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## **CRITICAL INTERSECTIONS OF GENDER AND LEISURE: SOME REFLECTIONS**

### ***Abstract***

*The purpose of the paper is to provide a comprehensive understanding of the interlinkages between gender and leisure. The central question to which the paper attempts to address is that of what leisure both as an activity and sense of free time is constituted and how it differs along the lines of gender. The paper begins with deliberations on how leisure is understood in relation to work and other forms of human activities. Subsequently it shifts to highlight how the emergence of feminist epistemology and thought have deconstructed the 'masculine and male-centric' account of leisure. Subsequently the paper links gender and leisure and outlines key strands of the same. To conclude, the paper argues that there is a significant degree of difference between the ways and venues of leisure available and 'prescribed' for both men and women.*

**Keywords:** *Leisure, Work, gender, free time, public and private*

### **Introduction**

The objective of the paper is to attempt a gendered understanding of Western intellectual traditions of knowledge on leisure based on the available gendered leisure studies literature having focus on work-family and time use literature. The paper argues that feminist perspective has provided new insights into leisure and its 'fluid / porous / problematic' linkage with work (both paid and unpaid) by examining the cultural context from which these emerge. It thus broadly identifies linkages between gender and leisure i.e. gendered leisure. The recent decades have witnessed a growing number of studies which have shed new light on the growth and dynamics of leisure studies having gender as their anchor stone. The term leisure itself is anchored on two terms, first, time; and second, work. The concept of leisure in classical economics is in opposition to work in general and paid work in particular. In this way, leisure gets associated with recreation and free time. Leisure, thus is understood as a set of activities which a person does in his/ her free time for the purpose of pleasure, enjoyment and entertainment. The paper contends that the notions of work, leisure as well as free time have been critically commented on by the feminist writing over

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the past couple of decades (for instance; paid and 'unpaid' work / domestic activities). Feminist movement of the 1960s and 1970s along with feminist epistemology, feminist methodology and feminist perspective are collectively responsible for such an assertion, both in theory and in practice. One of the important interpretations regarding gender/sexual difference between the availability of time and time spent is Time Use Survey (TUS) and/ or Time Budgeting which reflects upon the gendered division of work and care on one hand and constraints and patterns of time use as evident in day-to-day lives of both men and women on the other hand. The paper argues that there is a visible and significant difference in the ways men and women indulge into leisure activities whenever, where-ever and whatever time they have. The difference is not only in the nature of the leisure activities but also the amount of time which they spend on these activities which also has its bearings on quality of men and women's leisure experiences. Women's leisure time is consumed by the 'family and household' centered activities even after the necessary chores are over and thus are unable to 'use leisure to relax'. Men, on the other hand, on account of being 'free' from performing household activities, there is a clear demarcation between their activities as work and leisure. The paper argues that such a scenario also contributes to differences in men and women's quality of life, health, and wellbeing. Very well recognizing the diversity of the category 'women', the paper has used the umbrella term 'women' so as to arrive at key generalizations with reference to gender, women and leisure (understood as relative freedom from work and family obligations marked by creativity and playfulness). The paper while addressing such related issues strongly argues that it is important to go beyond the 'neutrality' of the term 'leisure' and to anchor it into the 'real life day-to-day' 'gendered' access to and experiences of leisure activities.

### **Understanding Leisure**

Leisure can be broadly understood as recreational activities (recreation as an activity or hobby) done by the individuals in their free time. People indulge in various leisure activities to maintain and/or enhance their life satisfaction/quality of life. Leisure activities can be both home-centered as well as outdoor recreational/ sports 'site'. Leisure activities can be purely physical sports or enjoyable mental activities like card games. It can be related to personal life in person, for instance reading and enjoying a solitary book reading experience or may be social activities involving friends and family members in a group game. Thus, the varieties of leisure activities include both social entertainment, sports and hobbies along with other activities performed in the free time. The historicity of leisure and leisure activities stretches too far back into the history of humankind, much of which still is in oblivion. One can only 'sociologically imagine' and 'hypothesise' that after a long, tiring and dangerous & life-threatening hunt; the primitive human kind might have indulged in some kind of enjoyment or recreational activities, for instance Palaeolithic artwork 'cave paintings' (Spracklen 2011: 34-35) through "pre-industrial societies, namely hunter-gatherers, classical Greece and Rome and the early Christin era" (Veal 2004: 16). By its nature, leisure is largely understood and seen as the *bête noire* of work and/ or labour activities (Deem 1988: 1-17). If one accepts such a proposition, then the emergence of leisure

is closely tied to the historical 'moment' when the activities of human kind were gradually transformed into work and the acts of mere survival gave way to a more organised form of activities being performed at 'workplace'. Given this scenario, the stage of the human social order marked by industrial activities/work can be seen as a convenient starting point of the leisure in its myriad forms. Veal has comprehensively and exhaustively documented "the 'archaeology' of the leisure society concept" (2009: 1; also see Veal 2011: 206-227; 2012: 99-140; for review of works in European countries and U.S. see Hennion (1960: 585-595) and Ripert (1960: 596-602) respectively) right from its earliest mention in the works by Alfred Marshall in 1890 to Ulrich Beck during 1999-2000 and further. Regarding the 'emergence' of (Western) leisure', Friedmann states that "a technological civilization also gives rise to what we may call spare time, i.e. time that is 'spared' and, ..... clearly differentiated from working time" (1960: 509-510). According to Giddens, "Stringent divisions between work and leisure are mostly characteristic of modern industrial society" (1964: 83). Similarly, for Wilensky, "Only since the industrial revolution, however, has the interplay between labor and leisure become a major problem, both social and intellectual" (1962: 1). For Wilson, "The technological advances of post-industrial society have created unprecedented opportunities to escape the necessities of daily toil" (1980: 21). Thus, we see that it is the modern and industrial society that provides a conducive environment for the emergence of leisure activities in full bloom and subsequently made it worthy enough to come out of the shadow of Sociology of work and to claim its own distinct academic 'space'. Thompson has rightly noted that '... men might have to re-learn some of the arts of living lost in the industrial revolution: how to fill the interstices of their days with enriched, more leisurely, personal and social relations; how to break down once more the barriers between work and life' (1967: 95). However, many a critics have interpreted the above-mentioned interlinkages between the modern & industrial society and leisure as hegemonic understanding tied to 'invention' of the 'western' leisure and thus problematic to its core as it excludes 'non-western' expositions on the same. Still, it is important to note that "Leisure research as an academic or commercial activity arose predominantly within the Western intellectual tradition .... This means that theories of leisure tend to be dominated by a Western perspective, although this situation is slowly changing" (Hall 2003: 283; also see Hunnicutt 2006: 55-74). However, "Leisure is a very complex concept, which is not easily defined, and which has different meanings and salience across time and across cultures, from the ancient Greeks, to indigenous peoples, to people and institutions of modern capitalist society" (Walmsley and Jenkins 2003: 279). Furthermore, the inclusion of non-western leisure is beyond the scope of this paper. Still, the link between the leisure and work can not be brushed aside as evident in the numerous definitions and conceptual delineation of the term 'leisure' some of which are now discussed.

