informed by data from thirteen qualitative semi-structured interviews, which were conducted in 2017 with older adults (60+ years) that are regularly involved in creative practices in different artistic fields (see Table 1). Older adults were sampled based on the interviewee's self-description as either an artist or creative. For sampling, an open call to participate in the study was distributed through individual contacts and social media. Interview partners were then chosen based on their age and their field of creative practice. Creative practice, here, refers to activities within an artistic field that are performed on a regular basis and might include professional or non-professional practices of art production.

This sampling technique was intentionally kept broad. This had two reasons: First, the aim of this paper is not to analyze certain groups of (professional or non-professional) artists, but to analyze the self-descriptions that older adults perceive through their creative practice. Second, boundaries between professional and non-professional artists are always prone to reproduce power structures of artistic fields (Bourdieu, 2016). Therefore, applying a more focussed sampling strategy might have narrowed the study's sample to older adults with a legitimate position in their artistic fields. The sample included seven older men and six older women active in a variety of fields (see Table 1). Cases included more traditional forms of 'highbrow' (e.g. classical music, painting, writing books) and 'lowbrow' (e.g. sewing, crafting) artistic activity (Van Eijck & Knulst, 2005), but also included artistic activity in sub-cultures (e.g. Bodybuilding, Drag, Carnival acting). There was no clear gender imbalance with regard to the choice of creative activities, however, the interviewed women tended to be more involved in 'lowbrow' artistic activities. Interview partners in the fields of crafting, photography and textile work were all female.

It needs to be noted that it was not possible to assign each of our interview partners to one distinct field of artistic production as creative activity often spread across a variety of fields. The graphic designer, for instance, used his experience in design and writing to create books which served as a gift for his grandchildren and also as a means for life-review, combining two artistic fields in the coding process (Graphic Design and Writing).

Table 1
Sample description.

Interview-No.	Age (gender)	Artistic Field	Date of interview
1	64 (m)	Drag	27.6.2017
2	62 (f)	Crafting	13.7.2017
3	60 (m)	Bodybuilding	17.7.2017
4	70 (f)	Photography	12.7.2017
5	73 (m)	Music (Orchestra)	21.5.2017
6	83 (f)	Textile work (sewing, knitting)	13.7.2017
7	63 (m)	Acting	11.7.2017
8	65 (m)	Painting	22.5.2017
9	84 (m)	Painting	31.5.2017
10	72 (m)	Graphic Design, Writing	8.6.2017
11	72 (f)	Dance	6.6.2017
12	76 (f)	Singing	22.06.2017
13	65 (f)	Acting	12.6.2017

Data collection

Interviews were structured using an interview guide that covered questions about the creative activity (e.g. Please tell me everything that comes to mind when you think about your creative activity), their creative products (How do you deal with the products of your creative activity?), everyday routines (Please tell me in detail what you do on an ordinary day) and meanings and perceptions of aging (Generally speaking: What does it mean to grow older for you?). During the interview, these four central topics were available for discussion. After these four questions, the interviewer refrained from discussing personal opinions, but prolonged the interviews through immanent questions. Interviews were between 80 and 120 min and were transcribed verbatim (in German). Interview quotes were translated into English by three researchers and then compared.

Data analysis: documentary method

Data was analyzed through the documentary method (Nohl, 2017). This method was first used in group discussions to analyze structures of social practice (Bourdieu, 1977). It is frequently used to reflect on routine and everyday knowledge that is part of practices in everyday life (Bohnsack, 2014). To analyze these everyday and routine knowledges of social practices, the documentary methods works in two steps: In a first analytical step ("formulating interpretation"), the interviews are coded to establish central themes and common topics in the interviews. This step is used to analyze the "immanent" (Bohnsack, 2014, p.110) meaning of the interviews (the "what" of the interviews). Through this step, thirteen superordinate themes in the analyzed interviews and their subordinate were identified (see Table 2).

In a second step, the analysis moves from the interviews' immanent meanings to their "documentary meaning" (Bohnsack, 2014, p.110) (the "how" of the interviews). Here, the focus lies on the ways that knowledge is expressed, which frames of reference the interviewees use to describe themselves in the interviews, which words are used and how. This step of the analysis is comparative. Hence, a fine-structured analysis was conducted where sequences from different interviews were compared in four group sessions. The sequences for the second step of the analysis were chosen based on the results of the formulating interpretation. A constant comparison between the analyzed cases revealed differences in terms of how older adults perceive their involvement in creative practices, which meanings are connected to these practices and what it meant to grow older through these practices.

Table 2
Codes used in the formulating interpretation.

Superordinate Themes	Subordinate Themes	Topics
Creativity and productivity	Creative practice as work	Regularity; finding and building structures of creative engagement; practice; development; learning
	Goals and aims	Appreciation; public display; acknowledgment; public; audience; being proud; intoxication
	Discipline	Optimizing yourself; motivation; competition, sanctions, honor
The field of artistic production	Belonging to the field	Knowledge about practices; social capital
	Position in the field	Differences to other artists, differences to other older adults, name-dropping; emphasis on competence, public display of creative product
Age and aging	Late freedom	Aging beauty, maturity; sense of self; experience, knowledge
	Active aging	Difference to other old people based on age; aging as attitude; biological aging; focus on activity; stay active; volunteering; care of relatives; knowledge transmission
	Anti-Aging	Negative images of fourth age; aging body;

Results

Creativity and productivity

The superordinate theme “creativity and productivity” includes all topics in the interviews related to questions around the description of our interview partners as participants in creative practices. While at the beginning of the formulating analysis, the used code was titled “description of creative practice”, the analysis of the documentary meaning of sequences in this theme revealed how heavily the described practices were organized around notions of productivity. Hence, the code was renamed as “creativity and productivity”. The most central subordinate themes in that coding were “creative practice as work”, “goals and aims” and “discipline”.

Under the code “creative practice as work”, interview partners described their creative practices as a regular task of their daily lives. Creative practices were hobbies, which older adults enjoyed, but also included cases where the creative practice was explicitly referred to as “work” (Drag), that needed to be done. With this notion of creative activity as work, the interviews also showed how the description of creative practices were connected to a need to be and stay creative – just like work, the creative practice was something that had to be done.

“[Creativity] is work that one, as I hope, enjoys”, one interview partner who is an artist in the drag scene said. Here, creativity is not just any kind of work – it is a work that needs to be appreciated to be successful. Therefore, creativity also included the competence to know and appreciate the work that needed to be done to be creative. Further, this notion of creativity also included sanctions that would follow if the creative work was not done anymore. The interview partner continues: “And if one is too lazy just to think about how one could be creative! You stay home, in front of your TV and you wait until it turns itself off. Over and out.”

This quote shows how doing creativity was not only productive, but no longer being productive led to significant sanctions for our interview partner. To the drag artist, not being creative anymore – not being able to do the work that needed to be done to be creative – meant waiting for life to be “over and out” (Drag).

A second coding that was relevant in the superordinate “creativity as productivity” theme were goals and aims that were connected to the creative practice. Even though creative practices were described as a “hobby” (Crafting) or something that was done in the interview partners' “free time” (Acting), there were always certain goals and aims connected to the creative practice. In the interviews, the creative practices followed different aims. In some cases, the aim was to raise money for a charity through selling creative products (Crafting); in others, it was building a product to share inter-generationally within the family (Graphic Design). In all cases, however, the aim and goal of the creative practice served a purpose: It gave direction to creativity. For the interviewed musician, the goal and aim of the creative practice was even described as a defining moment of the creative practice itself - without it, his creative practice would not be the same: “Among musicians, there's a saying: If there is no aim, you can't succeed. So, the aim is always the crucial factor.” (Music (Orchestra)).

The musician's quote shows how having a goal in the creative practice was a defining moment for him. Without it, his creative practice would not be the same. More importantly, it would have no chance of being successful. Having a direction towards which the creative practice was working was expressed as an implicit rule of the creative practice. Without it “you can't succeed” – chances to succeed in the artistic field would be minimized.

The interview further showed how this implicit rule of having a goal in the creative practice was connected to the wish of constantly creating new competences. This was also expressed by the musician. After the musician describes the goals to be a relevant aspect of the creative practice, he goes on emphasizing his motivation for innovation: “Because I am always determined to develop myself further. Even if it might just be an ounce better than before.” (Music (Orchestra)).

So far, data has shown that creativity was understood in the interviews as a piece of work – it was described as a process that needed to happen with a certain goal and aim attached to it. Most of the interview partners described these aspects as central components of their creative practice. They also described it as something they enjoyed – one interview partner referred to the public display of his work as a feeling of intoxication (Acting). Here, the creation of value through the creative practice was a central theme in the interviews. Reaching the creative practice’ goals was described as a fulfilling aspect of the creative productivity. The interviewed actress describes here how the public performance of the rehearsed play (goal of the practice) served as kind of a “wage” (Acting) that she enjoyed after her work on the play: “I find that boring, just to work and have nothing to show for it. Not that it's such a fantastic feeling, but it's just the wage you get for having worked all year, to have your moment on stage.” (Acting).

Describing creative practice as productive practices – as practices connected to the purposeful creation of value – was often described as a central benefit of the creative practice. For the interview partners, it felt good or even intoxicating (Acting) to reach the creative practice's goals. In order to reach their goals, the interview partners spoke about disciplinary practices in their everyday lives: rules they had to follow in order to be able to be part of their creative practice. These disciplinary practices ranged from networking and staying in contact with the field (Music) to organizing relationships around the creative practice's timeframe (Bodybuilding). Most commonly, however, these disciplinary practices unfolded around the human body: Interview partners described here how they planned their nutrition (Acting, Bodybuilding) or limited their consumption of alcohol or cigarettes (Acting, Drag). In most cases, this was described as something the interview partners had to give up – something they would like to do but could not if they wanted to stay active and successful in their creative practice. The interviewed drag performer described how he would like to “let himself go,” but how that would have a direct effect on his ability to perform: “I like eating, I enjoy having a drink, I would like to let myself go, but when I know that in ten or eight days I have another

show, then I can't do that. I won't fit into the costume anymore." (Drag).

Analyzing the first superordinate theme, "creativity and productivity" shows that creative practices unfold around productivity – they are organized around the creation of value. Being involved in creative practices included the creation of a product under the consideration of certain rules that are then evaluated in a public display. The interview partners further described that following these rules of productivity was connected to a sense of wellbeing and appreciation of the creative practice. Following Bourdieu (1984), this productivity can be understood as a specific form of capital that was relevant in the creative field. For the analysis of creative practices, this productivity might be framed as creative capital – a resource, on which basis it can be decided if a creative practice is successful or not.

The field of artistic production

Productivity was one major aspect in our interview parnters' self-description as creative. If creative practices can be understood as productive practices, the question arises within which frameworks this productivity operates. The second superordinate code, "the field of artistic production," reveals this. Bourdieu (1984) understands fields as spaces of encounter between different agents that are active in a given field. In his analysis of the literary field, he writes "the literary field, i.e. the spaces of literary prises the position that are possible in a given period in a given society. Prises the position arise from the encounter between particular agents' dispositions (…) and their position in a field of positions which is defined by the distribution of a specific form of capital." (Bourdieu, 1984, p.311). Within these fields, creative practices might stabilize positions of agents through the distribution of capital. Hence, all aspects of the interviews that dealt with positioning oneself as a creative older adult in a field with other agents were analyzed for the code "field of artistic production".

In the interviews, field positions were mainly discussed in two aspects: First, interview partners expressed their belonging to a certain field through the display of field-relevant knowledge (coding: "Belonging to the field"). Second, they discussed their position in their creative fields with regard to other agents. Here, the age of the interview partners was a relevant category through which field positions were being negotiated (Coding: "Position in the field").

The first relevant coding in this superordinate dimension was implicit knowledge, through which the belonging to a certain field was being discussed. In the interviews, sequences that addressed who knows – and who does not know – certain aspects of the creative practice frequently arose. Interestingly, this was often negotiated between the person conducting the interview and the older adult that was being interviewed. During the interviews, participants frequently asked the researcher if they knew certain types of material, strategies or relevant agents in the field. These negotiations about who had the relevant knowledge in the situation were frequently used in the interviews to reassure the interview partner of his or her position inside and the position of the researcher outside of the field. In the case of textile work, for example, an interview partner asked if the researcher knew how to deal with a specific piece when sewing socks: "Do you know how to knit heels? (No.) And the, and the tip, the toes? No? No, one does not learn that anymore today." (Textile work).

This also meant that these types of specific knowledge about a creative practice were used to distinguish oneself from other agents who were not relevant in the creative field. Bourdieu (1984) describes distinction as "one dimension of a distant, self-assured relation to the world and to others which presupposes objective assurance and distance" (Bourdieu, 1984, p.56). The knowledge about the creative practice in the interviews was used to distant oneself from the person that was conducting the interview – reassuring both the researcher and the interview partner about the difference of positions within the creative field.

This frequently-drawn distinction between possessing and lacking relevant field knowledge was, however, not of equal value in the interviews. Frequently, the discussed field knowledge was not only something the interview partner knew, and the researcher did not know – it was described as something "one should know" (Dance): "Yes, I danced at Bernard Amibél's, if you know him. (No.) Bernard Amibél is French. One should know him, he is the (!) dancer at the Museumsquartier." (Dance). This quote reflects how belonging to a creative field (in this case, dance) is organized around certain knowledges that are normative: It becomes apparent that the rule of the field is to possess this certain kind of knowledge.

The second coding that was used in this superordinate theme was "position in the field". Here, distinctions were not drawn between agents inside and outside the field, but between different agents within a creative field. These distinctions in the interviews towards other agents were frequent, but also diverse. Distinctions were drawn between the interview partners and other, more successful agents (Acting), between younger artists who would like to participate in the field but do not possess the relevant knowledge (Drag) and younger artists who possess more relevant capital than the interview partners (Acting).

Interestingly, these distinctions were often connected to discussing biological age. In some examples, interviewees distinguished between the older artist and younger agents in the field. In some cases, younger age was seen as a competence and the interview partners felt subordinate to their younger counterparts. For example, the actress states how she knows that her chances of being cast for a play decrease when younger actresses are part of a casting: "When I go there and see the young girls from drama school, I think to myself: 'Oh dear!'" (Acting). Being young, in this case, seems to be a resource – a relevant capital in the field – that gives the younger actresses an advantage over older actresses.

This was, however, not always the case. In other fields, younger age was discussed as a disadvantage, as a lack of knowledge, discipline or even talent. The drag artist, for example, described how working with younger performers is challenging for him: "Young folks that follow haven't picked anything up at home. Nowadays, people are late for a rehearsal for about half an hour (…) and this person then comes in, says "Hello" and walks to the coffee dispenser to have another coffee. And I just stand there, looking stupid and completely baffled." (Drag). Here, young age was seen as a sign that the relevant knowledge about how to behave within the field has not (yet) been learned.

Both cases, however, show how practices within creative fields are organized around distinctions made about age-related characteristics. In both examples, "young" is described to be a category of the other, while oneself is seen to be "old" as the counterpart. Further, the category of being young is not only interpreted as being of a younger age. Rather, there are additional meanings attached to young age: to possess knowledge (or lack it) and to having a subordinate or superior position in the field. Drawing on Krekula (2009), the fields of creative production in which the artists were active can be described as age coded: The position within the field of artistic production was not just due to the agents' performance and knowledge, but also due to their age.

Age and aging

The empirical analysis began by asking which forms of subjects are created through creative practices in later life. Here, analysis has shown that our interview partners used productivity and field-relevant knowledge as a capital to distinguish themselves from others and maintain their legitimate position in their creative fields. Maintaining a relevant subjective position in the field might then also be connected to certain ways of evaluating what it means to be older. The superordinate dimension "age and aging" therefore comprises all subcategories that address the subjective experiences of growing older. In the interviews, these aspects were found in three topics: "late freedom", "active aging" and "anti-aging".

In the subordinate category "late freedom", interview partners described growing older as a process of liberation: Retirement gave them the freedom to produce and create innovation outside of the labor market. These narratives of late freedom (Rosenmayr, 1983) were often expressed when the researcher specifically asked which meanings the interview partner attached to growing older. The actress, for example, describes her fiftieth birthday as an event of "liberation" (Acting): "To me, it was a liberation (…) Since I turned fifty, I have been a somewhat freer human being". Other aspects of this late freedom were experiences and knowledge that could be used in the creative practice (Graphic Design), or being liberated from the labor market (Acting).

