

## Constraints on leisure in Brazil: an analysis according to gender and income

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**Abstract:** This study is part of a research project entitled “Leisure in Brazil”. The aim of this paper is to substantiate Brazilians perception with respect to elements that prevent them from experiencing certain leisure events, with responses analysed according to gender and income. The research was empirical procedure using survey techniques involving 2400 subjects aged 7 and over. This paper specifically discusses the variables relating to gender and income, and how these can influence access to leisure activities. It was identified that time and money were the two main constraints on leisure experiences mentioned by the subjects. We conclude that the existence of these barriers is directly related to the conditions of life in our society. Income and gender inequalities influence leisure experiences, giving pause for reflection on the inequalities of access to leisure as a social right.

**Keywords:** Leisure; Gender; Income; Constraints; Inequality; Brazilians.

### Barreras al ocio en Brasil: un análisis según género e ingresos

**Resumen:** Este estudio es parte de un proyecto de investigación titulado “O Lazer no Brasil”. El objetivo de este artículo es comprobar la percepción de los brasileños sobre los elementos que pueden dificultar vivir experiencias de ocio, analizando estas respuestas en función de criterios de género y ingresos. El trabajo se realizó a través de una investigación empírica utilizando cuestionarios, 2400 sujetos con edad de más de 7 años. Este artículo discute específicamente las variables de género e ingresos, pensando en cómo pueden influir en el incumplimiento de las actividades de ocio. Se identificó que el tiempo y el dinero eran las dos barreras principales para vivir las experiencias de ocio, mencionadas por sujetos. Para cada uno de estos aspectos, existen diferentes influencias de género e ingresos, que muestran la desigualdad en el acceso al ocio como un derecho social.

**Palabras Clave:** Ócio; Género; Ingreso; Restricciones; Desigualdad; Brasileños.

### 1. Introduction

The desire to live leisure experiences is a widespread aspiration in contemporary capitalist societies. In order to get well in their free time, people try to go through situations in which they can rest, have fun and develop themselves, what can be experienced in different times and spaces of social life (Dumazedier, 1980). Assumed as a life dimension that interacts with needs, duties and obligations of individuals, leisure can be regarded as a complex phenomenon.

In Brazil, as well as in most of western societies, leisure is related to elements likework, family, education and politics. Considered a social right by the Federal Constitution of 1988<sup>1</sup>, it is not provided

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satisfactorily to everyone. Both in the public, in the private and in the third sectors, different actions are taken to fill the gaps left by the need to enjoy satisfying experiences in the peoples' free time, but it has not been enough. In societies marked by poverty and inequality such as the Brazilian, leisure is just one more aspect among the many social needs that affect the population. Many reasons are capable of explaining the existence of these lacks and, in the present article, we will analyze into some of them (Pereira et. al., 2015; Pedrão & Uvinha, 2017).

Understood as constraints to live leisure experiences, these elements are not just related to economic asymmetries. In addition to the issues involving the money needed to access certain experiences, which represent constraints among individuals of different social classes, there are points related to characteristics that differentiate people belonging to the same social class. According to Marcellino (2020), these restrictions are called interclass and intraclass social barriers and cover aspects such as social class, level of education, age group, gender, among other factors that contribute to limiting access to leisure.

So, we decided to investigate the Brazilian's perception about elements that can prevent them from living leisure experiences. Through the answers provided by a survey conducted across all the country, we could identify several factors pointed out by the subjects, and we tried to analyse these responses based on gender and income criteria. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to understand the influence of gender and income in Brazilian's perceptions about the constraints to leisure.

To this end, we were inspired by previous works using the same database, as those carried out by Uvinha et. al. (2017), Pedrão & Uvinha (2017) and Soutto Mayor & Isayama (2017). From them, we obtained knowledge about the original study and developed the procedures explained ahead.

## 2. Methods

In production the of this paper, we used the data collected by the research "Leisure in Brazil: representations and concretizations of everyday experiences" (*Lazer no Brasil: representações e concretizações das vivências cotidianas*)<sup>2</sup>, which is a result of the work developed by research groups inserted in public and private universities. Sponsored by the Ministry of Sports, the study was approved by the Research Ethics Committee of the Federal University of Minas Gerais. This investigation aimed to fill the lack with studies regarding aspects about leisure and how its experience is characterized in the life of Brazilian citizens.

For this purpose, the mentioned research used the categorization initially developed by Dumazedier (1980) and completed by Camargo (2017), about the cultural contents of leisure, a classification widely known and used by leisure scholar in Brazil. This classification is based on the distinction between the interests verified in leisure, which must be understood as "knowledge that is rooted in sensitivity, in culture lived" (1980, p. 110). In that regard, the author distinguishes five areas of interest: artistic, intellectual, manual, social and physical. Camargo (2017) adds to these the tourist interest. In its operationalization, the study had a total of 2400 subjects aged 7 years old or older. All the 26 states of the Federation and the Federal District were considered. The margin of error was 2% and the confidence level was 95%. In addition to approval by the UFMG Research Ethics Committee, the research also followed the principles of the ICC/ESOMAR International Code of Conduct (2008), a document internationally accepted that guides the research practice, considering that the sample included the participation of children and adolescents, with a total of 400 interviewees between 07 and 14 years old, so that interviews with the public aged 12 or under were carried out, prior authorization from parents or guardians was requested, according to article 8 of the aforementioned code.

The general sample of the mentioned survey was constructed by representative portions of the population, considering the specificities of regions and federation units. In each state of the country, aspects like gender, age, education and family income were considered to build the sample. For this, the research used data from the 2010s Demographic Census of the IBGE<sup>3</sup>, the last official census done in Brazil<sup>4</sup>. These clippings were made thinking that these categories can provide important issues for the comprehension about the constitution and appropriation of leisure by Brazilian people.

The recruitment of the subjects took place in points of great flux of people in cities previously drawn, based on statistical calculations according to the Demographic Census. Thirty-three questions were made to the subjects, all involving themes related to understandings and perceptions about leisure, according to concepts of Marcellino (2016), Gomes (2017) and Melo (2019). The investigation was carried out using combined survey techniques of qualitative and quantitative analyses.

