

Norberto Pinto dos Santos
António Gama
Coordenação

Lazer

Da libertação do tempo
à conquista das práticas

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E N S I N O



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CENTRO DE ESTUDOS GEOGRÁFICOS

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**GLOBALIZATION AND THE RELATIONSHIP WORK/LEISURE
FROM STANDARDIZATION OF LEISURE TO WORK FLEXIBILITY***

Introduction

Contemporary society creates needs, desires, hopes and interests to enable human beings to take advantage of all their time and space through forms of consumption which create jobs, jobs that promote leisure activities, leisure activities which shape places, jobs and consumption/leisure activities which generate mobility.

For a long time, production has been increasing the job mobility through technological and technical development (both in terms of infrastructures and means of transport). The oscillations which this development permits and each person's perception of the meaning of the quality of life (capable of encouraging different ways of socio-spatial integration encouraged by making work a fundamental phase in the daily life of the majority of the population), and which is, today, truly integrated in the ways we seek to make the most of non-work time and space.

The capability to affect the functions of space by significant mutations to its physiognomy has, during recent history, been associated to industry and the growth of urban space, due to the construction of residential areas. Activities related to leisure and consumption (which are the predominant creators of employment in the post-modern society) are new to this function; nevertheless, they prove themselves to be remarkably efficient in this role: consider the way shopping centres, theme parks, amusement parks, tourist facilities and the facilities existing for artistic, sports, cultural and social leisure do this.

This process involves the relationship between a particular place and all other places, expressed in the different globalising factors which confront us in our daily life.

We must assume the indelible presence of global thinking in local action. Issues like fear of terrorism, environmental concerns, dominance of finance (banks) in economic growth, growing presence of multinationals with consumer products, impacts of the media coverage of events, accidents and disasters, cultural influence

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of North American films, dependence on reality-shows (including wars), franchising, eating out (fast-food), desire for leisure activities and tourism, are important modes of global cultural and economic adaptation.

This affects our time and our relations with space. Also influences the way we build our relationship with others and institutions. Thought dependent on control and planning, the tendency is to allow people access to excess, superabundance and urgency supported by consumption (Baudrillard, 1970 and Rochefort, 1995), spectacular consumption (Debord, 1991), entertainment (Langman, 1992), free-time (Sue, 1982), leisure (Dumazedier, 1962), post-work (Gorz, 1999 and Hochschild, 1997) societies.

Towards Globalisation

Space is nowadays understood in increasingly globalized terms due to the ease of travelling in it, to the ability to interact with it; consequence of the ability to produce it, and due to the spread of human habitats reached, even in situations which are extreme to human life.

The attempt to dominate all space is not only a phenomenon of today. Dollfus (1998) states that globalization is not a recent process. In fact, what may be called *weak globalization*, with an uneven occupation of the planet is a phenomenon which began long ago. The great conquerors: Charlemagne, Alexander, Attila, the Arabs or the Vikings; constructed ways of globalisation perhaps even more extraordinary than those we experience today, if we take into account the level of information and technique that these civilisations had concerning space. Waters (1999: 4) states that “in some ways there has always been globalisation, although until the middle of this millennium it had not had a linear development”; Robertson (1992) also suggests that globalisation is not just a phenomenon of today but that it existed even before modern society and the development of capitalism.

Until the end of the Middle Ages, “in the economy of feudal and rural societies, the wealth was essentially in the land and property ‘obtained by the grace of God’” (Sue, 1997: 149), with work practically absent, associated with suffering, the distribution of wealth depended on the generosity of the rich. This is a period in which employment and work are not synonymous, however, with the merchandising of work they are brought closer together and work is increasingly confused with employment, the further we advance in this modern period. It is here that we discover the initial phase of the present phase of globalisation.

Dollfuss (1998) identifies the first phase of globalization on the Iberian Peninsula, with the spread of European society, occurring with the constitution of the Portuguese and Castilian Empire: means such as the caravel, the compass and the conquest of new lands appear at the centre of the *tentacle* effect of the shrinking/knowledge of the world. At the same time, in Italy, the Renaissance emerged as a form of appreciating and valuing Greco-Latin antiquity in response to an obscurant medieval Christian civilisation, thus initiating what is known as the modern age “based on three ideas: progress, reason and well-being” (Aubert, 2005: 14).

