

A society that has leisure more and more as a basic need. The evolution of leisure seen by the Portuguese perspective.

Uma sociedade que tem o lazer cada vez mais como uma necessidade básica. A evolução do lazer vista pela perspectiva portuguesa.

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Abstract

Leisure is currently seen as a social value of reference. Perceived and valued as a way of rest, but simultaneously of fun, development and personal formation, leisure affects a significant part of our free time and our free will. In this article, particular attention is given to the explication and the integration of the concepts of working time, free time and leisure time. It is valued the interpretation given to leisure and the consecutive changes that brought us to the current understanding of leisure practices. Various perspectives of socioeconomic interpretation of leisure valuation, from the civilization of leisure to the societies of free time, consumption, spectacle, fun, postmodern and hypermodern, are discussed. The theoretical and statistical results show that Portuguese society, although it has had a later economic advance than other Western societies, is currently a society that values the forms and services that provide access to leisure. Consequently, it is beginning to approach the patterns of consumption and habits of these countries. In view of the enormous diversity of interpretations, a synthesis work is carried out on the meanings of the relations between the socioeconomic and the leisure elements.

Keywords: evolution of leisure concept, social value of leisure, leisure in the Portuguese society, leisure - work relations

Resumo

O lazer é atualmente visto como um valor social de referência. Percebido e valorizado como uma forma de descanso, mas simultaneamente de diversão, desenvolvimento e formação pessoal, o lazer afeta uma parte significativa do nosso tempo livre e do nosso livre arbítrio. Neste artigo, é dada particular atenção à explicação e integração dos conceitos de tempo de trabalho, tempo livre e tempo de lazer. Valoriza-se a interpretação dada ao lazer e às mudanças consecutivas que nos trouxeram à compreensão atual das práticas de lazer. São discutidas várias perspectivas de interpretação socioeconómica da valorização do lazer, desde a civilização do lazer até às sociedades do tempo livre, do consumo, do espetáculo, do divertimento, da pós-modernidade e da hipermodernidade. Os resultados teóricos e estatísticos mostram que a sociedade portuguesa, embora tenha tido um avanço económico mais tardio do que outras sociedades ocidentais, é presentemente uma sociedade que valoriza as formas e serviços que facultam o acesso ao lazer. Consequentemente, começa a aproximar-se dos padrões de consumo e hábitos desses países. Diante da enorme diversidade de interpretações, propõe-se uma sistematização de síntese sobre os significados das relações entre os elementos socioeconómico e lazer.

Palavras-chave: evolução do conceito de lazer, valor social do lazer, lazer na sociedade portuguesa, relações trabalho - lazer

1. Introduction

The economics of leisure and tourism presently occupy a significant part of the global capitalist economic context. In fact, as Sue (1982) points out, this is a full-time economic use of time. Broadly classified as a promoter of employment and wealth, and clearly more present in the most developed societies, it is not unaccountable to situations of more considerable divergence. For example, when related to excesses in the exploration of tourism and leisure resources, as, among other, with motor sports (the negative image which may lead to the association of a rural municipality with polluting sports) or to the improper implementation of real estate (both in coastal urban spaces and in the sun, sea and sand tourism territories). In fact, the capitalist valorisation of time makes leisure time also become a motivation for profit, giving rise to some situations of lack of sustainability in territorial terms.

Sometimes, there are in addition, violations of existing environmental restrictions and lack of participatory planning with a precise definition of interest groups (internal and external to companies and organizations), denying the significance of the Triple Helix Model. Or even quadruple, if the public, private, and academia powers bring community participation together. Without this association, there is a growing difficulty to achieve an adequate interpretation of the best practices (benchmarking) and good governance in present situations. Today, opportunities resulting from the growth of the leisure economy are evident and mainly sustainable. The levels achieved in the diversification of supply, through innovation and entrepreneurship, have truly been significant. They have allowed access to market niches that have been very attractive to the consumer and extremely important for the local identity, gentrification and singularity. In fact, being able to promote places and regions' development. That's why leisure has played, plays or should play a key role in the development of participatory planning and the need to identify and co-opt stakeholders to participate in decisions. This contributes to the definition of development strategies and policies at different scales of analysis (local, regional, national and even international). Santos (2013, p. 14) states that these strategies allow a presence in the global market, where the supply needs an effective image and a competitive first-line positioning. To achieve

this, it is necessary to recreate free time, offer products that allow more time for contact with those who seek leisure. Consequently, to offer products that define differences and identities (society in a growing differentiation between rich and poor), innovating and differentiating.

In this paper, we recover the guidance of Dumazedier (1962) when affirming the social value of leisure and the reflection of a social economy of free time and leisure. This last factor is associated with the capacity to integrate increasingly complex and diverse processes of development and formation in leisure time, capable of generating desires that, in the western societies (personal quality of life), are transformed into basic necessities.

In fact, this path of leisure heads us to the perspective of Ascher (2005), who states that

eclectic readers manufacture for themselves their theoretical assemblages; in the same way that each person builds a unique diet from an increasingly varied register; that the spectators in the television zapping sessions organize an evening that is only theirs; and that individuals become more and more the disc jockeys of their own existence. (p. 18)

2. Method and findings

2.1. A society that has leisure more and more as a basic need

It is intended, through theoretical and concepts discussion, to comprehend how leisure has evolved to the present. Through its evolution, is proposed to identify the trends of the population in present time and how they live it. When recognized this, the stakeholders, among them those of tourism, will have a greater capacity to adapt their products and services offer to the markets (population).

