

EVERYDAY LIFE AND CONSUMPTION: SURVEY AND DIAGNOSIS OF THE FREE TIME AND LEISURE AMONG OUTSOURCED WORKERS

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Abstract: This study aimed to perform a survey data of the experience of free time from outsourced workers employed at the *Universidade do Estado do Rio Grande do Norte* – UERN. The research was achieved based on theoretical analysis, obtained in pertinent studies to the sociology of leisure and (quantitative) fieldwork with 47 workers. The actual neoliberal capitalist phase of the capital and work processes of confront and negotiation could be problematized in its theoretical dimensions of how human lifetime and self-cultivation is converted, captured, and appropriated as metabolic resource for the capital reproduction. In this sense, the everyday life and the consumption activities of the so-called free time or leisure of the work class, - here represented in statistical frames by the outsourced workers of the UERN - *Universidade do Estado do Rio Grande do Norte*, - leads to the critical analysis of the cultural industry and of the individualistic ideology of consumerism. As results, it was verified that the dominant leisure among the informants is related to the goods of the cultural industry, a consequence of the lack of cultural capital and the material context in which they live. Gender asymmetry has been observed in certain practices, besides the domestic work that restricts the leisure of some women. So, every day more demands for work in public universities in Brazil decrease the quality of life and leisure of the universities' employees, in special outsourced workers. Our analytical focus was on UERN, but we may expand in the future to more public and private universities in Brazil.

Keywords: free time; leisure; work; cultural industry.

COTIDIANO E CONSUMO: LEVANTAMENTO E DIAGNÓSTICO DO LAZER E DO TEMPO LIVRE ENTRE TRABALHADORES TERCEIRIZADOS

Resumo: Este estudo teve como objetivo realizar um levantamento de dados da experiência acerca do tempo livre de trabalhadores terceirizados empregados na Universidade do Estado do Rio Grande do Norte – UERN. A pesquisa foi realizada com base em análise teórica – obtida através de estudos pertinentes à sociologia do lazer – e de trabalho de campo (quantitativo) com 47 trabalhadores. A atual fase capitalista neoliberal e os processos de trabalho de enfrentamento e negociação podem ser problematizados em suas dimensões teóricas de como a vida humana e o autocultivo são convertidos, capturados e apropriados como recurso metabólico para a reprodução do capital. Nesse sentido, o cotidiano e as atividades de consumo do chamado tempo livre ou do lazer da classe trabalhadora, - aqui representados em quadros estatísticos pelos trabalhadores terceirizados na Universidade do Estado do Rio Grande do Norte (UERN), - levam à análise crítica da indústria cultural e da ideologia individualista do consumismo. Como resultados, verificou-se que o lazer dominante entre os informantes está relacionado aos bens da indústria cultural, consequência da falta de capital cultural e do contexto material em que vivem. As assimetrias de gênero foram observadas em certas práticas do lazer das informantes, além do trabalho doméstico que restringe o lazer de algumas mulheres. Logo, a cada dia mais demandas por trabalho nas universidades públicas no Brasil diminuem a qualidade de vida e o lazer dos trabalhadores, sobretudo terceirizados. Nosso foco analítico foi na UERN, mas podemos expandir no futuro para mais universidades públicas e privadas no Brasil.

Palavras-chave: tempo livre; lazer; trabalho; indústria cultural.

VIDA COTIDIANA Y CONSUMO: ENCUESTA Y DIAGNÓSTICO DEL OCIO Y TIEMPO LIBRE ENTRE TRABAJADORES SUBCONTRATADOS

Resumen: Este estudio tuvo como objetivo realizar un levantamiento de datos de experiencia sobre el tiempo libre de trabajadores subcontratados empleados en la Universidad del Estado de Rio Grande do Norte - UERN. La investigación se realizó a partir del análisis teórico –obtenido a través de estudios pertinentes a la sociología del ocio– y del trabajo de campo (cuantitativo) con 47 trabajadores. La actual fase neoliberal capitalista y los procesos de trabajo de confrontación y negociación pueden ser problematizados en sus dimensiones teóricas de cómo la vida humana y el autocultivo son convertidos, capturados y apropiados como recurso metabólico para la reproducción del capital. En ese sentido, las actividades de la vida cotidiana y de consumo del llamado tiempo libre o de ocio de la clase trabajadora -aquí representado en cuadros estadísticos por trabajadores tercerizados de la Universidad del Estado de Rio Grande do Norte (UERN),- conducen a un análisis crítico de la cultura de la industria y la ideología individualista del consumismo. Como resultado, se encontró que el ocio dominante entre los informantes está relacionado con los bienes de la industria cultural, consecuencia de la falta de capital cultural y del contexto material en el que viven. Se observaron asimetrías de género en ciertas prácticas de ocio de las informantes, además del trabajo doméstico que restringe el ocio de algunas mujeres. Por lo tanto, cada día más demandas de trabajo en las universidades públicas de Brasil disminuyen la calidad de vida y el ocio de los trabajadores, especialmente de los trabajadores tercerizados. Nuestro enfoque analítico estaba en la UERN, pero es posible que en el futuro nos expandamos a más universidades públicas y privadas en Brasil