After observing the data, we took as the focus of the work issues related to constraints concerning leisure experiences. To discover the reasons given by the subjects for not participating in leisure activities, we tried to analyse the answers to the following question, presented in the original study: "Why don't

you do (something) in your free time?”. Grouping the data based on aspects of gender and income, we tried to build an understanding about the influence of these factors in the respondents’ perceptions.

In addition, we use the answers given to the questions “What do you do as an obligation?” and “What would you like to do in your free time?”, to create complementary content on the theme of this study. Although these questions are not the main axis of the present work, we believe that the constraints to carrying out an activity are related to the individual’s obligations and to the desires related to what they want to experience.

A statistical company was hired to advise on the definition of the research instrument, collection and tabulation of data. The collected material was inserted into a database with content validation rules, specially crafted for this study.

To organize the data, we first put all the questions separately, using filters of gender and income. For each proposition we collected the response frequency in the categories “Male” and “Female” – within the gender division, according to IBGE (2010) – and “Up to 2 minimum wages”, “Between 2 and 5 minimum wages” and “Between 5 and 10 minimum wages” – regarding the stratification by income.

In a subsequent moment, the data was crossed to obtain simultaneous information about the variables of gender and income. This procedure allowed us to visualize, for example, the frequency of responses of all women with an income between 5 and 10 minimum wages and/or of all men with an income between 2 and 5 minimum wages.

From this scenario, we developed the descriptions and analysis of the study results. It is important to emphasize that the use of the words “male” and “female” in the variable “gender” is in accordance with the nomenclatures used by the study “Leisure in Brazil”. Thus, in analyses undertaken by the present paper, we tried to extrapolate the biological perspective and develop discussions related to the gender of the individuals, understanding that this category is related to the social roles attributed to male and female subjects in Brazil (Cavenaghi & Alves, 2018; Goellner et al., 2010; Bruschini, 1998, 2006; Soares, 2008; Souza & Guedes, 2016).

About the income, it is necessary to say that the mentioned ranges were picked seeking the observation of a significant percentage of the Brazilian population. According to the Demographic Census used as reference in the original study, 85.9% of families in Brazil have incomes aligned with those presented in this article (Brazil, 2010).

### **3. Among constitutional law and inequalities of access: an approach about leisure in Brazil**

Recognised as a fundamental aspect to guarantee the dignity of people, leisure is a social right in the Article 6 at the Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil, promulgated in 1988 (Brasil, 1988). As a result of a process of democratic recovery in the country, which opened space to hear the voices and wishes from different sectors of society, this document represents a legal framework composed of basic precepts about what is idealized for the life of each inhabitant of the country.

Observing the implementation of what was considered by the legislators, the Brazilian State however faces some important challenges to guarantee the access of its population to constitutional rights. Composed of vast territorial dimensions and a population contingent over 210 million inhabitants, according to updated projections of IBGE (IBGE, 2020), Brazil is a country characterized, among other factors, by the heterogeneity and inequalities between its inhabitants.

Having its society constituted amidst structural racist, sexist and elitist conditions, the country still carries the marks of a civilizing process that is, at the same time, a result and a producer of asymmetries capable of influencing the possibilities of participation in different spheres of community life. Guided by substantive notions of equality, the social rights find, in Brazil, a troubled scenario for their full effectiveness.

In order to promote social well-being, such rights represent one of the basic pillars for the constitution of citizenship. To this end, they require an active intervention by the State favoring its implementation, which occurs through the provision of services and the adoption of distributive policies. Together, these actions represent strategies adopted by the public authorities that seek to mitigate differences between people, looking especially at those that prevent certain parts of society from enjoying conditions understood as essential by the inhabitants of a nation (Noya & Gomes, 2019; Menicucci, 2006).

In the specific case of Brazil, social rights include a wide range of aspects, which reveals a broad understanding of the State about the basic conditions necessary to guarantee the well-being of its citizens. Moving away from a vision that minimizes the State’s responsibilities in the face of people’s needs, the Brazilian Constitution recognises the government’s role in providing education, health, food, work, housing, transportation, leisure, security, social security, assistance to the poor and protection of motherhood and childhood (Brazil, 1988). Regardless of gender, race, social class or any other marker

capable of differentiating individuals in a society, every Brazilian citizen must have the right to enjoy the elements mentioned above.

In this context, trying to understand the constraints to experiencing leisure faced by the inhabitants of this country, we are directly dealing with the legal notion of citizenship that prevails in Brazil. Representing a dimension of human culture capable of establishing relationships with the diverse needs, duties and obligations of individuals, leisure is intrinsically connected to the dynamics to live in society (Gomes, 2017). Therefore, understanding the desires, possibilities and asymmetries that involves its enjoyment, is a way of reflecting about complex issues related to the deeper structures of the organization of a community.

As Brazil is a country marked by inequalities, it is important to know the influences that disparities impose on the construction of different living conditions to access the social rights. Taking gender and income as basic elements of analysis, we chose two asymmetries that are strongly present in Brazilian society, to promote an investigation capable of explaining the importance of these aspects in the ways and possibilities of experiencing leisure.

Taking this into account, we consider as reference the patriarchal bases on which the Brazilian social organization was built, to observe how this country still carries differentiation about what is allowed and expected by men and women living in society. Going back to the concept present since the colonization period, patriarchy can be defined as a system in which man is placed as a subject who assumes the role of protagonist in family and community life, having authority over women and children, as well as over the material and cultural assets of its surroundings (Cavenaghi & Alves, 2018).

As a consequence of this thinking, there is a system on different ways of understanding the roles of individuals in their social relationships. Depending on the condition of birth, commonly thought from a binary division between male and female, there are changes in the notions about what a subject can or should do in his life. With the potential to affect modes of action at home, at work, on the street and even appropriations about one's own body and on other elements that acts in the manifestation of one's being, this vision can impose conditions and limits on the possibilities to live certain experiences in moments of leisure.

An example of this can be seen in a study by Goellner *et al.* (2010). Analysing a public policy called Sports and Leisure Program of the City (*Programa Esporte e Lazer da Cidade*), the authors identified inequalities in the access and permanence of men and women in the activities offered. Among the causes for this situation, the results indicate that women have a life more focused on the domestic environment, reflecting on the possibilities and choices of what they understand as leisure. On the other hand, the researchers observed, among the men, a notion of leisure like a time for fun in which they can develop activities outside the routine of home and work. Through these differences, we can understand how gender can be placed as a marker with the potential to create constraints for leisure experiences.