The idea of modernity entered a crisis because the promised well-being was never reached, or was only obtained by very few. The distancing of Man from Nature,

which brings an increasing mechanisation, based on quantification, objectivity and distanciation, will lead to a second phase of globalization corresponding to the industrial and financial imperialism of the 19th and early 20th centuries, with industry, communications and rail and sea transports as its key points.

Francis Bacon (1561-1626) stated that the only important knowledge for man was empirically rooted in the natural world and that the efficient system of scientific information guaranteed Man's domination of the world (www.blupete.com). It was technical reasoning which permitted power and subjugation, which substituted participation and contemplation of Nature (like in Middle Age).

The globalization process, therefore, is associated with the domination of Nature by Man and Man's distancing from Nature. Mass production and consumption, already associated in twentieth century with fordism, associated to the importance of energy and economic growth, occur as the basis of a third period of globalization: between the First World War and the end of the Cold War, with the End of the colonial empires, of bipolarization of the world and of emergence of the Third World and the world institutions (United Nations and the UNO).

At this time, the great thinkers of industrial society show us that "progress would free us from the need to work and would lead to a society where man would be free to fulfill his *higher needs*, social, spiritual, cultural and aesthetic needs" (Sue, 1997: 10).

However, Sue does not seem to believe in the end of work as suggested by Rifkin (1996) or Collin (1997), instead his position is closer to that of Baudelot and Establet (2000: 181), who state "work is the key which provides access to other goods". Although there is a great resistance to blue collar work, a relative distancing from companies, and the development of more opportunistic strategies within a framework of increasing individualism and a greater interest in activities taking place outside of work (music, social activities, sports...), in order to be happy, it is first necessary to *have*, Baudelot and Establet (2000: 177). Galbraith (1987) subscribes to this idea when he refers to the New Class, by showing that this seeking of well-being in *having*, depends on *being* and, today on *seeming*, which has a significant influence on the course of globalisation, as we are now in a time of the *cultural economy*. During this period, the marketing of symbols has evolved beyond the management of states and the units of economic production have begun to evolve towards a scale which is both more individual and humane (Waters, 1999). Even though it seems contradictory, the relation between people and the global is more and more focussed on and subjected to, a process of mass-production in which consumption seems to have the effect of a cosmic black hole on the majority of leisure activities.

Leisure activities are a response to a time which is limited or scheduled according to professional demands, in a heavily globalized world, occur in increasingly diverse ways stimulated by the consumer society which has completely colonised the places dedicated to leisure activities (Ritzer & Stillman, 2001). In a previous work (Santos, 2001), when characterising contemporary leisure's ability to segregate, draws attention exactly to the role of this *mass society* where there is an increase in leisure time, activities and places, simultaneously with their standardization and merchandising, responsible for the standardization and similarities in the rhythms of leisure, similar to that which characterised the working environment of a society run using Henry Ford's techniques.

Within this ambiguity and duality Dollfuss (1998) identifies a 4th phase of globalization which main characteristics are the speed of the circulation of information, the autonomy of finance, leading to an increasing importance of the role of worldwide companies. With neoliberalism as their dominant ideology, merchandising of goods and services grow. Robertson (1992, quoted by Waters, 1999) refers to a phase of uncertainty, concerning the ways of relating and power where material exchanges localise, political exchanges internationalise and symbolic exchanges globalise (Waters, 1999).

Ambiguity and duality continue as determinants because the aggravation of the consumer society and its assumption as a “society of the spectacle” is associated to a “Henry Ford like standardisation and social imitation related with a certain lack of individual initiative or perhaps inhibition of individual initiative outside of certain stratum of the population” (Santos, 2001). As Baudrillard states (2005: 44), “we are no longer critical spectators (...) we are in the world screen (...) in real time, we are no more contemporaries of our selves”. McLuhan (1962) was the first one to pay attention to the global village, to the importance of communication technologies and means of transportation (technological determinism), to the significance of globalizing signs: watch that controls time, money that multiplies social relations and promotes velocity. Today, “the screen is the world” Baudrillard (2005).

