

**Family and Leisure: A Comparative Sociological Study
of Middle-Class Families and Their Leisure Patterns
in France and Great Britain.**

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SUMMARY

The purpose of this Thesis is to increase the amount of understanding and add to knowledge concerning leisure patterns in two advanced industrial societies, France and Great Britain. Using the middle-class family as the vehicle, the two societies are compared with four main aims in view : firstly to identify and underline similarities and differences between them in sociological approaches to the study of leisure, in actual leisure behaviour and in attitudes towards leisure within middle-class families; secondly to determine to what extent such similarities and differences can be explained in terms of the institutional structures and patterns of each society; thirdly to bring to the attention of French and British sociologists an area of the other's research which, apart from a very few studies, is in general not widely known to them; fourthly to document and analyse some of the problems involved in carrying out cross-national research.

Data for the Thesis are derived from an empirical study based on questionnaire interviews with sixty French and British middle-class families and more detailed case studies of four families. The findings about their leisure behaviour are examined and are interpreted with reference to portrait data about the two towns and knowledge about the broader socio-cultural contexts.

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to increase the amount of understanding and add to knowledge concerning leisure patterns in two advanced industrial societies, France and Great Britain. Leisure has been chosen as the subject and the middle-class family as the vehicle for this comparison, for as we shall show, leisure is an increasingly important feature of present day society and for reasons given later in the thesis it was considered that the middle-class family would be as good a window as any through which to view it in both societies. The two societies will be compared with four main aims in view: firstly to identify and underline similarities and differences between them in sociological approaches to the study of leisure, in actual leisure behaviour and in attitudes towards leisure within middle-class families; secondly to determine to what extent such similarities and differences can be explained in terms of the institutional structures and patterns of each society; thirdly to bring to the attention of French and British sociologists an area of the other's research which, apart from a very few studies, is in general not widely known to them; fourthly to document and analyse some of the problems involved in carrying out cross-national research. To this end, data from an empirical study based on questionnaire interviews with sixty French and British middle-class families and more detailed case studies of four families will be used. In order to gain a better understanding of the features thereby revealed, this will be supported by the

French and British sociological and other relevant literature relating to leisure.

The usefulness of cross-national study as a tool of the social sciences is underlined by Lisle et al. in their comparison of the structure and financing of the social sciences in France and Britain. They argued that:

International comparative work is the social sciences closest substitute for the controlled laboratory experiment of the natural sciences. (1984: 119)

This has not been a popular method of research however, and Lisle et al. put it down to factors such as the parochial nature of funding and the high cost of cross-national research. They suggested that:

there is a great nationalist belief that each country is a special case which has nothing to learn from anywhere else. (1984: 265)

Wasserman, a speaker at a Joint Seminar on the Current Problems of the Social Sciences in Britain and France, suggests that the blame lies with social scientists themselves. He made the following point:

Some time ago, as an economist, I started looking at national accounting in France but there were very few people in Britain who were interested. We had joint seminars which only one other UK person would attend in addition to me. I don't think it's to do with government, but rather with social scientists, they are not on the whole interested in work going on in other countries. (Quoted in Lisle et al. 1984: 276).

This may perhaps be rather an unfair comment as the fact that the practice of translating sociological works into other

languages is not widespread does not encourage, but rather tends to prohibit, interest in what is going on in another country which speaks a different language. Cross-national research also does have its own particular problems, language being one, which can prove to be a deterrent, and these will be discussed in greater depth when the method used for the empirical study is described.

Are the social scientists about whom Wasserman complains justified in not being interested in what goes on in another country? Is there such a great difference between, for example, middle-class leisure patterns in France and in Britain, and is there anything to be learnt from comparing them? Dumazedier (France's leading leisure sociologist) suggested in the sixties that modern leisure would become uniform and mutually imitative, ie. that international leisure patterns would become similar. The data from Szalai's multi-national time budget study (1972), which was however on time use in general and not only leisure, also appear to support this view. Parker, a leading British leisure sociologist, concludes:

it seems fair to say that the differences between countries are not dramatic. (1976: 36)

Britain, however, did not participate in this study, although France did, so there may be differences between leisure patterns in these two countries which are worthy of note but were not revealed by that particular study.