Not everyone has the same access to leisure, and even in the developed world, many are still excluded from most leisure activities for various reasons (between democratization and elitism) (Santos & Gama, 2008). Starting from this assumption of partition of the world with differentiated access to goods and services, we live in a space-time dimension. Concerning this, Torsten Hägerstrand (who developed the first studies on geography of space-time) conceptualized the path that each individual goes through.

Likewise, no matter of the space used, time consumption is inexorable (although the psychological measure of time can vary significantly). According to Hägerstrand (Corbett, 2005), the physical area around a given individual is reduced to a two-dimensional plan, where its location and destination are represented as null-dimension points. Time is represented by the vertical axis, generating a three-dimensional image and representing a specific part of space-time. The expression of quotidian mobility, which has home and work as its primary stations, is withal increasingly. It is related to the search for leisure time in free time, thus amplifying the routes and places used by people in their day by day. However, Frémont (1980) states that each person organizes its own space/time in concentric shells (Moles & Rohmer, 1972) around itself, according to its knowledge and its relations with people and their experiences. Thinking and discussing leisure in human society is inseparable from these spatial dimensions.

If leisure is associated with the present societies of the most developed countries, as Joffre Dumazedier stated about the arrival of the leisure society (when he wrote the book *Vers une civilisation du loisir?*), in 1962, it is important to realize that its origin may have a very broad historical retrospective. Leisure may have, in the human being, an intrinsic origin through the act of playing. Huizinga (1980 - 1st edition in 1938) states that the act of playing predates the game's own definitions. Just as animals participate in activities of social hierarchy, executing playful practices as soon as they are born, so do humans, since they are born and throughout their lives. The game factor is always present throughout the entire cultural process and has produced many fundamental forms of social life. "The spirit of playful competition is as a social impulse, older than the culture itself and goes through a life like a true leaven" (Huizinga, 1980, p. 173). The author also points out that "ritual grew from the sacred game; poetry was born and was nourished through the game; music and dance are authentic games. Wisdom and philosophy graces in words and forms derived from religious debates" (1980, p. 173). It is possible to assume, then, that the creative act works and organizes much like this game, in a game that we want to win.

Huizinga (1980) presents a historical summary of the elements of play throughout history. Predominantly, the twentieth-century social life has been increasingly dominated by a feature that possesses

something in common with the game, bringing the illusion of a developed playful factor. Adolescence typical characteristics and behaviours have become part of the adult sphere. Huizinga (1980) designates (in 1938, first edition) puerility as the appropriate term to define the extent of characteristics of adolescence in the adult state. More recently, Lipovsky (2007) when valuing hypermodernity refers to this search and manifestation of adolescence during adulthood as *adulthood*, a phenomenon that contributes considerably to the search for leisure activities of adult and adult/elderly populations.

In all of these approaches, the game/play element is culturally central. It is developed within certain limits of space, time and meaning, and according to an established system of rules. The game has no contact with reality outside itself and contains its end in its own accomplishment. However, technological advances with very interactive apps, collective games, augmented reality and practically unlimited access to forms of communication, have altered the meaning and accessibility of the game. Igarza (2009) refers to this as the occupation of interstitial times work, daily commutes, waiting for transportation, in the pause of a conversation, etc. Today's society has been shaped by multi-transformations which have taken place over the centuries. They have introduced macro temporal fields into the day-to-day of the population, each time having justified reasons for its individualization/opposition to others. Although overlapping sometimes, working time, free time and leisure time, possess a dominant structure that still integrates.

2.2. Working time, free time and leisure time

If the game, for Huizinga (1980), is a characteristic intrinsic to the human being and has regressed to the point of disappearance in the present civilization, leisure occupied that position. It is dominating and providing place to the own and designated leisure society. Western and westernized societies have had, until now, undergone profound changes in various parameters, leading to the introduction and discussion of diverse approaches to free time and leisure.

Changes over the last few centuries, such as progressive reductions in working time and the consequent increase of leisure time, the at-

tainment of the right to pay leave, an increase in the average life expectancy and anticipation of the retirement age, the development of transport and communications, the increase of the insertion of women in the labour market and the development of mass consumption (also reflected in the increase of the consumption of leisure practices), were some of the factors that contributed to the construction of successive analyses of the problem of free time and leisure. (Marques, 2013, p. 63)

The division of time and the valorisation of working and non-working time have been altered over time as the changes occurred at the economic, political and social levels. If until the beginning of the twentieth-century, leisure was associated with some social classes (as mentioned by Veblen, 1965, in *The Theory of the Leisure Class*), before, with the industrial revolution, work became the core element for the moral and social valuation of the human being itself. From the nineteenth century onwards, the prevailing economic theories were embodied (Martins, 2004). Subsequently, leisure, as defended by Lafargue (1991) in 1880, was seen as a necessity to maintain industrial productivity levels. They're being a need to create unproductive classes (Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, 1776) to sell the growing productions of material goods. Leisure initiated the twentieth century with the name of a class (Veblen, 1965, first edition in 1900) and ends it as a category of consumption. In the twentieth century, leisure was seen as an adequate reward for those who were working. It had standing out in the decades of (19) 60 and (19) 70 and up to now as a social, production and consumption values (Marques, 2013).