However, and simultaneously the “spread of “McDonaldisation” suggests that certain aspects of the industrial society will remain for quite some time” (Ritzer, 1993: 153), both in the world of work and leisure. “The economy is so dependent on individual tastes and choices that it becomes reflectively merchandised and, given that the symbolically guaranteed systems are not subject to physical frontiers, they also become reflectively globalised. The leading sectors in this process are those whose *goods* are themselves symbols: the mass media, the entertainment sector, and the sectors of post-industrialised services (Lash e Urry, 1994, quoted by Waters, 1999).

Global homogenization gradually happens with the non-western world colonisation by the Occident and cultural differences are increasingly being eroded through the world-wide replacement of local products with mass-produced goods which usually originate in the West (Howes, 1996) referred as *Coca-colonization* (Hannerz, 1992, quoted by Howes, 1996).

It is important, however, to stress that globalisation or the sense of the whole, the global, and the holistic has always existed, although in a form which did not involve strong spatial, temporal and socio-economical relationships, until the middle of the 20th Century. It should also be noted that underlying the idea of dominion and authority concerning territories (today, both physical and non-physical) and defining territories (which are a form of global relation between man and his environment) related to a time and a space (Gama, 1989), it has always been possible to identify global processes acting simultaneously with local events. Nowadays, this concerns a way of considering a subject which has a broader meaning, resulting in the appearance of the neologism *glocalisation* which expresses the maxim “think globally and act locally”. This idea may also be attributed to Silva (2002: 147) who states that “a place as a singularity is added to other places which, by identifying criteria, form bigger portions, with different designations. (...) A city, an excellent place, when a point within a context of different flows, may take on a worldwide and local character simultaneously, depending on the range and intensity of transactions which take place there”.

Globalisation has negative connotations in terms of economic growth and social justice (de-localisation, exploitation and exclusion), but there are positive aspects: the assumption of the differences of local societies, investment in the protection of the environment and supra-national intervention in matters related to human rights or terrorism.

Today, in the myriad of cases between global and local, consumption seems to be the major factor responsible for socio-economic relations (everything becomes consumable, even time and space).

The globalisation of the markets has led to the situation where trans-national companies, by selling the same products in the same way worldwide, ignore and eradicate cultural differences (Howes, 1996): tourism, a privileged form of leisure is an ideal example of this. As we have stated in previous work, nowadays, leisure takes a central place in the orientation of a population's daily life, particularly that which has a significant relation to urban spaces. However, the evocation of leisure may appear with differing meanings. Kwiatkowska (1999) takes us to the beginning of time, when he points out that, "in the concept of daily routine (the world was created in six days and the seventh was for rest) two qualities of time are defined. Work is secular time, related to creation, production (...) to satisfy bodily needs; leisure is sacred time related with prayer, with meditation (...) concerned with the soul" (Kwiatkowska, 1999: 127). Is leisure more diverse today? Certainly.

Nevertheless, the search for excitement, interior harmony, and spiritual experiences in compensation for the work done, remain present. Although leisure may be based on these aspects, it is an economic activity which provides some of the best opportunities for financial gain and which creates new opportunities, encourages innovative *products*, productivity and exponential profit. In fact, apart from being always present and, sometimes associated to dual situations which are often ambiguous, even if only as a project, leisure seems to be everywhere: in the streets, on trains, boats, aeroplanes, in newspapers, in waves, on the ground we walk on, in the cinema, on the radio, TV, in our mail box, on high mountains, making constant appeals to escaping from our daily routine (Santos, 2005).

Emphasising the meaning of leisure and work (employment) in what is known as late modern society, by some, as post-modern, by others, as hyper-modern, by others or, for others, the changing world system, what matters is to show how employment, work and leisure contribute to the present socio-economical organisation, even more considering that it has undergone very important modifications recently which, probably we are still not really ready to incorporate into our daily life.

Work and Leisure: dualities and ambiguities

The international division of employment is associated to globalisation, which is installed to a reasonable degree, affects the way the contemporary socio-economy is organised. Establishing the mobility of labour from the Third World (peripheral) and the First World (central) with the mediation of the semi-peripheral world on the edge of the former, shows clearly the importance of supra-national and supra-states when discussing employment. Employment gains an international dimension which may be expressed simply in Fig. 1.

