
AMATEUR SURFING ON THE SOUTH COAST OF SÃO PAULO: LIFESTYLE AND WORK AS FACTORS FOR PRACTICE ENGAGEMENT**O SURFE AMADOR NO LITORAL SUL DE SÃO PAULO: ESTILO DE VIDA E TRABALHO COMO FATORES DE ADERÊNCIA À PRÁTICA**Luiz Carlos Marinovic Doro¹, Vinícius Demarchi Silva Terra² and Império Lombardi Júnior³¹Federal University of São Paulo, Santos-SP, Brazil.**RESUMO**

No presente estudo, tratamos das relações entre estilo de vida e aderência à atividade física e discutimos as condições que possibilitam a longa permanência de amadores numa prática complexa como o surfe. Para tanto, entrevistamos onze surfistas com mais de dez anos de prática ininterrupta no litoral sul de São Paulo. Por meio de uma análise de conteúdo, foi possível constatar que a sua permanência é menos influenciada por questões de gênero, idade e estado civil (geralmente priorizada na literatura sobre o tema) do que condições empregatícias. Discute-se que adesão ao surfe é vinculada ao estilo de vida e aos ideais de juventude, ao passo que as condições de continuidade da prática dos amadores envolvem a família e os vínculos de emprego, cuja estabilidade dá segurança à rotina e modula os jogos entre os tempos sociais e da natureza. Assim, os surfistas maduros narram um modo de viver que valoriza atitudes prudentes como uma forma de ressignificação do surfe em suas vidas, apontando para uma transformação da cultura do surfe. Considera-se que as relações entre permanência na prática e estabilidade do emprego merecem ser investigadas em estudos futuros.

Palavras-chave: Surfe. Esportes aquáticos. Estilo de vida. Aderência.**ABSTRACT**

The present study addresses correlations between lifestyle and engagement in physical activity, in addition to discussing the conditions that make it possible for amateurs to continue with a complex practice such as surfing for a long time. To this end, we interviewed eleven surfers with more than ten years of uninterrupted practice on the south coast of São Paulo. Using content analysis, it was possible to find that their permanence is less influenced by matters of gender, age and marital status (usually prioritized in the literature on the topic) than by employment conditions. It is argued that engagement in surfing is linked to the lifestyle and ideals of youth, while the conditions that lead amateurs to keep this practice involve family and employment relationships, the stability of which provides security to routine and modulates the games between social and nature times. Thus, mature surfers narrate a way of living that values prudent attitudes as a means for re-signifying surfing in their lives, pointing to a transformation of the surf culture. It is considered that the relationships between permanence in practice and job stability are worth investigating in further studies.

Keywords: Surfing. Water sports. Lifestyle. Engagement.**Introduction**

Brazil has consolidated itself as a reference in surfing worldwide, despite academic studies with a social approach being scarce¹. Currently, among its practitioners, we can find doctors, professors and executives, who no longer fit the outsider profile of the 1970s, that is, middle-class youths with behaviors and lifestyles marked by spontaneity and nonchalance, who identify with the North American culture, clothing and entertainment, especially cinema²⁻³, not with the competitive regime of the sport that modernized the practice⁴.

It is increasingly evident in our country that the surf culture influences the constitution of different social groups, especially for adopting a lifestyle aimed at freedom, health, overcoming challenges, and contact with nature. Contact with the natural environment represents a possibility for surfers to interact and stay in balance with nature. Surfing under these conditions is of paramount

A series of studies has been showing that the determining factors for maintenance, continuity, engagement and permanence in physical activity programs are strongly motivated by an improvement in health, and by benefits to social aspects, such as: the influence of the group of practitioners; improvements in one's physique, well-being and pleasure; personal

development, socialization, information exchange, and perceptions of health, pleasure, socialization and tranquility^{6,7}. However, there are few studies on permanence involving adult amateurs who perform bodily practices in an autonomous manner and on a regular basis for long periods of time. In the case of specific practices or sports, this is even more difficult. In a review on entry and engagement, Telles et al.⁸ identified that different modalities have equally different permanence factors. If, for activities such as bodybuilding, the health and aesthetics factors were predominant, for dance, aspects concerning pleasure and encouragement from the family are more determinant; in the case of street running, psychophysical well-being and the practicality of the modality are determining factors for what keeps subjects active.