Analyzing the documentary meaning of sequences showed how these narratives of late freedom were also used to distinguish oneself from other older adults. Frequently and almost exclusively, stories around this late freedom were introduced through an emphasized "Well, I (!) think" (Graphic Design), "for me" (Acting) or "for me, personally" (Dancing). The analyzed narratives of late freedom were therefore used for distinction in the interviews – distinction based on a certain perception of age that other adults might not follow.

Why were these age-related distinctions so common in the interviews? Here, the analysis of the subordinate category "active aging" showed age-related normativities that the interview partners discussed, and which served as the basis for age-related distinctions. One key code was the importance of being and staying active in old age. One woman, who was active in crafting, emphasized several times that she thinks activity is most important when growing older: "No, I believe that you always (!) need to stay active, no matter what. Even more so when you're older, I believe." (Crafting). She is convinced that – especially in old age – one must be active. As with the analysis of productivity as an element of the creative practice, the doings of age were also manifested through sanctions that the interview partners expressed. Here, the possible sanction for those who would not stay active in old age was – again – age-related decline and the possible end of life. The interview partner continues: "Otherwise, I am convinced, you will deteriorate" (Crafting).

Through expressing these sanctions, the interview material also shows how an emphasis on active aging also produces exclusion in old age – namely of those who cannot (or do not want to) be active and productive in old age. In the interviews, the focus on active and productive aging led, consequently, to devaluating other (less productive) forms of growing older. Hence, the third subordinate category used is "anti-aging". Prior to this category, interview partners have described old age as a positive stage of life that unfolds around activity, productivity and creativity. In the "anti-aging" codings, however, it became relevant that aspects of illness, declining health or age-related disengagement were not part of our analyzed narratives. Possible illness or inactivity were described as a possible upcoming life stage that needed to be counteracted and prevented. The drag artist succinctly described what aging means to him: "I told myself, I want to be like Dorian Gray. And I will do everything I can do to make that happen. And it will only end, when I, myself, detach emotionally from myself. I would not have to be sick for that, it is more about me saying: 'Now, it's enough'" (Drag).

This quote reflects what is not permissible in our interview partner's conceptions of aging: A life stage of denied agency. It appears that through the emphasis on productivity and innovation in creative practices, these practices allow for a specific way of experiencing old age that unfolds around productive, active and anti-aging. The imaginary of fourth age serves as the counterpoint to agency and activity – a negatively charged imaginary (Higgs & Gilleard, 2015) – an image of a dark future of biological decline and social disengagement, a life-stage in which the agentic and productive individual is no longer able to participate in this culture of productivity. In the interviews, fourth age was not an actual stage of life – it was an idea what the interview partners did not want to happen.

Conclusions

This article contributes to the growing literature on late-life creativity by questioning which subjectivities arise from creative practices in later life. By showing how productivity, distinction and anti-aging were major organizing principles in describing yourself as a creative older adult, this paper empirically has shown how creativity is currently commodified in terms of productivity and innovation and how this is also challenging how older adults perceive and evaluate their own aging process. Where previous studies have drawn attention to the social and emotional outcomes of creativity in later life, this critical analysis has shown that late-life creativity is a powerful mechanism of self-realization, which is organized on the basis of predominant norms and conceptions of old age. Late life creativity, therefore, can not be understood without taking the constructions of (older) subjects against the backdrop of social power relations into account. Although the presented findings on practices of late-life creativity are inevitably limited to the sample and socio-cultural context, they nevertheless ably demonstrate how the image of the homo aestheticus is transferred into later life.

Understanding creative practices as productive practices, shifts the attention from certain outcomes of creative activities in later life to the modes of production in which productivity occurs and how these modes of production might lead to specific ways of describing yourself as part of these relations. Empirical data has shown that older adults used the artistic field as an organizing principle in negotiating their positions as agents in creative fields. This is in line with previous research (Rickett & Bernard, 2016), suggesting that the aesthetic value of older adults' artistic productions plays an important but often overlooked role in older adults' creative engagement. The presented paper adds to this knowledge, suggesting that field positions are a relevant agent in older adults' creative engagement.

Data then also showed that these fields of creative production were (partly) based on specific notions and meanings of biological age. Experiencing oneself as an older agent in the field was connected to experiencing certain positions in the field, partly due to the interview partners' age. The fields in which the creative practice occurred can therefore be described as age coded, as age was used to legitimize, negotiate and regulate symbolic and material resources within a field (Krekula, 2009). Based on their age, agents were assumed to possess a certain capital in the field. As Krekula et al. (2017) argued for dance classes, the empirical analysis showed that creative practices are arenas in which age and age normality are negotiated.

Based on these field positions, data further showed how the involvement in creative practices form specific subjectivities that enabled a specific way of experiencing and describing old age. From the description of creative practices as focused on productivity and the creation of value, later life was described as a life stage of increased freedom, productivity and creativity. This adds to existing knowledge suggesting that creative engagement can support a sense of contributing to a society (Reynolds, 2015), or initiate questioning and negotiating diverse (and conflicting) images of aging within a society (Bernard et al., 2015; Murray et al., 2014).

Deeper analysis, however, showed how this focus on productive aging also led to notions of anti-aging. As individual agency – the ability to be creative and produce – was the central aspect of the interview partners' experiences of aging, the negatively-charged imaginary of fourth age (Higgs & Gilleard, 2015) served as a counterpoint to this narrative. This result adds to literature suggesting that "post-ageism" today comprises a discourse of anti-aging in tension with anti-ageism (Marshall, 2015) and also underpins the rejection and denial of "real" old age as a central structure of a third age culture (Gilleard & Higgs, 2007). This paper then also rises questions of how late-life creativity, with its strong focus on productivity and innovation, might also produce and emphasize exclusion in old age – namely of those who lack the capacities (or the will) to participate in this activity-driven culture of

the third age. These results might stimulate a more critical and deep analysis about the concept of late-life creativity. As Amigoni and McMullan (2015) argue, late-life creativity is a powerful discourse, partly used to discipline individuals to constantly showcase their agentic, productive and self-expressive selves. Understanding late-life creativity as productive – and therefore embedded in fields of artistic production – might emphasize the role of creative practices in the distribution of value within a field and therefore its role in the (re) production of (age-related) social differences and inequalities.

This might also broaden the horizon of gerontological research on late-life creativity. As Fraser et al. (2015) argue, gerontological research has too long focused on biomedical outcomes of late-life creativity and emphasized its benefits in clinical and therapeutic settings. Proposing a practice-theoretical framework to late-life creativity, sheds light on the social and economic circumstances of the current interest in late-life creativity. Just as Reckwitz (2017) has done, I would therefore argue to take late-life creativity more seriously as a sociological field of research. The current transformation of late-life creativity in terms of productivity and innovation is not an isolated phenomenon but embedded in a wider transformation of societies in late modernity. Late-life creativity, therefore, should be studied not only in its outcomes for health or wellbeing, but as a "structural blueprint" (Reckwitz, 2017, p.viii) for aging in late-modern societies.

Future research might build on this knowledge of the commodification of late-life creativity. It might also deepen its analysis in two points. Firstly, the scope of this paper did not allow to differentiate how the commodification of late-life creativity might be perceived and enacted differently for older adults with different field positions (might it be professional or non-professional artist) in different fields of artistic practice (might it be drag or sewing). My analysis revealed some differences between fields, suggesting a stronger sense of commodification in the sub-cultures of drag and body-building. However, this need further empirical and theoretical thought. Secondly, future research on the commodification of late-life creativity should more closely take higher age groups into account. My analysis suggests that within the commodification of late-life creativity, fourth age is not an actual stage of life, but rather an imaginary that serves to discipline individuals towards productivity and constant innovation. However, my sample restricts these results to individuals until the age of 83. Future research should therefore take creative practices of higher age groups more closely into account.

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8.2. Paper 2: What's it Worth? Value and Valuation of Late-Life Creativity

8.2.1. Abstract

New interest in late-life creativity has arisen in gerontology. To date, such research mainly focused on the positive impact creativity has on older adults, but scarcely contextualised older adults' creative engagement. Drawing on the sociology of valuation, this article aims to contextualise late-life creativity by critically exploring how creativity gains, stabilises and loses its value and how these processes are related to perceptions, images and discourses addressing old age. Data from thirteen interviews with older (60+) adults involved in creative practices in Austria is used to explore these topics. Interviews examined perceptions of creative production, everyday routines and personal attitudes towards ageing. Interviews transcripts were analysed using the documentary method (Nohl 2017). The analysis revealed three registers of valuation in late-life creativity: Economic value, in which valuable creativity was given away at a high revenue; field value, where valuable creativity was appreciated by institutions or other artists in the field and life-course value in which doing a creative activity for a long time meant being able to produce a creative product that was high in value. This article emphasises late-life creativity as a process of value production that is structured by the making and evaluating of creative products and adds to the current critique that the narrow view of late-life creativity in its associations with wellbeing present a reductionist picture of the capacities that the arts and creativity have for older adults. The results demonstrate the potential for valuation studies in gerontology as they highlight the circumstances and practices by which the activities of older adults are (de)valued. For policy and practice, this article suggests imagining arts-based interventions for older adults beyond the realm of health and wellbeing and encourages thinking about how valuable artistic experiences can be supported in later life.

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ARTICLE

What's it worth? Value and valuation of late-life creativity

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Abstract

New interest in late-life creativity has arisen in gerontology. To date, such research has mainly focused on the positive impact creativity has on older adults, but has scarcely contextualised older adults' creative engagement. Drawing on the sociology of valuation, this article aims to contextualise late-life creativity by critically exploring how creativity gains, stabilises and loses its value and how these processes are related to perceptions, images and discourses addressing old age. Data from 13 interviews with older (60+) adults involved in creative practices in Austria are used to explore these topics. Interviews examined perceptions of creative production, everyday routines and personal attitudes towards ageing. Interviews transcripts were analysed using the documentary method. The analysis revealed three registers of valuation in late-life creativity: economic value, in which valuable creativity was given away at a high revenue; field value, where valuable creativity was appreciated by institutions or other artists in the field; and lifecourse value, in which doing a creative activity for a long time meant being able to produce a creative product that was high in value. This article emphasises late-life creativity as a process of value production that is structured by the making and evaluating of creative products and adds to the current critique that the narrow view of late-life creativity in its associations with wellbeing present a reductionist picture of the capacities that the arts and creativity have for older adults. The results demonstrate the potential for valuation studies in gerontology as they highlight the circumstances and practices by which the activities of older adults are (de)valued. For policy and practice, this article suggests imagining arts-based interventions for older adults beyond the realm of health and wellbeing, and encourages thinking about how valuable artistic experiences can be supported in later life.

Keywords: creativity; valuation; practice theories; art; culture

Introduction

The meanings and perceptions of age and ageing are changing in late-modern societies. Later life is no longer perceived as a lifestage of social disengagement, but increasingly commodified and constructed around productivity and consumption, changing the individual experience of later life from a risk-based to an

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entrepreneurial one (Shimoni, 2018). Simultaneously, late-life creativity has been revived as a research topic (Amigoni and McMullan, 2015): in a review of studies covering the last 40 years, Fraser *et al.* (2015) found that most studies on the subject were published after 2000.

Sociologists such as Andreas Reckwitz argue that this newfound interest in late-life creativity does not come as a coincidence. He repeatedly asserts (Reckwitz, 2012, 2016, 2017) that in late-modern societies, being creative emerges as one of the central normative expectations towards individuals in all stages of life: the 'creative dispositif' (Reckwitz, 2018), being creative as a ubiquitous norm and expectation (Reckwitz, 2017), has spread to many systems of society and has gained relevance in all lifestages. Late-life creativity, from this perspective, is not just an act of older adults' engagement in society, but a ubiquitous norm and expectation towards older adults in an entrepreneurial culture of later life.

This change in perspective on late-life creativity consequently sheds new light on the value older adults' experience through their creative engagement. While gerontology long understood creativity as a process of individual expression, an individual trait or personal characteristic (Flood and Phillips, 2007), contemporary theories in sociology have conceptualised creativity as a productive process that creates value through innovation (Burns *et al.*, 2015). From this standpoint, creativity usually entails two features: '1) To have novel ideas (originality), 2) which are valuable; or produce objects which are valuable' (Hills and Bird, 2018: 96). Value production through innovation, hence, lies at the heart of the creative process, which becomes a valuable resource in the creative industries (Florida, 2004).

These processes of value production as part of creativity are, however, hardly explored in the context of later life. While gerontological literature has widely explored the positive effect creative engagement has on older adults' lives (for reviews, *see e.g.* Fraser *et al.*, 2015; Rawtaer *et al.*, 2015; Dunphy *et al.*, 2018), research examining how older adults create value through their creative engagement remains scarce. This gap is significantly addressed in this article by suggesting that, first, late-life creativity may be conceptualised as an age-coded process of artistic value production that is, second, based on normative expectations towards older adults in entrepreneurial cultures of later life. To do so, this article critically explores how creativity gains, stabilises and loses its value in in later life.

Drawing on the sociology of valuation (Helgesson and Muniesa, 2013; Doganova *et al.*, 2014), the value of a product (or an activity) is understood not as a stable entity, but as something that is constantly (re)negotiated, evaluated and stabilised in daily lives. From this perspective, this article does not aim to explore the value of late-life creativity *per se*, but rather *processes of valuation*, as it asks through which processes value is established (Heuts and Mol, 2013) and how this value 'is produced, diffused, assessed, and institutionalised across a range of settings' (Lamont, 2012: 201). Valuation, hence, can be defined as the connection between processes of valorising (in which things are produced so that they can be of value) and evaluating (in which things undergo judgements of value). This entails more than the worth of a piece of work on its own, and rather describes 'everyday inquiries about what is desired, cared about or held precious' (Vatin, 2013: 32).

To explore these valuations, this paper first lays out a practice-based theory of late-life creativity. This framework is based on the premise that creativity is not

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just one, but a bundle (Schatzki, 2014) of practices. Practices of valuation and devaluation – of gaining and losing value – are an inherent part of these creativity bundles. Second, qualitative data from 13 case studies with creatively engaged older adults is used to analyse the various ways that creative engagement in later life gains and loses its value and how these processes are affected by artists' age. By applying the documentary method (Nohl, 2017) to interview transcripts, the data analysis reveals that older adults frequently evaluate their creative engagement and that growing older affects these manifold valuations of creative engagement. Creativity can therefore be understood as age-coded (Krekula, 2009), as its value was established and negotiated depending on the interview partner's age.

Theories: late-life creativity and the practices of valuation

To date, research has mostly focused on the positive impacts creative engagement holds for older adults' health and quality of life (*see e.g.* Cutler, 2009; Castora-Binkley *et al.*, 2010; Noice and Noice, 2013; Fraser *et al.*, 2015; Reynolds, 2015; Bernard and Rickett, 2016). Research has repeatedly shown that creative and artistic activities hold potentials for older adults' physical and mental health (Cutler, 2009; Castora-Binkley *et al.*, 2010), social integration (Goulding, 2012; Reynolds, 2015) and the development of positive images of ageing (Sabeti, 2014; Reynolds, 2015; Swinnen, 2018). Literature, however, also shows significant gaps in studies concerning late-life creativity: it is seldom explored outside its relationship with health and wellbeing tw and is likewise rarely studied in its manifold contexts and patterns outside interventions within research projects (Goulding, 2018). Consequently, late-life creativity has experienced scarce theorisation beyond these interventions, and the artistic experiences of older adults have yet to be considered in depth when studying late-life creativity (Fraser *et al.*, 2015).

This lack of focus is partially due to the concepts and theories used when studying late-life creativity. In a literature review, Flood and Phillips (2007) show that a majority of gerontological studies on creativity view artistic production as a problem-solving ability, a process which requires the individual to become open to new ideas and seek original solutions to challenges. These studies often approach creativity as an individual process that includes spontaneity, intentionality and choice (Runco, 2014), often failing to consider the collective and social aspects of creativity. Scholars from the sociology of arts, however, have repeatedly argued that these collective and social processes of presenting, evaluating and selling pieces of work are an important part of creative practice. As Howard Becker (1974) or Pierre Bourdieu (2015, 2016) have argued, creativity entails a collective effort of producing, consuming and evaluating. The artist is only one of many creators behind the artistic product and creativity cannot be understood without taking the means and manners into account through which artistic products are consumed.