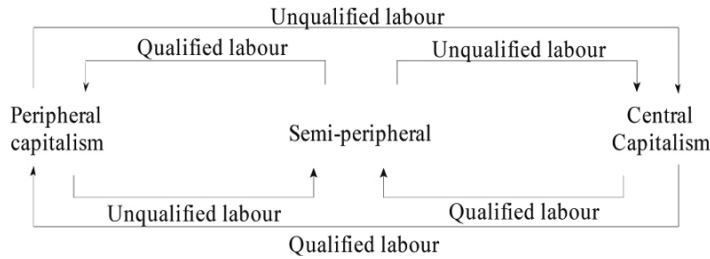


Fig. 1 – Model of the international mobility of labour.

However, “international exchanges encourage countries to specialise in producing that which uses intensively the factors of production that they have in abundance. On the contrary, the same countries import goods whose production demands factors which they have less of” (Fitoussi & Rosanvallon, 1996: 82). In the first world globalization promotes the qualified workers and undervalues the non-qualified ones while third world (and developing countries) promotes the latter ones, predominant in their work structure. Anyway, the work mobility increases inequalities between socio-professional categories in an infra-national level.

Just as employment is increasingly not necessarily territorial, in the sense that there is no obligatory relation between nationality and the country where you work, so too, does this occur regarding goods and companies, this may be seen by considering various references, such as Husson (1999) who states that “American companies are, from now on, no longer connected to the United States” (Husson, 1999: 119). This results in the growing number of jobs which are dependent on international or world relations, either because of labour mobility or because of direct foreign investment.

We should not be surprised to note that employment is affected by many factors which include those of indigenous development and also global aspects. In fact, “in the middle of the 70s the majority of the active international population was placed in spaces closed to the world markets, with a third living in strongly protected planned economies. In the year 2000, according to the World Bank less than 10% of the population was truly not connected to the world” (Cohen, 1999, quoted by Cabin, 2000).

Although globalized, work/job keeps its importance “as mediator between man and society appearing as an original power, deeply-rooted in our culture, punishment, but also as hope of ransom, inventor of human existence objects and liberator of nature domination” (Gama, 1989).

Looked at this way, employment is a form of power just as property, but it is achieved either by physical or intellectual effort, transforming time into products or services and space into territories, but always with the idea of leisure activities at the end of the task or of the period of employment. This is to value free time over an alienated time of employment, which is an expression of the will of the employer. However, employer and employee may be the same person and the central aspects of free time, choice and free will may also be present during time spent at work. At the same time “jobs which require muscular force are disappearing while those needing manual or mental dexterity are increasing. Industries based on labour were

substituted by industries requiring skills; and these, in their turn, will be replaced by industries based on knowledge” (Handy, 1986: 22). However work will still continue to dominate people’s lives even if in ways which are very different from those which were most important during the Glorious Thirties. It is clear that labour has been substituted by clerks given the exponential growth of services, but this change has not reduced the time or intensity of work, even if it has definitely reduced the physical effort required. Curiously enough, this physical aspect is one of the attractions of many leisure activities which fulfil the needs of the human mind and body for games and physical activity. The positive aspect associated to work is recent and promoted the approximation of the concepts of work and employment (paid work). It was the middle class at the beginning of the Middle Age which assumed this positive attitude, since it gave them access to wealth. Work continued to be valued because of Protestant pragmatism and Puritanism, both because of the ideological aspect of “time is money”, and by the condemnation of leisure time. During the 20th century work is associated to remuneration, and this, by means of the ideology of profit, values free time, which begins to be seen as a time for consumption, with leisure as a central factor of the time created for consumption.

The work-time reduction claimed notoriously during the twentieth century, leading to an (to a) employees victory, was also responsible for the drainage of products. If we mass-produce it is necessary time (five-days week, 35 working hours, vacation month), money (middle class predominance, vacation and 13th month wages) and space (new commercial facilities, equipment and service leisure) to consume.

Work is, often, particularly concerning less qualified workers or employees, repetitive, monotonous, and not very creative.

The increase in value of activities related with knowledge has made work less monotonous, more creative and more the result of individual expression and free judgement of employees, to a certain extent bringing those characteristics usually associated to leisure activities to work. For some, work is done in a way which is obligatory and alienating, for others it is a source of personal realisation which may include elements characteristic to leisure time (Gama & Santos, 1991). Companies have begun to include, near production sites, places for leisure activities for their workers; a fact that Kurz names perverse concern, “because it has nothing to do with the well-being of the worker (...) what they want is for the worker to be as healthy as possible so that they can get the most out of him” (Kurz, www.geocities).