Leisure is today assumed as an attribute of civilizational progress, marking the primitive world passage from unceasing work towards a future of play and continued pleasure. As Santos (2013, p. 16) says, "thus the modification of the structures of social times turns leisure into a necessity for a significant part of the population. It is no longer seen merely as the result of a desire or aspiration". This perspective, in the societies of the developed world, was responsible for the importance of leisure increase and the time that each one reserves for it. The result was a valuation that "has triggered changes in consumption habits, social relations and the functions of space. These changes accentuate the theoretical emergence of handling the themes of consumption, leisure, and tertiary sector increasing as social

processes that continuously shape each other" (Santos, 2001, p. 195).

It was in Greece of Aristotle and Plato that the idea of leisure (through the idle concept) was something more than a mere free time, emerged. The Greek understanding of leisure was based on an association with self-learning instead of free time. Parker (1976, p. 26) states that "the original meaning of the Greek word *scholē* was 'to stop' or 'to cease', and therefore to have peace and quiet. Later on, it came to signify *available time* or especially, 'time for you'". In societies of classical antiquity, idleness was a class-specific attribute, and there was a social separation in the labour/idleness relationship. In Roman civilization, this relationship was identical in its social relation and in the Latin language, the word idle (*otium*) opposed the word *negotium* (deprivation of leisure, work). In both cases (Greek and Roman realities), work is defined by a prefix of negation, which expresses the negative mode as it was viewed socially (Gama, 2008a). In preindustrial societies, feudal (Western) organization, the Muslim world and the East, there were the same cleavages between the idle classes and the broad mass of serfs dedicated to labour. In medieval society, the relation between working time and non-working time was regulated, on one hand, by the church, and on the other hand, by the climatic rhythms (Sue, 1980). The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the first industrial and the second industrial revolutions occurred, were dominated by diverse ideologies. Idleness was condemned, and work was expressed as an inner element of human life. "Idleness is condemned for its non-productive character, for its social inefficiency, and nineteenth-century society is seen as a production society, where idleness (leisure) is disapproved" (Santos, 2013, p. 4).

In 1776, the first edition of Adam Smith's work, *The Wealth of Nations*, is published. This philosopher and economist enunciates industry as the exclusive form of wealth and prosperity. According to this author, there was a dichotomy between what would be considered productive and non-productive activities (Smith, 2006). The productive activities would be those based on material character or accumulation and exchange, contributing to the creation of wealth. The productive work would generate a value or final good. The non-productive work would disappear when generated (practically all the work and professions that were not of an industrial nature).

The theoretician Saint-Simon (1760-1825) also defended a society organized through industrialization and against idleness. Additionally, argued progress through science, as it would determine a political-social change in morality and religion, and with the still existing three principles, coming from the French Revolution: Freedom, Equality and Fraternity. According to Saint-Simon, the industrial society should be led by industrial directors, engineers, scientists and artists, occupying the hierarchical top, with the workers at the bottom of the hierarchy. In its imagined industrial society, workers would be unexploited by entrepreneurs, but would themselves be part of a collective administration, thereby ending private property (Durkheim, 2009). Although in order to criticize negatively the idleness (associated with the upper classes of his epoch), leisure begins its individualization through Veblen (1965) when he published, in the late nineteenth century (1899), the *Theory of the Idle Class*. He described the existing dichotomy between work and leisure through the emergence of a class of capitalist entrepreneurs (considered as idle) limited by the consumption of superfluous goods and seen as unproductive.

With the bourgeois revolutions that occurred between 1640 and 1850 (with its peak in 1848), the aristocratic profile, characterized by absolutist monarchies and the nobility being landowners, gave way to a capitalist society dominated by mercantilism and liberalism. Because of these social struggles and through influential thinkers, issues related to free time began to be in the order of the day, promoting a reduction in working time and an increase in wages. Lafargue (1991), son-in-law of Karl Marx, published in 1880 in the newspaper *L'Égalité*, a text (giving rise to part of his work *The Right to Laziness*) in which he demonstrated against the society, where periods of work surpassed 12 hours daily.

In Britain's pre-industrial society, leisure was not a separate time from the rest of the day. It was part of the time of labour through short breaks and friendly conversations with other individuals. When work began to have a contracting character by another (in the industrialized cities of the nineteenth century) leisure began to be individualized, appearing as an opposition to it, being demanded as a right by factory workers. It was in this context that annual leave (weeks off) arose as a counterpoint to regular attendance at work. While medieval leisure was related to rituals or celebrations, working-class leisure

was served by other related activities (bars, horse races, football, festivities). "A characteristic feature of industrial societies is that 'food scarcity' has given rise to 'time shortages', with special implications for leisure behaviour" (Parker, 1976, p. 32). Dumazedier (1973, cited by Parker, 1976, p. 33) notes "that the two preliminary conditions that allow access to leisure for most workers (the diminution of ritual obligations prescribed by the community and the demarcation between paid work and other activities) exist only in industrial and post-industrial societies". In 1935, Russell (2005) in his book *In Praise of Idleness* proposed a practical connection between working time and free time and where, in an ideal society, workers would flourish in their free times by dedicating themselves to art and culture. He advocated a society no longer centred on work but where idleness was the central element, serving the working time only for the economic subsistence of workers and leisure as the focus of social organization.