In the same direction, when we talk about income, we also refer to an aspect capable of creating asymmetries of access to enjoy this dimension of life. In a world where consumption or, in the words of Lipovetsky (2004), hyperconsumption has been seen as an integrating element of social life, financial resources are increasingly seen as an aspect of desire. Able to provide not only access to primary conditions of survival and well-being, but also to different scales of social status, purchasing power can reveal how people inserted in different social classes find disparities in the ways, desires and possibilities of access to leisure.

As the financial gains are related to demands involving the work, the lifestyles, the use of time and the availability of resources to purchase objects and services used in leisure experiences, money has the power to configure itself as a constraint to access pleasant moments in free time. As Brazil is a country with one of the highest rates of social inequality in the world (UNDP, 2019), it is possible to perceive the importance and the complexity to study about leisure in this location.

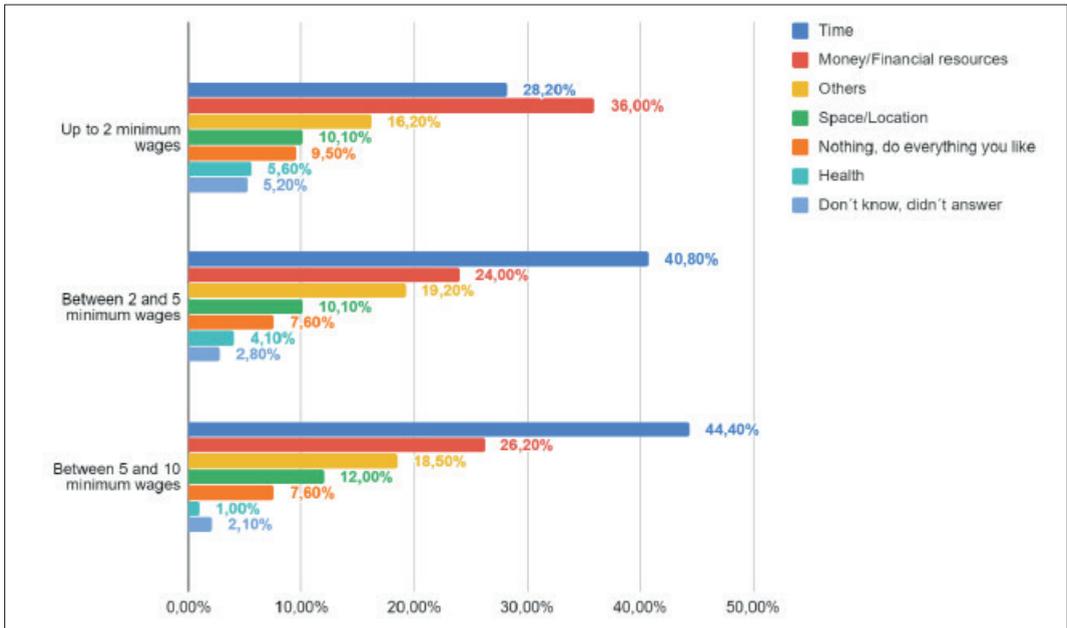
Without detracting from the importance of other aspects capable of promoting constraints and differentiation in the possibilities of access to leisure, the choice for the mentioned points represents a way of approaching in detail the issues evidenced by the research "Leisure in Brazil". Therefore, after these considerations, we will present the together with associations about gender and income as factors related to the constraints to experience leisure in Brazil.

#### 4. Results and discussion

Analysing the data obtained from the answers to the question "Why don't you do (something) in your free time?", it is possible to notice a predominance of two factors among the reasons mentioned

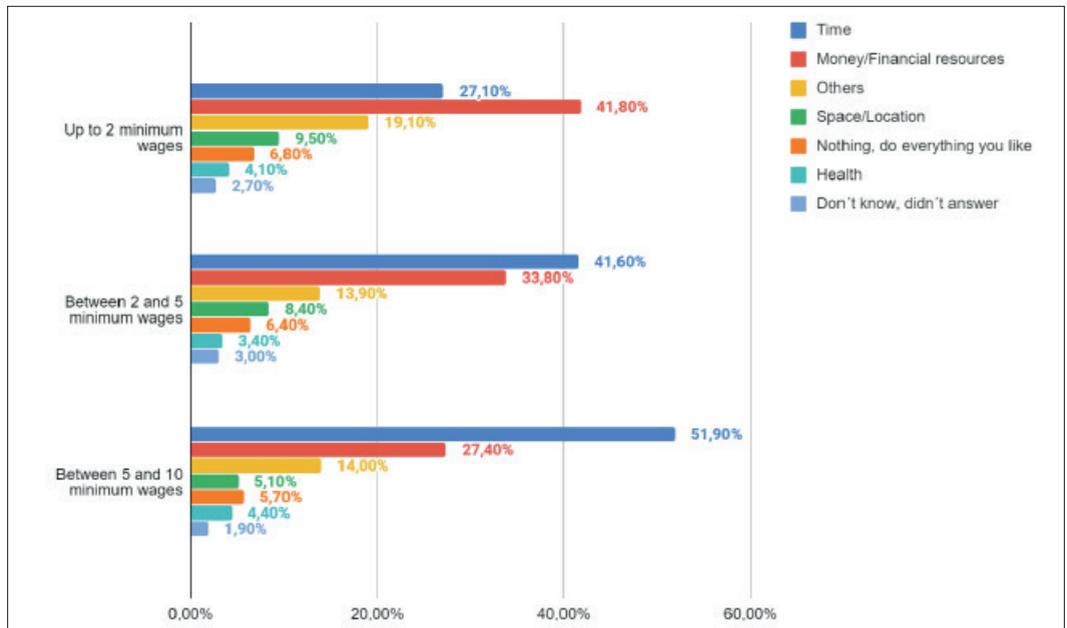
by the respondents: time and money. As it will be shown in the following graphs, these were the most remembered elements by both men and women, in all income groups surveyed.

**Figure 1: Why don't you do (something) in your free time? - Male**



Source: The authors (2020)

**Figure 2: Why don't you do (something) in your free time? - Female**



Source: The authors (2020).