Palabras clave: Tiempo libre; ocio; trabajo; industria cultural.



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1 INTRODUCTION

The present research *Everyday life and consumption: survey and diagnosis of the free time and leisure for outsourced workers* was based on a bibliographic study and on field research carried out directly with outsourced workers employed at the Higher Education Institution itself¹. The actual neoliberal capitalist phase of the capital and work processes of confront and negotiation could be problematized in its theoretical dimensions of how human lifetime and self-cultivation is converted, captured and appropriated as metabolic resource for the capital reproduction. In this sense, the everyday life and the consumption activities of the so-called *free time* or *leisure* of the work class, - here represented in statistical frames by the outsourced workers of the UERN - *Universidade do Estado do Rio Grande do Norte*, - leads to the critical analysis of the cultural industry and of the individualistic ideology of consumerism.

Initially, it is important to highlight a definition of leisure and what has been debated since the 1970s in Brazil. Leisure was commonly seen as a synonym for free time, but with contemporary studies, it began to be considered as the experienced culture, in its broad sense, in free time itself (Marcellino, 2006). Sousa (2010) points out that for other scholars, based especially on the studies of sociology, leisure is a modern phenomenon, which is the result of the social and cultural reconfiguration promoted by the Industrial Revolution. Soon, the urban space becomes a privileged space for production, bringing together capital and labor, thus becoming the center of social life.

There is also, in this context, the impoverishment of the daily life of workers - especially when they are outsourced workers, precarious - regarding access to cultural goods, whether through education or economic issues. Bourdieu (1996) points out that the love of art, cultural needs and the search for aesthetic emotion are sociocultural constructions and depend on school education and family heritage, that is, on a long and daily exercise of cultivation and acquisition of cultural capital. In this way, to think about the free time of these workers is to think about leisure in the current context: flexible, precarious, and informal capitalism.

As a starting point, we sought to know, among the investigated group, how free time has been experienced in everyday life and which variables (income, education, and gender) permeate and condition the leisure of these subjects. Therefore, in this study, an exploratory survey of the experience of free time of 47 outsourced workers (in cleaning and safety) employed at UERN - *Universidade do Estado do Rio Grande do Norte* was carried out. We understand the research tool of a *time use survey* as a statistic indicator of *time budget* (Karnite, 2007). This concept alludes both to the notion of time as a scarce economic resource to be constantly managed by the worker; as well as to the notion of producing individual choices about realizing free time in consumption and about the process of self-realizing in it.

It should also be noted that outsourcing is a phenomenon that synthesizes the dimensions of social precarious work in the country, worse working conditions, fragmentation of the working class, low wages, etc.

Druck (2017) reinforces that: studies in the last 25 years on outsourcing in Brazil have been unanimous in revealing the degradation of work in all its dimensions. The author also highlights the expansion of outsourcing and its consequences for outsourced workers and highlights the disrespect for labor rights, poor working conditions, low wages, worsening health conditions, higher accident rates and the political vulnerability of workers who, dispersed and fragmented, have difficulties to organize themselves collectively (Druck, 2017).

The study also aims to make a diagnosis of the use of these workers' free time and verify to what extent these subjects perceive leisure in their lives and how issues related to income, education and gender condition the experience of recreational activities. The theoretical analysis was built from studies relevant to leisure sociology and complementary studies, in particular, the authors Marcellino (2006), Bramante (1998), Padilha (2007; 2014), Sousa (2010), Botelho and Fiore (2004), Adorno (2002), Bourdieu (1996; 2017), Nogueira (2017), Silva and Heloani (2017) and Costa et al (2014).

The collection of primary data was carried out between November 22 and 28, 2018². Of a total of 162 outsourced workers (89 security guards and 73 general service assistants), 47 were part of the study (25 security guards and 22 general service assistants). The capture of the informants was done through accessibility, that is, according to availability to the researcher. Therefore, the study, although numerically expressive, does not represent a probabilistic sample. It is, therefore, a case study in which the results are valid only for the 47 workers.