Unlike arts such as dance, sports such as street running, or exercises such as bodybuilding, surfing is an open and complex practice, that is, it requires a series of social, physical, material, geographical and environmental conditions to be performed: harmonic and symmetric waves are conditioned by the weather, the winds, the motion of the water, the time of the day, the moon, etc. In the impermanence of nature, winds, currents and lunations disobey any predestination, since the ocean multiplies variables⁹. Although we have not found specific research on the permanence of surfers in Brazil, there are good indications that lifestyle is a central object in maintaining a long-term surfing behavior. In Hawaii, the breezy “hula” dance, related to flower necklaces and life by the sea, gave the archipelago the status of “paradise”, where surfing was part of this context. According to Dias¹⁰, “the strength of this imagery and its ties with the sport caused the practice of it to be repressed on the grounds that it would distort the moral formation of young people”. The Californian culture linked the image of surfing to the idea of paradisiacal places, through the production of surfing films, photographs and advertisements; these facts were game changers in the history of the modality, which were marked in the universe of surfing. The habit of surfing was largely fostered by the greater number of films, products, and the evolution of surfboards, which attracted many people to the beaches. It was from these universes of possibilities that surfing consolidated itself as something that goes far beyond a sport^{10,11}.

In terms of behavior, the act of surfing appears to be linked to an active life, well aligned with the standard of positivity in the health promotion market and in the hegemonic discourses of science. But would the production of this lifestyle be the result of free choice and an attribute of the surfer’s willpower? The development of a lifestyle is not limited to individual choice, but is a set of conditions of possibility that is highly influenced by socioeconomic issues, the dictates of globalization, and mass consumption. From the perspective of overcoming reductionist analyses on lifestyle, the observation of behaviors needs to become more complex, go beyond a socioeconomic or identity determinism. According to Madeira et al.^{12:112}, “it is also relevant to consider the conditions in which subjects (re)produce and the subjective modulations pertaining to the body”. In addition to this normative trend, there are numerous studies on active behavior and lifestyle that portray subjects in accordance with an ideal or abstract typology based on a positive health morality, without further analyzing their multifaceted behaviors, origins and motivations, being at risk of a reductionism¹³.

While reflecting on how these social forces affect people’s subjectivity, the authors bring the concept of habitus¹⁴ to enlighten discussions about lifestyle, inviting academic research to analyze two aspects that found lifestyle: “what personal routines have the specific characteristics of a group or social class”, about the unique ways of living that (re)produce everyday life; and “how perceptions about lifestyle are being formed”, about subjective ways of health elaboration¹².

The intention of this article is to delve into the first of these two aspects that underlie lifestyle, that is, the unique personal routines and ways of life that (re)produce the daily lives of amateur surfers. More specifically, the focus here will be on the production modes of surfers’ practice routines.

Given these various factors, some questions are raised: how is it possible for surfers to be able to surf in their routine? Or, more specifically: how do experienced amateur surfers negotiate their surfing time with other social times? Therefore, the objective of the present study is to investigate the conditions of possibility of surfing for experienced amateurs (more than ten years of uninterrupted practice) living on the South Coast of São Paulo.

It is believed that this research can bring contributions to discussions around the sociocultural dimensions of surfing, the surfer's behavioral aspects, and lifestyle. And, indirectly, it can contribute to matters concerning entry and permanence in bodily practices present in the health, education and leisure fields.

Methods

Participants

The study adopted a qualitative research design and was carried out with 11 volunteer surfers – 7 (seven) male and 4 (four) female, aged between 39 and 57 years old, living on the South Coast of São Paulo. The inclusion criteria were surfers with ten or more years of practice and available to participate in the research; the exclusion criterion was being a professional surfing athlete. The participants were informed of the procedures, objectives and benefits of the research and signed a consent form for the use and disclosure of the data that will be presented. This research was approved by the Federal University of São Paulo's Ethics Committee under legal opinion number 1021/2017.

Instruments

For data collection, a semi-structured interview and a questionnaire containing open-ended and close-ended questions were used. These questions dealt with the surfers' behavior, lifestyle, and the influence of surfing on their relationship with their families and social obligations.

Procedures

The answers provided by them were captured by means of a digital recorder, with an average length of 40 minutes per interview. After the recording, all of them were literally transcribed and categorized in accordance with the Content Analysis technique¹⁵. In order to ensure the participants' anonymity, letters and numbers (I1, I2, I3, I4 ...) were adopted, identifying in the text the information on each subject.