Martin, Metzger & Pierre (2004) state that, according to Rifkin, we are in a third industrial revolution, where generalised automation of productive processes, combined with new forms of capitalist management, implies the elimination of millions of workers worldwide. Further, Gorz states that “not only is work going to run out, but the society of wage earners is threatened by the growing influence of capital upon work”. As a result new forms of work are imposed: *job-sharing*, *part-time work*, temporary work, sub-contracting, *telework*, *jobber* (someone who makes precariousness his way of life), and self-employed worker (who works for low wages and in poor conditions). The intention is to make employment a flexible element in the productive process. Mercure (2000) identifies the increased financial, technical, functional and numerical flexibility, with clear effects on the way we perceive work today. Flexibility is, in fact, a form of pressure, not always negative, on the body of paid workers, because it

implies continuous adjustments of the: remuneration, processes, objectives, methods and organisation of work.

Flexibility is important for the companies which provide services connected with leisure or are dependent on people's free time (seasons of the year and travel). This means that a significant part of the growth of these forms of work is, in reality, linked with times and spaces of leisure.

Martin, Metzger & Pierre (2004) state that the direction for the future is "work less, better, or in other words go in the direction of a society of free time. But this time does not guarantee leisure", it implies more work.

Méda (quoted by Martin, Metzger & Pierre, 2004) questions the valued position of work in the Western mind, in a fully occupied society, as Kurz says, the combination of leisure and work in the same space, avoiding the alienation of work, creating a social place in which the person is not reduced to the function he has (Kurz, www.geocities).

All work is often a mixture of pleasure and suffering, implying both the harsh reality of necessity and the satisfaction of finished work (Martin, Metzger & Pierre, 2004) for this reason it is difficult to define where work begins and leisure ends. "Pleasure in what you do, even if it occupies many hours of the day, demands an intense dedication and absolute concentration. For some, the office, the laboratory, the company, the street, the school, or rather all work places and the activities occurring there may be a source of pleasure and personal fulfilment, without there being anything wrong with this: the expression *work-lovers* is used to describe them." (*O Estado de S. Paulo* – 29/10/04). The pleasure obtained at some moments associated with work may be very close to that obtained during leisure activities, indeed, it is difficult for some of us to understand how some work is not considered leisure, or how it is that a certain task is paid, when it would be a pleasure for us to do it for free. The footballer, the disc jockey, the masseur or masseuse at the SPA, the F1 pilot, the lifeguard, are a few examples, which, however, very often represent, for those who practice these activities, routine, monotonous and repetitive situations, which make them what in truth they are: jobs. That does not mean that these people do not find pleasure in these activities, however, the interpretation of either the observer or participant in the situation implies a perception which is the result of idiosyncratic interpretations, which are themselves the result of cultural aspects and influences of the *global* way of life. The Marlboro Man, the series Baywatch, Coca-Cola, surfers, Barbie, the beef-burger, Nike, the resorts and the amusement parks, are potent images due to the impact of global television networks which connect us and make us perceive the reality of both work and leisure wrongly.

This, because many of the best leisure facilities in the world are stained by poverty and exploitation of labour. On the list of the hundred best hotels in the world (<http://www.mapsofworld.com/world-hotels/top-100.html>) 40% are in places belonging to developing or Third World countries, resulting in islands of splendour and luxury right in the middle of areas which are truly problematic in socio-economic terms, but which are sustained on the idea of more work for better leisure.

Whatever your understanding is, seeing work as a value in risk of extinction, as Méda says (quoted by Martin, Metzger & Pierre, 2004) contradicts the results of numerous surveys in which work remains in second place, right after family and well

before friends, leisure activities and religion. However it is interesting to see that some countries (France, Italy, Spain and Portugal, for example) have started to create systems which may revolutionise the value of work. A good example of this are Time Banks (Bancos de Tempo).