In relation to the process of data collection, a brief pre-test of the questionnaires was carried out by the field research team (undergraduate students under the supervision of supervisors). The team after that went into the field, directly interviewing each worker on the spot. As limitations, we point to the questionnaire itself since it is a quantitative instrument - objective and direct - that fails to deepen the many intersubjective and qualitative issues existing among the subjects. Therefore, here we treat this study as an exploratory approach, perhaps a pilot study since questionnaires do not always manage or allow to apprehend all the diversity of leisure experiences of the researched subjects.

The questionnaires addressed issues such as:

- a) *worker profile (sex, age, education, income and school background);*
- b) *experience of domestic daily life;*
- c) *activities carried out during free time;*

¹ The statistical data of this article were produced in the year 2018. Since then, we have observed the deepening of the trends observed there of structural unemployment, underemployment, flexibilization of labor relations, uberization and platformization of work, among others. In this sense, the issue of free time

appropriated by the Cultural Industry and by the discourse of self-entrepreneurship for employability has become even more problematic, reflecting the current neoliberal phase of informational global capitalism.

² Acknowledge note at the end of the text.

d) cultural consumption.

In this way, it was possible to analyze, through questionnaires, how workers understand and put leisure into practice in their daily lives, considering the social conditions to which they are subjected, especially considering the situations of precarious work, the consumption of the cultural industry and the lack of critical education.

Methodologically, this essay is the result of an exploratory study with no intention of generalizing or proposing a sample of the data collected from the workers. It is an essayistic exercise as thought by Theodor W. Adorno (2003), that is, it does not admit that its scope of competence is prescribed to it. The essay, for T. W. Adorno, begins with what it wants to say. Its interpretations are not rigid, but are superinterpretations with aesthetic autonomy. In this sense, in our research we do not weave a linear text, typical of the traditional cartesian-positivist theory, but a free reflection capable of thinking about some of the many structural determinants of the construction of the ludicrous everyday life of the subjects heard here.

2 FREE TIME SURVEY AND DIAGNOSIS

Going beyond the duality of rest / fun, leisure can be used as a tool for empowerment and a conditioning factor for the individual's personal and social development. For this, the "disinterested" character and freedom of choice are essential characteristics that leisure activities need to have (Marcellino, 2006). As stated by Bramante (1998): the two essential axes for understanding the richness of leisure, motivation, and freedom, can be visualized in a continuum, where motivation moves between intrinsic and extrinsic and, the degree of perception of freedom, between personal and other(s) control. The "freer", without strictly established purposes, aimed at full internal satisfaction, as well as under personal control, the greater and better the quality of the leisure experience.

In the interviewed public for the construction of the work that follows, it is clear that these factors are absent, both due to the lack of opportunities and leisure spaces in the municipality to which they reside (Mossoró, RN), and by the set of barriers (socioeconomic and cultural) to which they are conditioned, which suppress the freedom of choice of individuals and condition them to certain standards, making them focus on more leisure at home (even if residences do not favor an adequate space for leisure).

In broader sense, Mossoró is a peripheral city in the countryside of the Brazilian Northeast. The city is marked by the strong culture of tradition and of patriarchy. In addition, it is a city that does not have an urban public transport system. It experiences high rates of homicidal violence, distributed in the peripheral neighborhoods which are the most marginalized areas. The urban transformations experienced in the last decades have modernized some areas, but this process has also marginalized others, implying in the formation of urban quality space islands in the use of public space for leisure.

It was also found, among the informants, a certain conflict regarding the perception of leisure as a source

of personal and social enrichment, observing that individuals understand leisure only in its aspects of fun, rest or related practices. to fads proclaimed and motivated by the mass media and the cultural industry (travel, academia, etc.). Next, the profile of this public will be presented, in order to demonstrate the barriers to which they are subject and the leisure possibilities they enjoy or would like to enjoy.

Of a total of 47 respondents, a very heterogeneous profile was found. First, there was a male predominance (29 men and 18 women) among the informants. About security guards, 100% were men, which demonstrates that there is a gender asymmetry in the operational functions that require greater physical training and risk occupation. The predominant age group is between 35 and 49 years old (22 workers). It is noticed, then, few outsourced workers under 30 years old (only 8).