Hourdin (1970) witnessed and described a change in the French society from World War II to the 1960s, publishing, in 1961, the book *Pour une civilization des loisirs*. So far, the books of political economy were about the civilization of labour, a consequence of the industrialization in the nineteenth century. Scientific discoveries have thrown into "forced consumption and leisure time use, the hundreds of millions of men who had plucked from the poverty. A new type of man appeared: the man of sport, of small ingenious pastimes, of television and of holidays" (1970, p. 9).

Leisure arose from free time, having been increased during the twentieth century among the working classes of the industries. Despite this, it had a philosophical origin in the nineteenth century through Robert Owen, considered one of the founders of socialism. He was director of relevant industries and had, as ideal, the reduction of the working hours, as it happened with his workers, passing the workdays from 14-16 to about 10,5 hours daily. His influence on governmental entities also occurred, causing the ideal of the work period to decrease to eight hours and complemented by two other equal daily periods of rest (sleep) and free time - totalling the 24 hours of the day (Blyton, 2014).

The evolution of the twentieth century delivered a change in the studies, switching from the analysis of the socioeconomic forms to the analysis of idleness times and leisure. If leisure was

associated within the studies of work in the nineteenth century, in the mid-twentieth century it began to individualize itself as a discipline. To this end, it was important to identify two key trends in the 1920s whose implications for the societies in which they were produced are manifest. Their social objectives of socio-political structures and the different economic logics have created the conditions for a different problematic, expressed in various theoretical currents. One, the current developed in the Soviet Union, triggered by the establishment of the road to socialism, the other developed in capitalist countries, with special significance in the United States (Gama, 2008a). On the Soviet current, Lanfant (1972, p. 209) states that “idleness is treated as a product determined by industrial and technical growth, which generates changes in the framework (life) and ways of life: increased free time, urban life, growth of the standard of living, extension of comfort goods, etc. “

Friedmann (1961, cited by Dumazedier, 1962) excelled in the sociology of work through the analysis of problematic work time/free time. Friedmann was important for the valuation of leisure as an element for the humanization of technical civilization. Free time appeared as a compensation for the setbacks of work. Therefore, a first solution to the problem would be the extension of free time and in its more humane use. Dumazedier (1962) was evidenced by the autonomy of the sociology of leisure, separating his field of study from the sociology of work. He stated the arrival of the civilization of leisure, leaving work from represent the central element to become leisure, instead. In this civilization, free time and leisure time would emerge as times of consumption. As Baudrillard (1973) mentions, men are for the first time surrounded by objects, which become ephemeral and always present. In this sense, Dumazedier defined leisure (after the liberation of the professional, family and social obligations), as a set of occupations that each individual can use freely. They can be used whether for rest, for fun, recreation, or entertainment, in order to develop his information or disinterested formation and for his free creative capacity. Touraine (1969) states that the discussion of time and the problem/theme of idleness were brought by the theorists of the post-industrial era. They consider them as attributes that characterize societies.

The disciple of Dumazedier, Pronovost (2011, first edition in 1996), in addition, carried out a research on leisure, producing publications on the subject since the 1980s. The author claims the complexity of leisure and the importance of his study for the understanding of contemporary society. In this sense, it is also natural and necessary to separate leisure from the sociology of work, culminating in the creation of leisure sociology. He says free time differs from social time (relative to obligations) because it is related to activities endowed with distinctive attributes like freedom, personal satisfaction, and creativity. It is also mentioned that leisure can have distinct conceptions through culture and time in the territories and populations under analysis. The value of leisure may be distinctive among various populations and even within them, depending on academic level, financial ability, gender and age. Lefévre (1968, cited by Gama, 2008b) affirms that the evolution of the organization of industrial work has led to the valuation of free time and leisure time. This resulted in the differentiation of the forms taken in industrial societies, and where the fatigues of modern life make fun, distraction and rest indispensable.

Lanfant (1972) assumes leisure as a set of activities that occur in free time. It is being delimited from working time, that is, defined as economic value determined by the state of the productive forces and the modes of distribution of the social product. Parker (1976, p. 35) reports that in Britain, in the 1970s, two temporal propositions on leisure were verified: “that leisure time is distributed equitably evenly, and that society no longer divides into one class of leisure and another deprived of leisure“. One of the ways to measure leisure time is to consider it as the surplus after time spent working. In this sense, it was found that there were no significant disparities in British society between classes as to the number of hours devoted to work. In the case of access to leisure opportunities, it was verified that the diverse classes possessed them. However, this access, although increasingly massified thanks to the leisure industries, was not egalitarian. It was confined to the classes with greater economic power the access to paid activities as hunting, cruises around the world, etc., while, in 1972, “41% of Britain’s population was expecting not to have holidays that year or if they do, just staying at home“ (Parker, 1976, p. 37). Comparatively, in 2015 in Portugal, only

43.3% (4,47 million) of the country's residents made a tourist trip (one or more overnights outside their usual environment). The proportion of residents who travelled exclusively through Portugal in 2015 was 32.4% (30.7% in 2014), while 3.8% of residents travelled exclusively abroad (3.2% in 2014). It was also found that 7.1% of the resident population travelled both on domestic and international trips (6.0% in 2014). The *Leisure, recreation or holidays* was the tourist trips motive for more than 3.1 million residents in 2015, equivalent to 30.1% of the resident population (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2016).