Today we work more “because in the modern economy, the time used by machines is not used in benefit of the employees. It is used in more production. The economy of time either results in more work or in unemployment” (Kurz, www.geocities.com). This means that the economy of time at work does not mean an increase in leisure time, while the increasing importance of the consumer society means that we are obliged to spend more time at work. Quino gives us a good example of this organisation in a conversation between Mafalda and Libertad: “as his wage wasn’t enough to live on he had to get another job, but as he didn’t have enough time he was always late to both jobs. And as he was about to be fired from one job and couldn’t live with just the other one, he had to buy a car by instalments with what he earns at the job he had to get when he couldn’t live with just one wage, so, in order to live now he only has the wage from the first job, but with the car he always arrives on time to both jobs, and that’s for sure” (Quino, 1991).

There may be some polarization in the evolution of the division between work time and leisure time because in the last twenty years lower class workers reduce the time they spend at work and gain more free time than those in higher classes and workers may now have more free time than their bosses (Zuzanek *et al.*, 1998). It should be stressed that there has been a recent change in the decrease in paid working hours and factors such as the globalization imposed by economic competition, the reduction of jobs which increases the work of those who remain, flexibility of work and social insecurity which encourages part-time work or second jobs and the syndrome of work-and-spend due to consumerism. “Paid work increasingly dominates people’s lives, because people work more and more intensively than ever” (Lewis, 2003: 343).

The atypical work and jobs mentioned above are responsible for violations of people’s private lives, which although more or less accepted, create a certain pressure which is released in the leisure activities people seek. Nevertheless the line drawn between time outside work and the time spent at work, between private and professional work, tends, among contemporary wage earners, to disappear which encourages many forms of servitude (Vega, 2004: 7) and it is not only the lower paid jobs which show this tendency. Lewis (2003: 343) also states that “as time expands to reach the global 24 hour market and space is compressed by computer technologies and advances in communications so the temporal and spatial frontiers between paid work and personal life become blurred”. The notion of the client-king (or the client is always right) makes all service relationships extremely dependant on situations of servitude which creates an industrial rationale within the services. When considering the work at the hypermarket till, Vega (2004) states that the transposition of the industrial conveyor belt is completed by the sequence of gestures, words and attitudes which the staff adopts concerning the clients, worthy of Taylor.

Of course, there are different situations related to the invasion of private life by the world of work. In fact, this invasion may be understood as just one more conquest for the ideology of profit, which takes another step in guaranteeing that all space may be productive, in a clear process of globalisation. Just look at the examples of *piecework*,

of *paid-by-the-minute worker*, who wait at home for a few hours of work or *telework*, which are invasions of our private times and spaces.

	End of day	Weekend	Holidays	Retirement
Home	Board games Tv, Radio Reading Listening to music	Games Tv, Radio Reading Listening to music Do It Yourself (DIY)	Games Tv, Radio Reading Listening to music Do It Yourself (DIY)	Games Tv, Radio Reading Listening to music Do It Yourself (DIY)
Nearby Places	Outdoor games Walks Sports Visits to café Visits to cinema	Outdoor games Walks Sports Visits to café Visits to cinema and theatre	Games Walks Sports Visits to café Shows	Outdoor games Walks Sports Visits to café Cinema and theatre
Medium Distance Places		Short trips (car, by bicycle, on foot) Cinema and theatre Shows Trips resulting from daily life	Short trips (car, by bicycle, on foot) Visits to countryside, mountains beach Cultural visits	Trips Car journeys (countryside, mountains, beach, SPAs)
Distant Places			Tourism Cruises Sport Mountains Countryside Beach	Tourism Cruises Sport Mountains Countryside Beach

Fig. 2 – Classification of leisure activities.

Source: Gama, 1988.

It is therefore increasingly clear that there are situations which involve the double situation of work and leisure. There may be situations which, while implying obligation and remuneration, may also imply pleasure, hedonism and freewill. We may also find situations of “co-presence: the producer and the consumer, the seller and the buyer. Or rather, the same practices are performed by some as work, while for others, as leisure” (Gama & Santos, 1991: 109). Yet, we should give importance to leisure as a social organiser and guide for more and more people, not only in terms of seasonal holidays, but also in terms of daily life, the weekend or seasonal breaks, as Gama (1988) refers to (Fig. 2). Some months ago we wrote (Santos, 2005) that “culture and social identity define the behaviour of people in an increasingly globalised world. The assumption of the pertinence of this statement allows us to make leisure a subject for transversal analysis: reaching different scales, occurring in both short and long terms, promoting production and consumption, integrating synchronic and diachronic situations, assuming unavoidable value relations and acts of social isolation. These scales are expressed in an urban world which values rural and *empty* spaces, transforms spaces into places and uses non-places and provides examples of conglomeration and differentiation”.