In line with Becker (1974), practices of creativity and valuation arguably cannot be understood as separate from each other: selling pictures, presenting a play to a group of ticket holders or giving away knitted socks to family and friends are as much part of the creative process as the creative imagination itself. Through the creative process, creative products, their values and normative expectations of 'good/valuable' and 'bad/invaluable' are constantly produced. Practices of valuation are

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therefore not casual bystanders of creative activity, but an integral part of it. The worth of the creative outcome is not a separate part of creative expression, but shapes and directs the creative process.

To conceptualise these processes of gaining and losing value in late-life creativity, this article draws upon a practice-theoretical framework of late-life creativity. This framework is based on the premise that, first, creativity can be understood as a shared 'spatio-temporal nexus of doings and sayings' (Schatzki, 2014: 18) instead of a human capacity. In that sense, creativity is not an individual attribute or part of a person's character, but something that is continuously done in practice. From this perspective, research on creativity focuses more on the processes of how artefacts, humans or practices become creative instead of conceptualising something as creative (Reckwitz, 2017). Practice-theoretical frameworks have been applied to both creativity (Fox, 2015) and art (Schatzki, 2014; Zembylas, 2014). In both cases, a practice-theoretical framework shifts away from psychological understandings of creativity as a personal competence, and instead asks how creativity is set into practice in everyday lives.

Second, in asking how creativity is produced through practice, a practice-theoretical framework on late-life creativity asks about which actors are involved in this process. Fox (2015) suggests understanding creativity not as an action that is done by one single human actor, but as emergent from 'creative assemblages'. In these assemblages, humans, non-humans and other actors might act together to produce creativity. The practice of singing, for example, is not done through a singer alone: it involves a room in which the singing takes places, sheet music and the motivations behind singing. These aspects can all be understood as parts of the creative practice. Creativity should therefore 'be considered not as a human capacity, but as emergent from assemblages of relations between the human and the non-human (things, ideas, social formations)' (Fox, 2015: 523).

Third, understanding creativity as a shared practice between a variety of actors enables conceptually accounting for more than just the creative expression when studying creativity. Practice-theoretical accounts of the arts – such as Pierre Bourdieu's (1974, 1998) work – have argued that art and creativity do not only consist of producing an artistic artefact, and that other practices are equally involved in this process. Singing properly does not just mean that a singer uses their voice: it might also entail, *e.g.* studying songs, vocal training, reading books about different styles of singing or performing in front of an audience. For the purposes of studying creativity, this might mean that it is not just one practice (*e.g.* the act of singing), but rather a bundle (Schatzki, 2014), an art world (Becker, 1982) or a field (Bourdieu, 2016) of practices linked together.

Fourth, this understanding of creativity as a shared practice also means that the practices of evaluating a creative product are not discrete creative components. Instead, they are inherently part of the creative practice and always done together in fields or bundles (Bourdieu, 1998). In addition to the practice of creative expression (*e.g.* singing), being creative may also involve hearing the singer, acknowledging their talent (or denying it) or performance quality, or identifying and addressing a singer as a creative person. The practices of evaluating a creative outcome, or the 'means of artistic production' (Bourdieu, 1998), are therefore always involved in creative practice: shared understandings of what creativity and art

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are, who is allowed to be creative (and who is not) and which normativities must be followed in order to be creative are consequently always part of how creativity is being done. Processes of valuation are thus not only ubiquitous; they are also central to the hierarchical ordering of practices (Helgesson and Muniesa, 2013) and creative outcomes.

Finally, if these valuations are based on meanings and notions of age and ageing, they can be understood as 'age-coded' (Krekula, 2009). Through this framework, creative practices can be theorised to include certain normativities of old age: singing might be commonly perceived as done better by a young voice, just as a poet might draw on the experience of old age to be considered a legitimate writer. Creativity might therefore include 'age-based practices of distinction' (Krekula, 2009: 15) or age-based practices of valuation. In terms of understanding the (de) valuations of creative practice, this raises the question of how the value of creative activities or creative products changes if creativity occurs in later life.

Methods

This paper draws upon data from 13 qualitative semi-structured interviews, which were conducted in 2017, with creatively engaged older adults (60 years and older) in Austria (*see* Table 1). The final sample consisted of seven older men and six older women who were engaged in different fields, which ranged from more traditional forms of 'highbrow' culture (*e.g.* classical music, orchestra) to 'lowbrow' cultural activities (*e.g.* textile work). The sample also included cases from 'subcultural' fields (*e.g.* body-building, drag).

To reach a heterogeneous sample, researchers distributed an open call to participate in the study through individual contacts and social media that invited regularly creatively engaged older adults to contact the research team. Hence, older adults were sampled based on their self-description as either an artist or regularly creative. After the open call, the interview partners were chosen based on their age (60 years and older) and their field of creative practice to include the highest possible heterogeneity in age as well as field of creative engagement.

The study sample was intentionally kept broad and included both professional and non-professional artists to account for the variation in the boundaries between both artist types in each field of artistic practice and that setting these boundaries reflects manifestations of power structures in artistic fields (Bourdieu, 2016).

Data collection

The interviews were organised using a semi-structured interview guide that covered questions about the creative activity (Please tell me everything that comes to mind when you think about your creative activity); the creative production process (How do you deal with the products of your creative activity?); everyday routines (Please tell me in detail what you do on an ordinary day); and respondents' personal meanings and attitudes towards ageing (Generally speaking, what does it mean to grow older for you?). During the interviews, these four topics were open for discussion. Additional questions were posed to deepen further the interviewees' answers and prolong the interviews. Interviews lasted between 80 and 120 minutes and were

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Table 1. Sample description sorted by date of interview

Age (gender)	Artistic field	Date of interview
73 (male)	Music (orchestra)	21 May 2017
65 (male)	Painting	22 May 2017
84 (male)	Painting	31 May 2017
72 (female)	Dance	6 June 2017
72 (male)	Graphic design, writing	8 June 2017
65 (female)	Acting	12 June 2017
76 (female)	Singing	22 June 2017
64 (male)	Drag	27 June 2017
63 (male)	Acting	11 July 2017
70 (female)	Photography	12 July 2017
62 (female)	Crafting	13 July 2017
83 (female)	Textile work (sewing, knitting)	13 July 2017
60 (male)	Body-building	17 July 2017

transcribed verbatim in German. For the purpose of this paper, quotes were translated into English by three researchers (blind back-translation).

Data analysis: documentary method

The interview transcripts were analysed using the documentary method (Nohl, 2017), which has been frequently applied to analyse mechanisms and structures of social practices. The method aims to analyse the routine and everyday knowledges that are part of everyday practices (Bohnsack, 2014) using two steps. First (formulating analysis), interviews transcripts were coded to establish the central topics of each case. This analytical step identified 13 superordinate themes in the data material (*see* Table 2). The second step focused on the latent meaning (documentary meaning) of each case. Here, the documentary method aims to interpret the more nuanced and hidden forms of how knowledge is expressed in interviews, which frames of reference are used in a field, and which words are used and how. Based on the formulating analysis, parts of text that dealt with similar topics and each case were identified and followed by a comparative, fine-structured analysis in which these parts of the text were discussed with other researchers in four group sessions.

Results

Which practices of valuation, understood as processes of evaluating and valorising, can be found in late-life creativity? How did these correspond to meanings of age and ageing? The analysis revealed three central bundles of valuation practices that were identified in the interviews through coding (*see* Table 2).

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Table 2. Codes used in the formulating interpretation

Superordinate themes	Subordinate themes	Topics
Economic value	Creative product	Selling, giving away creative products, public display of creative products
	Value as appreciation	Quantification, public display as 'wage', acknowledgement, assuring quality of engagement
Field value	Other artists	Quality of 'friends' in the field, appreciation of work through others
	Institutions	Working with renowned institutions, entrance examinations, formal education, working environments
	Younger and older artists	Having more experience, wisdom, being acknowledged as a teacher
Lifecourse value	Artistic lifecourse	Starting and ending point of creative engagement, displaying a linear success story, determinism of creative engagement
	Positioning yourself in the lifecourse	Giving yourself a central or outer position in the lifecourse

The bundles identified in the interviews can be recognised as different registers of valuation. Valuation studies understand registers as different axes that map 'goods and bads' (Heuts and Mol, 2013) – things that are high or low in value. This helps the researcher to refrain from analysing worth (as an item's quality) to analysing valuing as many practices that are oriented towards different registers of worth.

Three registers of valuation were identified in the interviews: economic value, which was based on economic revenue, typified through the selling, giving away or presenting **of** creative products; field value, which was based on appreciation of artistic work by other actors in the field; and lifecourse value, which was based on the lifecourse narratives that artists built around their creative production.

Economic value

The first register, 'economic value', included all themes where interview partners discussed the economic revenue from their creative work and how this revenue was expressed or negotiated. While only some respondents pursued their creative activity professionally, topics surrounding the economic value of their creative products and engagement always played a major role in the interviews. This was the case for retired professional artists (*e.g.* painting), creative older adults who were still employed (*e.g.* drag) or adults who started their creative pursuit in retirement (*e.g.* acting, crafting). The two central subordinate themes in that code were 'the creative product' and 'economic value as appreciation'.

Within the 'creative product' code, interview partners described how their manifold ways of selling, giving away or presenting their creative products in front of an

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audience were an integral part of their creative activity. This was relevant for all participants, regardless of whether they were professionally or non-professionally engaged in their artistic field. Some described how they sold their creative products (*e.g.* through an annual vernissage (painting) or through more informal, small markets in churches or public spaces (crafting)); gave them away as gifts to their children or grandchildren (*e.g.* giving books away as Christmas presents (graphic design)); or presented their work publicly (*e.g.* in shows and performances (drag, acting, dancing)). Hence, the value of creativity was often connected to the creation of a material or immaterial creative product that could be sold, given away or presented to an audience to produce revenue.

What importance did the value of a creative product have in older adults' creative engagement? The subordinate theme 'economic value as appreciation' clarified that a creative product's value was often connected to feeling appreciation for one's creative engagement. One strategy through which appreciation was made apparent was quantifying the creative production: the interview partners often described how many paintings they had at home, how many pages they had written that day or for how many years they had been doing the specific creative activity; these quantifications of creative production were often used to showcase artistic productivity. When asked about his creative process, the graphic designer states: 'I have about 20 folders and in every folder there are – I don't know – approximately 15 or 20 drawings' (graphic designer). A first step to demonstrate the creative process' value, therefore, was to show that the interviewee could produce – and the quantity seemed to be an important part in showcasing this productivity.

These quantified creative products were also objects that could be evaluated – they could be sold and given away, through which their value was assessed. This evaluation process was often referred to by respondents as a kind of 'wage' (acting) or 'appreciation' (crafting) for the creative activity. One interview partner, who is active in a crafting group, explains: 'We craft things, things we want to craft. And when they are ready, during Advent or Easter, we sell them, and the money is then used for some project for the church or when we need something … and that is a kind of appreciation for doing all of this' (crafting). Although the creative activity was not pursued professionally, being able to sell creative products was a vital part of feeling appreciated for the creative work in which the interview partners were engaging.

Economic value, however, was only one part of feeling appreciated. Other interview partners described the value of creative products that were more social, *e.g.* audiences that reacted positively to performances (music, acting). While these presentations were often not valued materially – they were not paid for with money – the interview partners often referred to them as a 'wage' (acting) for their creative work and hence expressed a form of appreciation they felt through public performances and the audience's attention. The (non-professional) actress, for example, explains how publicly performing a play served as a kind of wage after working hard to prepare for it: 'Not that it's such a fantastic feeling, but it's just the wage you get for having worked all year, to have your moment on stage' (acting). The data show – independent of whether the creative activity happened as a professional or non-professional practice – that creative practices were always centred upon the

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purposeful creation of value, which was central in feeling appreciated in one's creative practice.

Field value

The selling, giving away or presenting of a creative product was not the only way through which the value of a creative product was determined in the interviews. In the second code, 'field value', the field in which the activity occurred played a major role in negotiating the value of the interview partners' creative engagement. In this regard, other actors in the field – whether institutions such as opera houses (drag), professional competitions (body-building) or colleagues that evaluated the interview partners' creative work (singing, photography) – strongly determined the value of creative engagement. Drawing on Bourdieu (1984), these processes can be understood as practices of creating symbolic value through consecration, as they refer to struggles between artists, experts and audiences with the authority to produce symbolic value (*see also* Cattani *et al.*, 2014). The findings reveal that the three main actors producing this symbolic value were 'other artists', 'institutions' and 'younger and older artists'.

Analysing the first subordinate theme, 'other artists', showed how the value of a creative product (or a creative activity) was not just estimated based on the financial value of a sold product, but also on the appreciation the interview partners received from other artists in the field. Colleagues and friends were critical in determining the value and quality of the interview partners' creative work: a friend or teacher who acknowledged the interview partners' talents was often the first step towards their involvement in their creative practice. For the photographer, one friend identified that she had 'the eye' (photography) for capturing special moments and objects: 'A friend of mine is very good a taking pictures, and when I showed her a photo that I made – more by accident than intentionally – she said 'Wow! That's beautiful!' … and then she said "Wow, you have *the eye*"' (photography, emphasis added). For her, the valuation of her photographs through a friend was the start of her creative practice, *i.e.* being acknowledged as having a special talent gave her the confidence to pursue her hobby further.

This example also shows that for such acknowledgement through other actors in the field, it was important who those other actors were, and which position they each held in their respective field. In line with Bourdieu (1984), the valuation of artistic activity arguably stems not only from the appreciation from other actors in the field, but also from the (high or low) social positions these other actors have. Their position in the field was 'determined from the encounter between particular agents' dispositions … and their position in a field of positions which is defined by the distribution of a specific form of capital' (Bourdieu, 1984: 311). The photographer provides a vivid example of these different field positions: before she describes her special talent ('the eye'), she emphasises that her friend was not just any friend: it was a friend who was very good a taking pictures and hence had a higher position and higher capital in the respective field. Similarly, the dancer describes how the performer she worked with was not just any kind of dancer – he was 'the' dancer in a performance house: 'Yes, I danced at Bernard Amibél's,

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if you know him. (No.) Bernard Amibél is French. One should know him; he is *the* dancer at the Museumsquartier' (dance).

This appreciation through other actors in the field served as a sign of the creative engagement's value. However, it was not always friends or colleagues who expressed appreciation of the interviewees' creative engagement. The process of establishing the value of one's creative engagement coincides with processes of institutionally framing artistic activity (Pardo-Guerra, 2011). Often, institutions were used to describe the value one's creative engagement had (subcode: 'institutions'). In such cases, the interview partners frequently referred to universities of the arts (painting), opera houses (drag) or museums (painting) they had worked with to show the high value of their creative production.

During the valuation through other actors in the field, the interview partners' age was relevant to their evaluation of their own work (subcode: 'Younger and older artists'). Often, it was younger colleagues who pursued similar creative practices that made the accumulated field knowledges that the interview partners had visible. Due to the long engagement in their field, some interviewees described how their expertise was valued by younger colleagues. The body-builder, for example, describes how his 20-year long engagement gave him relevant field knowledge that had value for younger body-builders: 'Young people ask me "How do you do that? … You have done so much, you're the one who knows how it's done"' (body-building). Having a certain amount of experience in this context served as a surrogate for a high-in-value creative production. The experience older adults had gave a special kind of value to their creative activity. However, the material also showed that the value of late-life creativity was age-coded in manifold ways – in some cases, older adults' experiences gave a distinct value to creativity activity, while in others, old age was seen as a disadvantage, a surrogate for creating a product that was lower in value.

Lifecourse value

The story of the body-builder shows that age played a part in how interviewees' creative practice was valued. Age was insinuated when describing how the interview partners had more knowledge than younger participants in the field (body-building, drag). In other interviews, young age was seen as a competence, while old age was conceptualised as a disadvantage (acting). Regardless of the field of creative engagement, however, all interviews showed that it was a particular creative lifecourse that gave a specific value to creativity that occurred in later life. Here, the 'lifecourse value' code focused mainly on how older adults constructed their creative lifecourse and which values they extracted from their lifecourse narratives. The analysis revealed that building a linear artistic lifecourse gave a specific value to late-life creativity. In short, being creatively engaged for a very long time often also meant producing a creative product that was high in value. This was, however, not achievable for all interviewed artists.