Even being a factor that has the highest percentage of mentions in almost all the displayed scenarios, the time only appears on the second position when we observe the frequencies of answers related to women and men with income under 2 minimum wages. Therefore, the preponderance of this aspect is notable in the subjects' perceptions about what prevent them to live some leisure experience. But what could be the causes for this situation?

When we think about ways of life during the development of many contemporary societies, there is a fact that draws attention: the importance given to work activities. In this perspective, it is common to establish a hierarchy between leisure and work, giving to labour activities a higher value and moral importance relating to the resting ones. Thus, while work is considered more necessary and convenient, due to its productive characteristics, leisure occupies the lower level of the hierarchy and is seen as a passive and inferior time (Perez, 2009). As a consequence, the lack of free time is becoming increasingly habitual in several societies.

Considering that worker's activities are seen as necessary to achieve basic conditions of survival, it is not surprising the importance they have in the daily life. Even with the technological development and the reduction in working hours, the world of work seems to maintain a significant relevance on people's lives. A proof of this fact can be seen when we look at the three main answers to the question "What do you do as an obligation?".

**Table 1: Most recurring answers to the question "What do you do as an obligation?"**

	Homeworks		Work		Family	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
<b>Up to 2 minimum wages</b>	91,5% Stimulated	47,7% Stimulated	38,7% Stimulated	57,4% Stimulated	54,5% Stimulated	31,3% Stimulated
	82,0% Spontaneous	39,0% Spontaneous	35,0% Spontaneous	57,2% Spontaneous	41,8% Spontaneous	20,9% Spontaneous
<b>Between 2 and 5 minimum wages</b>	83,3% Stimulated	45,3% Spontaneous	57,3% Stimulated	67,6% Stimulated	48,9% Stimulated	37,2% Stimulated
	68,7% Spontaneous	33,2% Spontaneous	55,0% Spontaneous	65,8% Spontaneous	31,7% Spontaneous	21,5% Spontaneous
<b>Between 5 and 10 minimum wages</b>	80,5% Stimulated	37,7% Stimulated	53% Stimulated	65,7% Stimulated	47,2% Stimulated	28,9% Stimulated
	66,4% Spontaneous	26,7% Spontaneous	58,5% Spontaneous	63,6% Spontaneous	40,1% Spontaneous	22,8% Spontaneous

Source: The authors (2020)

Although the work does not have a clear predominance over the other two elements described in the table, it appears undoubtedly as an important aspect among the obligations mentioned by the subjects. It is possible to notice that labourer tasks present percentages above 50% for most of the men and women in the study. The only exception is in the group of women with income under 2 minimum wages, where 38.7% mentioned work obligations in the stimulated survey and 35% spontaneously mentioned this aspect. For these women, housework and tasks related to family and children are perceived as the predominant obligations.

These data lead us to think about differences among men and women in Brazilian society. According to Codina & Pestana (2019), there are inequalities in men and women's leisure time. This fact leads us to think about the different roles for each gender in our society.

Despite the growing participation of women in the labour market over the last century, there is still a preponderance in the male possibilities of occupying this space (Pinheiro et. al., 2016). Therefore, when we look at the information above it is possible to observe higher percentages of men mentioning

obligations related to the work. This situation appears in all analysed income ranges, bringing variations between 57.2% - 67.6% for men and 35.0% - 57.3% for women.

At the same time, the opposite occurs when numbers involving houseworks and care with family and children are considered. For these elements, the percentages of mentions are higher among female respondents, regardless of their income. More specifically, about the houseworks mentions, there are percentages of 66.4% - 91.5% for women, against 26.7% - 47.7% for men; and for tasks with family and children, the variation appears between 54.5% - 31.7% for women and 21.5% - 37.2% for men.

Thus it is possible to high light that, in Brazilian society, working outside is closer to the male social world, while working inside the house is closer to the obligations considered to be females. Studies such as those by Bruschini (2006) and Souza & Guedes (2016) reinforce the existence of this scenario, according to the data that shows the distribution by gender of domestic tasks in Brazil.

A research developed by Bruschini (2006) concluded that 68% of the subjects were engaged in domestic activities at home. However, when analysing the information by gender, the inequality between men and women is evident: 90% of women said they performed domestic tasks, while just under 45% of men gave a similar answer. The same occurs observing the time dedicated to domestic chores, through the average of weekly hours: while in the total population this number was 21.9 hours, for women the value was about 27 hours and for men little more than 10 hours.

Comparing to more recent studies, it is possible to notice a few changes regarding the inequality between genders when it comes to domestic tasks. Souza & Guedes (2016) investigated the behaviour of Brazilian people in the domestic chore's division, comparing the years 2004 and 2014. It is reported in the research that in all regions of Brazil the percentage of women who do domestic chores is over 90% while for men it is no more than 60%.

Reflecting on the effects of these inequalities, it's worth mentioning that this social condition limited women for a long time in their possibilities of insertion in the labour market. Even today, after socioeconomic transformations combined to several struggles for gender equality, the social constructions about roles more related to women or men has placing women at disadvantage compared to men in both professional and social activities (Souza & Guedes, 2016).

For women who take on the domestic chores of their family, it is necessary to articulate two worlds, materialized in personal and professional characteristics. In the search for a job placement, along with professional qualifications, women are asked about marital status and if they have or not children. These are elements that could interfere on the participation of women in the labour market, but has lower influence on the participation of men (Bruschini, 1998).

Bonalume (2020) proposes that the power division among gender is not natural and has no connection with the capacity of women and men. According to the author, this fact has ties with social processes initiated in the childhood period, when boys and girls receive a sexist education. So, is important to understand and analyze this scenario, looking for elements to change this reality instead of treating it as something abstract.

In addition, another important issue concerns working the double shift, which makes many people who work outside divide their attention between paid work and domestic and family obligations. This situation is more common among women as they often have a higher weekly workload compared to the men. To complete the inequalities, regarding the gender wage gap, women in Brazil generally earn less than men and don't have social recognition on their work in domestic tasks (Soares, 2008).

On the other hand, household and family obligations are less mentioned by individuals with higher income. This situation is observed regardless the gender of the subject. Accordint to the Brazilian reality, it's possible to establish a relation between this scenario and the tendency of people with higher incomes to hire people to do this kind of activity.