France is our nearest European neighbour. France and Britain are both member states of the European Economic Community and, although the pace of change may have differed, they have reached a similar stage of social and economic development in the post-industrial era. The two countries might therefore reasonably be expected to show similar trends in leisure patterns. This appears to be borne out if we look at the place leisure occupies in present day France and Britain. In both countries today all social classes have in theory more time for leisure than ever before and a greater capacity to enjoy it. The working week has continued to be gradually reduced since the Second World War (for example, although the problem of comparing national figures due to their different basis must be borne in mind here, for all industries the average weekly hours of work of a manual worker in 1981 were 40.6 hours in France and 40.7 hours in the United Kingdom, (Basic Statistics of the Community, 1983: 118-119). Higher incomes and advances in technology have made modern time-saving household equipment come within the reach of the majority; for example, in 1978 94% of French and 87% of British households owned a refrigerator and 76% and 72% respectively owned a washing machine (Social Indicators for the European Community, 1980: 96). Better leisure facilities, improved health and longer life expectancy are also contributory factors. That leisure has come to be an important area of family life is reflected by the fact that families' spending on leisure, in terms of the proportion of the household budget they devote to it, has increased in both countries since the early seventies and continues to do so, despite the recession. Cathelat put this down to the fact that:

The hedonistic, instant-pleasure ethic of the boom years still strongly persists, despite changing conditions. So we see a divorce between two types of consumption. On the one hand, basic utility spending, where people try to make cut-backs. On the other, motivated spending for pleasure or consolation, psychologically essential... Fun first, caution afterwards, for maybe tomorrow we die. (Quoted in Ardagh, 1982: 388)

In short he is suggesting that leisure too has become a necessity and, as discussed below, in France, although not yet in Britain, it has now acquired the status of a recognised social value like work.

Whatever similarities or differences there may be between societies in the amount of time available for leisure and the ways in which it is spent, further issues, which are likely to yield interesting data for comparative analysis, are the approach a particular society adopts to leisure provision and the extent to which it promotes leisure as a value. In this respect there would seem to be some basic differences between France and Britain. Although leisure has been a focus for governmental concern in both countries, each has approached questions of leisure policy in a different way. In France, like most other institutions, leisure is and has traditionally been (in the case of leisure this dates from 1936) centrally organised. One of the first steps taken by the new French Socialist Government in 1981 was to create a Ministry of Free Time, whose main purpose was to help people to use their free time positively, although this was subsumed under another Ministry during the government

reshuffle in 1983. In Britain leisure provision is decentralised, being the responsibility of local government, and whilst it is officially acknowledged that leisure is important:

Leisure is as much a part of life as work and it plays an equally important part in man's development and the quality of his life. (House of Lords Select Committee, 1973)

there is much more of a laissez-faire attitude, it is not specifically promoted as a social value, and it is up to the individual how he uses his free time.

Not surprisingly leisure is a focus of media concern in both countries. It is interesting however to note that, in the area of leisure in France, use is made of many American-English words for example 'le jogging', 'le match', whereas the reverse is not true. A further difference emerges if we consider the leisure stereotypes that are often attributed to one nation by the other. Here the French are seen by the British as either eating gourmet meals, sitting in cafés drinking wine or perhaps playing 'boules' (a popular game peculiar to France, for which the nearest British equivalent might be bowls), or riding a bicycle for recreation. The British on the other hand are depicted both by the media and in common parlance as a nation of beer-drinking sportsmen with a passion for cricket, that game incomprehensible to foreigners.

At first sight therefore leisure in France and Britain does appear to display similar basic trends but with underlying differences, for example in organisation and emphasis. This

situation also appears to extend to the academic approach to the study of leisure. A preliminary examination of the French and British sociological literature relating to leisure revealed that, whilst both bodies of literature do address for the most part similar themes, there are differences in the quantity, type, approach and standing of leisure sociology in relation to the country's sociology as a whole. It is also clear that apart from the research by Dumazedier and Friedmann, some of whose works have been translated into English (Dumazedier, J., Towards a Society of Leisure; Dumazedier, J., Sociology of Leisure; Friedmann, G. G., The Anatomy of Work), the French literature does not appear to be widely known among leisure sociologists in Britain. The same is also true of the British literature in France, as, although the work of Rapoport et al. and Parker is referred to by Dumazedier, there do not appear to be any translations into French of the work of English leisure sociologists. The author suggests that the main reason that the works of one country are not better known in the other is the language barrier.