Although not asked specifically about how their engagement with creative practice started, each interview partner opened the interview by explaining – in a lengthy manner – how they 'ended up' (acting) doing what they were doing creatively. The drag artist, for example, answered while being asked about what he was doing creatively: 'I'll need to start all the way back, in the beginning. How I

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ended up doing this is the reality of my entire life' (drag). Often, the interview partners described that at one point in their life – whether during their childhood or later – becoming creative and producing artistic objects was inevitable. While the interview partners' stories varied greatly in the timing of their creative practice – some had always painted or sung ever since they were children or teens (singing, painting), while others took up their creative practice in retirement (orchestra music, acting) or were engaged professionally in their working lives and continued in retirement (painting) – all participants described how their circumstances inevitably led to their creative engagement. The singer, for example, explains: 'I've always shown other children how to play creatively … I wasn't just a wild child, I have also always been creative' (singing).

Building this linear narrative of how their creative practice came into being was one of the most important structures in discussing the value of a creative practice: doing it for a long time and building the whole lifecourse up to pursuing this creative practice assigned value to the interview partners' creative activity. The construction of a linear creative lifecourse, however, was easier for some (*e.g.* those who had always earned a living through their creative practice (painting)) than others (*e.g.* those who had tried several ways of making a living with their creative practice (singing)). 'Well, I (pause) paint pictures, and I have been doing that for a very long time. I have always painted and the way into the arts was more or less determined for me' (painting), the painter said as he opened his interview. Here, the interview partner describes his creative lifecourse succinctly: he has painted his entire life, which is why he is doing it now. Additionally, he expresses the legitimacy of his position – he feels secure in his self-description as a painter: he is not just painting; he has been doing this for a long, long time.

In contrast, other lifecourses were not so easily translated into the display of a linear creative lifecourse. The singer, who has tried to make a living from her music for her entire life, had successful years with her husband and now – after her husband's passing – plays small concerts (with a low entrance fee) in retirement homes and has more trouble finding and displaying this linear creative lifecourse. In the beginning of her interview, she says:

> Where can you start when you are that old? Well, as a child, I was the daughter of a folk violinist and my mother stayed home … we were free children in a very rural area … and I have always been interested in everything green and small and I always made little gardens out of the flowers and so I motivated the other children to play creatively. (Singing)

Her response demonstrates how building up her creative lifecourse is completely different than for the painter. The most obvious difference is that compared to the painter, who was quick to portray a linear success story of his determination to paint, the singer first struggles to find this linear temporal structure. Here, the interviews made clear that certain ways of moving through an artistic lifecourse were perceived to be higher in value than others. Showing a linear success story that inevitably led to creative engagement in the here-and-now also meant that the creative product produced was higher in value.

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Discussion

This article contributes to the growing literature on older adults' creative engagement by shedding light on the valuation practices that are part of late-life creativity. By empirically showing how selling, giving away and publicly presenting creative objects is a vital part of older adults' creative engagement, it emphasises late-life creativity as a process of value production that is structured by the making and evaluating of creative products. The analysis revealed three registers of valuation in late-life creativity – economic value, field value and lifecourse value – all of which exemplify different expectations towards 'good' or valuable creativity in later life.

For *economic value*, 'good' creativity was sold or given away for a high revenue. Even though some participants did not earn money from their creative products, the importance of a 'wage' or 'appreciation instead of wage' exemplified how all of the study participants accepted an economic logic of creativity. This corresponds to the commodification of late-life creativity (Gallistl, 2018) and illustrates how notions of creativity that have been transformed to fit agendas of productivity and economic value (Reckwitz, 2017) have reached later life. Late-life creativity, despite the evidence of the positive effect that creative engagement has on older adults' health, wellbeing and quality of life, therefore, needs to be understood in the context of an entrepreneurial spirit in later life. For the register of *field value*, 'good' creativity was appreciated by either institutions or other artists in the field. Here, the value of late-life creativity was based on institutional framing (Pardo-Guerra, 2011) by, for example, opera houses, theatres or dance studios. The empirical material therefore strengthens the argument that creativity is not an expression of individual agency, but a relational and collective process (Sabeti, 2014; Fox, 2015) that includes older individuals, audiences, institutions and other artists in the field. Studies on late-life creativity, hence, further need to problematise the contexts in which creative production in later life happens: cultural institutions, such as theatres, museums and opera houses, have yet to embrace older adults as active producers of art, rather than (passive) consumers (Gallistl *et al.*, 2019), which might be one reason why participation in cultural activities over the age of 65 is declining in most European countries (Falk and Katz-Gerro, 2016). From this perspective, we need to ask in which institutional frameworks late-life creativity can happen and how symbolic value is produced through these institutional framings of age and ageing. Most importantly, late-life creativity was structured by *lifecourse value*. Here, doing a creative activity for a long time meant being able to produce a creative product that was high in value. This draws attention to diverse notions of time in the construction of value (Heuts and Mol, 2013) and shows how embeddedness in (historical, generational or lifecourse) time attaches a special value to an object.

These three registers of valuation in late-life creativity exemplify the many activities required by the interview partners to produce art that was considered as valuable: successful late-life creativity produced economic revenue, was highly appreciated by other artists and institutions, and occurred continually over the lifecourse. In that sense, the results highlight the social and individual requirements for successful late-life creativity and question how accessible creative engagement is

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depending on social positions held in later life. Therefore, this paper typifies the exclusionary character of late-life creativity (or notions of the entrepreneurial self in later life in general), as it supports authors who have highlighted the difficulties older adults might face towards (valued) self-expression through creativity (Baars, 2012).

This article also adds to the current critique that the narrow view of late-life creativity in its associations with wellbeing presents a reductionist picture of the potentials that the arts, culture and creativity have in older adults' lives (Fraser *et al.*, 2015; Bernard and Rickett, 2016). Applying a critical lens to late-life creativity allows research to see a more exciting and fully rounded picture of older adults' artistic experiences. Critically taking a thorough look at late-life creativity, therefore, enables us to grasp meanings of age and ageing late-modern cultures in which productivity (Gallistl, 2018), value production and innovation lie at the heart of normative expectations towards older adults.

The results also demonstrate the added value of concepts from valuation studies (*see e.g.* Lamont, 2012; Helgesson and Muniesa, 2013; Heuts and Mol, 2013; Doganova *et al.*, 2014) in gerontology. Concepts from valuation studies facilitate asking under which circumstances and through which processes and practices the products, activities or subjectivities of older adults are valued and when and how they are de-valued. Future research should look more closely into the diverse forms in which older adults' activities are valuated and ask how values surrounding older adults' activities are assessed. Dominant approaches in gerontology, which are organised around productivity and active later life, tend to also produce images of unsuccessful, failed, 'frailed' or devalued old age (Grenier *et al.*, 2017), and valuation studies might enable critical gerontological research to ask which processes and practices of valuation are attached to later life, and also allow for a deeper analysis of how (and which) aspects of later life become devalued.

Finally, exploring valuations in late-life creativity is not only fruitful for research; it can also inform the planning and conceptualisation of arts-based interventions for older adults. There are two primary reasons for this. First, it enables imagining arts-based interventions for older adults beyond the realm of quality of life and health, and instead encourages thinking about how a valuable artistic experience can be supported in older adults. The empirical material presented here would suggest moving away from the idea of arts-based interventions and towards artistic co-production with older adults. Second, by taking valuation processes into account, this paper contends that artistic and creative production in later life needs public display and performances in order to be considered high in value. Arts-based interventions for older adults, hence, should more closely consider how older adults' creative productions in these processes can be valued and publicly appreciated.

This study had several limitations, including the small and non-representative sample used and a bias in recruitment. Study participants were recruited through an open call that was, first, not accessible to certain groups of older adults, given that the call was predominantly published online. Readers should therefore keep in mind that the results of this study were based on interview materials with predominantly white and healthy, older artists. Second, sampling for this study was based on older adults' self-perceptions as creative, which included a variety of

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lifestyles from professional artists to adults who pursued creativity as a leisure activity. Further, the results displayed in this article do not permit display of the full heterogeneity of the sample. This especially calls for a critical reflection on the difference between fields (*e.g.* differences in valuation practices in drag and orchestra music), but also the gender of interview partners. Likewise, this study was situated in Austria's specific cultural context, which influences perceptions of what art and artists are and how the value of artistic work is established. While this means that results can be applied with care to most western European countries, which have a similarly structured cultural sector (Mandel, 2015), the case might be different in American or non-Western contexts in which the cultural field is traditionally structured differently.

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Conflict of interest. The author declares no conflicts of interest.

Ethical standards. The appropriate steps have been taken. All research participants declared informed consent to participate in this study.

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8.3. Paper 3: Cultural Exclusion in Old Age – A Social Exclusion Perspective on Cultural Practice in Later Life

8.3.1. Abstract

Cultural exclusion in old age is conceptually under-developed and empirically under-explored. This results in a lack of knowledge concerning the mechanisms through which cultural exclusion is produced and the policy instruments that support cultural inclusion in later life. This article explores how cultural practice changes in old age and how these changes associate with old-age social exclusion. Cultural participation comprises a) going-out, b) home-bound and c) identity-culture. These domains are explored with survey data (n=1,000) of Austrians aged 60 years and older.

Results suggest shifting cultural practice later in life, from public to private spaces, and three clusters of cultural participants (Omnivore, Univore-Television (TV), Univore-Entertainment), which differ in their cultural practice, social status, and taste preferences. Univores-TV are typically involved in home-bound cultural practices, most likely to be socially excluded, and show the highest appreciation of folk art. Disengagement from public cultural spaces is, hence, more prevalent among socially marginalised groups with folk tastes.

Gerontology needs to problematise older adults' exclusion from cultural practice as a matter of spatial and taste marginalisation. In order to build more age-inclusive cultures across Europe, policy should address the diversity of older adults' cultural participation and provide support in bringing marginalised practices to public spaces

8.3.2. Publication Status and Authorship

The paper has been accepted for publication in "Social Exclusion in Europe" (Edited by Kieran Walsh, Thomas Scharf, Anna Wanka and Sofie van Regenmortel, Springer). Vera Gallistl is the sole author of this paper.

8.3.3. Main Text

Cultural Exclusion in Old Age—A Social-Exclusion Perspective on Cultural Practice in Later Life

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Running head

Cultural Exclusion in Old Age

Word Count

5066 words

Main Text

Introduction

Expanding the cultural participation of socially marginalised groups is a major concern of cultural policies around the world (Morrone, 2006). However, cultural exclusion in old age is conceptually under-developed and empirically under-explored. Even though cultural activity in later life has received attention in gerontology since the 1980s (Fisher and Specht 2000) and has been revived as a research topic in the last ten years (Bernard and Rickett 2016), it is hardly analysed outside of therapeutic interventions (Fraser et al. 2015) and even less so as an aspect of exclusion in later life. Despite the positive impacts of cultural participation, for example, participatory arts (Tymoszuk et al. 2019), writing (Sabeti 2014), music (Perkins and Williamon 2014), singing (Coulton et al. 2015), and visiting museums (Thomson et al. 2018) having been extensively analysed, its barriers in access as well as the impacts of exclusion on cultural participation are scarcely evident in gerontological research. This results in a lack of knowledge concerning the mechanisms through which cultural exclusion is produced and which policy instruments support the cultural inclusion of older adults.

This article explores exclusion from cultural participation in later life, as an example of civic exclusion, by taking three steps: first, a theoretical framework of cultural exclusion in later life is developed, which draws on social-gerontological theories of social exclusion as well as a sociology of the arts and culture; second, the phenomenon of cultural exclusion is explored with representative survey data on cultural activity of the older Austrian population (60 years and over); third, results are discussed in light of the proposed concept of old-age cultural exclusion.

An Exclusion Perspective on Cultural Practice in Old Age

Culture has been a well-studied topic in gerontology, however, from very different perspectives. Intervention studies have shown that involving older adults in creative activities has significant positive outcomes for wellbeing, health, and self-image (for reviews, see Fraser et al. 2015; Bernard and Rickett 2016). Studies with representative survey data have highlighted that even though adults aged 65 years and over attend more cultural events compared to the general population (Toepoel 2011) and 45–54-year-olds are the most culturally active group (van Eijck 2005), participation declines in most European countries after the age of 65 years. This indicates an inverted U-shaped relationship between age and cultural participation (Falk and Katz-Gerro 2015). By contrast, research in cultural

gerontology (see, e.g. Twigg & Martin, 2015) has highlighted the role of culture in the construction of age and ageing in late-modern societies. This variety of approaches directs our attention to the heterogeneity of understandings of culture in gerontological research and the often-complicated relationship between cultural practice and social exclusion.

For the sake of this article, we can identify two notions of culture in gerontology. First, culture can be understood as the ubiquitous symbolic nature of human existence (Reckwitz 2008/2010), making culture an inherent part of our everyday lives. From this perspective, we can argue that all people are involved in culture in their everyday lives and might understand practices of consumption (for example, ways of dressing, travelling or eating), practices of everyday life (for example, ways of reading or arranging our furniture) or shared values and beliefs (for example ways of framing age and ageing) as a part of *cultural practice* in a society. Culture is an inherent part of our society, which "can be seen as discursively constituted as a web of signs, so that the central focus of analysis becomes the interpretation and deconstruction of these" (Twigg & Martin 2015, p. 353).

Second, culture can be understood as a field of social differentiation within a society, dedicated to the production of aesthetic knowledge through arts and cultural institutions (Reckwitz 2008/2010) in which some social groups participate, and others do not. *Cultural participation*, hence, describes taking part in specific activities related to arts institutions. This understanding allows us to question hierarchies in cultural practice (Bourdieu 1979/2013): While going to renowned theatres might be highly valued as a cultural activity, watching rock-concerts on TV might be valued differently. Participation in specific, "highbrow" forms of culture is therefore involved in the depiction of high social status and we can differentiate between "highbrow" (legitimate) and "lowbrow" (less legitimate) forms of culture.

How do these approaches inform understandings of old-age cultural exclusion? Drawing on conceptual frameworks of social exclusion in old age (Walsh et al. 2017), this article puts forward the notion of cultural exclusion in later life to describe the separation of older individuals and groups from highly appreciated forms of culture in a society. This definition encompasses two aspects: First, it emphasizes the manifold ways in which older individuals might experience barriers and challenges in accessing "highbrow" forms of culture, through e.g. physical and emotional distance or declining mobility in later life, decreasing their chances of *cultural participation* as a result. Second, it acknowledges the ubiquitous nature of *cultural practice* and asks through which processes certain forms of cultural practice are appreciated and addressed as forms of cultural participation, while others are not.

To develop a concept of cultural exclusion in later life, we must, hence, not only ask which age groups participate in culture and which ones do not, we must also ask how our understandings of culture are influenced by social power structures. Studies on arts participation in later life often find that the majority of older adults report no arts participation (Tymoszuk et al. 2019), which reflects not only decreasing participation by older adults, but also the limits of measurements used. Problematic in these understandings of cultural participation is that they are often not sensitive to changes and vulnerabilities over the life course - especially in old age, cultural participation is not always an active behaviour (Morrone 2006), and might include consuming media, listening to music, or inventing stories while talking to friends and family, which are often not covered in traditional surveys. It might also include the consumption of easier and more accessible "lowbrow" cultural activities than in other life stages. Studies on late-life cultural participation, hence, are often somewhat at risk of reproducing an oversimplified image of older adults as frail, inactive, and excluded through the idea that cultural activity is only possible through health, activity, and independence. What comes to count as participation in later life requires acknowledging cultural practice that happens at home, or in less visible ways. Conceptualising cultural exclusion, hence, means to draw a comprehensive picture of the maybe less obvious ways in which older adults participate culturally.