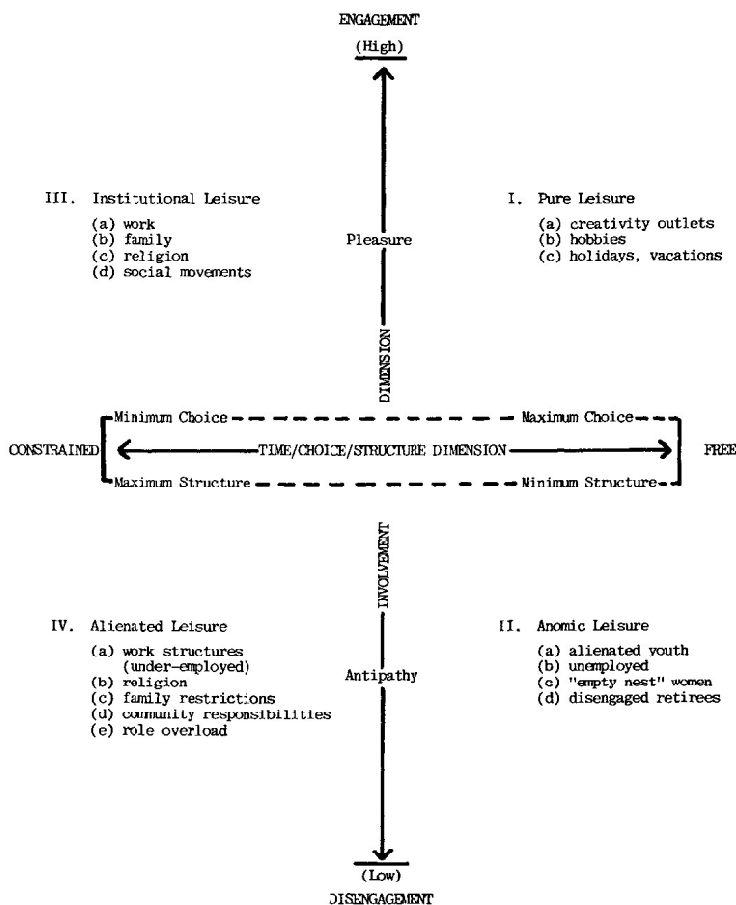
Thorstein Veblen in *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (1899/ 1994) states that "... the term "leisure" ... does not connote indolence or quiescence. What it connotes is non-productive consumption of time. Time is consumed non-productively (1) from a sense of the unworthiness of productive work, and (2) as an evidence of pecuniary ability to afford a life of

idleness” (1994: 28). Thus, leisure is about free time that is the time when there is no work to be done and the person chooses him/herself to perform recreational activities. In a way, it is anti to ‘work’ i.e. leisure as time-off work. In one of the earliest writings on leisure, Stockdale (1985) has delineated three important ways in which the concept of leisure is used. These are, first; as a period of time, activity or state of mind in which choice is the dominant feature; in this sense leisure is a form of ‘free time’ for and individual; second, an objective view in which leisure is perceived as the opposite of work and is defined as non-work or residual time; third, a subjective view which emphasises leisure as a qualitative concept in which leisure activities take on a meaning only within the context of individual perceptions and belief systems and can therefore occur at any time in any setting. What emerges here is the inherent link between time and how it is positioned within the framework of what can be understood as leisure. Dumazedier has defined leisure as “the time freed from productive work, thanks to technical progress and social action, for man’s pursuit of a non-productive activity before, during or after the period of his productive occupation” (1960: 526). Thus, time is the ‘greater whole’ wherein leisure constitutes its ‘part’. For instance, the time-typology outlined by Aas has first, Necessary time which includes activities which serve basic physiological needs; second, Contracted time that includes paid work and regular education; third, Committed time means activities that a person has committed to; and lastly, Free time which is the amount of time left when the previous three types of time ‘exhaust’ from the individuals’ time (1982: 17-53). Deem has underlined experience and meaning of leisure, context, form and choice of the leisure activities, form of activity, and concern on time as important issues in understanding leisure (1988: 78-79).

Definitions of the leisure and leisure activities revolve around free time, freely chosen time as well as time which relatively is free from work activities and constraint to work. Outlining four dimensions of leisure, Dumazedier (1968: 248-253) states that “First is the dimension of leisure as freedom from obligation: ‘... leisure does imply freedom from those institutional obligations that are prescribed by the basic form of social organization’ .... second dimension is disinterestedness: ‘The disinterested character of leisure is ..... freedom from primary obligation. Leisure is not motivated basically by gain .....’ Thirdly, leisure can be viewed as diversion: ‘..... leisure appears to be distinguished by a search for a state of satisfaction - a state that is sought as an end in itself.’ The final dimension is leisure and personality: ‘All the manifest functions of leisure ..... answer individual needs as distinguished from the primary obligations imposed by society’ (ibid., 251). Donald and Havighurst in their study found that people engage in leisure activities “for the sake of sheer pleasure, ... they give new experience, or a chance to achieve something; helping to make the time pass or relieving bored” (1959: 359). Kelly has classified leisure activities according to their social orientation and thus has proposed three kinds of leisure activities (1975: 185-190). These are “Unconditional leisure: activities chosen for their own sake, for their intrinsic value and satisfaction; Coordinated leisure: activities that are like work in their form, but that are freely chosen and without penalty for non-participation; and

Complementary leisure: activities chosen with the expectations of work, family, or community roles central to the decision” (ibid., 186-187). For Shaw, leisure is marked by the combination of three or more factors which include enjoyment, freedom of choice, relaxation, intrinsic motivation, and the lack of evaluation (1985: 1-24). For Henderson et. al. “The container of leisure varies in many ways but the essence of leisure is the meaning associated with the experience and the improvement of one’s quality of life” (1989: 134). Giddens relates play to leisure and argues that “In industrial society, where sharp divisions are often made between work and activities outside of work, play certainly belongs to leisure” (1964: 81). For Sager, leisure “belongs to a cluster of concepts that includes idleness, rest, free time, play, and work (to which it is often mistakenly opposed)” (2013: 5). Figure 1 presents modes of leisure as given by Gunter and Gunter (1980: 367).