Most of the group (45 informants) in question, studied in public schools, both elementary and high school. Most have completed high school (31) and only 3 said they are still studying (electronics, environmental management, and theology courses). The education of parents / guardians went to complete elementary school (26 informants). This last data shows a direct influence on the answers obtained about the leisure practices that the individuals said they experienced, since, as the authors Botelho and Fiore (2004) state: The fact that someone has both parents with a low level of education increases their chance of being a non-practitioner of the culture of going out by 395%. The fact that only one parent has an average level of education already increases the possibility of the individual being a great practitioner. The cultural background inherited from the parents is identified as a decisive predictor in the life of a supporter of the "culture of leaving": having highly educated parents is more important than the individual's own income and diploma level. Access to culture results strongly from family transmissions: children of parents with a high level of education have access to traditional culture facilitated (Botelho; Fiore, 2004).

Thus, it is clear how much the cultural industry influences the choices and decision-making in relation to an individual's leisure. This, linked to the economic factor and the parents' education, become dominant and influencing factors in leisure. Thus, the relationship with cultural capital is manifested in the relationship with the social origin of the individual, inherited from the family and the school. According to Pierre Bourdieu (2017), the family and the school function, inseparably, as spaces in which, by their own use, they constitute the competences deemed necessary at a given moment, as well as spaces in which the value of such competences is formed, that is, as markets that, due to their positive or negative sanctions, control performance, strengthening what is "acceptable", discouraging what is not.

Returning to the profile of the interviewees, in relation to the average monthly income, workers earn between 1 and 2 minimum wages, with 1 wage for cleaning employees (Auxiliary General Services) and up to 2 wages for security guards (if there is any additional). Consequently, the economic factor directly interferes with the individual's choice of leisure. Due to low wages and family obligations, some reported having

a second professional occupation after their shifts ended. This fact conditions workers to choose activities that guarantee their survival in opposition to leisure. As Marcellino (2006) points out, the concentration of wealth and low levels of quality-of-life lead workers to occupy a large part of their so-called "free time" with activities necessary for their survival. Within this framework there are overtime, "nozzles", slow and inefficient transport, and even the sale of part or all of your vacation (Marcellino, 2006).

Entering the daily lives of these subjects, about the performance of domestic work, of the men interviewed, 17 stated that they perform some type of task at home, diverging from 12 who stated that they did not have any type of occupation with domestic chores. 100% of women (18 interviewees) reported having a domestic occupation, assuming a double workday. This data demonstrates that the female audience is more prone to domestic activities, making it impossible to practice leisure due to lack of time and physical tiredness, caused by their double journey. Women are disadvantaged compared to men, either due to the routine of domestic work, or due to double working hours and, mainly, due to family obligations arising from marriage, in a society that, despite the advances in this field, remains sexist (Marcellino, 2006, p. 24).

It is remarkable that the women spend more hours in unpaid employment as male workers and, other than that, the women are busier than men on household chores, on childcare, on selfcare and, not enough, on husband care. These are some reasons that make the average amount of leisure time for women considerable shorter than that of men: about four hours less (Karnite, 2007). In this sense, a *time use survey* must also indicate the clear differences that emerge in the life cycles and in the social and cultural choices of parents. A male worker with spouse and young children, a female worker with husband and babies, a single parent, and other situations, have direct impact in the *time budget* and, as consequence, in the disposal individual free time. Some *time use survey* presents, for example, deep trenches in the free time disposal of male and female workers: for male worker it depends on the occupation of time in paid employment; for female workers it depends on the occupation of time in household and family care (Karnite, 2007).

Outsourcing in the public sector follows the same trajectory as the private sector and has reached the female public. In this perspective, flexible work and the low demand for professional qualification contribute to hiring in the reception, cleaning, and janitorial sector. Nogueira (2017) points out that the number of women is greater than that of men in the phenomenon of outsourcing: Another important factor that we have identified in our research is that, in a way, outsourcing has sex. There is a significant tendency for the female workforce to be primarily outsourced when compared to the male.

Regarding the occupation of free time, it was found that 13 workers preferentially occupy themselves with the use of TV, 22 on local trips (neighboring beaches and visits to relatives) and 25 in various activities, such as: bars, family, rest, church, etc. Among women, the presence of TV in their daily lives was noticeable, in addition to rest, family care, church and

walks in squares. It is common for TV to be present in the daily lives of women, often as a consequence of the double workday, because, after finishing domestic chores and being tired, they see television as a form of entertainment combined with rest. In addition to that moment, many of them, while working, leave the TV on as a way to entertain themselves.