One more nuanced framework to understand the dimensions of cultural participation was introduced by Morrone (2006), who defines cultural participation as a threefold construct. It comprises, first, cultural activities that happen outside of the home *("culture de sortie"*— "going-out culture"). This dimension includes activities that are usually understood and measured as cultural practice, for example going to theatres, museums, and galleries. Second, Morrone (2006) understands cultural activities that happen at home as part of cultural participation *("culture d'appartement" —" home-bound culture")*, such as media consumption, reading, or listening to music. Third, he acknowledges amateur creative activities as a part of cultural participation; as part of an "identity culture" ("*culture identitaire*").

Further, an understanding of cultural exclusion in later life needs to take the differentiation between "highbrow" and "lowbrow" forms of culture into account and ask in which forms of culture older adults participate in. Although often contested, the notion of "highbrow" culture has signified the aesthetic refinement of the well-educated since the beginning of the 19th century (Hanquinet and Savage 2015), while the term "lowbrow" taste was used to describe the culture of the socio-economic less well off, for example through their preference for folklore music, art, and dance. From that perspective, high social socio-economic status was

connected to the appreciation of "highbrow" forms of culture, while lower socio-economic status led to "lowbrow" cultural activity and taste (Bourdieu 1979/2013).

This dichotomy has, however, been significantly contested in the last 20 years, especially through the concept of the *omnivore*, which offers a more nuanced understanding of social inequalities in cultural consumption and taste (Sullivan and Katz-Gerro 2006). Introduced by Peterson and colleagues in the 1990s, it follows the hypothesis that "[c]ontemporary elites no longer use highbrow taste to demonstrate their cultural distinction, but are better characterized as inclusive 'omnivores', happy to consume both high and low culture." (Peterson and Kern 1996). Groups higher in social status can thus be characterised by a broad interest in cultural goods from all levels (Radošinská 2018). This might include both patterns of cultural voraciousness (meaning that consumers have a large appetite for all forms of cultural consumption) and taste eclecticism (meaning that they intentionally cut across boundaries between highbrow and lowbrow culture as a means of distinction) (Chan and Goldthorpe 2007). Studies on hipsters (Busman 2019) and modern cosmopolitanism (Cicchelli and Octobre 2018) show that the concept of the omnivore can be applied in different contexts to explain dominant forms of cultural participation.

Applied to the study of old age, two different hypotheses might apply. First, considering the strong influence of activity theory (Havighurst 1961) in gerontology, it might be that it is the general level of activity that is of special value in later life, rather than a specific taste orientation. This leads to the hypothesis that older adults with high status tend towards cultural omnivorousness, interested in consuming any kind of culture that demonstrates activity. On the other hand, Peterson (1992) suggests that in a generational shift in cultural practice, dominant taste might become more subcultural as an effect of the ageing of new social groups (for example baby boomers or ageing hippies). This leads to the hypothesis that subcultures and narrow cultural tastes (especially those oriented towards pop and rock 'n' roll taste) are highest in status in old age.

Applying Morrone's (2006) framework and combining it with Schulze's patterns of taste (2014), the present study examines patterns of cultural participation of older adults and their relationship with socio-economic status by answering the two following sets of research questions:

First, what types of cultural participation can be observed among older adults and how does cultural participation change in later life? Second, what is the association between different forms of cultural participation in later life (high-brow and low-brow) and socioeconomic

status? Third, to what extent is high socio-economic status in later life related to cultural omnivorousness?

Materials and Methods

Data Collection and Sample

This study was conducted within the context of "Cultures of Ageing" project, a three-year project that addresses the diverse sites of older adults' cultural participation. This paper is based on a representative survey of older adults in Austria aged 60 years and over. Data was collected via CATI (Computer-assisted telephone interview), to reach a random sample of 1531 community dwelling older adults older adults. Participants ranged from 60 to 98 years, with a mean of 71.9 years (SD=8.3). Females account for around half of the sample (55.3 per cent), and 29 per cent finished only primary and 8.6 per cent completed tertiary education. The majority of the sample (89.8 per cent) were unemployed, unable to work, or retired and 10.8 per cent were employed or self-employed. Data was weighted to ensure representation of the average older population in Austria. Data collection was conducted exclusively in German.

Measurement

The investigation was based on a specific part of the data that explored participants' cultural participation. Participants were asked about a total of 24 activities and asked how frequently they had engaged in these activities in the 12 months (for all activities included see Table 1). The analysis also included variables concerning the respondents' sociodemographic background (e.g. sex, education, place of residence, subjective health, size of household, age, income). Low socio-economic status was measured as having low education, social class and income as three most commonly used measures of social stratification in later life (Grundy & Holt 2001). Analysis also included a short version of Schulze's (2014) scheme of aesthetic preferences, to measure taste preferences in three schemes: 1) High culture scheme (highbrow taste), 2) Trivial scheme (folk taste), 3) Excitement scheme (pop taste).

Data Analysis

Data was analysed using SPSS V. 24 software. The first step involved a factor analysis of the data describing the frequency of participating in different cultural activities using principal components extraction and varimax rotation with Kaiser Normalisation. The accepted factors had an eigenvalue of at least 1.0 and reported factor loadings were at least 0.4. Factor labels

resulted from the authors' interpretation of common characteristics of the activities in each factor. The identified factors were then subjected to a two-step cluster analysis, classifying groups of older adults with similar cultural activity patterns as clusters. The identified clusters were named by the author based on the interpretation of each clusters' involvement in cultural activities. The next step involved analysing differences in these lifestyles according to socio-economic background and taste using cross-tabulations and chi-square tests as well as one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) and Bonferroni post hoc tests. Unless otherwise stated, all reported findings were significant at or above the 0.05 level.

Results

The Structure of Cultural Participation in Later Life

Factor analysis on the frequency of participation in 24 cultural activities revealed eight activity factors (Table 1): three in the *culture de sortie* (going-out culture) and five for activities in the *culture d'appartement* (home-bound culture). For *culture identitaire* (identity culture), an index was constructed based on the variables in the dataset.

Factor analysis for the *culture de sortie* activities revealed the importance of space as well as taste as a part of going-out culture. First, the *highbrow culture* factor included all cultural activities that usually require leaving the neighbourhood or community and are usually seen as highbrow cultural activity, such as visiting the theatre, museums, galleries, exhibitions, or historical sites. Second, the *local culture* factor included all cultural activities that can usually be done close to the home. It included activities connected to a local or community culture, like going to the church, visiting local events, or inviting more than ten persons for a meal. Third *entertainment culture* included all variables that were connected to a lighter cultural experience, such as going to the cinema or visiting sports events.

Factor analysis for the *culture d'appartement* showed that some cultural activities engaged in at home were oriented towards the medium, while others were oriented towards the aim of the activities. The largest factor, *reading and music,* involved all variables that were connected to consuming media in either a visual or auditory form. Most importantly, this factor included reading books, listening to music, or reading newspapers and magazines. The second-largest factor, *radio,* included both variables that described consumption of the radio as a cultural format (radio shows and radio music). The third-largest factor, *relaxation,* included cultural activities at home that were oriented towards self-reflection as well as relaxation (gardening and praying/meditating). Finally, *television* (TV) and *games* factors were clearly associated

with specific activities, watching TV (TV), and playing chess, crosswords, Sudoku, or other games (games).

(((INSERT TABLE 1 HERE)))

Analysing the age patterns for different activity factors reveals that while there are some groups of activities in which participation declines with age, this is not the case for all observed factors. Three factors (*highbrow culture, entertainment culture, reading, and music)* show clear patterns of decreased participation in higher age groups (changes larger than 0.5). Four factors (*creative activities, local culture, TV,* and *games)* point to continuity between age groups (changes smaller or equal to 0.5). Two activity factors (*radio, relaxation)* even increase with age (changes smaller than 0.0 and negative values). This points to patterns of age-related change in cultural activities rather than a simple decrease (Figure 1).

(((INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE)))

Clusters of Cultural Participation

Cluster analysis of the eight factors of cultural activities produced an optimal three-cluster solution for Austria's older population (Table 2). The identified clusters showed significant differences in their cultural activities as well as taste orientation and general appreciation of culture and the arts.

The first cluster, which accounted for about one-fifth of the total sample (19.9%) was named '*Omnivores*', based on the cluster's tendency to consume a wide variety of cultural products—from highbrow cultural activities (for example museums, theatre) to lowbrow cultural activities (for example religious services, sports, games). Involvement in creative activities, highbrow, and local cultural activities, as well as listening to the radio, meditating, and gardening were most prevalent in this group. This group also displayed a high overall tendency towards highbrow taste. In line with this, this cluster of respondents was also most likely to state that the culture and the arts were very important to them.

The second and largest cluster (53.7%) was labelled '*Univore–TV*', as this cluster showed a strong selectivity in its cultural consumption, and strongly characterised by a high level of

watching TV. Furthermore, this cluster was also characterised by a specific taste orientation: Analyses of Schulze's aesthetic schemes showed that this cluster was most likely to be oriented towards trivial and folk taste, which emphasises a high appreciation of folk music and films with a regional background and love stories. Likewise, this cluster also showed the lowest subjective appreciation of highbrow culture and the arts in general.

The third cluster (26.3%) was labelled *'Univore–Entertainment'*. Like *Univore–TV*, this cluster was characterised by involvement in specific cultural activities. In this case, however, selectivity was associated with going to the cinema and sports events (*entertainment culture),* as well as reading books, or listening to music through traditional media or a computer (*reading and music).* Hence, this cluster was also characterised by a preference for going-out culture, which again was connected to a specific taste orientation. This cluster was most likely to react positively to the excitement scheme (pop taste).

(((INSERT TABLE 2 HERE)))

The three clusters showed significant ($p<0.01$) differences according to age. *Univores-TV* showed to be the oldest of the three clusters. For men and women, older participants were more likely to belong to the '*Univore–TV*' cluster, with 86 per cent of the male and 92 per cent of the female population belonging to that cluster. On the other hand, analysis revealed that the '*Univore-Entertainment'* cluster was the youngest clusters for both men and women (FIGURE 2).

((INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE)))

Socioeconomic Differentiation in Cultural Practice

Nine socio-economic variables were associated significantly with clusters of cultural participation (Table 3). Generally, the *Omnivores* had a socio-economic status that was average to the sample, with deviations towards a high socio-economic status (*Univore–Entertainment*) and lower socio-economic status (*Univore–TV*) in both directions.

Univores-TV showed a higher tendency to be female (61.2%), have low levels of education (with 42.1 per cent only having compulsory education), and to live in rural areas with less

than 5,000 inhabitants (46%). As they were the oldest cluster (73.2 years on average), they also showed a tendency towards poor subjective health (with 61.7% feeling that their health is average, bad, or very bad), being retired (85.5%), or unable to work (10.6%). In line with their lower level of education, they also showed the lowest average household income of €1,350 per month. This was reflected the pattern that they were both more likely to have never been employed (10%) or to hold elementary occupations (11.3%). This cluster was also most likely to live alone (39.3%).

In contrast, *Univores-Entertainment* were more likely to be male (60.2%), higher educated (23.6% academics), and live in rural areas with more than 10,000 inhabitants (43.8%). Corresponding to their high levels of education, they showed the highest mean household income (an average of € 1,833 per month) and had the highest probability of being either managers or professionals (26.3%) or technicians and associated professionals (13.7%). Given that they were the youngest cluster (66.9 years on average), they were also the cluster with the highest ongoing labour market participation (25.3% being employed or self-employed), and the best health (77.8% reported good or very good health).

Given that the first two clusters showed either a tendency towards a higher or lower socio-economic status in general, the *Omnivores* tended toward the sample average for most variables (income, education). This cluster was characterised by their higher probability of living in areas with 5,000—10,000 inhabitants (34.1%) and living in a household with more than one person (79.1%). They also showed a higher tendency to be support workers (73.6%).

(((INSERT TABLE 3 HERE)))

Discussion

The central contribution of this study is to put forward the notion of cultural exclusion in later life and to explore this concept based on representative survey data. Drawing on conceptual frameworks of social exclusion in old age (Walsh et al. 2017), this article puts forward the notion of cultural exclusion in later life to describe the separation of older individuals and groups from highly appreciated forms of culture in a society. This framework has been explored with empirical data along three research questions: First, what types of cultural participation can be observed among older adults and how does cultural participation change

in later life? Second, what is the association between different forms of cultural participation in later life (high-brow and low-brow) and socioeconomic status? Third, to what extent is high socio-economic status in later life related to cultural omnivorousness?

First, data shows that that cultural participation shifts, rather than declines, in later life, as this study identified patterns of decline in participation for some cultural activities, however, not for all. This was especially true for activities that are most favourably appreciated for their high artistic quality (for example highbrow cultural activities, but also cinema to some extent). Participation in highbrow as well as entertainment culture was clearly lower in higher age groups. Further, data showed that the older study participants were more likely to participate in cultural activities that occur predominantly in or close to their own home. As many other studies in gerontology have shown, this emphasises later life as a phase where disengagement from public space (Wanka 2017) and more of a focus on private spaces can be more prevalent, and highlights how spaces operate as opportunity structures for cultural participation (Brook 2016). The data therefore shows that cultural participation in later life does not only shift from more "high-brow" to more "low-brow" cultural activities, it also shifts from public to private spaces.

Second, this study suggests that lower rates of participation in cultural activities in later life might not (only) be a function of declining health, but also a function of marginalisation of specific taste orientations. While those groups with high culture taste were more likely to be culturally engaged, it was those with trivial (folk) taste that showed the lowest participation. These findings situate the changes in late-life cultural practice not only within the context of health and mobility, but also in the context of taste. Future research might critically explore how far the taste orientation of older adults is represented in the art world and the sort of consequences this representation has for their participation. Future research might also unpack the extent to which the classification of certain forms of culture as "high culture" is *per se* exclusionist (Crowther 2003) and marginalises the taste orientations of specific age groups.

Third, regarding the omnivore thesis and socio-economic status, this study suggests that the older omnivores are characterised by their participation in different kinds of (highbrow and lowbrow) cultural activities; however, this group was socio-economically within the average population of the sample. By contrast, the *Univores-TV* showed the lowest and the *Univores-Entertainment* showed the highest socio-economic status. The results therefore show how dominant forms of cultural participation in later life do not follow the patterns of the omnivores. Rather, the highest social groups showed preferences usually associated with

young audiences (for example, sci-fi, pop- and rock'n'roll taste). Dominant cultural participation and taste in later life, therefore, might not be omnivorous, but—in times of a consumeristic third age and anti-ageing cultures (Gilleard & Higgs, 2000) — "young".

Further, this study argues that cultural policies need to take diverse groups of older adults into account when supporting the inclusion of socially marginalised older people in arts and culture. In order to build more age-inclusive cultures across Europe, policy should address the diversity of older adults' cultural participation and provide support in bringing marginalised practices into public spaces. Enabling cultural participation in inclusive societies (UNESCO 2006 (see Morrone 2006)) means to understand older adults as a heterogeneous arts and culture target group. Results suggest that both questions of accessibility (for example, building accessible cultural institutions), as well as symbolic representation in the program (for example, targeting not only towards "highbrow", but also "folk" tastes) might support cultural inclusion of older adults.

Finally, this paper identifies cultural practice in later life as an important area of study for critical gerontology. Future research in gerontology needs to problematise older adults' exclusion from cultural practice as a matter of spatial and taste marginalisation. Participation in culture and the arts are not merely a topic to be watched from the side-lines but is a field of study that shows which social groups are both structurally and symbolically marginalised in late-modern societies. It also shows that as the study of ageing becomes increasingly interested in culture (Twigg and Martin 2015), social inequalities might not only be a matter of access and barriers, but of cultural and symbolic representation in the cultural field.

The study had several limitations, including the cross-sectional nature of the data, which does not allow for analysing causalities, and the lack of data concerning support structures needed to enable higher rates of cultural participation. Most importantly, this means that the analysis presented here can only highlight associations. Moreover, the data presented in this study did not differentiate between various forms of cultural consumption (for example, reading Goethe or a sci-fi novel) as well as the social embeddedness of cultural activities (for example, going to the theatre alone or in groups) and did not assess the extent to which people felt excluded from cultural participation or the degree to which exclusionary mechanisms actually drove different rates of participation - outside of social stratification variables. Finally, this study was limited to the context of Austria. While this means that results may be relevant to western European countries, which have a similarly structured cultural sector, the case might be different in non-European contexts.