Figure 1: Modes of leisure



Source: Gunter and Gunter (1980: 367)

Watkins, within the discourse of learning theory has outlined four paradigms describing how people learn about leisure which include the Behaviorist paradigm of learning, Cognitivist paradigm of learning, Individual Constructivist paradigm of learning, and Social Constructivist paradigm of learning (2000: 93-107). Gunter and Gunter have outlined two dimensions to leisure which are “Involvement as the internal, psychological variable and Time/Choice Structure as the external, sociological variable” (1980: 365). Reflecting upon the themes (contents) of leisure, in one of the earliest works on leisure by Denney and Meyersohn have attempted a thematic classification of the various works on leisure having 20 themes which include history of leisure, ideals of leisure, cultural norms of leisure, recreation and leisure, hobbies and arts, games and so on (1957: 602-615). Major components/ aspects of leisure include serious or substantial leisure, casual or diversionary leisure, recreation, tourism, play and sports. Serious leisure in itself is of three ‘interlinked’ types - amateurism, hobbyist pursuits and career volunteering (Stebbins 1982: 251-271). Leisure’s variants manifest in active leisure (physical activities which includes sports) and passive leisure (high degree of mental or physical energy is not required) on one hand and pure leisure, constrained leisure and contaminated leisure on the other. Dumazedier has written about ‘semi-leisure’ which includes compulsory activities related to profession, domestic and family duties, social duties and partly recreational and partly ceremonial activities (1960: 526). Recently, serious leisure has also emerged as a significant addition to the understanding of leisure. One can also look into the huge span of leisure activities/behaviours which are ‘subjective’ in nature and thus vary from person to person who is engaged in such activities (Bull 1982: 477-538). The difficulty in categorising activities into inherently fragmented, fluid and multi-layered leisure is also lamented by Clark et. al. when they state that “In fact, it is difficult to think of any specific activity which could not be considered as either work or as leisure by different individuals. Accordingly, this would suggest that no categorization of activities could be one hundred percent “correct” because of individual differences in attitudes towards specific activities” (1990: 339). Thus, the variations of leisure keeps on expanding because of its subjective nature.

Wilson has provided an elaborate analytical discription of *Sociology of leisure* (1980: 21-40). For Gross, “Leisure refers to free time, free, that is, from the need to be concerned about maintenance, a freedom that could be purchased with slaves by a leisure class, or with money earned through labour by the working population” (1961: 2). Modi and Kamphorst also are of the view that the term free time’ is equitable to leisure; as for them “... the term ‘free time’ is used to underline the aspects of ‘being free from household duties and industrial work’ and of ‘time’. When emphasis is placed on the activities performed during free time, the term ‘leisure’ is used” (2018: 1). Furthermore, it is also associated with the concept of recreation. Recreational activities may include both physical as well as non-physical (mental) activities like sports in the former sense and meditation or relaxation in the latter. These may very well reflect upon the need and requirement of rest from the ‘day-to-day’ continuous activities. Shivers (1959: 292-295) has noted that

“The element of consummation is essential to recreation and the experience must be satisfying to the individual” (ibid., 294). Godbey has elaborated upon how leisure, play and recreation link with each other (2003: 1-20). However, Weiss is of the view that leisure time is “distinct from recreational time. Recreational time is useful time, a period when men are to be ready, through relaxation and rest, for work which is to follow” (1965: 1). Definitions of leisure and recreation reflect upon leisure and its multiple dimensions (Veal 1992: 44-48) i.e. the conceptualization of leisure is a multidimensional process. Modi has aptly noted that ‘As such, leisure, popularly referred to and understood as free time, is a complex phenomenon. The very meaning of the word has changed continually. At times it has referred to a state of freedom, an absence of obligations, a cluster of activities; at others, it has suggested a mood of contemplation (2012: 387). One of the most exhaustive survey of how leisure has been understood primarily in Sociology and other related disciplines like Economics and Political Science has been done by Wilson in *Sociology of Leisure* (1980: 21-40). Rapoport and Rapoport have noted that there are four major preoccupations of Sociology of leisure extending from Marx, Veblen to the present writings; these are ‘1. [T]he definitions of leisure; 2. The diffusion of leisure; 3. Leisure and life styles and 4. Macro and micro-social perspectives’ (1974: 215-229). Similar attempt has been also made by Elson (1977: 116-122). Pieper has understood leisure from a philosophical point of view and has located it in the framework of work & working on one hand and its polar opposite, proletarity on the other (1950: 411-421). Unger and Kernan have investigated six determinants of the subjective leisure experience which include intrinsic satisfaction, perceived freedom, and involvement (as part of invariant across situational contexts) and arousal, mastery, and spontaneity which are more activity-specific (1983: 381-392).

Work ((paid)/labour work/ market work) is a variable which appears to be intrinsically tied to leisure as for Wilensky, “The meaning and proper place of labour and leisure, work and contemplation, have drawn the attention of scholars since the time of Greece and Rome. Only since the industrial revolution, however, has the interplay between labour and leisure become a major problem, both social and intellectual” (1960: 543; also see Harris 2005: 262). According to Giddens, “Basic to the definition of the work is that it consists in (a) instrumental activity, undertaken (b) within a framework of direct or indirect economic obligation” (1964: 81). For Bryson, “‘Work’ in capitalist economics is conventionally understood as paid work in the public sphere, and economic activity is usually equated with participation in the paid labour market” (2007: 68). Voss has noted that “Historically, the idea of leisure has been closely related to that of work” (1967: 91). Wilensky while elaborating on work and leisure dynamics outlined the ‘compensatory’ leisure hypothesis wherein “routine of leisure is an explosive compensation for the deadening rhythms of factory life” and the ‘spillover’ leisure hypothesis which is related to “leisure routine in which alienation from work becomes alienation from life” (1960: 2-3). Lobo has argued that the forces of globalisation have significantly transformed the work-leisure linkages and have

resulted in work-leisure imbalance (2006: 22-32). Table 1 presents the complex relationship between work and leisure.

**Table 1: Experiences with and without leisure**

	Not bound/not working time	Working not bound time	Bound working time	Bound not working time
With leisure	Not working time devoted to activities "for leisure"	Time devoted to a (creative) job. When time used is sufficient and must not produce an extra income	Time devoted to creative jobs that produce feelings of mastery, identification, success, self-achievement, pleasure	Time devoted to personal care activities, which are necessary but can be done also or just for leisure
Without leisure	Free time lived in a non-satisfying way as the person did not freely choose to have it (retired persons or NEETs, etc.)	Time devoted to creative professions characterised by specific working conditions	Time devoted to a remunerative job, within the limit of a subsistence need	Time devoted to personal care, with low or no discretion at all

Source: Spina (2013: 49).