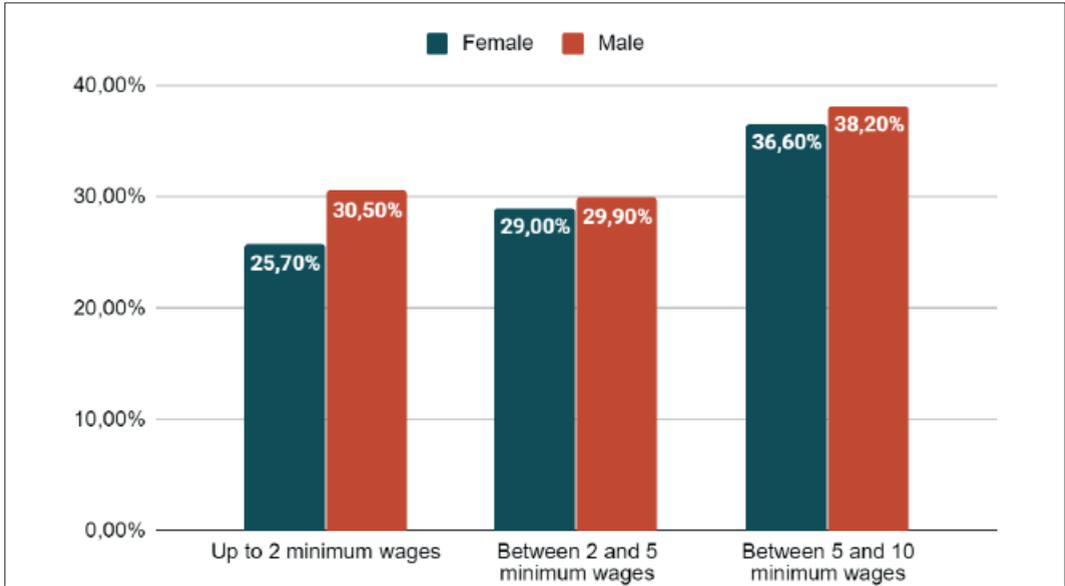
However, this liberation from domestic and family activities doesn't mean a greater availability of time for leisure. As shown by the graphs 1 and 2, individuals with higher incomes have bigger percentages mentioning time as a constraint to do activities in free time. Thus, other obligations are contributing to the reduction of free time for people with higher incomes.

Education and professional preparation are nowadays a decisive factor for entering and remaining in the labour market. Actually, the work demands skills increasingly connected to technologies and some other aspects of the contemporary world. Demanding workers to develop intellectual flexibility, versatility, team integration, autonomy and several competences, the present labourer scenario has made the formation processes for the professional performance longer than in other times.

In this context, the values related to the option "studies and courses" as an obligation show that an important number of Brazilians organizes their time thinking about the personal and professional

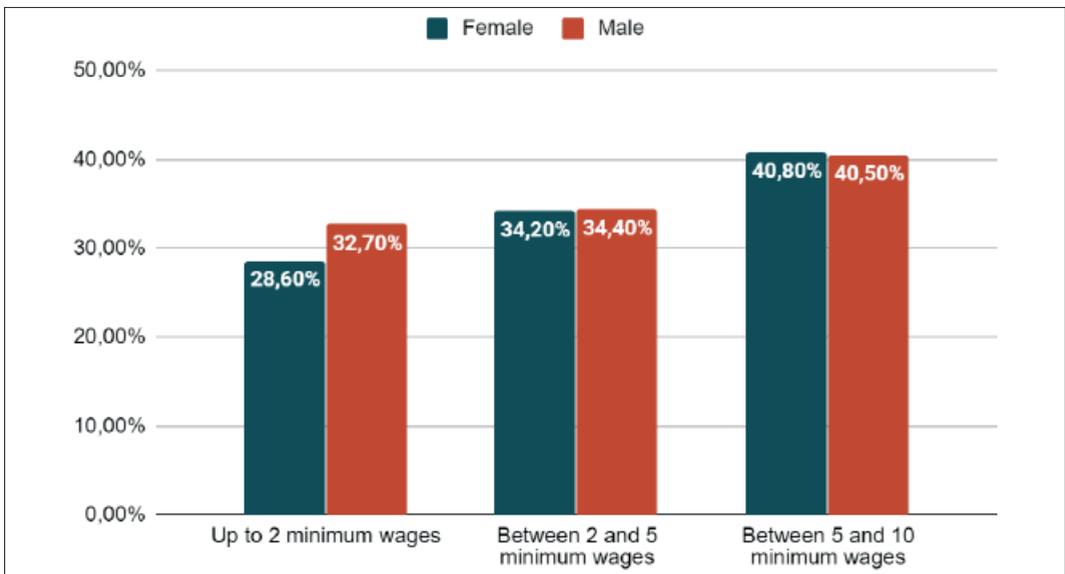
qualification. As can be seen below, considering both numbers given by stimulated and spontaneous surveys, men mention this alternative ranges from 29.9% to 40.5%, while the frequency for women varies from 25.7% to 40.8%.

**Figure 3: What do you do as an obligation? (Spontaneous)  
– Studies/courses: Male x Female**



Source: The authors (2020)

**Figure 4: What do you do as an obligation? (Stimulated) – Studies/courses: Male x Female**



Source: The authors (2020)

Considering the percentages for the obligation regarding “studies and courses”, it is possible to observe an increasing frequency for this response as the income of the research participants increases. In the stimulated survey, 32.7% of men who have a monthly income of up to two minimum wages consider studies as one of their daily obligations, while men who have an income between five and ten minimum wages present the percentage of 40.5%. The same situation happens with the women, with 28.6% of those with an income of up to two minimum wages mentioning this obligation, in contrast with the percentage of 40.8% among those with an income between five and ten minimum wages.

For the spontaneous survey the scenario is similar. Therefore, we can see upper percentages of the obligation “studies and courses” among individuals with higher incomes in Brazil. Having in mind this relation, it is possible to think that, although subjects with better financial conditions have fewer concerns with tasks involving houseworks, they occupy their time in other ways. According to the found results, the dedication to activities of personal and professional improvement, through studies and courses, seems to be an increasingly chosen option, as people increase their income.

Having exposed these issues related to the time as a constraint to leisure, it is the moment to deal with the variable money, the second most mentioned aspect in the survey. This element was in the second position in all the analysed incomes, among men and women, with only one exception: the women with earnings of up to 2 minimum wages. For them, this was the most remembered aspect to justify not carrying out activities in their free time.