Results

The set of interviewed surfers proved heterogeneous. Originally from four cities on the South Coast – Praia Grande, Mongaguá, Itanhaém and Peruíbe, – they were both men and women, married and single, had different jobs, were aged between 39 and 57 years old, and completed high school or higher education. Although their jobs were diverse, women had the same type of occupation: teacher. All surfers interviewed by the research carry out professional activities by working in public or private sectors.

Following the content analysis method, the interviews were grouped into 3 (three) categories, in accordance with patterns of frequency, homogeneity and internal coherence with regard to the research theme – social and individual uses of social time among surfers. In the first one, we grouped statements that show temperance and moderation in the relationship with surfing, the practice of which appears as subordinate to those work and family obligations, with comments that exalt the importance of organizing personal life and professional management, as well as reports about the maturing process of life in relation to surfing, leading to controlled, rational and balanced behaviors. This category was called “prudent time” and encompassed

aspects associated with the professional, family and social obligations of the surfers, as well as the organization of their routine.

Some interviewees said that they use some methods to practice surfing and understand the importance of contact with the sea and nature, but prioritize their commitment to their jobs, especially when it comes to sticking to their work schedule and to absences and delays on weekdays, as mentioned by interviewees I2, I4, I5 and I9. One of the strategies they use to surf in harmony with their other tasks is to find opportune moments outside their work shift. To do so, they must wake up early [...] during the week and go into the sea before going to work, or surf at alternative times [...] (I7).

With maturity and the responsibilities arising from professional, social and family obligations, they admit that surfing is no longer an absolute priority in their lives as it used to be in some moments in the past. These findings are highlighted in the reports of interviewees I3, I6, I8 and I10. Their statements move away the hedonistic character associated with soul surf, towards a more ascetic austerity, associated with an accumulation of responsibilities coming with maturity: “first of all it’s the duties, and then surfing, maybe it’s because we are mature, now it’s a different phase, we have many responsibilities...” (I10)

The interviewed amateur surfers, due to the imposition of their professional, family and social responsibilities, cannot surf every day they plan, since they need to count on the luck of having the waves in their favor, in addition to organizing all their daily obligations. One interviewee contextualized the above statements in her speech: “sharing surfing time with family time was not an easy task, because there were some days when the sea was very good and that was it, I would surf, but nowadays things are different, I can organize myself better...” (I7).

The disputes between time to surf and time with the family seem to be minimized with the change in the hierarchy of priorities: “in the beginning, surfing was a “god “in my life and was always in the first place, I’d spend hours in the water and caused conflicts with my family. I then noticed that my time with my family decreased considerably, but today I’m more mature, I believe that surfing is in the right place in my life...” (I8).

In a second category, we gathered reports that emphasize the experience of surfing in its phenomenological dimensions. The testimonies emphasize sensations and emotions, with an emphasis on the subjective aspects, what we call “Intensive time”. The Intensive time category brings together perceptions of surfing as a way of intensifying life. The reports presented deal with the enjoyment of surfing and its revitalizing effects, with one of them addressing different strategies that allow enjoying the benefits of surfing until the last moment, generating negotiations in the social time of work and family: “Sometimes I stay until the very last minute in the water, I go to work all salty, I don’t even have time to have some shower water on my body...” (I5)

Rather than dealing with time in its quantity, the comments deal with the quality of the experience and point out the positive effects of surfing in all spheres of existence, as a physical and psychic contagion. Analyzing the testimonies of interviewees I3, I4 and I11, we confirmed that, with surfing, the participants’ routine changes, they become more energized and stronger to face the situations that arise in their daily lives: “everything changes, it’s a unique moment, you relieve stress and your tedious work routine...” (I4).

In these surfers’ opinion, many tricks are used to make the most of their surfing time, and their strategies are put as fair and rewarding, as they positively impact the other social roles they play: “I have no words to explain this, only those who surf can express the wonderful sensation of being able to be in the sea and, at the same time, forgetting about all your problems...” (I5)

In the third category, we find in an interviewee’s report an exaltation of the transience of the sea, whose impermanence would be insubordinate to other social times, hence the name “Opportune time”. Here, the surfer argues about the incompatibility between social times and

nature time, which generates conflicts. He highlights the unpredictable character of the sea and of the waves, as well as the need to wait for an opportunity to surf the perfect wave, which often leads him to have to choose between surfing and carrying out his social and, notably, family obligations: “Nature does not make a perfect wave whenever you want it, so the sea’s not a machine, you always need to observe the sea and go for it in the moment that will satisfy you best and make you get the most out of surfing. So, in a way, you are at the disposal of the waves...” (I1). Below is a selection of the most relevant phrases:

Box 1. Summary of the surfers’ reports in each of the three categories

Categories	Report description
Prudent time	<p>[...] you must know the time to get in and out of the sea, in accordance with your work schedule [...]. (I2)</p> <p>[...] wake up early during the week and go into the sea before going to work, or surf at alternative times [...]. (I7)</p> <p>[...] I’ve never been late to work [...]. (I5)</p> <p>[...] you can’t surf more than you work [...]. (I3)</p> <p>[...] we don’t live off surfing, we have a job, a family and a social life [...]. (I4)</p> <p>[...] I’ve never made surfing a priority [...]. (I9)</p> <p>[...] when I was younger, I didn’t care, it was all about surfing, when you mature, you have more responsibilities, your priority is your family and your job, surfing ends up being left aside [...]. (I6)</p> <p>[...] there were days when the sea was very good, and that was it, I would surf [...]. (I7)</p> <p>[...] nowadays, things are different, I can organize myself better [...]. (I7)</p>
Intensive time	<p>[...] when you are in the sea for one, two hours, or even for a short time, your day really gets more special [...]. (I4)</p> <p>[...] you disconnect from the world [...]. (I3)</p> <p>[...] I have no words to explain this, only those who surf can express the wonderful sensation of being able to be in the sea and, at the same time, forgetting about all your problems [...]. (I5)</p> <p>[...] I always try to travel to places where I can sleep, even if it’s in a modest little room, because for me it doesn’t matter to have luxury anymore, what really matters is to live well, and that is complete with surfing whenever you can [...]. (I11)</p>
Opportune time	<p>[...] nature does not make a perfect wave whenever you want it, so the sea’s not a machine, you always need to observe the sea and go for it in the moment that will satisfy you best and make you get the most out of surfing. So, in a way, you are at the disposal of the waves [...]. (I1)</p>

Source: The authors

The profiles of each surfer are summarized in the table below:

Table 1. Characterization of the interviewed surfers

Name	Gender	Age	City	Education	Marital status	Practice time
I1	male	44	Praia Grande	higher education, complete	married	20 years
I2	male	43	Praia Grande	higher education, complete	single	22 years
I3	male	43	Praia Grande	high school	married	19 years
I4	male	39	Praia Grande	higher education, complete	single	25 years
I5	male	41	Praia Grande	higher education, complete	married	17 years
I6	male	57	Itanhaém	high school	widowed	33 years
I7	fem.	41	Mongaguá	higher education, complete	single	11 years
I8	male	48	Praia Grande	higher education, complete	married	30 years
I9	fem.	40	Peruíbe	higher education, complete	married	20 years
I10	fem.	47	Peruíbe	higher education, complete	married	21 years
I11	fem.	46	Itanhaém	higher education, complete	married	18 years

Source: The authors

Table 2. Job characteristics

Name	Relation ship	Job	Time working at the same place
I1	Public servant	Engineer	12 years
I2	Private enterprise	Salesman	8 years
I3	Private enterprise	Tinsmith	25 years
I4	Private enterprise	Janitor	10 years
I5	Private enterprise	Salesman	16 years
I6	Public servant	Driver	20 years
I7	Private enterprise	Teacher	7 years
I8	Private enterprise	Accountant	11 years
I9	Public servant	Teacher	6 years
I10	Private enterprise	Teacher	12 years
I11	Public servant	Teacher	18 years

Source: The authors

Discussion

A brief foray into the historical transformations of surfing in the last sixty years shows us that this practice accumulates multiple layers of time, and its culture diversifies as its practice expands. As for the difference among the practitioners, the data corroborate with several studies^{1,16,17} in the literature pointing out that the experience of surfing gives rise to several feelings, ranging from pleasure, overcoming of challenges, and social interaction, to the fears and prejudices experienced by surfers throughout history. In this sense, Kruger and Saayman¹⁸ conducted studies on the multifaceted lifestyle of surfers in South Africa and showed that sociodemographic characteristics, behavioral aspects and motivations are the main factors of lifestyle modulation, criticizing the tendency of studies on behavior to limit their understanding of surfers. Thus, the South African authors proposed four segments with common characteristics: beginner surfers, weekend surfers, amateurs and professionals. The results obtained by our research reinforce this segmentation suggested by Kruger and Saayman¹⁸, as we observed peculiarities in the behavior of experienced amateurs that differ from

investigations that treats the surf tribe in a homogeneous manner. In this sense, the ways in which the surfers narrate the transformation of their values with maturity, their way of dealing with their family relationships and, above all, their working conditions will be discussed as factors that make it possible to maintain a surfing practice routine over the decades.