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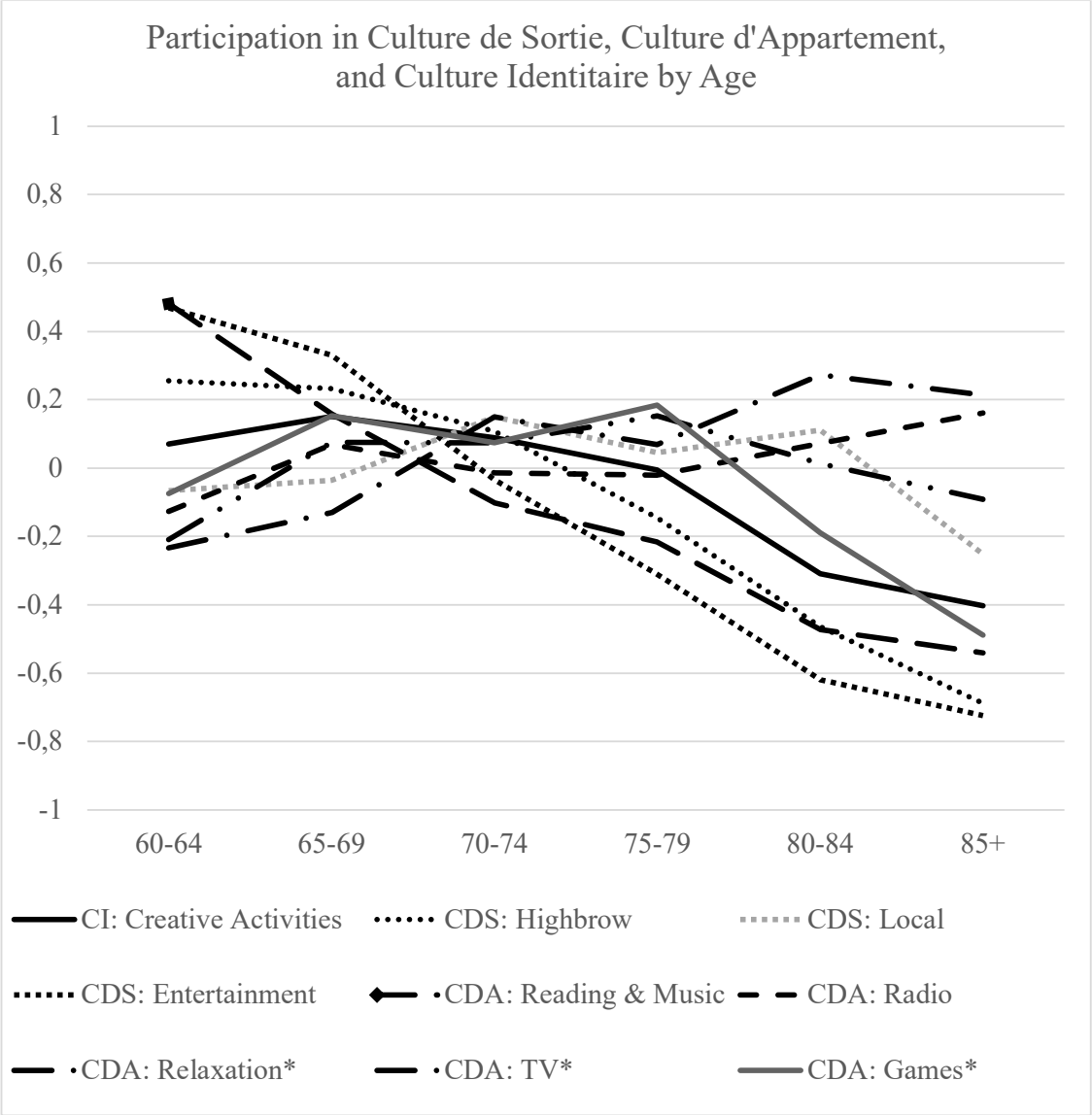
Table 1. Factors and factor loadings for exploratory factor analysis of three dimensions of cultural activities

Dimension (KMO)	Factor (Eigenvalue)	Activities included in the factor	Factor loading	Variance explained
Culture d'Appartement (0.578)	Reading and music (2.063)	Listening to music	0.623	17.194
		Reading books	0.823	
		Reading newspapers and magazines	0.556	
		Using a computer	0.427	
	Radio (1.737)	Listing to radio shows	0.819	14.475
		Listening to radio (music)	0.798	
	Relaxation (1.410)	Gardening	0.611	11.750
		Praying and meditating	0.741	
	TV (1.082)	Watching TV	0.856	9.013
	Games (1.009)	Playing chess or other games	0.903	8.405
		Doing crosswords or Sudoku	0.451	
Culture de Sortie (0.816)	Highbrow Culture (3.751)	Concerts	0.735	31.256
		Theatre, ballet, opera	0.799	
		Dance performances, musicals	0.622	
		Comedy shows	0.557	
		Museum, galleries, Exhibitions	0.802	
		Historical sights	0.702	
		Public libraries	0.552	
	Local Culture (1.643)	Local events	0.809	13.694
		Services, church	0.530	
		Eating at home with 10+ people	0.641	
		Cinema	0.705	11.171

Entertainment Culture (1.341)	Sport events	0.643

Note. Data was weighted. N=1.518. Pairwise case deletion. Principal component extraction and varimax rotation with Kaiser normalisation. Factors included based on an eigenvalue of at least 1. Only loadings of at least 0.4 are presented. The five factors explained 61 % of variance (culture d'appartement) and 57% of variance (culture de sortie). Creative activities (Writing, making music, crafting, creative cooking, creative sports, painting and drawing, acting, taking photos or movies, dancing) were measured as binary variables and therefore summed for index construction.

Figure 1. Factors of Cultural Participation by Age of Respondents



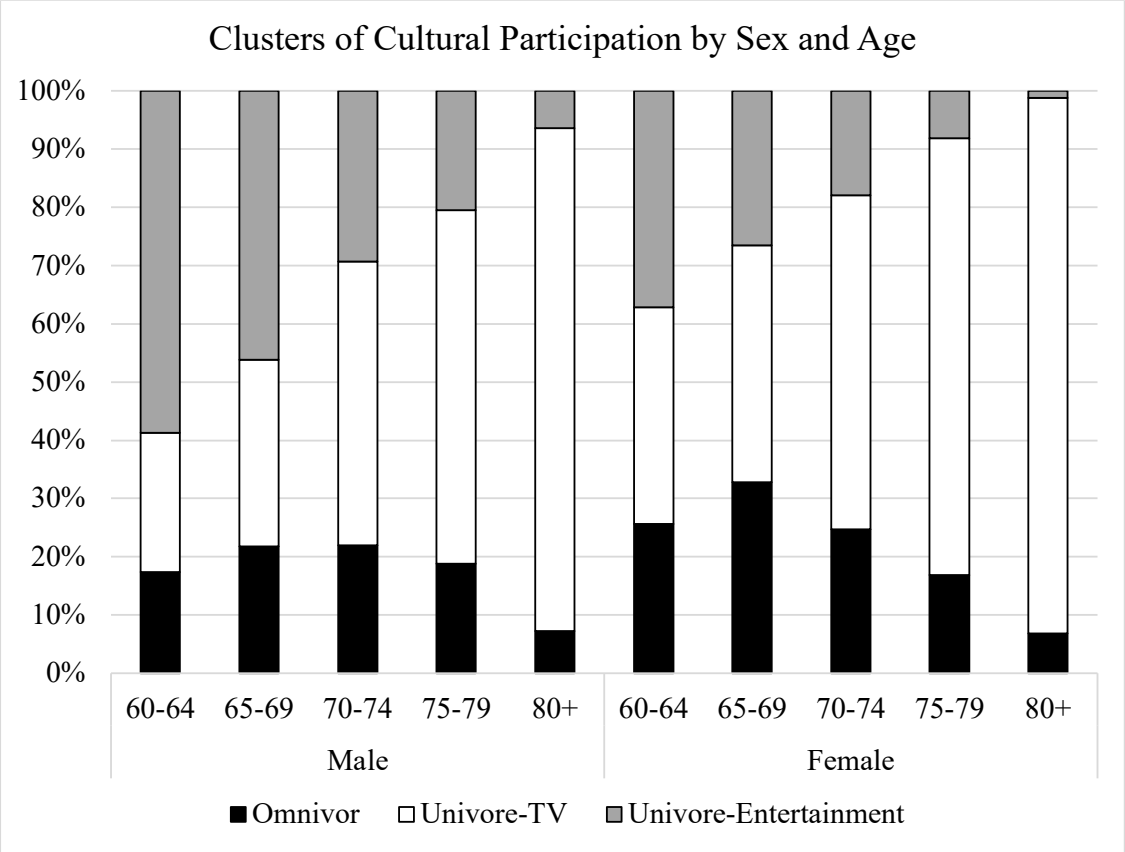
Note. Data were weighted. N = 1518. Significance was tested using one-way ANOVA with Bonferroni post hoc tests. Standardised means (z-score). Significance tested with one-way ANOVA with Bonferroni post-hoc test. All associations significant ($p<0.05$).

Table 2. Clusters of Cultural Participation

Variable	Omnivore	Univore - TV	Univore - Entertainment
Participation factor[1]			
CI: Creative Activities	1.23	-0.38	-0.15
CDS: Highbrow	0.86	-0.57	0.50
CDS: Local	0.97	-0.12	-0.49
CDS: Entertainment	0.42	-0.49	0.68
CDA: Reading & Music	-0.02	-0.39	0.80
CDA: Radio	0.49	0.01	-0.38
CDA: Relaxation	0.78	0.10	-0.80
CDA: TV	-0.06	0.16	-0.29
CDA: Games	0.60	-0.05	-0.35
Cultural Scheme (taste)[3]			
High culture (highbrow)	0.41	-0.23	0.15
Trivial (folk)	0.10	0.28	-0.65
Excitement (pop)	0.08	-0.26	0.48
Appreciation of culture and the arts[2]	81.8	45.4	69.5
Weighted N	302	815	399
Percentage of sample	19.9	53.7	26.3

Note. Data were weighted. Weighted N = 1518. Significance was tested using one-way ANOVA with Bonferroni post-hoc tests. [2]How important are the arts and culture to you? Summed percentage for 'very important' and 'rather important' [3]Standardised means (z-score).

Figure 2. Clusters of Cultural Participation by Sex and Age



Note. Data were weighted. N = 1518. Significance was tested using chi-square statistics. All associations significant ($p<0.05$).

Table 3. Background Characteristics of Participation Clusters

Variable	Omnivore	Univore - TV	Univore - Entertainment
Sex			
Female	59.9	61.2	39.8
Male	40.1	38.8	60.2
Education			
Compulsory education (Primary)	23.8	42.1	6.3
Lower than academic (Secondary)	68.0	56.6	70.2
Academic (Tertiary)	8.3	1.3	23.6
Place of residence (No. of Inhabitants)			
< 5.000	45.7	46.0	28.7
5.000 – 10.000	34.1	32.8	27.5
> 10.000	20.2	21.2	43.8
Health			
(Very) Good	69.2	38.3	77.8
Average, (Very) Bad	30.8	61.7	22.3
Size of Household			
1 Person	20.9	39.3	24.5
> 1 Person	79.1	60.7	75.5
Work status			
Retired	85.4	85.5	73.2
Employed or self-employed	10.3	3.9	25.3
Other[3]	4.3	10.6	1.5
ISCO[4]			
Managers and Professionals	12.2	3.0	26.3
Technicians and Associate Professionals	8.3	4.7	13.7
Support Workers	73.6	71.0	58.7
Elementary Occupations	2.3	11.3	0.5

Never Employed	3.6	10.0	0.8
Age (mean)	69.2	75.3	66.9
	[68.5, 69.9]	[74.7, 75.9]	[66.4, 67.5]
Income (median)	1750	1350	1833

Note. Data represent % of the sample and were weighted. N = 1518. Chi-squared statistics were significant ($p<0.05$) for all attribute category cross-tabulations. Income and age were tested using one-way ANOVA and were significant ($p<0.01$). (a) (b) (c) (d) mark significant ($p<0.05$) differences between groups according to Bonferroni post-hoc tests.[3] Unemployed, disabled, working in household, other [4] ISCO-08 in correspondence with ISCED-97, armed forces occupations excluded due to low case numbers.

8.4. Paper 4: Orchestrating Ageing – A Field Approach towards Cultural Disengagement in Later Life

8.4.1. Abstract

Background and Objectives: Despite gerontology's growing interest in cultural aspects of later life, relatively little attention has been given to older adults' participation in theatre and drama. This paper addresses this gap by developing Pierre Bourdieu's (1996) field theory as an analytical tool to conceptualize processes of disengagement from theatre in later life.
Research Design and Methods: The usefulness of this tool is explored with data from a participatory (von Unger, 2014) project. Ten older individuals (65+ years) were invited to investigate their access to three different theatre spaces in Vienna, Austria. The investigation was documented through participatory observations, qualitative interviews and photo diaries of the participants.
Results: Applying field theory to qualitative data renders visible three specific sets of rules that are relevant in the illusio of the theatre: 1) Rules about the aging body, 2) Rules about mobility, and 3) Rules about (older and younger) subjectivities.
Discussion and Implications: Applying field theory to theater in later life shows how the illusio of the theatre field is age-coded, which means that many of the rules visitors in theatres have to follow to be able to participate in theatre are not easily followed by older adults. Finally, this article outlines the potential of field theory in gerontological research and makes a case for the incorporation of gerontological knowledge in cultural policy.

8.4.2. Publication Status and Authorship

The paper is currently under review with The Gerontologist. Vera Gallistl and Viktoria Parisot are the authors of this paper.

8.4.3. Main Text

Introduction

Despite gerontology's growing interest in the cultural aspects of later life, relatively little attention has been given to theatre and drama (Amigoni & Mc Mullan 2018; Bernard & Rickett, 2016) and cultural participation in Gerontology has hardly been explored outside of interventions (Fraser et al., 2015; Goulding, 2018). While the positive impact of arts participation on older adults, e.g., in participatory arts (Noice & Noice, 2013), writing (Sabeti, 2014; Swinnen, 2016), music (Perkins & Williamon, 2014), singing (Coulton, Clift, Skingley & Rodriguez, 2015), visiting museums (Thomson & Chatterjee 2016; Thomson, Lockyer, Camic & Chatterjee, 2018), or - more generally - arts participation (Reynolds, 2015; Tymoszuk, Perkins, Spiro, Williamon & Fancourt, 2019) have been extensively analyzed, the barriers older adults face in access to arts and culture are scarcely a topic of gerontological research. The arts and culture have hardly been explored beyond gerontology's "prism of health and wellbeing" (Twigg & Martin, 2015, p. 9; Goulding, 2018) which limits gerontology's knowledge on the barriers older adults face in their access to culture.

This is somewhat surprising since studies with representative samples have repeatedly shown that later life is often accompanied with declining – if not diminishing – cultural participation. Even though adults 65+ participate more in certain types of culture compared to the general population (Toepoel, 2011) and 45–54-year-olds are the most culturally active group in some samples (van Eijck, 2005), participation in cultural activities declines in most European countries after the age of 65, indicating an inverted U-shaped relationship between age and cultural participation (Falk & Katz-Gerro, 2015; Hallmann, Artime, Breuer, Dallmeyer & Metz, 2016). Especially the oldest-old (80+) report lower participation in cultural activities than younger age groups and participation in cultural activities is especially low among older adults with low income, low education or health limitations (Jivraj, Nazroo & Barnes, 2016). Consequently, studies on arts participation show that the majority of older adults does not participate in any artistic activities at all (Tymoszuk et al., 2019) and that the

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decline in cultural participation in later life is more prominent for highbrow forms of culture, such as theatres, than for cultural activities that happen at home or close to the home (*Blinded for review*). Despite this overwhelming empirical evidence, however, gerontology's knowledge on the reasons and processes behind these patterns of declining cultural activity in later life remains limited.