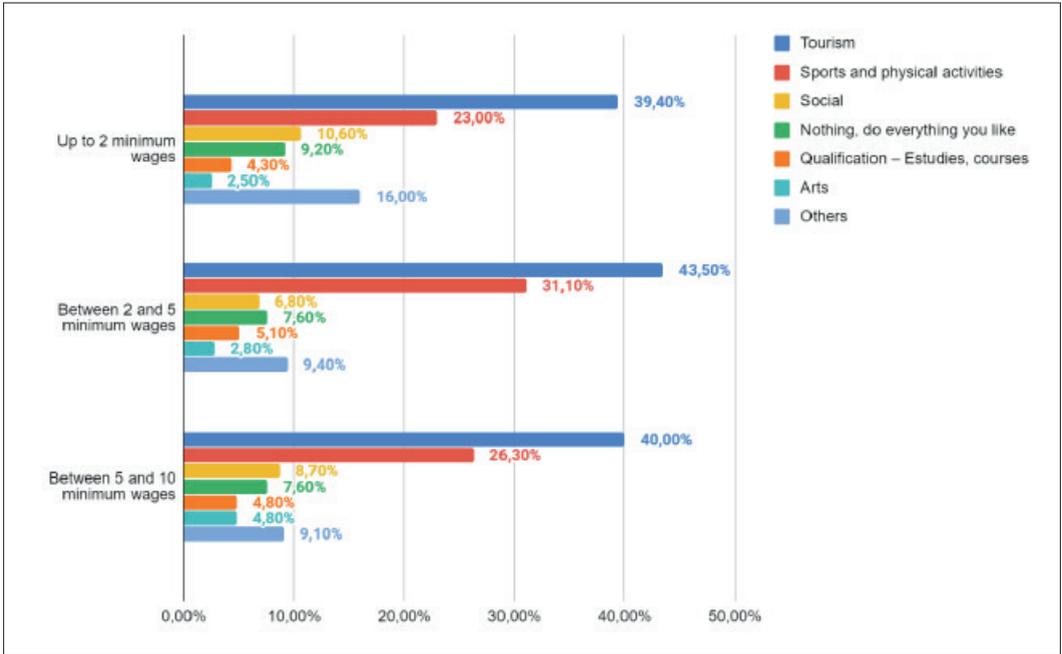
Analysing the great representativeness of money as a constraint to live leisure experiences, it is possible to notice that there is an idea capable to link the possession of financial resources with the ability to enjoy pleasurable experiences in the free time. Knowing the presence of this relation in the Brazilian context, authors as Gomes, Pinheiro & Lacerda (2010) affirm that it is imperative to relativize the concept that to experience leisure is necessary a lot of money.

Although several leisure experiences are related to products and services that require the expenditure of financial resources, this is not a definitive situation. Even among people who cannot invest large amounts of money in leisure activities, it is possible to enjoy experiences in this area. For this, it is important to try to understand the meanings and representations presented in each chosen event (Gomes, Pinheiro & Lacerda, 2010).

However, if we look at the everyday reality, it is not easy to have this distance from the desires valued by the society. In numerous spaces there are offers of leisure products and services, promising pleasurable and satisfying situations, which would serve as rewards, as a relief from the daily obligations or even as a social status element (Scott, 2017). Therefore, there is a frequent stimulus to people’s desires regarding the possibilities to occupy their free time, which is not always consistent with the reality experienced by the persons.

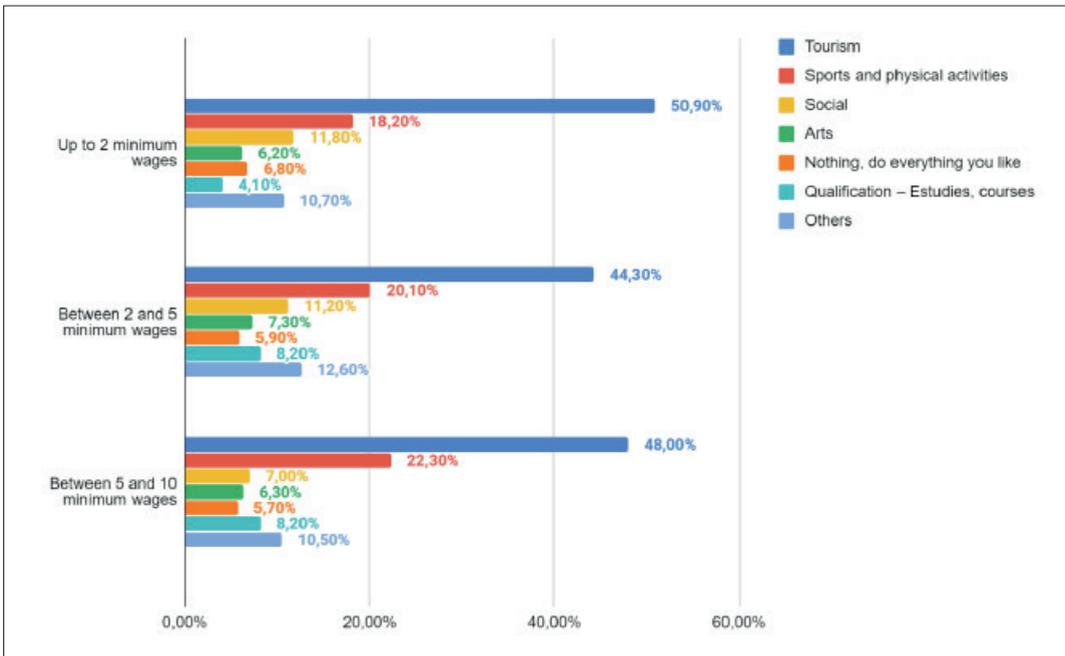
In order to provide a clearer view of this scenario, we elaborated the graphs ahead using the percentage found in the answers to the question: “What would you like to do in your free time?”. The reason to do it is the possibility to access socially widespread desires and to think about their relationship with the study’s problems.