Emphasising and classifying the interlinkages between work and leisure, Parker & Smith have spoken of "leisure as an extension of work, leisure as an opposition to work and neutrality in between leisure and work wherein the demarcation is not so clear and distinct" (1976: 52; also see Parker 1995: 28-37). However, one of the important and exhaustive works in this context is by Josef Pieper who in *Leisure: the Basis of Culture* (1998) posited leisure in opposition to work. According to him, the nature of work is characterised by work being activity, effort and as a social function. Leisure, thus for him needs to be seen as a condition of soul marked by "leisure as 'non-activity' [an inner absence of preoccupation, a calm, an ability to let things go, to be quiet]" (ibid., 50) "Second, against the exclusiveness of the paradigm of work as effort, leisure is the condition of considering things in a celebrating spirit" (ibid., 52); and ".. leisure stands opposed to the exclusiveness of the paradigm of work as social function" (ibid., 53). The interlinkage between leisure and wellbeing is another significant domain of inquiry in leisure studies (for review see Mansfield et. al. 2020: 1-10). Reflecting upon the centrality of leisure in the wellbeing of human lives, Mattingly and Bianchi have noted that "Free time or leisure is an important aspect of daily life. Leisure affords individuals a chance to relax and refresh after performing household and labor market responsibilities" (2003: 1000). Similarly, Mansfield et. al. have noted that "Broadly and historically leisure has been viewed as an antidote to alienated labour and as a route towards a well-lived life" (2020: 2). Rojek et. al. have noted that "leisure is the means through which cultural, political, ethical and spiritual existence can be enhanced and refined for the betterment of life in general" (2006: 19). Overall, these studies argue that leisure participation has positive effects on the quality of life, psychological wellbeing as well as physical health of the individuals. Attempts have also been made to locate leisure within the human right domain (Veal 2015: 249-272; McGrath et. al. 2017: 314-316). Thus, we see that various definitions and conceptual delineation of leisure underline its multi-faceted and fluid nature. These definitions also reflect that



it is difficult to compartmentalise leisure activities into neat categories rather what emerges is that the leisure activities can be part of the work / labour or vice versa. However, one can arrive at certain definitional attribute of leisure which include leisure as time, leisure as activity, leisure as a state of being, leisure as an all-pervading 'holistic' concept and leisure as a way of life.

### **Gender and Leisure: Interactions and Intersections**

The analytical study of critical inter-linkages between gender and leisure is directly associated with the feminism both as a social movement as well as an academic discourse during 1970s and 1980s. For bell hooks, it is "the movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression" (hooks 2000: viii). Furthermore, it "is not about being anti-male. It makes clear that the problem is sexism. And that clarity helps us remember that all of us, female and male, have been socialized from birth on to accept sexist thought and action" (ibid., viii). Seen in this way, feminism and feminist / women's movements strongly advocate gender equality for women and as activism, campaign for women's rights, entitlements and interests. Feminist movements are more than often understood in terms of 'waves'; the first wave (the late 19th and early 20th centuries) raised the issue of access to equal opportunities for women; the second wave (1960s and 1970s) deconstructing the patriarchal base of gender-based oppression; and, the third wave (1990s onward) posited a serious challenge to 'universal sisterhood' and 'sisterhood is powerful' through outlining racial and colonial faultlines within the feminist movement. As a theoretical and conceptual extension to feminism, one notes feminist theory/ies of different strands deconstructing the male/ masculine/ androcentric 'gaze' and thus to arrive at women-centric understanding and knowledge of the society through devising feminist epistemology and feminist methodology. It needs to be underlined that feminist theory "refers to those forms of analysis which seek to increase understanding of women's experiences in patriarchal, capitalist, modern and postmodern, Western and developing societies with a view to increasing the quality of life of both women and men" (Wearing 1998: viii-ix). The theoretical approach of liberal, Socialist, Marxist, Radical, Postmodern and post-structuralist, Queer feminism among others tend to arrive at nuanced understanding of women herself and to address the issue of gender inequality in their own way. Despite the heterogeneous nature of feminism, "We can say that all feminists agree that women suffer social and/or material inequities simply because of their biological identity and are committed to challenging this, but the means by which such challenges might be made are many and various" (Pilcher and Whelehan 2004: 49). Subsequently, issues of epistemology and methodology became crucial points for the feminists to carve out their own distinct form of 'knowledge system'. For Anderson, "feminist epistemology can be regarded as the branch of social epistemology that investigates the influence of socially constructed conceptions and nouns of gender and gender-specific interests and experiences on the production of knowledge" (1995: 54). Shields and Dervin have outlined four overarching themes crucial to feminist research which are emphasis on validity of women's experience, social construction of gender,

self-reflexivity of feminist researcher and emancipatory potential of feminist research (1993: 78). Kang has argued that positivist epistemological discussions have left the feminist concerns outside its purview (2005: 75). Harding and Norberg point out that feminist methodology and epistemology “has practical implications for the improvement of women’s lives” among other things (2005: 2011-2012). Similarly, Fonow and Cook have outlined key principles of feminist methodology which points to the “gender and gender asymmetry as a basic feature of all social life” (2005: 2213). Maynard states that the distinctiveness about the feminist research practice lies in its gender sensitive terminology & language, gender-conscious theory and politics and the political nature of the research which may have potential to bring changes in the lives of women (1994: 15-17). Feminist studies and epistemology employing feminist methodology critiqued the ‘gender neutral’ usages of leisure in the social science discourse and in a way argued that leisure like any other variable in the society is highly gendered phenomena. The androcentric nature of leisure and the patriarchal nature of society is thus questioned and critiqued through women-centric understanding of society and leisure (Henderson et. al. 1989: 51). Gendered power relations between the sexes also have different implications for the ‘nature and access’ to the leisure and leisure activities (Deem 1988: 95; Wearing and Wearing 1988: 111-123). For Parry and Fullagar, “range of feminist methodologies emerging (autoethnography, duoethnography, personal narratives) that privilege gendered leisure experiences as serious objects/subjects of inquiry” (2013: 577). Subsequently emerged a plethora of writings which studied leisure through gender lens.