In contrast to gerontology, sociological research has widely explored barriers consumers face in access to culture through the concept of cultural disengagement (Gayo, 2017), to describe the processes of becoming culturally 'inactive' (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007) or 'passive' (Katz-Gerro & Jaeger, 2010). Such approaches offer a different perspective on cultural participation and its barriers, understanding the arts and culture not as a beneficial leisure activity, but understanding the theatre as a social field in which arts institutions regulate a specific set of rules (*illusio*) which make access to culture easier for some social groups and more difficult for others (Bourdieu, 1984, 1996; Lash, 1993). Even though such approaches of cultural class analysis have been potent in describing the value of culture in older adults' lives (Goulding, 2018), they have never been applied to the barriers older adults face in their access to the arts and culture.

This article addresses this gap by, first, developing a sociological approach (Bourdieu 1996) to explore processes of cultural disengagement from theatre in later life. In contrast to interventionist approaches, such a perspective asks which specific rules of the game (*illusio)* in the cultural field influence older adults' experiences in access to culture. Second, this paper explores these barriers older adults face in their access to theatre with empirical qualitative data from a participatory (von Unger, 2014) project in which ten older individuals (65+ years) were invited to investigate their access to three different theatres in Vienna, Austria, through participatory observations and photo diaries (Simmonds, Roux & Avest, 2015).

Through this data, this article shows how the *illusio* of the theatre field is age-coded, meaning that many of the rules visitors in theatres are expected to follow are not easily

followed by older adults. For older participants, these rules of the modern theatre meant that participating in cultural activities was not just a leisurely activity that is potentially beneficial, it was a multifaceted and at times complicated process of orchestrating the many different expectations towards older adults at the theatre. In the last step, this article outlines the potential of a field approach to theatre in later life and makes a case for the incorporation of gerontological knowledge in cultural policy. In doing so, this article highlights the role gerontology needs to play in cultural research and policy in times of demographic change.

A Field Approach towards Cultural Disengagement

What characterizes a field approach towards theatre in later life? In contrast to the interventionist approaches to the arts and culture often used in gerontology (Fraser et al., 2015), a field approach highlights the institutional and social circumstances of cultural participation – and hence the social stratification that goes along with cultural participation. Such a perspective highlights that theatres operate in a specific cultural field, which regulates and governs which social groups have access to highbrow forms of culture such as the theatre, and which ones do not (Bourdieu, 1996). Fine arts institutions, such as theatres, function as a source of social stratification (Prior, 2005), and access to theatres is therefore not so much dependent on participants competences, motivation or interest, but dependent on how far their needs are considered as relevant in a given cultural field. From such a perspective, processes of cultural disengagement in later life are not individually motivated, but institutionally regulated. A field theory approach to theatre in later life, hence, renders visible the institutional conditions of cultural disengagement in later life.

Central to this understanding is the concept of the *cultural field* which can be understood as spaces of encounter between different agents: “the literary field, i.e. the spaces of literary *prises the position* that (…) arise from the encounter between particular agents’ dispositions (…) and their position in a field which is defined by the distribution of a specific form of capital.” (Bourdieu, 1984, p.311). Cultural spaces such as the theatre, in that sense, can be

understood as a *field* or in other words, a social space, or a social arena, in which the legitimacy of different audiences is constantly negotiated through questions, such as: Who gets to decide which stories are told on big stages? Who gets to be a critic of theatre, and who gets to be a silent audience member? Which social groups are addressed through theatre performances, and which are made invisible? Which resources (capital) are needed to participate in the production and consumption of theatre?

Partly, this is due to the high volume of capital that theatres as institutions possess. Theatres, especially renowned venues and stages might have a considerable amount of economic capital, through e.g. the material resources from public or private funding. They might also have considerable amounts of social capital, by, e.g. having especially renowned artists displaying their work on a particular stage or having access to consumer groups that are high in capital themselves. Most importantly, however, theatres tend to possess a considerable amount of cultural capital deriving from the value of a company's prestige as an institution in the art world (Serino, D'Ambrosio & Ragozini, 2017). Through their high volume of capital, therefore, arts institutions play an important role in governing the access to theatre and defining the rules audiences have to follow in order to gain access to these institutions.

However, Bourdieu (2018) highlights that it is not just cultural institutions that regulate access to the cultural field of theatre, there are also certain rules of the game in place, that audiences have to follow along to be able to take a legitimate position in the field, which he calls *illusio* (Bourdieu, 2018). The struggles for legitimacy in a cultural field, hence, "contribute to a continual reproduction of belief in the game, interest in the game and its stakes, the illusion. (…) Each field produces its specific form of the *illusio*, in the sense of an investment in the game which pulls agents out of their indifference and inclines and predisposes (…) to distinguish what is important ('what matters to me'), is of interest, in contrast to 'what is all the same to me', or in-different" (Bourdieu, 2018, p. 738).

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Analyzing theatre as an exemplary case of cultural fields, we could hence argue that the field of theatre produces its own rules of the game (*illusio*) that are set into practice and governed through cultural institutions: Codes and rules about when and where theatre can and should take place, rules about what to wear when one is visiting the theatre, rules for how to behave during the play or even the breaks, or about which topics that are legitimate as a topic for theatre (and which are not).

Which place does that leave for older audiences? We utilize the notion of age-codings (Krekula, 2009) to conceptualize the ways in which the *illusio* of modern theatre addresses and governs old age. To do so, we need to move beyond our understanding of age as a biological, individual process towards an understanding of age as a relational and embedded "collaborative process that involves everyone" (Krekula, Nikander & Wilińska, 2018), including institutions, symbols, materials and structures. The role and position of older people, hence, is not just based on older adults, their health or cognitive abilities, but defined by institutions that enable or restrict the role they are allowed to take in different contexts. Cultural fields and cultural institutions, from this perspective, are an arena in which age and age normality are negotiated and constructed (Krekula, Arvidson, Heikkinen, Henriksson & Olsson, 2017) that regulate in which positions older adults have access to culture.

Applying a field approach as outlined to our data, we therefore ask through which dynamics older adults are addressed or governed through the *illusio* in the theatre field by answering the following research questions:

RQ1: Which rules of the game are encountered by older adults when they visit the theatre field?

RQ2: How do these rules of the game in the theatre field address age and ageing?

RQ3: How do they enable or restrict the access of older adults to theatre?

Design and Methods

Data Collection

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To explore these questions, we draw upon data from a qualitative and exploratory study with participatory elements (von Unger, 2014). In line with the participatory approach of the research, ten older adults were invited to explore the rules of the theatre with us as co-researchers.

The project took three methodological steps. First, ten older (60+) adults were recruited as co-researchers and, with their consent, informed about the purpose and methodology of the study (for a detailed description of the sample and sampling procedure see below). Second, the older co-researchers were asked to organize one theatre visit for themselves and a researcher from the project team and document their experience through a photo diary (Photo Voice, Simmonds et al., 2015). The researchers from the project team documented their experiences at the theatre in an observation protocol. Third, we conducted semi-structured interviews with narrative elements with (older) co-researchers (Misoch, 2015). Interviews were structured with an interview guide and covered questions about their everyday life (e.g. How has your life changed in retirement?), cultural activities (e.g. What's the role of cultural activities in your daily life?) and theatre in particular (e.g. What do you think are the reasons why older adults often don't go to the theatre?). Interviews were fully transcribed verbatim (in German). Fourth, we organized two group discussions with five co-researchers each. In these group discussions, the co-researchers shared their photo documentation of the theatre visit and discussed with the other co-reserachers which barriers older adults' face when going to the theatre. This process was supported by the researchers from the project team through analytical questions (e.g. What do you see on this picture?). The two group discussions lasted between 60 and 120 minutes each were fully transcribed verbatim (in German).

The joint theatre visits between researchers and co-researchers took place in three theatres in Vienna, Austria (Burgtheater, Theater in der Josefstadt and Schauspielhaus). These three venues were chosen because they are the three theatre venues that receive the most public funding in Vienna. Different dates for the joint visit were chosen, and the co-

researchers had the task of picking a play and a date, coordinating it with the respective researcher, buying tickets and arranging a meeting point with the researcher on site. Costs for the tickets were later reimbursed.

Sample

Co-researchers were recruited in Vienna, through presentations of the study in different contexts, mainly leisure clubs and associations for older adults. In these presentations, the project team asked specifically to recruit older adults who wanted to go to the theatre. After this first phase of sampling, we conducted a short questionnaire to test for inclusion criteria: Participants in this study ought to be over the age of 60 years old, and half of them should be culturally disengaged, meaning that they did not attend any form of highbrow culture (concerts, ballet, opera or theatre) in the last 12 months prior to the study (Table 1).

((TABLE 1))

Analysis

The data basis for the analysis consists of 1) ten interview transcripts, 2) transcripts of two group discussions and 3) ten participant observation protocols. In a first step, data was analyzed through open, axial and selective coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1996) supported by the software Max QDA. This step was conducted to identify reoccurring and important topics in the material and gain an overview of the material available.

In a second step, we developed 'Situational Maps' for each case. Situational maps are one of the tools suggested by Adele Clarke's 'Situational Analysis' (2012). This means that each theatre visit was analyzed as a research situation, and the research team used dominant topics from the first step to identify the relevant actors, discourses, rules, materials and symbols at each theatre visit. The data for each theatre visit was hence transformed into a map which visually outlined the most important topics and their relationships for each theatre visit.

Third, the different case maps that emerged out of the coded data were conflated in group sessions in which three researchers at *Blinded for review* participated. The aim of this step

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was to identify common and differentiating topics between the different maps and therefore reveal the specific rules that our older co-researcher had to follow in order to be able to visit the theatre. In this step, maps were brought together into one joint map of important actors and practices at the theatre visit which is displayed in Figure 1.

Results

Which rules of the game did the older co-researchers encounter in their visits to the theatre? What are the age-codings in the *illusio* of the theatre field? To answer this question, we first need to highlight all the different things that had to be done by our participants in order to be able to go the theatre, as is indicated in the joint map of relevant practices related to cultural engagement. Figure 1 shows the most commonly described practices related to the joint theatre visit in our data. Cultural engagement, it seems in our data, was not just a case of going to the theatre and enjoying the show – there was a considerable amount of preparation work that went into it. Figure 1 shows the most commonly described practices related to the joint theatre visit in our data.

((FIGURE 1))

This shows that consumption (experiencing the performance in the theatre) was only a very small share of the overall process of cultural engagement. To be able (and allowed) to go to the theatre, it seems, there was a whole variety of things our co-researchers had to do (and a whole variety of rules they had to follow), which was one of the reasons why many of them – despite their high interest - did not attend the theatre regularly.

All the practices that were connected to cultural consumption indicate which rules are in place when older adults go to the theatre. In the process of preparing the joint theatre visit, our co-researchers had to carefully choose which work had to be done in order to be able to go to the theatre (e.g. almost all of our study participants described how they read information about the play they were going to see), and which other things were less important and could

be left out. The wide variety of practices that were done before (and after) the theatre visit therefore paint a picture of what our co-researchers felt was necessary in order to be able to go to the theatre, and also gives us an idea of how challenging it was for them.

This careful process of planning, evaluating und preparing for the theatre visit that our co-researchers were involved in and documented through images and in the interviews, allowed us to understand the rules that were involved in going to the theatre. Frau W. (72), for example, described in her interview the specific way that a 'normal' audience member is usually dressed: "Yesterday, I saw some people in the public transport. I did not see them at the theatre, but maybe, they were going there too. You can always spot them: beautiful, chic dress, yes. The hair nicely done, yes." Through images of a 'normal' or 'legitimate' audience member, Frau W. explains what she feels is necessary to do before going to the theatre: dressing nicely and doing your hair the same way.

In the following, we want to focus on three specific sets of rules, that were important for all of our interview partners, as they did not just define their role as audiences members, but also their role as an older audience member in the theatre field: 1) Rules about the aging body at the theatre, 2) Rules about mobility in going to the theatres, and 3) Rules about subjectivities allowed in the theatre.

Body work: preparing the aging body

One important element of the age-coded *illusio* of the theatre field was that bodies at the theatre had to be prepared in a very specific way to be understood as a legitimate. Our co-researchers described a wide variety of body work, understood as the production and modification of older bodies through work (Gimlin, 2007) that had to be done in order to be able to go to the theatre. Our co-researchers described (and graphically documented) a wide variety of this body work: For Frau W., this meant going to the hairdressers to get her hair washed and cut for the occasion, the result of which she also documented in her photo diary (Figure 2). For Frau H., this meant carefully preparing clothing for the occasion ("I chose the

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dress I only wear at ceremonies. Thank god I had a dress for that occasion!, Frau H., 77). This kind of body work spread across different areas of the ageing body – feet, hair, faces, clothing – all of which were prepped to fit the occasion.

((FIGURE 2))

While this was a (relatively) easy task for our co-researchers, this also included work that was outside of our co-researchers' agency, more difficult or even impossible to do. In these cases, it became apparent how an ageing body – one, that was not fully under the control of our co-researchers' agency – was a problem in orchestrating the theatre visit. Often, this was related to experiencing the ageing body as problematic in the context of the theatre. Frau F. (71 years) tells us after asking why she does not go to the theatre more often: "There are health related reasons. I cannot eat for a specific time before I go (to the theatre). Otherwise, I run to the toilet every other minute". The apparent rule of the theatre not to leave the venue during the play, therefore hindered Frau F. to go to the theatre regularly.

Here, it seems as if the ageing body was an obstacle, something that stood in the way of Frau F. and her (desired) cultural activity. Another example was Herr V., who fell asleep several times during the play and indicated feeling ashamed for it afterwards (Observation Protocol Theatre Visit Herr V.). Ageing bodies, it seems in these examples, did not quite fit into the rules of the theatre that were in place – and going to the theatre made our co-researchers very aware of that. The apparent rule of the game, here, was that bodies in the theatre were able-bodies, that were fully under the control of the audience member – a rule that seemed to be particularly hard to follow the older our co-researchers were.

Mobilities: Going there and back again

A second important challenge most of our co-researchers encountered in their theatre experience was spatial: It was the challenge of researching, finding and making their way to the theatre. The body that was expected in the theatre was therefore not only an able one, it was also a mobile one – and the mobility involved in going to the theatre was described as

one major challenge by our co-researchers and impressions and barriers encountered on the way to the theatre (or on the way back) were a reoccurring topic in our co-researchers' visual diaries (Figure 3).

((FIGURE 3))

Partly, this is because theatre art is predominantly spatial art, meaning that access to theatre is heavily regulated by the spaces in which it takes place. Spatial art calls for a stage to be considered legitimate and the different kinds of venues and stages theatre is performed in make a considerable difference in the perceived quality of the theatre. Big stages, such as the Burgtheater in Vienna, can be understood as spaces of consecration (Hänzi, 2015). In order to see good art – audiences have to visit these places, which might be harder for older (and less mobile) audiences.

The spaces our older co-researchers had to cross to be able to go to the theatre heavily influenced the way they experienced their visit to the theatre. Frau K (75 years), who had to travel from her home to the Burgtheater in Vienna's city center, described herself as feeling far away from the theatres in the inner city: "And that means: I live on the other side of the world", she said in her interview. Spatial distance, in that sense, was often experienced as an emotional distance – and the less experienced our co-researchers were in crossing the spaces necessary to go to the theatre, the more emotional distance they felt from the venues. This example shows how declining mobility in later life leads to feelings of exclusion from the world – for Frau K., it is not the theatre that is on the other side of the world, but she feels that she is living on the outside of the relevant field.

This spatial distance was experienced even more strongly through the specific temporalities the theatre follows. Our data included stories in which our co-researchers described their way to the theatre as uncomfortable, displeasing, or at times even dangerous because they had to happen in the evening or at night: "What happens in the public transport system nowadays – especially on weekends, Friday and Saturday night – is making me feel

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very uncomfortable" (Herr V., 73 years). From this perspective, we can see how another rule of the theatre – that it happens predominantly in the evening – meant that older adults often experienced challenges in coming there on time. We can also see how this contributes to our co-researchers as experiencing themselves as vulnerable: Following the rules of theatre, going out at night, crossing wide distances to go to these special venues, for them meant to often put themselves into an uncomfortable situation which made them feel vulnerable as an older person.

Processes of subjectivation

The last set of rules that emerged as an important set of topics in our data was less directed towards external barriers, but included practices of subjectivation in the theatre – questions about which roles our older co-researchers were allowed to take in the theatre and which subjectivities were expected from them by the cultural field.