It is worth mentioning that among the informants, there is no clear border between leisure time and non-leisure time. For many, some paid jobs, family care and religious activities are considered leisure. In view of the unconsciousness of leisure practice by these interviewees, it was concerned to address here the structural issue of free time and its relationship with the cultural industry.

Theodor W. Adorno (2002) reinforces the concept of free time: When Marx's thought is accepted as true, that in bourgeois society the workforce has become a commodity and, therefore, work has been reified, then the word hobby leads to the paradox that that state, which is understood as contrary of objectification, as an immediate reserve of life in a total system completely mediated, is, in turn, objectified in the same way as the strict delimitation between work and free time. In this, the forms of social life organized according to the profit regime are prolonged.

Thus, for Adorno, it is well known, and no less true, that the specific phenomena of free time such as tourism and camping are triggered and organized according to profit (Adorno, 2002). We understand, therefore, that these informants define their actions in the time they are out of work based on what the market conditions them. Costa et al (2014) reinforce this understanding: It can be seen, therefore, that with the advancement of semi-training and the cultural industry, the organization of free time increasingly depends on objective criteria rather than on the individual's autonomy. [...] it can be seen, therefore, that even simple attitudes tend to pass through the market. Everything is thought out and placed in a way that allows social life to become more planned, mainly with the expansion of the so-called free time attitudes (entertainment industry).

In view of the debate and reflections on free time in Theodor W. Adorno, "there is no way to separate the practices of free time from the current mode of production. Such dissociation brings methodologically an ideological bias. For Adorno, free time is chained to its opposite. Given such complexity, there are some examples left by the authors Costa et al (2014) of why free time is linked to working time: You drink on Saturday night (since you do not work on Sunday); on Sunday, you only drink until sixteen o'clock; after that, you must rest, because it will be Monday and all work routine will be resumed. Without forgetting that the very act of drinking means "forgetting work", or else, feeling "free", however, always thinking about taking it back.

Returning to work issues, the social impacts caused in the lives of workers become increasingly drastic due to the precariousness that penetrates the world of work in the contemporary context - mainly to the lives of outsourced workers - and affect their health and the health of others family members. It is a neoliberal process aimed at generating and

accumulating profit in the shortest possible time. For Silva and Heloani (2017) the losses caused by the precariousness of bonds of trust in work situations assume a crucial aspect. The authors also reinforce these impacts on the lives of outsourced workers, on working time and on their free time: In addition to the deregulation of employment contracts, incentives for competition and individualism characterize work environments, which are subject to neoliberal ideology. In them there was the fragmentation of collective solidarity articles. This rupture was accompanied by the weakening of other social ties and even the bonds of affection. Because the anxiety and uncertainty experienced at work are projected in each one's life projects, affecting even family life [and their leisure] (Silva; Heloani, 2017).

Among the interviewees, many activities are not performed, however, desired. Sports (34 responses) and travel (32 responses) top the list. Among women, sports, parties, trips, and studies are among the most desired options. This shows that there is a gender inequality present, as it was noticed the absence of regular physical activities among women and the systematic exposure to TV. On the cultural level, if on the one hand a few activities can be considered "feminine", in the field of leisure, women are still prohibited from participating in many programs, according to established standards (Marcellino, 2006). The accentuation of differences already starts from childhood - leisure is used to learn different roles between the sexes, encouraging certain stereotypes that adults have in the perception of children's behaviors and characteristics. [...] Thus, boys are seen as interested in adventures outside the home, competitive and aggressive, while girls are characterized by a concern for helping, interest in family life, dependency, etc. And this manifests itself in the various spheres of activity, and, certainly, in the field of leisure (Marcellino, 2006).

Since childhood, the difference in activities that separates boys and girls, as well as toys and clothes, has been taught, and one of these activities is physical education. It is the boy's position before society to like sports. The achievement is an example of masculinity and precisely because it is an example of masculinity, girls are vetoed from such an exercise, since they need to be feminine and their inspiration must be the home, the home, and the family. Regarding the reasons that lead the group of women not to perform certain desired leisure activities, the lack of time and resources (material and symbolic) was almost consensual. In the case of women, due to the double workday and gender asymmetries, this results in physical and mental tiredness in which they discourage them from playing sports or any activity that needs to be exercised.