Within the corpus of knowledge system, feminist knowledge and feminist perspectives have firmly established that the transformation of the identity based on sex (i.e. male and female to keep things ‘neat’) to the social identity of gender i.e. masculine and female respectively is mediated through the ‘genderd’ process of socialisation. At the most, in anatomical sense the individual is conceptualized as a binary (either or) biological category i.e. male and female. Understood at its basics, sex is the anatomical, physiological, genetic, and hormonal variation between male and female, for instance chromosomal configurations denoting XX males and XY females. On the other hand, gender is the socially constructed identities ascribed and prescribed to male and female. In the social world of societal interactions, it manifests in gender roles, gender identity (including masculinities and femininities), gender relations, and gender as performance. Thus, socially sanctioned roles and responsibilities are assigned both to male and female and subsequently arrives at gendered identities of being masculine and feminine. Taking cue from C.H. Cooley’s notion of Primary Groups i.e. family, peer group and neighbourhood; these three engage and mould the sexual identity of an individual in to the masculine or feminine social-self. Needless to say, it is a life-long process. For instance, to be ‘strong’ and ‘tough’ and competitive and dominant are associated with the masculine whereas being ‘weak’ and ‘soft’ and affectionate and gentle are associated with feminine character / personality. So as to speak, the female body is transcribed by the culture with specific certain ‘traits’ that characterise female

or femininity. Moving further in the lifecycle, childhood gender socialisation consequently gives way to a hierarchical, sexualized and gendered binary order manifesting in the 'public-private' dichotomy (public being the 'masculine' public sphere of life for men and private being the 'feminine' household and domestic life for women) taken up by feminism as contributing to women's subordination (Gavison 1992: 1-45) which (as discussed in details subsequently in the paper) also has a direct bearing upon women and leisure (Burden 1999: 31-36). Connell argues that "Masculinity", to the extent that the term can be briefly defined at all, is simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experiences, personality and culture" (1995: 71). Furthermore, 'hegemonic masculinity' is understood as "The configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimation of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (1995: 77). Seen in this way, masculinity and femininity refer to an individual's gender in terms of maleness and femaleness, respectively and are social constructions of a gendered society. Parry has rightly pointed out that "Indeed, social and cultural notions of gender inform our conceptualizations of masculinity (e.g., tough, aggressive, strong, unemotional) and femininity (caring, supportive, nurturing, compassionate), which translate into gender role expectations" (2016: 209). As a corollary to it, gender roles are assigned to both of them i.e. social codification of domestic/ sexual division of labour. Criss-crossing the 'masculine - feminine box' is the dominant discourses of patriarchy which restricts the female and feminine to the 'private' spheres of the life and the 'public' sphere is seen as the fiefdom of the male and the masculine. Thus, sexual division of labour and 'public-private dichotomy' takes place wherein the 'private' spheres of the life manifested in the domestic work/ household labour activities and taking care of the household becomes the 'work station' of the women the character of which is 'unpaid' labour. Here one can also make note of 'ethic of care' developed by Carol Gilligan which is imbibed particularly by the women within their personal self. The subordination of women as the result of patriarchy is also manifested in control of both women's sexuality and reproduction along with her labour and mobility. As a cumulative result, women have been and still are excluded from participation in leisure activities in particular and wider society in general.

There is a strong body of literature about women and leisure studying and analysing gendered differences in leisure time/space, some of which are now being discussed. Henderson et. al. have strongly argued that "A commitment to the systematic study of women and leisure implies that such study is needed because of past neglect and/or because of the inadequacy of the existing body of theory and knowledge needed to produce understanding" (1989: 7). Some of the earliest works pertaining to women, gender and leisure like *All work and no play? The Sociology of women and leisure* (1986) by R. Deem; E. Wimbush and M. Talbot (eds.) *Relative Freedoms: Women and Leisure* (1988); *Women's Leisure: What leisure?* (1990) by D. Green, S. Hebron and E.

Woodward; *Leisure and Feminist Theory* (1998) by B. Wearing among others made significant contributions in this regard. According to Shaw, "... this body of research has made a significant contribution to the leisure studies field. First, it has revealed the gendered nature of leisure and leisure participation; and second, it has indicated how, and in what ways, the material conditions of women's lives affect and constraint their leisure" (1996: 4). Such and similar early works on women, gender and leisure critically looked not only into the nature and extent of women's leisure time in comparison to men but also explored the 'subjectivity' of leisure i.e. what leisure meant for men and women i.e. the gendered nature of leisure "despite the notions of 'freedom of choice' and 'self enhancement'" (Wearing 1994: 4); and thus in process "revealed how gender relates not only to leisure activities and behaviours, but also to the experiences and meanings of leisure in everyday life" (Henderson and Shaw 2006: 216). In the words of Wearing, "Feminist leisure theorists began to shift the focus towards theories of leisure which recognized women's perspectives including unpaid labour, the domestic sphere, consumption and a more diffuse concept of the work/leisure dichotomy" (1998: viii). Locating feminist leisure scholarship within the fourth wave of feminism, Parry et. al. (2019: 1-20) have noted that over the years feminist scholarship in the leisure literature has been "correcting androcentric biases ..... have educated the field about the gendered nature of leisure experiences, activities, and choices" (ibid., 2). It was argued that the issues of women's autonomy and freedom of choice were present in both feminism and those who were engaged in women and leisure studies (Henderson 1996: 139-154). Put forth differently, "leisure has the capacity to contribute to and achieve feminist ideals (e.g., the pursuit of women's autonomy and liberation" (O'Neill 1991: 6). Shaw has noted that there are predominantly three themes in the gender and leisure research; first, activity participation focusing on access and nature of leisure; second, constraints to leisure having gender as their basis; and third, is related to the gendered outcomes of leisure (1999: 272; also see Henderson et. al. 1989: 117-131).

In one of the major works on women and leisure, *Women, Leisure and Bingo* (1982), Dixey and Talbot underlined that "The leisure activities which women are involved in, their inequality with men in terms of leisure experiences and indeed, the invisibility of women in the leisure studies literature, are only the outward manifestations of women's position in our society" (1982: 12). Green et. al. in their foundational text *Women's Leisure, What Leisure?: A Feminist Analysis* (1990) have strongly argued that 'leisure is clearly structured through gender' (ibid., 31). At another place, Green et. al. have raised certain key questions while deliberating on gender and leisure like "What time do women have available for leisure, after the obligations of paid work and unpaid domestic labor have been met? And what material, cultural and ideological constraints restrict women's access to leisure time and their choices about how it may be spent?" (1999: 134). Similarly, Aitchison has underlined that "Defining leisure in relation to full-time paid work has traditionally meant

defining leisure in relation to men's work and therefore only offers a useful definition to a minority of women as the majority is not engaged in full-time paid employment" (2003: 42). Table 2 presents the nature, context and content of gender and leisure studies from 1980 to 2010.