Leisure is intimately connected to the consumer society, but the logic of consumption is not superimposed on that of leisure. Consumerism seeks human satisfaction by the

acquisition of goods and leisure has its aesthetic fulfillment in the enjoyment of a moment and is not related with time but intensity (Zorrilla Castrejana, 1990: 86). When this happens with the acquisition of goods, we are actually having a moment of leisure; this is why it is said many times that shopping is a form of leisure.

Choice and free will have always been fundamental elements of any definition of leisure, but there are also various limits which may be associated with leisure activities. Leisure is a non-coercive activity performed during free time, it is something that a person wants to do, seeking personal satisfaction using his abilities and resources, and is fulfilled by doing so (Stebbins, 2005). Leisure is confused with cultural activities, creating a kind of “pan-culturalism” with the effect, at least apparently, of ending the bourgeois model according to which culture is divided into culture of the masses and culture of the elite (Zorrilla, 1990). Culture is associated with leisure because the origins of culture rest on games more than work (Rojek, 2001).

Dominant Groups	Trend Followers
Social distinction	The illusion of equality Democratisation of consumption
Reduced Access New Leisure Activities and Space	Broader Access New Leisure Activities and Space
Novelty	Copying
Sophistication	Banality
Exclusivity	Crowds
Rareness	Ubiquity
Exotism	Standardization
Distant places	Near places

Fig. 3 – Leisure: between elitism and democratisation.

But, is there a form of democratisation resulting from leisure? As Stebbins states it is important to distinguish between *casual leisure* (Stebbins, 2001) and *serious leisure*. Casual leisure may be obtained by the majority of the population as it is “a leisure activity producing an immediate pleasure, it is intrinsically rewarding, short term and requires little or no practice to experience the pleasure it produces”. Other leisure activities involve longer periods of time, careful and expensive preparation, specialised knowledge and skills in order to perform the activity which may take place in international or global space.

Our well-being and quality of life appear to depend increasingly on our capacity to enjoy casual leisure which culture broadly promotes in significant ways. However, the elite (upper classes) wish to retain the difference they have with the *tour* of the 19th and early 20th centuries. “If tourism, leisure activity *par excellence* is one of the most important socio-cultural and economic phenomena nowadays, it also continues to be a major factor of social segregation (...)” (Gama, 1988). The elite promote the restriction of access by means of the novelty, sophistication, exclusivity and the rarity of the distant and exotic places where the leisure activities occur. It is a race to be first, attributing a symbolic value which leads to the global but which may only be accessed by the few, leaving a broad access to casual leisure activities and those which imitate the lifestyles of the dominant classes but which are associated with

more ordinary and nearer places to the general public but not the poor and those excluded by society.

Conclusion

Work is, for each person, a time alienated by the will of the employer who defines the tasks and functions; leisure discovers its own perversion in consumption.

In fact the shadow of consumerism may well transform leisure, as many leisure facilities have the consumption of goods and not leisure services as such (as occurs in many cinema chains and sports stadiums), with “the consumer society completely colonising the places where leisure activities occur” (Ritzer & Stillman, 2001: 111). *McDonaldisation* is therefore present in many leisure activities and is not limited to the world of work. However, it is exactly this kind of rationalisation which should be avoided, thus preserving free-will, or at least people’s non-coercive choice. This occurs because the capitalist economy is one of the main forces promoting rationalisation, due to the relation between rationalisation, efficiency and profit. The ideology of profit tries to give *homo ludens* the head of *homo faber*, presupposing the valuation of work over leisure. Leisure is colonised by the regime of work, according to the references of the School of Frankfurt which suggest that leisure for the masses strengthens the dependence on capitalist organisation (Rojek, 2001).

In fact, nowadays, leisure is assumed as a central orientation in people’s daily lives, particularly those which have significant connections with urban spaces, either by means of casual leisure or more organised leisure. Are we heading for a post-work society, as suggested by Gorz (1999), “where work is considered as a necessary evil (...) where the compulsion to work is a disguised symptom of the desire for leisure (...) and a way of participating in the culture of consumption and the economy of leisure” (Rojek, 2001: 121).

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