Regarding media consumption, the influence of the cultural industry in the daily lives of these subjects was verified in an effective and systematic way. Films such as *Titanic*, *Rambo*, and *Iron Man* (and so many other superhero films), as well as artists such as *Aviões do Forró*, *Wesley Safadão* and *Roberto Carlos*, led the interviewees' preference. Still in terms of music, there is a noticeable predilection for the gospel, backcountry

and "electronic forró"³ genres. Such conditioning to the cultural industry can be explained by the several factors mentioned above, and must be analyzed in a relational parameter, not only isolating certain data.

Many respondents have *payed TV* (33) and some already have subscription applications via *streaming* (almost 1/3). Once again, it is possible to perceive the exposure to the Cultural Industry that these individuals end up submitting to. Among the television programs most watched by the male audience are news programs (*Jornal Nacional*, *Band*, *Record* and regional news television program) and sports programs / channels (*Globo Esporte*, *Fox Sports*, *Premier*, *Futebol*, etc.).

In general, among all respondents, television news programs, soap operas, the *Faustão* (a kind of auditorium television show for the Sundays) and the *Fantástico* (a kind of news and reports program for the Sundays) dominate. These television programs, which are almost exclusively consumed by the Brazilian public, strongly appeal to an accessible and popular language, which not rarely takes the form of depoliticized social denunciation and of moralizing public scandal that simultaneously provoke indignation and social demobilization, as they playfully frame the national economic and sociopolitical context.

The leisure activities practiced and reported by the interviewees in their free time can be considered hobbies - what Theodor Adorno, in his analysis of the Cultural Industry calls "ominous" - to the same extent that these superfluous and meaningless activities are integrated into a social need for integration. Adorno (2002) points out that under current conditions, it would be inappropriate and unwise to expect or demand from people that they do something productive in their free time, since productivity, creative capacity has been destroyed in them. The author also reinforces that: The lack of implemented fantasy, and insistently recommended by society, leaves people helpless in their free time (Adorno, 2002). According to the German sociologist, cultural conservatism destroyed in these people the productive and creative capacity about what they could produce in their spare time, what the author calls "a system that trains for work".

Resuming free time, other important factors to be observed are social interaction and the perspective of sociability, which are hallmarks of leisure. They can manifest themselves through the need for association that individuals can present. As Marcellino (2006) states: The search for face-to-face contacts, the establishment of affective bonds and a series of other forms of social relationships are also manifested in people's leisure. Failing to consider this aspect of leisure activities can contribute to not very precise findings in the issues involving the population's associativism (Marcellino, 2006).

Specifically dealing with the issue of recreational association, this information was presented to the public interviewed in a timid way, since there was a lack of associativism among the informants. Only 9 said they had any link with any association / recreational entity, of which the majority are linked to some religious association, leading to the questioning of the concept of

³ Dancing popular music, common in northeastern Brazil.

“leisure” by these religious institutions in promoting entertainment and socio-cultural activities. In the following section, a critical appraisal of this brief characterization of the informants' playful daily life will be made, especially highlighting the role of urban space and its functionalities for the enjoyment of free time.

3 BARRIERS TO THE FREE TIME ENJOYMENT: A CRITICAL APPRAISAL

There are many barriers to free time enjoyment. Among them, we highlight the urban logic itself that does not favor leisure in the city (Rolnik, 2000), ending in the hegemony of leisure merchandise, co-opted by the dominant logic of consumption (Padilha, 2007). When observing leisure in its free time bias, antagonistic to working time, in an urban context where the relationship of people with playful activities of pleasure and personal / social growth should be explored, it is noticed that leisure practices are isolated to certain spaces, often subordinated to the capital, being seen only by their character of consumption, generating clear divisions conditioned by economic, social, and cultural factors.

The city, in this context, ends up serving only as an access route to isolated spaces, making it impossible for urban perimeters to be the ideal setting for the socialization, interaction and involvement of its residents in public life (Rolnik, 2000). Museums, galleries, and cultural centers would promote leisure and integrate the community into these spaces. However, the reality of culture and leisure in the city of Mossoró seems to be configured much more as an ideological resource than as a recreational reality for its inhabitants. In Mossoró, in an unsystematic field survey, existed many barriers to the free time enjoyment regarding urban mobility.

There is practically no public transport in the city (Dias, 2015), with the population being held hostage to unusual alternatives for mobility (hitchhiking, mototaxi, collective taxi, etc.). Recently, apps like Uber, Xofer and 99Taxi arrived in the city. Even so, many leisure spaces end up being far from peripheral neighborhoods, not served by regular bus lines. This is the case of the only shopping center in the city, which is located on the west end of the city. This ends up dividing and fragmenting the urban perimeters, causing isolated islands to emerge where the practice of subordinate consumption and delimit where the practice of leisure is favorable.