**Table 2: An examination of leisure research about women and gender from 1980 to 2010**

	1980-89	1990-95	1996-2000	2001-5	2006-10
Number of Articles	Not Available	75 (6 years)	74 (5 Years)	67 (5 years)	101 (5 years)
Percentage solely qualitative	Not Available	Not Available	60%	62%	64%
Topics / themes					
Inclusion	Common world in inequality	Multiple and varied meanings	Intersection of gender with other identity markers	--	Necessity of social inclusion
Interpersonal	Social importance of leisure for women	--	--	--	Friendship and social support
Family and roles	Containers of the home and non-structured activities	The more roles the less leisure	Family roles	--	Extended view of family relationships
Nature of activity, time, and space	Nature of leisure / fragmentation	Leisure as a positive and negative context	Claiming leisure space	Importance of active leisure	Women and physical/ mental health
Beyond constraints	Lack of entitlement	Constraints more salient for some groups of women	Negative aspects of leisure in women's lives	Structural social forces/ constraints in context	Resistance and empowerment
Epistemology	--	Significance of gender analysis	Hegemonic significance of gender	Resistance and leisure/ use of Critical theory	Feminist perspectives expanded
Beyond ethnocentricity	--	--	Globalization of women's leisure	--	Cultural description

Source: Henderson (2013: 30; also see Henderson et. al. 2002: 253-271; Henderson 2007: 591-610; Henderson and Gibson 2013: 115-135)

Leisure appears to be both, an idea and practice, which has multiple meanings, dimensions and significance throughout the lives of individuals. What makes it a serious object of inquiry and 'deconstruction' in relation to the gender is its 'gendered' nature and it having positive and negative bearings upon the people depending on their gender identity. Furthermore, leisure is also gender-segregated as men and women not only have differential access to leisure but also that the leisure activities themselves are segregated on the gender lines. It has been argued that "it is clearly important to understand the individual leisure experiences, meanings, and challenges for girls, boys, women, and men in different life situations" (Freysinger et. al. 2013: 9). Schutz (2007) also while preparing an exhaustive inventory of the meanings of leisure has clearly drawn attention to the point that there is a significant level of gender differences in context to leisure because "women had comparatively fewer choices to access leisure" (2007: 479, also see Wilson 1980: 28). Green et. al. argue that "women's wider social position has made their access to autonomous leisure generally more difficult than for most men" (1990: 169). Rojek has

analysed the complex and multi-layered intersections between gender and leisure in the context of “central dimensions of female inequality and dependence covering paid employment, housework, sexuality and violence” (2005: 153-159). Significantly, ‘The terms contamination (leisure time in the presence of children) and fragmentation (interruption to care for children) are often used in literature when gender comparisons in the domain of leisure are made’ (Davaki 2016: 45). Freysinger et.al. have outlined the myriad intersections of leisure, gender, culture and the centrality of gender relations within the politics of leisure (2013: 3-20). Taking patriarchy as the controlling mechanism restricting access to leisure by the women, Rojek has outlined internal and external system of constraints to leisure (2005: 74). At another place, while deciphering the power relations within the access to leisure, Rojek et. al. have spoken of gender as a part of ‘axial constructs’ which act as gatekeepers to leisure i.e. through which leisure is mediated (2006: 8). Parry (2016: 209-216) has elaborated upon the influence of gender on leisure and the influence of leisure on gender. In the former sense, she speaks of first, how “leisure pursuits and activities are gender stereotyped” (ibid., 211) and second, leisure constraints. The latter views “leisure as a context for resistance” (ibid., 213). It has been also argued that those women who do not adhere to the gendered stereotype of the leisure are more prone to violence against them (Green et al., 1987: 75-92). Given such a scenario, it can be safely deduce and underline that women’s gender-roles deeply hinges upon and subsequently constrain their enjoyment and use of free time for the purpose of entertainment and relaxation.

It is argued that societal gender relations and gender norms are linked to and determine both time availability as well as time constraints along with the ‘quality’ of leisure. Conventionally understood and critiqued by the feminists, work has two dimensions; first, paid work (intrinsically linked to public sphere); second, unpaid work/ care (intrinsically linked to private sphere). Unpaid work includes, for example, household chores and voluntary work. It may include invariably household activities (e.g., cleaning, washing, cooking & preparing meals) and taking care for own children or other family elder and / or sick members. Deem while providing a review of gender, work and leisure in the eighties in sociology has noted that “Much of the research on gender and work in the eighties has demonstrated both intentionally and unintentionally, that employment, un-paid work and leisure are inseparable elements of people’s lives” (1990: 111). Thus, the contentious issue of women and work on one hand and women and leisure on the other are also manifested through ‘Care work’ which is closely tied with ‘unpaid’ work and domestic work. In this context, the care work / activities performed by women are in relation to children, elderly, sick & disabled, adults (other than self) - that is, cooking, cleaning, caring for children, and the like - i.e. taking care of their needs and sustaining relationships within the family and household. Deem notes that “Housework then is work, it is time-consuming, and can be very exhausting, .... and its

nature cannot be understood without taking into account gender relations, because the sexual division of labour is still very embedded in housework" (1988: 56). It acts as one of the constraints for the leisure of women as her own needs are put last whereas the needs of others come first as Henderson and Allen have underlined "the problem for women is not in the value of care, connection and "other-centeredness"; rather the problem is in giving only to others and to consider it "selfish" to care for the self, particularly in regard to basic human activities like leisure, recreation and relaxation" (1991: 100). Dumazedier has rightly pointed out that "one of the chief psychosociological problems is to find out what proportion of the time set free is devoted to leisure and what proportion to duties connected with the family or outside the home, and how these two sets of phenomena react upon each other" (1960: 526). Women compromise with their leisure time so as to accommodate their leisure to the needs and preferences of their family members.

It emerges that full-time engagement in the household activities and chores is a significant constraint which results in women's less access to leisure 'space' and activities in comparison to men. For Shelton, unpaid work includes housework time, child care and volunteer work performed exclusively by women within family and household (1999: 375-390) as "gender remains a more important determinant of housework time than any other factor" (Shelton and John 1996: 317). Domestic labour, care taking activities centred around child and aged relatives also eat up the major share of 'time' available to women in the family and household. The nature, context and content of work both within the realm of economics and outside it has deeper impacts on women and leisure. Herein terms like work-life balance/ reconciliation, work-life conflict or spill-over effect and time crunch (constant time pressure) among similar need to be taken into account. It is important to note that work-life issues are more tied to working women than working men. One needs to remember that "Caring and domestic responsibilities do not disappear when women enter paid employment, but women's move into the workplace has not been matched by an equivalent rise in men's work in the home" (Bryson 2007: 146). Thus, Hochschild and Machung (1989) spoke of the 'second shift' which referred to a scenario wherein working women faced emotional and physical responsibility of household/ domestic labour/chores and childrearing. Most importantly, reflecting women's 'time poverty', they coined the term 'leisure gap' meaning "just as there is a wage gap between men and women in the workplace, there is a general 'leisure' gap between them at home. Most women work one shift at the office or factory and a 'second shift' at home" (ibid., 4) which results in differences in men and women's quality of life. Similarly, O'Neill speaks of women as 'the unleisured majority' (1991: 6-10). Thus, we see that availability of limited/restricted free time due to the multiple demands in women's lives have resulted in 'role overload', 'constrained leisure' and similar other in women's life situations and in a way are conducive for the perpetuation of the gender roles. Kilic uses the term 'leisure time deprivation' to underline that