Sue (1982), on the importance of free time, points out that it is from work that the feeling of free time results. Concerning the appreciation of leisure time, it is manifested through leisure practices, forms of human emancipation and appreciation of social relations; this would be the post-industrial society: the society of free time. Bailly and Béguin (1982, cited by Gama, 2008a) affirm that the notion of time is inscribed in all human societies, in the *continuum* of collective history and lived experience.

Stockdale (1985) has identified three vital forms where the concept of leisure is used: (1) as a temporal space, activity or state of mind where the choice represent the dominant attribute, there being (2) an objective view in which leisure is seen as the opposite of work and defined as non-work, and (3) a subjective idea that emphasizes leisure as a qualitative concept, where related activities have their own meaning in the context of each individual's perceptions and beliefs, and can therefore happen at any time and in any situation. Elias and Dunning (1992) state the role of sport in the formation of contemporary societies. They discuss the main aspects of leisure as a space of interaction and sociability. They allege in their research, the moral and de-stressing function of leisure. That is, leisure activities would act as a way of escape, facilitating the process of social norms incorporation.

The civilization of leisure enunciated by Dumazedier, brought different conceptions on the way the conquered free time was lived in the post-industrial society. Baudrillard (1970), as a reaction to growing consumption in this society announced in 1969 through his publication, *La société de consommation* (The consumption society). He pointed out that although free time had become a centrality in society (occupying this position from work), consumption was increasingly occupying free time. Therefore,

leisure's lost the sense of personal creativity to provide place to leisure industries and the domination of mass consumption forms.

In 1967, Débord (2003) came up with the concept of a society of spectacle where the influence of the Fordism normalization and social followership (lack of individuality of each subject in relation to the initiative) had transformed society in these years of (19) 60. Here, the spectacle was the main product of society in its day-to-day life, being the reason for goods and spectacles to dominate both the economy and the society. The theatricality and the representation took the society totally, transforming the natural and the authenticity into an illusion. The spectacle would be the result of existing modes of production, a mean of dominating society, and a form of affirmation choices already made at the time of production. It would then be the third of the three moments that Débord affirms mankind to have lived: the *appearing*. In the first moment, *being* was the central element of each individual and therefore it sought to transcend itself through philosophy, art and religion. With the industrial revolution comes the second moment, the *having*, as human centrality and as a form of personal satisfaction (access and possession of goods, a consequence of mass production). It would then be the decline of being in having and of having in appearing.

Gama (2008b) (initial edition in 1988) points out that the capitalist appropriation of space (consequence of industrialization and development of transport), originated new leisure practices. As a consequence, times and spaces start being differentiated and related to these practices. In this sense, the time periods can be as short as the end of a day or take the length of a weekend, a longer period of labour holidays or even the retirement period of a person (several years). The spatiality is systemized between the practices performed at home and those performed outside (with different ranges/distances).

Langman (1992) argues that the greatest social change in mankind in the post-industrial period may have been the transformation of the working-class. He conceptualizes it from an entertainment society. He refers to a society of amusement, where the main change lies in the transformation of people from workers to modern consumers into a global market. Daily strategies and relationships attend a never-ending celebration of fun, so it is possible to obtain love for the lonely, sex for the excited, excitement for

the bored, identities for the voids, duty for those responsible.

Tribe (2011) (first edition in 1995) reports that, from the last decades of the twentieth century to the present, considerable elements have emerged that testify the arrival of leisure society. The years 1970s witnessed the arrival of Ian Dury's single - *Sex, Drugs & Rock and Roll*. Disney arrived in Europe and Japan with its theme parks in the 1990s. Sony launched PlayStation, and places like Ibiza and Cancun have become destinations for seemingly continuous party's organization. In 2001, the world witnessed the first space tourist and the *Burj Al Arab* hotel in Dubai went from five to seven stars. The author argues that in the developed world, the opportunities for leisure have never been as favourable as today, like increased incomes, technological advances and the enormous variety of new products. At the present (in the North American reality), almost all households have televisions and personal computers, goods that were considered as luxury in the decades of (19) 60 and of (19) 70. Only a fraction of the income of each individual is necessary to satisfy fundamental needs like eating, dressing and living. Rising incomes are increasingly directed towards spending on leisure. Kitchen appliances, washing machines and dinnerware, were meant to generate more free time (Tribe, 2011).