All of this generates an emptying of the city, an isolation of individuals where leisure cannot flourish, as the author Raquel Rolnik (2000) states: when the city turns into an absolutely inhospitable place, without any possibility of pleasure, instead of a place where people feel inserted in the harmony of an urban community, leisure will be restricted to determined spaces and times. This situation is even more aggravated because leisure is not comprehensively lived, as an idea of pleasure traveling through everyday life, including working time and time dedicated to activities necessary for survival (Rolnik, 2000).

Still in the wake of Rolnik (2000), the consequences of this segregation are transformed into open wounds in the supper of cities. Urban spaces are being left out, causing, added to other factors (social, economic, and cultural), the increase of urban crime and the proliferation of social inequalities that are

accentuated and attenuated in the most marginalized and forgotten areas. Meanwhile, all efforts are reverted to the noblest areas and “islands” of comfort where leisure can take place safely and isolated from social problems.

In Mossoró the areas of urban privilege for consumption are in the center and in the west, an area for the expansion of condominiums and the location of the only shopping center in the city. In this context, the public space, which should be free for the discussion and the growth of the individual as a citizen, becomes narrower and loses its possibilities of encounter (Rolnik, 2000).

The public space decreases when it is captured and privatized, leaving only and only what is necessary for the circulation of goods, including human goods; the collective dimension and the multifunctional use of public space, the street, the place to stay, encounter, pleasure, leisure, party, circus, show, sale is emptied. Thus, functions that filled the public space and gave it life migrated into private areas, becoming, in large part, a circulation space (Rolnik, 2000).

Such logic is reflected in the empirical data collected and observed in the previous section. The interviewees ended up reducing their leisure experience to domestic leisure (TV and similar) and leisure as a sphere of consumption, represented by bars, fitness centers and short trips. As Padilha (2007) clarifies, this leisure can also be understood in the distancing of the social by the consumption, through the shopping center. The consumer culture - reflected by shopping malls - establishes habits that distance people, leading them to believe in new meanings for goods and objects that have a greater value in society, highlighting the “distinction” (Bourdieu, 1996). In this way, capitalism provides a shift in people's view of things, causing personal meanings to be introduced into objects, making the connection with materials stronger and more intense than public life itself (Padilha, 2007).

But if, on the one hand, places like the shopping center have been growing in the participation of urban leisure through the escape of domestic leisure, it becomes a tendency to escape leisure from public spaces, leading people to seek conformity in options such as consumption TV, Internet, Netflix, Games, the mall itself or staying at home with domestic activities, situations often caused by the lack of options for urban spaces and the poor infrastructure of public facilities.

In addition to economic issues, there are still many barriers that limit access to leisure. The issue of gender, for women, presents itself as an obstacle for the free time to be used more effectively, because, in this context, women have a double working day and perform, additionally to their paid work, household chores, and they still have to experiencing other ideological pressures pertinent to their own condition of being a woman. Recalling a topic already debated, one of the biggest barriers to free time has been the expansion of the cultural industry, creating and reinforcing the culture of conformism and limiting any perspective of criticism of mass cultural goods. The media consumption presented by the exposed data reveals this predominance of the cultural industry in the daily lives of the interviewed subjects.

The issue of time is also a major factor. Many of the security guards interviewed stated that they were unable to occupy their free time in a playful and enjoyable way because they work at scale, which makes it impossible for them to organize a time schedule to enjoy their free hours from work. Thus, given the low level of education of the interviewees and their extremely low wages, outsourcing accentuates the fragility of workers and makes material and symbolic conditions for the full enjoyment of leisure unfeasible. Padilha (2014) also emphasizes that these working conditions are aggravated when related to women: life at work and outside it is demeaning. Dehumanization at work extends to the time and space of non-work.

In Brazil, the men have more disposal time for leisure than women do. This is explained by the fact that the total work (paid in addition to unpaid) is lower for male workers compared to female worker (Barbosa, 2018). Olmos (2017) also suggests that, in developed countries, there is a differential of disposal time for leisure in relation to income, with the poorest individuals enjoying more leisure than the richest. In developing countries (as in the case of Brazil), the author suggests the opposite relationship is present: the individuals who are poorer in income are also the poorer individuals in disposal of leisure time.