Since sociology is concerned with understanding society and the forces at work in it, one would expect the study of leisure to be an area of major concern for the sociologist. However as will be discussed in greater detail later in the thesis, the study of leisure as an area of concern in its own right has traditionally been unpopular and has been considered somewhat controversial or perhaps rather frivolous. In Parker's words: "... comparable with the sociology of the bicycle..." (1976: 11). This is mainly

due to the lack of a concrete theoretical base. The major difficulty seems to be in developing a satisfactory and generally agreed upon definition of the concept of leisure, since it tends to mean different things to different people. This problem has been a thorn in the flesh of researchers of all nationalities in the field from its inception in Europe during the 1950's to the present day. Whilst it has always been and continues to be one of the main themes in this branch of sociology, it has also proved to be one, if not the major weakness. Researchers in France (eg. Friedmann, 1961; Dumazedier, 1967; Lanfant, 1972; Sue, 1980) and in Britain (eg. Roberts, 1970; Parker, 1971; Rapoport, 1974; Edgell, 1980) have all drawn attention to this lack of a satisfactory definition, which has general applicability, and to the problem of finding one.

However, despite the apparent difficulties, there has been no shortage of attempts by sociologists and psychologists to define the meaning of the term leisure. Indeed a number of criteria have been used to define it, and this is where the main problem appears to lie. People choose to fill their leisure time in different ways; leisure can mean rather different things to different people and it does not always mean the same thing to the same person. This problem is demonstrated by Dumazedier who gave the following definitions of leisure in 1960, 1974 and 1979:

Leisure might, thus, initially, be defined 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)

Leisure must be distinguished in the first place from working time and secondly that its uses are characterised by being relatively freely chosen as opposed to obligatory. (1974: 2)

C'est le temps du plaisir, de la pleine satisfaction de soi-même dans des groupes aux contraintes minimales qui convient le mieux à l'expression de soi-même, de ses potentialités... (Leisure is a time for pleasure, for complete self-realisation and self-fulfilment in the interchange between social groups where there are as few constraints as possible.) (1979: 11)

It is obviously a very difficult topic to deal with, for the way in which an individual defines leisure tends itself to be defined by what he thinks it ought to be, and although, as will be shown in Chapter 4, some useful progress has been made, Young and Willmott's suggestion that attempting to define the concept is like "trying to grasp a jellyfish" (quoted in Rapoport et al. 1974: 215) still seems to sum up the problem very aptly.

Therefore, whilst what has been written is often contradictory and inconclusive, much is known about what the term leisure means to the sociologist. It appears, however, that this is not so with regard to what it means to the individual, although the practice of asking the public what leisure means is becoming more common (eg. Stockdale: 1984). Although people are often asked what leisure activities they do in their free time, or to indicate which activities on a list are leisure, they are seldom asked about what leisure means to them, and according to Roberts:

very little is known about what the term 'leisure' means to members of the public. (1978: 2)

The SSRC Joint Panel on Leisure and Recreation Research 2nd Annual Report underlines this imbalance when it states:

... perhaps the most basic research need to have been identified... is that of developing an understanding of the perception and meaning of leisure to the individual. Almost all previous work has relied on researchers' or providers' views of the limits and content of leisure time and their importance to people. (1979-80: 2.3)

With this in mind, although both scholars and individuals' definitions of leisure are discussed in the thesis, no attempt was made to impose a definition of leisure on the respondents in the empirical study. Rather they were asked to give their own, as the author felt that the present study and the approach adopted offered a good opportunity to find out precisely what people did think.

That leisure is nevertheless apparently seen as a necessary component of everyday life worthy of sociological comment, despite the suspicion with which it is often regarded, is indicated by the fact that information about leisure behaviour is usually included in studies of other areas of sociological concern, such as community studies (eg. Stacey, 1960; Wylie, 1978) family studies (Young & Willmott, 1973; Pitrou, 1978) studies of social class (eg. Bachy, 1971; King and Rayner, 1981) and occupational groups (eg. Goldthorpe, 1969; Marceau, 1977). Indeed much of the most interesting and useful material among the existing information about leisure behaviour and attitudes

derives from these sources. Is this then the way it is best studied ? Many sociologists dispute this view since they claim leisure is now playing such a central role in people's lives. One of them, Roberts, claims that:

In sociology, leisure cannot be relegated to the status of a by-product of the form taken by society's other institutions. (1970: 120)

A drawback of this type of information derived, as it were second hand, from studies of other social institutions, however, is that, because the material is drawn from such a wide range of areas, the information is often somewhat fragmentary and repetitive and offers few possibilities for comparability between studies.