Figure 5: What would you like to do in your free time? - Male



Source: The authors (2020)

Figure 6. What would you like to do in your free time? – Female



Source: The authors (2020)

Observing these graphs, it is possible to apprehend some indications regarding the importance given to money as a constraint to live leisure experiences. To understand this, it is worth to observe that in all categories, the most remembered interest was the touristic, which refers to activities often associated to financial investments. As experiences in this area are identified as a phenomenon common for the wealthy classes (Coriolano, 2006), there may be an association between the desire to enjoy tourism and the perception that this is not possible with or without small amounts of money.

Even though this thought is in parts correct, there is diversity in the ways of doing tourism, making more accessible options emerge. Taking the concept used in the original research, tourism can be understood as a space-time break, including the possibility of wandering around one's own city (Camargo, 2017). Thus, in these cases, it's possible to have access to tourism experiences without spending large amounts of money.

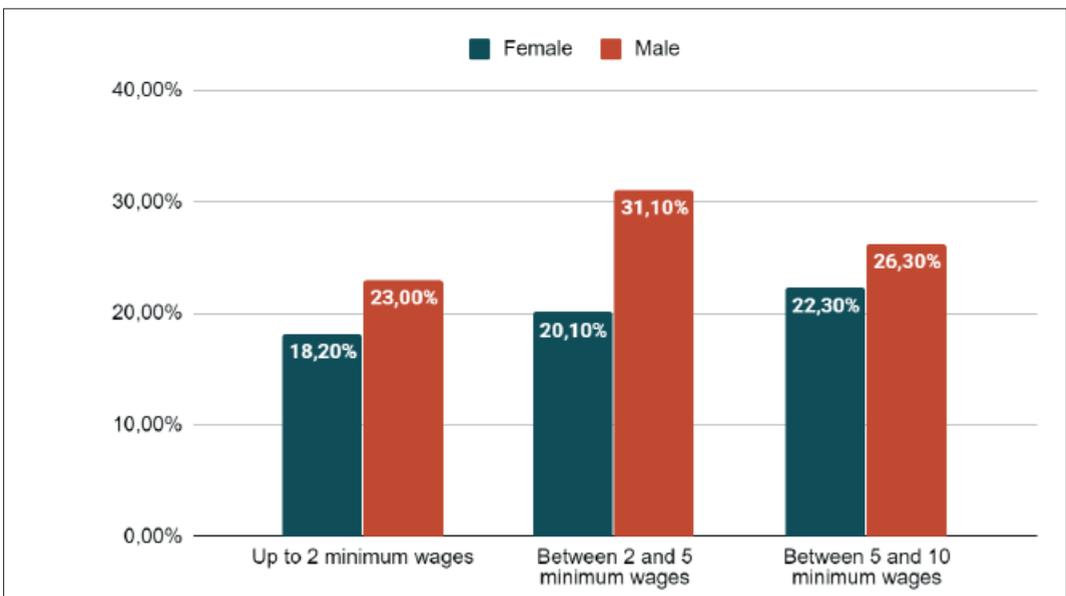
Additionally, nowadays there are several solutions to facilitate and give access to tourism services, making sure that an increasing portion of the population is included. The shared economy, with cheaper accommodation and transport solutions, is an example of possibilities in this area. Alongside them, there are options of digital tourism, as shown by Estermann (2013) and Navarrete (2019) about the heritage tourism.

Extrapolating the vision of tourism idealized through an essentially marketing image, the new alternatives have contributed to the movements that encourage interpersonal relationships, the exchange between people and the expansion of digital culture. In this sense, it is not worth thinking that tourism is definitely something accessible only to a minority of society (Gomes, Pinheiro & Lacerda, 2010). Thus, we see the desire for tourism as a mention present among men and women of all income ranges.

Another point showed by the graphs refers to the option "Sports and physical activities", which was the second most recurrent leisure activity among the wishes pointed out by the subjects, regardless to gender and income. Like in the case of tourism activities, relating this desire to the mention of money as a constraint to leisure, it is possible to identify a connection between the idea of practising physical and sports activities with the expenditure of financial resources.

A study by Salles-Costa et. al. (2003), for example, investigated the association between sociodemographic factors and the practice of physical leisure activities, finding out that there is a higher rate of involvement with these actions by people with higher income and formal educational levels, regardless

**Figure 7: What would you like to do in your free time? – Sports and physical activities: Male x Female**



Source: The authors (2020)

of gender. Despite corroborating with the existence of a relation between the practice of physical and sports activities and the possession of financial resources, the data above presents similar percentages related to the desire of doing these actions among individuals of different income groups.

On the other hand, when analysing the information related to gender, there are differences between the aspirations of men and women regarding the desire to carry out these practices. This contrast occurs in the three income groups, always indicating a lower percentage for women when compared to men.

This scenario suggests an “education of the bodies” that distinguishes physical activities implying whose are appropriated for men or women. In this sense, there is a greater tendency to associate male bodies with physical activity practices.

Goellner (2010) refers to the need of discussing a kind of natural character that is often attributed to bodies, notably when it comes to gender and sexuality. According to the author, this naturalization results in discriminatory and exclusive attitudes, which can even end up influencing the body practices that are part of education of individuals. Concerning specifically the sexuality and the gender related to physical sports practices, this author presents ideas that need to be revised, such as the concept that the anatomy of the bodies justifies capacity and, therefore, the permanence of girls and boys in different physical and sporting practices. This is a perspective that helps to exclude the possibility of experimenting differentiated practices by individuals.

Around this social construction, there is a perpetuation of inequalities that reflects in different dimensions of people’s lives. The concepts linking body practices and factors involving sex and gender are also introduced in the education of the individuals, who end up taking them as important truths for their formation as social subjects. Prado & Ribeiro (2010) talk about the power of these ideas to frame people in standardized and legitimated representations in the society, which normally don’t recognize the plurality of possibilities in the human existence.

In this sense, Paim & Strey (2006) indicated that, nowadays, the participation of women in sport takes on a fundamental discussion, as their involvement in this context is still marked by prejudices and stereotypes. Jaeger (2006), on the other hand, points discussions that shows the sport environment as a space of female oppression, revealing a context in which there are great inequalities of access between men and women.

Finally, about the other constraint mentioned by the respondents, it is worth highlighting the aspects “Space/Location” and “Health”. Although they don’t exceed the percentage of 12 % in any of the categories and don’t reveal patterns of variation related to gender and income – as shown by graphs 1 and 2 –, checking their presence leads us to think about some important issues in the Brazilian context, such as accessibility, security, location of leisure equipments, among others.