It is worth mentioning, however, that the author is referring to outsourced workers in shopping malls. However, this logic also applies to the interviewed women who provide services to UERN through outsourced companies, since almost all of them use their free time from their obligations on a double journey at home, having to perform housework that makes it impossible for them to experience moments of pleasure and even rest.

Marcellino (2006) reinforces the woman's double workday: In addition to suffering the same negative effects of modern work to which men are exposed, there is a whole load of socio-cultural pressures in the professional environment, with aggravations that manifest themselves after hours. The division of domestic work, in a typically patriarchal society, is seen as an exception. In addition to professional work hours, women take on new tasks, taking on, as a rule, the totality of household tasks.

The results of this study suggest that the changes in the allocation of the use of free time and in the analyzed gender inequalities may have been much more the result of changes in people's behavior and in the social norms than in the demographic evolutions. The social normative prescriptions, such as *the men must be the provider and must work in the market and the women must be housewives and must take care of the children*, may also be highlighted in the explanation of why the male workers have changed so little in their journey of household chores over time, for example; and this sort of things reflects deep on the leisure time budget (Barbosa, 2018).

Finally, the economic factor is, above all, a structural constraint, since many interviewees stated that they did not have the adequate financial conditions to practice the leisure they would like (traveling, gym, etc.). In addition, as already shown, the city of Mossoró lacks public transport infrastructure, which ends up

limiting access to certain places of entertainment and consumption.

4 CONCLUSIONS

Through the applied questionnaires it was possible to perceive how much influence the cultural industry has in relation to how leisure is experienced by outsourced workers at the *Universidade do Estado do Rio Grande do Norte - UERN*: the majority of whom are consumers of mass media. The very nature of work ends up limiting the leisure time of the interviewees, because, when they finish their workday, both paid and at home, the first thought is not to seek leisure, but a rest for the body and mind, to be rested to face another day of work. Therefore, those prisoners of precarious work end up postponing and reducing the leisure time disposal on weekends, and so, they act generally reproducing the same logic present at their work: the repetitive and monotonous activities.

The material conditions of reproduction of those workers are structurally determinants in the free time enjoyment, since they are conditioned to the various barriers that prevent a more efficient and enriching use of their free time for leisure. Some still need to spend their free time outside work obligations with domestic activities (as in the case of 100% of the female audience interviewed), or with other paid activities to supplement family income. This double journey, experienced mainly by women, generates physical and mental fatigue that makes it impossible to focus on leisure activities other than rest.

It is also necessary to observe the inaccuracy regarding the understanding of leisure on the part of the interviewees, who presented having doubts when being approached and questioned about the way in which they used their free time. This confusion demonstrates how leisure is still seen as something secondary, or even "unnecessary" by the worker, since the culture to which he is inserted, and the influence of the cultural industry mean that he does not understand the importance of leisure in his personal growth. and social. Thus, there is a moment when everyone has an obligation to produce something in their daily lives, and for many people taking time out to practice leisure is a waste of time.

As a conclusion, we emphasize that the main objective of this study was to discuss how the free time in the capitalist society, experienced in the form of leisure, has been captured by structured contexts of domination (economic, age, gender and cultural capital). In this way, the free time disposal cannot be thought of as an innocent time, that could be not linked to from ideological bonds and structural domination on time budget of workers.

It is a time, therefore, when capitalism captures leisure to transform the subjects into potentially passive consumers for the Cultural Industry. It is also a time when the many inequalities in social, cultural and symbolic life can be observed. From the poor child who cannot buy a toy to the woman who performs double or triple working hours without the right to quality leisure. This was the objective of analyzing this quantitative survey of occupations of free time under the social and cultural pressures of outsourcing, precariousness and

flexible work. Here we show how unequal free time disposal is according to a stratified analysis of social classes.

In this sense, we could in this brief study problematize the actual neoliberal capitalist phase of the capital and work processes of confront and negotiation from the analysis of a small local sampling elaborated with 47 outsourced workers at the UERN - *Universidade do Estado do Rio Grande do Norte*. The sociological, - and philosophical, - approach developed in this brief article can be read through the lens of any social and cultural similar context of our globalized informational capitalist world, in which the inequalities in access to material and symbolic goods, the precariousness at work and the gender asymmetries in free time disposal are but the sociological normality than the exception in the collective life.

This writing sought to problematize the situation of leisure closely associated with the possibilities and limitations existing among the outsourced workers of this public university. We think that, despite not having a prescriptive purpose (we are not planners or managers), this study raises some actions linked, perhaps to university extension, that could mitigate certain gaps and ambiguities perceived in the research results in relation to leisure activities.

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