In 2015/2016, the reality regarding households in Portugal with equipment to support domestic work, communication and leisure activities, demonstrates an approximation to the standards of the most developed countries. According to Figure 1, it can be observed that domestic support equipment reaches high percentages, like the ownership of a stove or hob (99.7%), a fridge (99.3%), a washing machine (94%), microwave (88.9%), among others. In developed countries, after obtaining equipment that reduces the time spent with domestic work, the use of income for the acquisition of communication and leisure equipment appears. In this sense, in Portugal, 98.9% of the households had a television set; including a more significant percentage than domestic work support equipment (except for the stove or hob and fridge). The following major percentages of goods related to communication and leisure reported in 2015/2016: mobile telephone (93.4%), landline telephone (77.2%), access equipment to cable or satellite television (74.3), internet connection (66.8%) and computer (66.3%).

Regarding the average annual expenditure of households (Classification of Individual Consumption by Objective - COICOP) in Portugal in 2015/2016 (Figure 2), *Housing, water, electricity, gas and other fuels*, occupy the largest part of the expenditures

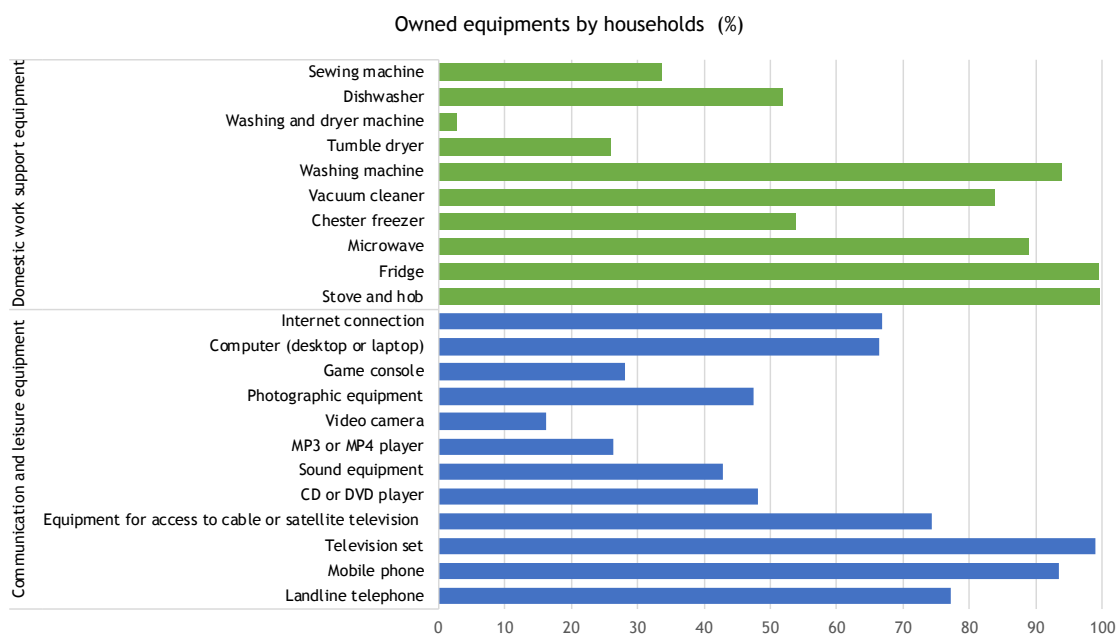


Figure 1

Domestic work support, communication and leisure equipment's by households in Portugal in 2015/2016 (%).

Source: Instituto Nacional de Estatística (2017).

(31.9%) with €6.501 spent in a total of 20.363 Euros (Instituto Nacional de Estatística, 2017). The expenses related to *Leisure, recreation and culture* represent only 4.2% (€845) but it's important to note that leisure purposes can be also included, in *Restaurants and hotels* expenses category (representing 8.8%). This category is divided between Meal services and Accommodation services, and annual average expenses are of €1,643 and €143, respectively. In that sense, an average of €4.50 is daily spent on meal services by Portuguese households.

Lipovetsky and Charles (2004) conceptualized the current society as a hypermodern one. Lipovetsky (2007) also described it as the hyper consumption society. The hypermodern society corresponds to the hyper valuation society of the intimate sensations, hyper narcissism where the paradoxes of modernity are clear and where the responsible/irresponsible dichotomy is very present. In the hyper consumption society, individuals tend to situate their interests and pleasures, first and foremost, in family and sentimental life, at home, in holidays and trips, or with leisure activities and other associative activities. This hyper consumption society is filled by leisure practices that instil, in the population, the development of individual fitness, health, sexuality and beauty, instigating a constant intensification of these

same goals. Santos (1999) identifies two resulting consumption processes: democratization and the elitism of consumption. Fundamentally, this massification identifies an impressively broad form of access to leisure, constituting, because it is consumed, a process of democratization of consumption. Simultaneously, however, there is an elitism process, which is characterized by a narrowing of the number of people capable to access to certain leisure facilities and spaces. The dominant groups demarcate, in this way, the vulgarisation of places, equipment and ways of doing. As a consequence, there is the creation of new leisure's and new places of practices in which novelty, sophistication and exclusivity stand out.