In many cases, our co-researchers felt the need to justify, evaluate or explain why they were at the theatre, by, e.g. thinking about what other audiences might see in them. Frau H. (77 years), for example, obviously felt the need to explain – at least to the researcher she was visiting the theatre with – why she was here and which role she had in the theatre: "At the cloakroom, she says to me: 'I could also be here with my granddaughter.', as if she had to find a justification to be in the theatre with me, a younger woman." (Observation Protocol Theatre Visit Frau H.). The roles of the co-researchers varied from case to case and most strikingly between those study participants that had theatre experience and those who did not: In some cases, co-researchers took the role of an alleged grandmother, at the theatre with her granddaughter (Frau H.), in other cases it was the role as an experienced critic of the theatre (Herr V.).

Finding, experiencing and feeling comfortable with the diverse roles older adults were legitimately allowed to have in the theatre, however, was not always easy, and it was especially the less-experienced co-researchers that had troubles finding a role in the theatre. In

these cases, our co-researchers often defined themselves as part of (passive) collective, the audience, ready to be overwhelmed by the theatres extraordinary and "ceremonial" (Frau H.) spaces.

These struggles for a legitimate position were often especially hard to conquer for our co-researchers because going to the theatre, for many of our co-researchers, meant going to the theatre alone, as many of our co-researchers were divorced or widowed. This shows another rule of the theatre, which was that older adults were not allowed to go there alone – and reframing, ignoring and breaking that rule was something that was described as overwhelmingly challenging for our co-researchers. Frau P., describes in her interview how challenging it was for her to go to the theatre alone for the first time:

"I want to go (to the theatre alone, authors). Well, ok, then I have to overcome my fears. I knew (…) that the real reason (…) was my fear. Ok, I thought, everyone is here in a couple, I am the only one who is alone. I will attract attention; they will look at me (…) So I walked around the theatre, I thought, I need to think now, what do I want? Well, I want to go inside, but if everyone is looking at me, I don't want that. (…) And then I realized: Nobody is looking at me (…) And that's what all the fuzz was about? You see, smooth sailing. And then I was relieved, I thought, now, you can go anywhere. And things like that (…) are key experiences."

Discussion and Implications

Applying a field approach to analyze cultural disengagement from the theatre in later life proved highly useful to understand the processes, barriers and challenges older adults face when visiting the theatre. Focusing on the socially constructed, implicit and often invisible rules of the game (*illusio*) of the theatre exemplified how modern theatre follows specific rules, that are often challenging for older audiences. Our study highlights how the specific timings as well as social and spatial arrangements of the theatre pose diverse challenges to older audiences. Therefore it exemplifies that we can understand the *illusio* of modern theatre

to be age-coded (Krekula, 2009), as it included specific expectations and assumptions about the age of legitimate audiences. Applying a field approach therefore showed how the theatre fields are materially, spatially and temporally ordered, and it is all of these orders that address older audiences in a very particular way.

What were the rules of the game that were encountered by our study participants at the theatre? First, the study participants encountered rules about the ageing body at the theatre. In many occasions, the way older bodies behaved (from needing earlier breaks to finding it challenging to conquer stairs) were institutionally framed as deviant in theatres. This finding is in line with studies on dance in later life, which show that the marginalization of older people's changing bodies is at the core of the processes that order different audiences in a hierarchical relation to each other (Krekula et al. 2018). Second, the marginalization of older audiences happened through specific rules about mobilities in going there and back to the theatre. In many cases, this was also connected to the timing of theatre performances (predominantly at night) and the regulations surrounding breaks were a challenge for older audience members. Therefore, this article adds to literature suggesting that the hierarchical orderings of age are done through differences in access to time (Krekula et al. 2018), questioning who gets to decide, e.g. how long visitors have to sit before a break or when they are allowed to leave the performance space. Lastly, through all of these rules, our older co-researchers experienced a specific type of identity, which was characterized by feeling vulnerable, deviant and at risk as an older consumer at the theatre. These processes have often been described in ethnographic studies (Aceros, Pols & Domènech, 2015), showing how the feeling of vulnerability in later life might not (only) be based on biological changes, but on the social circumstances and arrangements that older adults participate in.

The participatory and qualitative nature of this study therefore enabled a thorough understanding of the theatre visit in later life not only as a beneficial leisure activity, but as a collective practical accomplishment (Wanka, 2019), a careful process of orchestrating, that

calls for significant amounts of preparation work for our older study participants that happened at different sites (from the hairdresser to the theatre venue), at different times (from weeks before to days after the visit) and involved different actors (from older co-researchers to employees selling the tickets). Visiting the theatre in later life is more than the consumption of theatrical art, it entails significant amount of preparation through planning, picking, evaluating in the everyday lives of older adults. Visiting the theatre required the careful orchestrating of different tasks, which was challenging and at times exhausting for involved older co-researchers. A field approach, hence, renders visible how cultural engagement in later life calls for the careful orchestrating of older adults' everyday practices, a process that was often challenging for our older co-researchers.

Studies that have repeatedly identified the positive effects theatre and arts participation has on older adults' quality of life, health or wellbeing are significantly expanded and contextualized by this study. Besides exploring the positive effects of arts participation on older adults', supporting arts participation later in life also means to ask in how far arts institutions are prepared to include older audiences. Therefore, this study argues towards further incorporation of gerontological knowledge in cultural institutions, opening up cultural policy as a gerontological matter of concern (Sievers, 2009). Enabling older adults to age actively, e.g. through arts participation, calls for enabling and supportive structures. Practice and policy in the field of theatre and drama, hence, should take processes of demographic change not as a threat, but question how regulations that are in place marginalize older audiences.

Finally, this article opens up theatre and drama in later life not as a topic for interventionist, but critical gerontology, arguing that declining rates of cultural participation in later life are not an effect of declining health, but a result of social power struggles which include struggles around age and ageing. As cultural sociologists in the tradition of Pierre Bourdieu (1979, 1996) have argued, cultural participation can never be fully understood if

power relations are overlooked in its analysis and vice versa. Studying the differences in cultural participation between age groups, hence, means to understand these difference as "a particular state of the social struggle, i.e. a given state of distribution of advantages and obligations" (Bourdieu 1979/2013)". Which age groups participate in cultural activities and which do not, from this perspective, is not a question of individual motivation or interest, but an expression of social power struggles through which the access to culture is carefully regulated (*Blinded for review*).

This study had several limitations, including the small and non-representative sample used and a bias in recruitment. Study participants were recruited through an open call that was, first, not accessible to certain groups of older adults, given that the call was predominantly published online. Readers should therefore keep in mind that the results of this study were based on interview materials with predominantly white older adults, which lived in the city of Vienna. Barriers in access to culture might, hence, be very different for rural areas and other geographical contexts. Finally, the scope of this study was cultural participation and disengagement in Austria. While this means that results may be relevant to western European countries, which have a similarly structured cultural sector (Menzel, 2015), the case might be different in non-European contexts. The proposed field approach, however, can still be used in various contexts, and we do hope that others take this as an opportunity to develop the proposed approach further.

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For Peer Review

Orchestrating Ageing 2

Blinded for review

For Peer Review

Table 1: Inclusion Criteria for Ten Co-Researchers.

Co-Researchers (anonymized)	Age	Participation in Concerts, Ballet, Opera or Theatre 12 months before the project
Frau H.	77 years	Once or never
Frau W.	72 years	Once or never
Herr N.	62 years	Once or never
Frau F.	71 years	Once or never
Frau C.	75 years	Once or never
Herr T.	78 years	Twice or more
Frau P.	62 years	Twice or more
Herr V.	73 years	Twice or more
Frau K.	75 years	Twice or more
Frau S.	75 years	Twice or more

For Peer

Figure 1: Figure 1. Practices of Going to the Theatre.

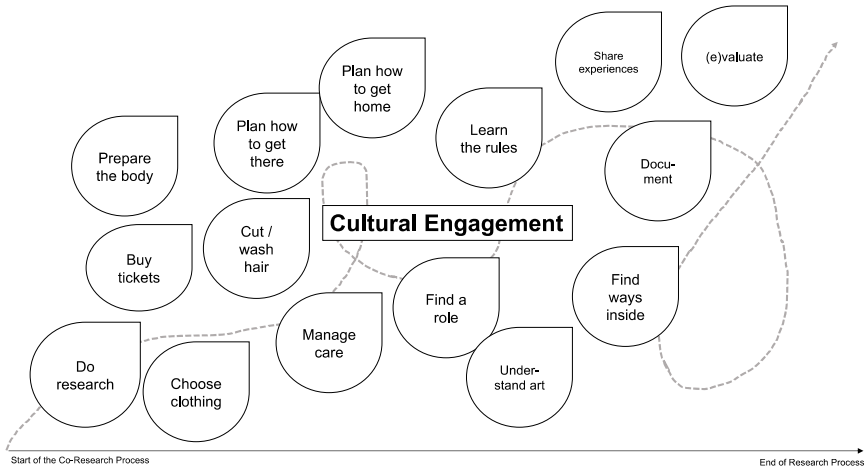

Figure 2. Examples of Body Work in the Visual Diaries of Co-Researchers.

Figure 3. Examples of Mobilities in the Visual Diaries of Co-Researchers.

8.4.4. Statement of Co-Authorship

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Statement of consent of co-authorship Vienna, 25th May 2020

I declare my consent to use the following paper as part of the PhD thesis specified below.

Details of respective paper:

- Title: Orchestrating Ageing – A Field Approach towards Cultural Disengagement in Later Life
- Authors: Vera Gallistl and Viktoria Parisot
- Publication status: The paper is currently under review with The Gerontologist

Details of respective PhD thesis:

- Title: Orchestrating Ageing – Doing Age in the Field of Cultural Production
- Author: Vera Gallistl
- Supervisor: Ao. Univ. Prof. Dr. Franz Kolland

I confirm the following statement on the division of work for the above-mentioned paper:

		Percentage of workload carried out by Vera Gallistl
CONCEPT	The idea for the research or article, framing the research question or hypothesis	90%
DESIGN	Planning the methods to generate results	70%
SUPERVISION	Oversight and responsibility for the organization and course of the project and the manuscript	100%
DATA COLLECTION / PROCESSING	Responsibility for gathering empirical material, organizing and reporting data	50%
ANALYSIS / INTERPRETATION	Responsibility for making sense of and presenting the results	70%
LITERATURE SEARCH	Responsibility for this necessary function	100%
WRITING	Responsibility for creating all of the manuscript	100%
CRITICAL REVIEW	Reworking the manuscript for intellectual content before submission, not just spelling and grammar checking	90%

Viktoria Parisot Vienna, 25th May, 2020
Signed: Viktoria Parisot, MA, University of Vienna, viktoria.parisot@univie.ac.at

9 Abstract (English)

The positive effects of artistic and cultural activities in later life have been repeatedly studied (for reviews see Fraser et al. 2015; Bernard & Rickett, 2016). Despite gerontology's growing interest in culture, meanings and definitions of culture often stay fuzzy in this field. Culture as a concept in gerontology is often "open, broad and conflicting in usage" (O'Neill, 2015) and seldomly conceptualized in relation to age and aging.

Among other things, this PhD thesis is an attempt to give some shape to the pudding known as culture in gerontology. This thesis aims to: 1) explore notions of culture in gerontological research, 2) explore the meanings and experiences of age and aging in the field of cultural production and 3) derive a more nuanced understanding of culture in relation to age and aging as the basis for future research in gerontology. To do so, it follows the research questions: How is age being done in the field of cultural production, and which practices, actors and implicit knowledge are involved in these processes? How do older adults learn to experience themselves as old when participating in the field of cultural production?

Methodologically, this thesis analyzes the field of cultural production at three different sites: 1) The site of cultural and artistic production, 2) the site of cultural participation and 3) the site of arts institutions. It does so through analyzing data from ethnographic case studies with older artists, quantitative survey data on older adults' cultural activities and participatory research with older adults at the theater.

The results illustrate, first, that both production and consumption in the cultural field are age coded (Krekula, 2009), which means that specific expectations are placed upon older producers and consumers of the arts and culture. Regarding artistic production, analysis revealed the importance of value regimes in the cultural field that place a strong emphasis on the economic value of art that older (retired) artists rarely (can) produce. In the area of cultural consumption, this is exemplified by the socio-material arrangements of theaters, in which healthy, able bodies are adopted as a norm, which marginalizes the experiences of older consumers of the arts and culture.

Based on these and other results, this thesis opens up the cultural field as a topic for gerontology. It makes clear that in times of demographic change, not only the health and care sector need to react to the changing age structures of modern societies, but so too should the cultural sector. For (critical) gerontology, the work illustrates the potential of a practice-theoretical approach that understands age and aging as a relational, decentralized and shared social practice.

10 Zusammenfassung (Deutsch)

Kreativität und kultureller Ausdruck gewinnen in einer ‚neuen Kultur des Alterns' (Kolland, 2015) an Bedeutung: Positive Effekte von kreativem Schaffen älterer Menschen für ein erfolgreiches und aktives Altern wurden empirisch immer wieder nachgewiesen (für Reviews siehe Fraser et al. 2015; Bernard & Rickett, 2016). In Abgrenzung von bisheriger Forschung, die Kreativität und Alter als Ausdruck von individueller Handlungsmächtigkeit älterer Menschen verstanden hat, möchte das vorliegende Forschungsprojekt die Rahmenbedingungen kreativen Schaffens älterer Menschen in den Vordergrund stellen. Ältere Menschen sind innerhalb von künstlerischen Feldern aus spezifischen Positionen heraus tätig und mit spezifischen Diskursen konfrontiert (Katz, 2005), die in kreativem Schaffen verhandelt werden und so zur (Re)produktion altersbezogener sozialer Ungleichheit beitragen.

Ausgehend von eine praxistheoretischen Lesarts der Kunst- und Kultursoziologie (Schatzki, 2015, Zembylas, 2015) und der Feldtheorie Pierre Bourdieus (2014, 2015) stehen die Prozesse des *‚doing age'* (Schröter 2012) durch unterschiedlicher AkteurInnen im kulturellen Feld im Mittelpunkt der Dissertation: Welche Prozesse des *doing culture* lassen sich beobachten und welche AkteurInnen, Dinge und implizites Wissen werden in diesem Prozess hergestellt? Welche Vorstellungen über Alter(n) werden in diesen Prozessen durch die Alterskodierungen sozialer Praktiken hergestellt? Welche Subjektivitäten erlaubt das für ältere Menschen im kulturellen Feld?

Methodisch werden im Rahmen von Feldanalysen (Bernhard & Schmidt-Wellenburg, 2012) qualitative und quantitative Forschungsdaten kombiniert. Das Forschungsprojekt gliedert sich dabei in drei Forschungsphasen: 1) Qualitative Fallstudien in kreativen Ensembles älterer Menschen, 2) Sekundärauswertung des Surveys ‚Kulturstile älterer Menschen' und 3) partizipative Forschung mit älteren Menschen zum Zugang zum Theater.

Aus einer Feldperspektive verdeutlichen die Ergebnisse unter Anderem drei zentrale Sachverhalte: Erstens zeigen sich sowohl Produktion als auch Konsum im kulturellen Feld als alters-codiert (Krekula, 2009), was bedeutet, dass an ältere ErzeugerInnen und KonsumentInnen von Kunst und Kultur spezifische Erwartungen formuliert werden. Im Bereich der Kunstproduktion zeigt sich das etwa durch Wertregimes, die einen Wert auf ökonomischen Wert von Kunst legen, den älteren (pensionierten) KünstlerInnen nur selten produzieren (können). Im Bereich des Kulturkonsums zeigt sich dies beispielshaft an den sozio-materiellen Arrangements von Theaterhäusern, in denen gesunde, nicht-alte Körper als Normkörper in der Praxis des Theaters angenommen werden.

Ausgehend von diesen und weiteren Ergebnissen eröffnet die Dissertation das kulturelle Feld als Thema der Gerontologie. Sie macht deutlich, dass in Zeiten des demographischen Wandels nicht nur der Gesundheits- und Pflegesektor, sondern auch der Kultursektor auf die sich wandelnde Altersstruktur moderner Gesellschaften reagieren muss. Für die (kritische) Gerontologie verdeutlicht die Arbeit die Potentiale eines praxistheoretischen Zugangs, der Alter(n) als relationale, dezentrale und geteilte soziale Praxis versteht.