Understanding leisure as a phenomenon connected to the totality of social dynamics, when we think about the possibilities of living such experiences, implies that it is necessary to be aware of different aspects of life in society. Thus, the space as a constraint to live leisure may involve, for example, issues related to the individual’s lack of money to access some leisure service, or also the state’s inability to promote the implementation of public policies. In this sense, in addition to poverty and social inequality, issues related to security and the conditions of accessing leisure equipment are on the agenda.

Often concentrated in rich regions of cities and presenting a greater diversification of services and spaces in large urban centres, there are constraints for people with less economic power to experience several leisure experiences. Among other things, this situation can be seen as a factor capable of contributing to a perception that there are no areas for leisure activities. Differently, in the upper income bands, the perception of greater insecurity may be more present in the individuals’ lives, making these people predisposed to depriving themselves of frequenting public spaces to enjoy leisure.

In addition, when it comes to the struggles for the inclusion of people with disabilities, the accessibility is also a theme that has been discussed in different studies on leisure. Both in the search for sports and leisure policies aimed at people with disabilities (Silva, Silva & Sampaio, 2018), as well as in the broader research on access and social participation on leisure by these individuals (Beltrame et. al., 2018), several researchers have shown this issue.

Despite the different focuses and working methods, there is a consensus about the need of leisure equipments, with the planning to include a diversity of individuals in their spaces and activities. In this sense, it is possible to notice an increasing awareness in various sectors of society about the importance of developing strategies to aggregate all the people in public and private spaces.

On the other hand, regarding health, it is important to highlight that this is an issue frequently studied in researches that seek to verify constraints to the practice of physical activities. Representing an obstacle to enjoy this kind of experiences, this is a theme approached in some studies such as those by

Hodniki et. al. (2018) and Dias, Loch & Ronque (2015). Covering different aspects, these investigations converges to the fact on how health problems can affect the practice of physical activities during leisure time. In a country where the chronic non-communicable diseases are responsible for a significant number of deaths (according to World Health Organization, 2018) is vital to pay attention to the health effects both in the person's life style and leisure.

## 5. Conclusions

Regardless of gender and income, it was concluded that Brazilians presented two main constraints to live leisure experiences: time and money. In this aspect it is important to highlight that only for men and women with an income up to two minimum wages time wasn't the main obstacle to experience leisure. For this subject, money appeared as the most relevant factor, while time ranked second. So, at first, we decided to investigate the data related to the individuals's obligations, in order to understand the large number of mentions about the lack of time.

In this regard, it was possible to see the importance given to labourer activities. Despite the achievements in reducing working hours, the values related to the work seem to maintain significant relevance in the people's life time, which draws attention to the ways of occupying time in the contemporary world.

The data showed, both in spontaneous and stimulated research, values above 50% for responses placing work as a daily obligation (the only exception was the group of women with income up to 2 minimum wages). Among all research participants, working outside was more mentioned for men as an obligatory task (57,2% - 67,6%), when compared to women (35% - 57,3%), regardless the income range.

On the other hand, for the houseworks and the activities related to the family and children, the percentage of responses was higher among women. About this data, it seems to be an inversely proportional ratio among the money earned and the obligations with both houseworks and family and children care. According to Brazilian culture, this situation suggests the possibility of paying and delegating such tasks to other people.

However, having more money doesn't mean having a perception of a greater availability of leisure time. Analysing the data, it is noted that the increase in the income has a direct link age to the expansion of responses related to the lack of time as a restriction to experiencing leisure. Due to recent processes increasing the flexibility of labour, reducing worker's remuneration and expanding the mass of unemployed, the investigation of time as a restriction to living leisure deserves to be approached by new studies, considering the emergence of a new social scenario.

Regarding the money, we highlight that this constraint was the second most cited in the sum of the responses collected. Such data shows their representativeness to the non-execution of leisure activities, since the population's imaginary makes a direct relationship between the possession of financial resources and the ability to enjoy pleasurable leisure experiences. Thus, the paper considers the relation between the money and the experiences presented as desired by the interviewees.

In this sense, there is an emphasis on the mention of tourism activities, both for men and women in all income groups. This scenario shows the relevance of this economic sector today, which in addition to moving large amounts of money, is also present in the imagination of heterogeneous groups of individuals. Such importance characterizes the tourist experience as an attraction for people in their spare time, away from work and the obligations and responsibilities that involves the daily lives.

Another element worth mentioning is the number of respondents that talked about the wish for experiences that involve physical and sports activities. Contrary to what happened when compared to tourism, these activities differ between the male and female ranges. Although it appears as the second most desired activity by individuals of both genders in all income groups, the percentages pointed out by men are always higher than that of women, a fact that may reveal the existence of a sport culture more focused on the male universe.

Finally, we believe that the existence of these constraints has shown a direct relation with the ways and conditions of life present in Brazilian society. In this way, this paper suggests the existence of indicatives in which inequalities on gender and income can influence the possibility to live leisure experiences, contributing to the existence of failures on effectuation of this social right.

The development of studies on these issues is important to promote ideas and actions that are able to improve access to this aspect of human life. Although it is not the total solution, scientific production can contribute to reduce the boundaries between individuals, since it is capable of promoting leisure policies and actions focused on improving access to pleasurable experiences in the time available. For

this reason, it is necessary the inclusion of leisure on the list of censuses that raise information about the population and their living conditions. With these data, it is possible to define public leisure policies and make investment decisions that can democratize this social right, as established by the Brazilian Constitution.

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## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> According to Article 6 of the Constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil, leisure is a social right, as well as education, health, housing, work, food, transportation, security, assistance to destitute, social security, maternity and childhood protection (BRAZIL, 1988).
- <sup>2</sup> Throughout the article we will refer to the research by the name "Leisure in Brazil".
- <sup>3</sup> IBGE stands for The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics.
- <sup>4</sup> The next census would be done in 2020, but was postponed to 2021 because of Covid-19. See information at: <https://censo2020.ibge.gov.br/>

*Recibido:* 27/03/2020  
*Reenviado:* 06/07/2021  
*Aceptado:* 02/11/2021  
*Sometido a evaluación por pares anónimos*