According to Bacal (2003), the increasing role of leisure in society derived from the influence of three fundamental processes: (1) industrialization, (2) urbanization and (3) mass communication. The need for workforce for the industries (mainly located in the cities) led to the displacement of a large part of the population. This influenced the way in which space became occupied and used, giving rise to two distinct fractions. One is related to the exercise of industrial activities, and the other one is reserved for residences (in many of which are areas for leisure). The urbanization process therefore influenced leisure time activities through changes in the structural

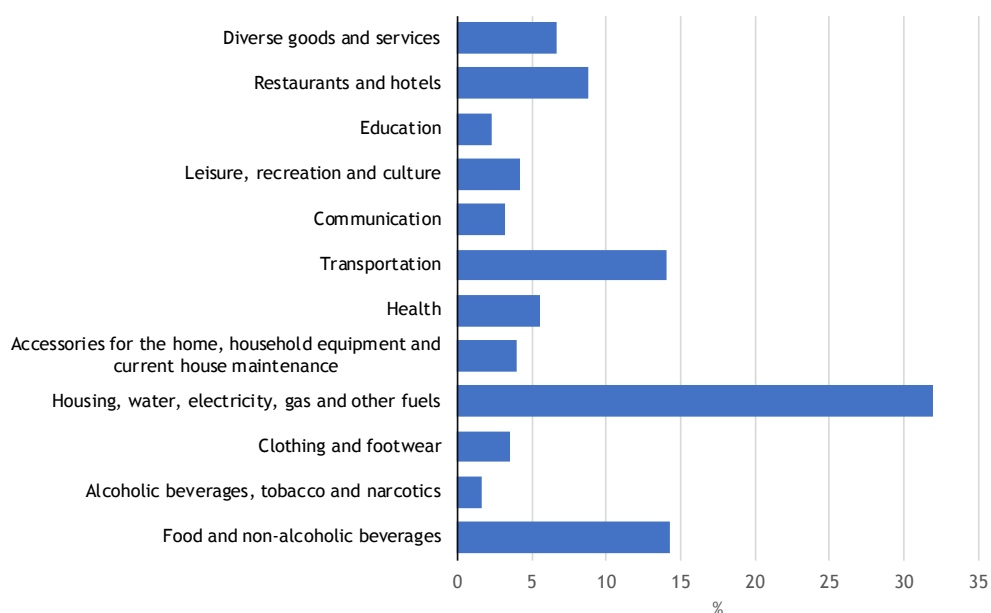


Figure 2
Total annual expenditure average per household in Portugal in 2015/2016.
Source: Instituto Nacional de Estatística (2017).

Table 1
Evolution of leisure in the society

Year	Author	Concept	Philosophy
1776	Smith	The wealth of nations	Industry / work as the only form of prosperity; As idleness was not productive, it should be therefore repudiated.
1760-1825	Saint-Simon	Liberty, equality and fraternity	A society organized through industry and as collective property: Free time was seen as antisocial because it was not productive.
1810	Owen	Eight hours of work, eight hours of rest and eight hours of free time	It had, as ideal, the reduction of industrial workers labour hours and argued that this reduction should decrease for only eight hours per day (being only one of the three egalitarian periods of a day); The others would be for rest and for free time.
1880	Lafargue	The right to laziness	He protested against the long labour days of the working classes.
1899	Veblen	The theory of the idleness class	Dichotomy between work and leisure; Refers to the emergence of an idle class (capitalist entrepreneurs); Differed from other classes through idleness.
1935	Russell	In praise of idleness	He advocated a practical connection between work and leisure; Work would stand for economic subsistence and leisure would be the central element of people's lives.
1938	Huizinga	Homo Ludens	The game / play element as an intrinsic characteristic of the human being since its appearance and precursor of leisure.
1961	Hourdin	A civilization of free times	The emergence of free time as a conquest of the notion of obligation brought by industrial labour; the human being of sports, hobbies, holidays and television emerged.
1961	Friedmann	Sociology of work	The valuation of leisure as an element for the humanization of technical civilization.
1962	Dumazedier	Leisure civilization	Separation of leisure as a field of study of the sociology of work; Work ceased to be the central element of society.
1967	Débord	Society of spectacle	It corresponds to the third moment of humanity: appearing; After the first two moments, being and having; Theatricality and representation supplanted authenticity in society.
1968	Lefévre	Valuing free time and leisure	The evolution of the industrial organization led to the valuation of free time and leisure; Fun, distraction and rest become indispensable.
1969	Baudrillard	Society of consumption	The personal creativity in leisure came to give way to the consumption of and by the masses, originating the leisure industries.
1969	Touraine	The use of time	It points to the importance of studying the spatio-temporal combination in order to understand society; Importance of the knowledge on how time is used by contemporary society.
1972	Lanfant	Leisure as an economic value	Leisure as a set of activities that occur in free time, being delimited from working time, that is, defined as economic value determined by the productive forces.
1976	Parker	The inter-class leisure time	It was found that leisure time was similarly distributed across all classes of Great Britain in the decade (19) 70; There was, however, a differentiation in leisure activities according to the classes.
1982	Sue	Free time society	Free time as a result of working time. Leisure activities in this free time are forms of human emancipation and appreciation of social relations.
1982	Bailly & Béguin	The notion of time	They affirm that the notion of time is inscribed in all human societies, in the continuum of collective history and the experience of life.
1985	Stockdale	Three main forms of leisure	Leisure as (1) time space, activity or state of mind where choice is the dominant attribute; (2) opposed to work (not work); (3) qualitative concept, where related activities have their own meaning for each individual.
1988	Gama	The times, the spaces and the new practices of idle	The development of transport and capitalist appropriation of space (the consequence of industrialization) led to new idle practices, with the times and spaces being differentiated and related to these practices.
1992	Langman	Entertainment society	The transformation of the workers' society into consumers of amusements.
1995	Tribe	Evidence from the leisure society	Affirms that the last decades have witnessed the arrival of the leisure society because there have never been so many opportunities for leisure as in this time due to the increase in income, technological advances and the enormous variety of new products.
1996	Pronovost	Sociology of leisure	Leisure is so complex and so important for the understanding of contemporary society that it should have its own autonomy of study.
1999	Santos	Democratization and leisure elitism process	The access massification to leisure has brought democratization. Parallel to this is the elitism, which consists in the narrowing of the number of people able to access, rather than to certain leisure's, or to certain spaces.
2003	Bacal	The three key processes for leisure growth	The growing role of leisure in society was derived from the influence of three fundamental processes: industrialization, urbanization and mass communication.
2004	Lipovetsky & Charles	Hypermodern society	Hyper valuation society of intimate sensations, and of hyper narcissism where the paradoxes of modernity are clear and where the responsible / irresponsible dichotomy is very present.
2004	Aubert	Hypermodern individual	The hypermodern individual as being pressed for time and tormented with urgency, reflecting on compulsive behaviours to immediately satisfy their desires and living each moment with maximum intensity.
2005	Ascher	The third modernity	The hypermodern eater. Individualization, rationalization, differentiation and economization coexist and, one way or another, there is a reciprocal relationship.
2007	Lipovetsky	Hyper consumption society	The society, where consumption absorbs and integrates even larger portions of social life is arranged according to individual ends and criteria, and according to an emotive and hedonistic logic that makes each individual to consume. Not to rival with others, but to feel pleasure.