women are more deprived of leisure time than men (2019: 1-12) and Gimenez-Nadal and Sevilla-Sanz (2011: 181-196) have used the term 'time crunch' to reflect less leisure time for the working women. Similarly, Melamed has 'deconstructed' leisure with reference to women as the single parent in the paid labour force and points that leisure understood in conventional 'androcentric' lense itself is insignificant in their lives (1991: 34-36). It is important to note that not only gender identity and gender roles constrains and restricts women's access to leisure but also leisure itself also is shaped by societal gender relations. There is an abundance of scholarly works which fall under the rubric of feminist economics (sometimes alluded as work-family research exploring gendered division of work and care) wherein monetary value is assigned to unpaid work performed by women in the family and household setup i.e. economic and monetary evaluations of informal care (Pilcher and Whelehan 2004: 31; Folbre 2006: 188; also see Perrons 2000: 105-114; Nock and Kingston 1989: 32; Verbooy et. al. 2018: 1428-1436).

Deem has noted that the interconnectedness between leisure, employment and unpaid work is 'most evident (if not always overtly considered) in those studies which take gender divisions fully into account (1990: 103-123). Fontenelle and Zinkhan have underlined 'gender differences in leisure perceptions' and have underlined that this will result in 'development of knowledge in consumer behavior research' (1993: 534-540). Henderson and Shaw in their study have found that many spheres of leisure practice are marked by gendered opportunities, constraints, and patterns of time use (2006: 216-230). In the process of identifying the leisure constraints of women, Henderson names a few which include sense of lack of entitlement, the ethic of care and primacy of health & safety of men (1993: 29-40). Haller et. al. in their study found that 'gender is one of the strongest determinants of leisure time stress and boredom' (2013: 417). Bittman and Wajcman state that 'men do have more high-quality leisure than women. Men have many more hours of pure leisure uncontaminated by combination with unpaid work. In addition, men's leisure is less likely to be interrupted than women's (2000: 185). Yerkes, Roeters & Baxter concluded that 'gendered institutions and divisions of care, power relations and gender role expectations are likely to shape men and women's experiences of leisure quality, leading to possible gender inequalities' (2018: 4). Thus, for all practical purpose, distinctions between work, care and leisure are blurred when we speak of women and leisure as noted by Henderson et. al. that "the notion of the integration of work and leisure in the lives of women appears to be an ideal that is not being realized (1989: 66). A word of caution has been raised by Henderson wherein it has been argued that with regards to meaning of women's leisure "one size doesn't fit all" (1996: 139-154; also see Juniu and Henderson 2001: 3-10). Thus we see that feminist leisure scholarship have time and again underlined that compared to men, women are more constrained in the ways they participate in and enjoy leisure. All said and done; White has aptly stated that "... the achievements of gender research in leisure are considerable. We now have evidence, from a variety of women, about how they experience leisure, and we



have sufficient information and knowledge, grounded in women's values, feelings and points of view, to be able to develop theory 'from the bottom up'" (2004: 81). The above discussed feminist scholarship in leisure studies coincide with the core argument of the paper that the interlinkages between gender and leisure are mediated through gender schema and gender binary reflecting in masculine and feminine personality traits of the individual and his/her prescribed/associated gender roles. As discussed earlier, both the notions of work and time have been deconstructed through the feminist lens to arrive at such an understanding. Feminist economists have made much headway in this regard. It also becomes evidently clear from the feminist scholarship in leisure studies that woman has to negotiate both time and space so as to have free and leisure time for herself. It is in between the paid and un-paid domestic work that her leisure activities are sandwiched. Again, her leisure 'time' oscillates between family obligations like taking care of the children and aged parents along with performing the household chores. As already discussed, men's activities have a clear distinction between work and workplace and thus the activities performed by them can be neatly classified into paid work and leisure activities. Whereas, as an offshoot of the 'care economy', the same cannot be said about the women. Various research findings within the framework of time use survey have made us aware about the sexual / gendered division of time. At the same time, the nature of 'time' itself in terms of it being 'important and precious' is also important here. It is often assumed and argued that only men's time is important whereas women 'idle away' their time. Thus, there are two important variables which we need to take into due consideration which are nature and context of time and what we mean by work / economic activities. For example, male member/s playing with child/ren in the family seen as leisure activity whereas the same act of 'affection' by the female members is seen as their cardinal duty (care) as per the patriarchal norms and values. Thus, men have time to divide it into work and leisure; women are devoid of such scenario. Women's social space is marked with 'time' diffused to such an extent that work and leisure activities are blurred beyond recognition.

### **Conclusion**

The singular objective of the paper was to arrive at a gendered understanding of leisure through a systematic and thematic review of literature available. For this purpose, an analytical understanding of meaning and definitions of leisure and leisure activities was undertaken. Leisure activities include activities related to recreation, relaxing/ sleeping/ thinking, sport/ play/ game, arts and literature (reading books), socializing and communicating, the mass media (watching television/ movie) outdoor recreational activities. It became clear that leisure activities are meant to be personally enriching and meaningful and are thus closely related to individuals happiness, enjoyment and quality of life. Subsequently, the interlinkages between gender and leisure was explored further. It emerged that gender significantly intersects with leisure and this process is both a liberating as well as constraining experience

for men in general and women in particular. As the conclusion of the paper, some of the key issues are now summarised.

First and foremost, it emerged that leisure is a complex and slippery phenomenon that is difficult to define and operationalize as the meanings are multiple, shifting and overlapping. Along with it, the codification of its 'emergence' is also shrouded in the mist of history. As a corollary to it, a composite understanding of various dimensions/ aspects of leisure are difficult to arrive; partly because each social scientist has his/her own 'methodology' to arrive at, and partly because of its intricate relation with the notion of time itself. Time use can be categorised into market (paid) work, household work, personal needs (sleeping) and leisure. Let us take these issues one by one. The emergence of leisure (as we understand now) is difficult to pinpoint in the chronological historical sense of time period. It is because of the difficulty in arriving what do we mean by leisure itself. This issue is important because it has been argued that the contemporary understanding of leisure is singularly and distinctively Eurocentric in nature as it is seen as the entity which emerged during the industrialization and urbanization process. Seen in this way, the non-western meanings of leisure are simply put away to rest and thus are not debated in the studies pertaining to leisure. However, it needs to be underlined that human beings long before the advent of modern forces like writing and speech have been into some sort of leisure activities. Though, the nature, form and context may vary from time to time. Also, it has been pointed out by many of those working in the field of leisure that such an essentialised view of leisure excludes the 'pre' industrial social configuration from leisure and its elements. Given the fact that the industrial and urban modern society has come into existence barely 500 years ago, and human society has existed since thousands of years; such a proclamation to relate leisure and modern urban industrial society does not hold much water. Second issue within the definition and conceptual delineation of the leisure is its symbiotic relation with the 'time' itself. Should leisure be seen as a set of activities which people indulge into in their own time so as to relax and enjoy the sublime; or, leisure is that part / unit of the time itself, when people intend to simply put a brake on everything they have been doing in a routine and mechanised way. Rather than seeing them as opposite, leisure as a time spent freely and leisure as a set of activities performed at will can be seen as synergy with each other. Leisure thus is a free time in which to do what one wishes and desire so as to feel pleased, relaxed and free of day-to-day anxieties and work-life related pressure. Thus, leisure time is time available for ease and relaxation pertaining to enjoyable & recreational activity like hobby and/or play. There is a sense of satisfaction and 'perceived'/ real/ desired freedom in leisure which manifests in life satisfaction i.e. subjective well-being of the individual. Related with the leisure-time intersection is the issue of work which heavily impinges upon the nature, quality and context of leisure. Conventionally, leisure is seen as something which is opposed to the idea and practice of work i.e. having freedom