The strategies for accommodating surfing in the routine of these surfers involve setting specific times, before or after working hours, in addition to organizing trips to surf during vacations or holidays. If we analyze the social markers that most influence this prudent behavior, gender and education aspects are less significant than marital status and age. Surfers who are single and aged 41-43 years old adopted more similar narratives as to their ways of including surfing in their routine compared to married and older ones, which seems to be associated with the increased complexity of their family routine. The role of family was less significant for this prudent behavior than their relationship with work was. Although the way they perceive time is not directly related to the type of their profession, the type of their employment relationship seems to favor the guarantee of permanence in the practices. Contrarily to what we expected, based on trends described in the literature, we did not find a precarious job condition among the surfers interviewed¹⁹. The data revealed that the guarantee of certain labor rights, as well as job stability – reported by all interviewees –, favors the maintenance of the surfing practice. It is not surprising that a cultural practice involving multiple variables, a long period of dedication and that encompasses reflective dimensions such as surfing has no representatives in a precarious condition. According to Standing^{20:194}, “connectivity fills every space of time” of the precariat and produces a reactive mode of existence that is perversely flexible and based on short-term decisions, which is hardly compatible with surfing”.

The tinsmith we interviewed, who has been working at the same factory for twenty-five years and surfing for nineteen, shows us that the relationships between permanence in practice and job stability are worth investigating. If we take into account the type of employment relationship, we find some common aspects among the surfers in this research: mostly middle-aged adults, they are all public servants or have a formal employment contract, which suggests that staying in the modality requires certain socioeconomic conditions and some level of job security.

Although job stability is a universal characteristic among the interviewees, the way the surfers move between work, home, sea and family changes. Genin²¹, when observing the phenomenon of interference and overlapping of professional and personal times, developed the concept of Porosity of Times. According to the author, who understands time from a multidimensional perspective, there are different factors that could modulate this time permeability in executives, such as the organization (company) where they work, the length of the job, their roles and their hierarchical level. The surfers surveyed here had traditional professions, related to on-site occupations and jobs. This aspect can guarantee certain protections against the harassment of productivity generated by the world of work. The job profile of the male surfers showed a link to on-site jobs, with low availability for remote work or for them to be called on outside their working hours, which shows the low porosity of time in traditional occupations and physical jobs (tinsmith, janitor, driver, accountant), a piece of data that is also in line with the findings of Genin²¹.

Conclusions

Studies^{5,22,23} indicate that the predominant factor for starting to surf is the surfer's lifestyle, which is characterized by ideals of communion with nature, by a longing for being with friends, by socialization⁵, by the valuation of health, and by a specific language or, more broadly, by the risk behavior mediated by sliding technologies, aspects which are also associated with values, motivations and opportunities to live the spirit of youth. Surfing is a

complex social object that can be socially appropriated in countless and different ways⁴. In this study, we investigated that these shared values and ideals change over the studied surfers' years of practice. According to the amateurs, experience and maturity and the accumulation of responsibilities around their family and professional lives bring measured attitudes and moral righteousness in social behaviors. Such reflections can also be associated with the processes of re-signifying surfing on the part of the consumer culture, considering the association of the surfer's lifestyle with inappropriate behaviors²⁴. As Segabinazzi²² analyzes, the surfing lifestyle was captured by fashion to transform it into a consumer sub-culture.

However, our findings show that the interviewed surfers experience surfing less as a sport than as a complex bodily practice, despite the harassment of the spectacularization suffered by several contemporary practices^{25,26}. If the surfer's active lifestyle is rooted in the "aestheticization of life" invented by the baby boomer generation²⁷, and the market appropriates it to sell the idea of youth as a desired value²⁸, the interviewed amateur surfers seem less interested in consuming an eternal youth than producing certain operations on themselves to support a form of existence that harmonizes surfing with all other common social, professional and family obligations of contemporary life.

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