Source: Authors

Table 1
Evolution of leisure in the society

Year	Author	Concept	Philosophy
2007	Nazareth	Economic impact of leisure	Passage from compacting economy / time violation to an economy in which leisure is understood as basic need.
2008/2014	Stebbins (with Elkington)	Serious Leisure and its Perspective (SLP)	Rigor, commitment, organization and dedication to the leisure activity that was being participated by individuals; later, leisure fosters positive development not only in the individual but also on the community.
2010	Cohen	Authenticity in leisure	The growing importance of authenticity in research discourses and its association with leisure time and practices.

Source: Authors

organization of the urban environment, sequencing changes in the types of buildings, occupation of urban areas and associated transportation services.

Aubert (2004) characterized the hypermodern individual as being pressed over time and tormented with urgency. That is reflected on the compulsive behaviours to immediately satisfy his desires and living each moment with maximum intensity. The thought of the hypermodern individual is invariably turned to figure out how to make himself with the help of cutting-edge techniques.

Nazareth (2007) highlights the economic impact of leisure in today's westernized society, where people spend large sums of money to buy, rent or lease leisure-related goods and services. To these, substantial sums that are generated annually with entertainment, reading, cooking and eating out, adult education, sports and physical activity, play and travel, are added. That is, leisure is a big business today and this is due to the population having the time and financial resources to consume in related goods and services.

Stebbins (2008) introduced between 1973 and 1976 the concept of organization in leisure time activities. It emerged with the designation of serious leisure, in the sense of rigor, commitment, organization and dedication to the leisure activity that was being participated by individuals with this standpoint. In 2014, this author, together with Elkington (Elkington & Stebbins, 2014), introduce the serious leisure perspective (SLP), a deeper concept, referring that leisure fosters positive development in both individuals and community.

Cohen (2010) emphasizes the growing importance of authenticity in research discourses and its association with leisure time and practices. "The introduction of the discourse of authenticity into leisure studies, with its accompanying connotations, could therefore open a new perspective on the nature and social significance of (non-travel) leisure experiences" (2010, p. 70).

Starting in 1776 with Smith (2006) exalting and recommending industrial labour as the sole form of prosperity and repudiating idleness, the present society of the twenty-first century reveals a profound change. Leisure (the modern concept of idleness) is an integral part of society and the economy, which is largely dependent on and making millions of people dependent on it, with a range of leisure-related products and services ready to be consumed. In that sense, we sustain a society that has leisure more and more as a basic need (Table 1).

3. Conclusion

Industrialization brought unparalleled changes to the societies where it occurred and was central to the development of leisure, as we see it today. Industrialization also moved populations between territories and greatly altered spatiality through urbanization. It was seen as the only form of society's prosperity, being leisure something negative. However, as antithesis to the extended days of industrial work, the philosophies and the measures that increasingly promoted the free time appeared. The industrial production itself and the technical evolution increased the consumption through the economic facilitation of access to goods by population, which, in turn, was earning more and more income. Numerous nomenclatures have emerged for a Westernized society (where Portugal is progressively included), increasingly retained in its central element, leisure, and with work being the only mean of achieving it. The free time increase has escalated leisure time, where multiple activities have transformed the human being into an increasingly thirsty individual for consumption and time to consume.

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