from the demands of work or duty. Work, understood broadly in the classical economics refers to an activity which has remunerative value (either in cash or kind). Given such criteria of work, then leisurely activities are those for which the person is not paid or all those activities come under leisure for which the person is not paid. In this scenario, the canvas of leisure becomes very huge and is fraught with certain complications. As discussed in the paper, women perform household activities for which they are not paid as such because these fall under the rubric of 'unpaid' work. Can all of the household activities be clubbed under leisure given the leisure-work and paid-unpaid work formula in operation. It would be a conceptual 'error' to arrive at such conclusion. This argument will be elaborated further when we speak of gender and leisure intersections later on. Related to this is the issue of perceiving leisure as 'state' of mind. If a person is enjoying the work he/she is performing, then can that work be categorised as leisure. What of the leisurely activities which a person may see as 'work'. For instance, Mark Twain's Tom Sawyer is punished to whitewash his aunt's fence which appeared to him as a 'work'; however, when his friends approached him mockingly, he acted as if its an important work to do and he is enjoying it to the core. It made his friends jealous and they cajoled Tom to let them do the whitewashing on his behalf as they did not wanted to lose an opportunity of entertainment, joy and pleasure. One more instance can be taken; a mother playing game with her children be seen as indulging in leisurely activity or game-playing activity is part of her 'work' as a mother who is taking care of her children. It is a slippery ground as leisure is as important as work. Thus, what constitutes leisure and what constitutes work; both are objective and subjective in nature. They both cannot be qualified on a single scale. Leisure thus has a subjective side also which reflects the 'voice' of the respondents or people themselves. This brings us to another issue at hand. How leisure should be identified; whether there should be a predefined and predetermined 'list' of activities designated as leisure activities or the people themselves should be in a position to act leisurely.

The intersections of gender and leisure are also myriad in nature as it emerged in major 'feminist' writings on the same. Feminist movements during the 1960s and 1970s gave impetus to critique the male androcentric masculine understanding of the social order. Subsequently emerged in the knowledge discourse were the terminologies like feminist epistemology, feminist methodology and feminist perspective. Though having multiplicities within it, feminist deconstructed constitutive elements of the Self as well as social order. Not only we arrived at a nuanced understanding of sex and gender, but also became aware of the lifelong gendered socialisation of the biological male and female moulding them into the gender identity of masculine and feminine. Not only these two were ascribed gender roles and behaviours, more than that the patriarchal social order led to the subordination of female / women as manifested in hierarchical and androcentric sexual division of labour, the Public/ Private distinction and restricting the women to the domestic/private

sphere of the society. That the leisure itself is gendered having different implications for the women was the singular and overarching conclusion of the feminist explorations on leisure and leisure activities. Women do indulge in the leisure activities but the time spent on these activities is very less in comparison to men. Most importantly, the leisure activities themselves most of the time further the cause of gender stereotypes as women have socially sanctioned access to only those avenues of leisure activities which do not threaten to disturb the patriarchal norms and values of women subordination. Women thus are not 'liberated' by leisure activities rather are constrained by the same as they find it very difficult to defy the leisure model available for them. Furthermore, once the domestic unpaid work and leisure gets interconnected, we arrive at a more complex nature of leisure and associated activities. Historically speaking, due to the patriarchal social structure, women have been restricted to the private sphere of the social order / structure which means that they are to be within the boundaries of family and household. Given such a scenario, the leisure experiences of women are intrinsically related to the household, home and family duties. It is primarily due to this reason that leisure is considered by the women as secondary in relation to the needs of the family. Feminist scholarship on leisure studies has time and again pointed out that there seems to be a 'sense of guilt' within the women as and when they engage in any kind of leisure activities in the realm of family and household. She is torn between her own much needed and desired feelings of enjoyment and relaxation on one hand and 'care ethic' on the other. She also has to take care of domestic work. Women-centric readings of work and labour pointed out that domestic work / household work is the activity that is performed without pay (i.e. its nature is that of similar to unpaid work), and which is related to the upkeep and maintenance of the household and taking care of its members. It includes plethora of activities like cooking, cleaning, laundry, childcare, gardening, shopping among others thus reflecting the association of women with domesticity. However, the feminist critique of the unpaid work performed within the domestic sphere and thus excluding it from the leisure activities is not so simple an exercise. It needs to be underlined that as leisure itself is a subjective 'notion', some women may agree that a few household work is enjoyable leisure, for instance, shopping, cooking, gardening, preparing snacks when guests come over, etc. and is thus can be seen as comparable to active leisure. Playing with the children so as to engage them in playful learning is equally challenging. Adhering to the same logic, can household work then be considered as one form of leisure? It is a tricky issue to be resolved once for all. In addition to it, if the woman is a working woman, then she is socially obliged to perform multiple gender roles such as that of mother, wife, sister and daughter within the family and kinship setup. Consequently the leisure time of women declines as they enter the labor market. The feeling of achievement in this case is equally, if not less matched by the feeling of 'guilt' as working wife and mother struggles with 'time crunch' and 'leisure gap'. The

patriarchal social value of 'good' and 'bad' woman who fulfill the domestic responsibility in the former sense hangs like a sword over the head of working women. The clarion call of demystifying the nature of unpaid work in relation to household and domestic work has been in a twisted sense of patriarchal reasoning and logic, is turned into a 'moral' issue where women are in direct face to face confrontation with her family members. To conclude, the paper states that like any other structural constitutive unit of the society, leisure and leisure activities are gendered in nature which in the case of women, has both 'emancipatory' as well as 'constrained' meanings attached to it and has been intrinsically positioned visa-via 'work' within and outside the domestic/household activities.

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