Since 'residual' definitions of leisure usually refer to it being something we have when not working, the institution traditionally identified as having the greatest influence on leisure has been work. (For a review of the literature relating to work and leisure see Parker, 1972 and 1976.) However, a common theme to be found running through the literature on leisure is that of the influence of the family in determining leisure behaviour and of the reciprocal influence of the family and leisure. The Dartington Amenity Research Trust (DART) report states that:

recent research has increasingly emphasised the importance of families and social networks as important influences upon leisure. These influences are seen as no less, indeed possibly more powerful than the influences of occupation and income. (1981: 73)

Some articles about the French context (eg. Fougeyrollas, 1959; Dumazedier, 1961; Hantrais, 1982) and about Britain (eg. Strelitz, 1981) explore this relationship as a main theme, but apart from the work of the Rapoport (1975), there are few major studies which examine the family and leisure as their main focus.

Particular care is necessary when talking of 'the family' in present-day society, since definitions of it are changing due, for example, to the rising divorce rate, remarriages and more liberal attitudes towards unmarried couples. Consequently broader conceptions of the family than the conventional one of husband, wife and children have to be taken into account. With this in mind the criteria for what constitutes a 'family' given by the governmental Statistical publications in France and Britain reveal an interesting difference:

... une famille sera... un ensemble d'individus formé par soit un couple et - éventuellement - ses enfants de moins de 25 ans, soit un seul adulte et ses enfants de moins de 25 ans (A family is a group of people composed either of a couple and possibly their children under 25 years old or of a single adult and his/her children under 25 years old.) (Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques, 1981: 30)

... families consist of a married couple with or without children or a lone-parent with children.
(Social Trends, 1981: 36)

In short, whereas in Britain a couple have to be married to be 'a family', in France they do not and any children have to be under 25, although it is significant of society's changing and more liberal attitudes that both definitions include lone

parents. Nevertheless in both countries the conventional family composition of husband, wife and children is still the most common type: 36% of French families (INSEE, 1981: 31) and 32% of British families (Great Britain Central Statistical Office, 1982: 30), and accordingly this definition of the term 'family' was the one used for the empirical study of leisure in the context of the middle-class family.

Roberts nevertheless suggests that the leisure of people from all social classes possesses certain basic similarities:

There are no sharp cleavages distinguishing the leisure of one stratum of society from another. In spite of the differences in incomes and financial resources that exist, the leisure pursuits adopted throughout society are similar to a remarkable degree. (1970: 15)

By this he means that most leisure time is spent at home with other family members, and the main leisure activity within the home is watching television, that it is at the week-end that people are most likely to go outside the home for leisure, although even then they rarely go far from it, and that people tend to take one or two holidays away from home every year. The existence of these basic similarities does not, however, preclude the possibility that different social groups may engage in different ranges of leisure activities and, indeed, the studies which seek to analyse the relationship between leisure and social class (eg. Bachy, 1971; Pitrou, 1978; BBC, 1965 and 1980) indicate that social class does affect leisure behaviour and

attitudes. Such studies suggest that the middle class are much heavier consumers of leisure in the sense that they tend to devote more time to leisure, to spend more money on it, to participate more actively and to a greater extent in leisure pursuits and to rate it as being of greater importance as an area of life than do the working class. For the researcher seeking to examine leisure behaviour they are therefore an ideal group to study. This is especially so in a cross-cultural context since two of the criticisms often levelled at this type of research (eg. by Heiskanen, 1972) are that the phenomena being compared are often not sufficiently similar, and that inter-country differences are not taken into account. Since it was important to select two sample groups as similar as possible, it was felt that a sample consisting of that part of the middle class which Pahl calls:

the men and women who typically live in privately built houses on suburban estates round the major industrial cities of Britain. (1971: 11)

together with a similarly situated sample in France, would be satisfactorily comparable. This would also help to resolve the problem of inter-country differences, since as Pahl states:

Certainly among the middle-class the local context is perhaps less important than for certain categories, who may be less concerned with what they do at a particular time than with what they are in terms of their biography and future potential (1971: 9)

Following this line of thought then, any trends indicated by the

study of such a group living on the periphery of a large city could be taken to be reasonably representative of other groups who live in a similar location. In addition, since in both countries the media tend to imply that it is the middle class who tend to lead fashion today, trends in leisure can reasonably be assumed to be most or first apparent there.

The question of whether the dominant values of a particular society affect the leisure patterns of its inhabitants to the extent that they differ from those of other societies was raised by Clarke as long ago as 1956. He commented then that:

few studies have attempted to consider leisure in terms of the large cultural context. (1956: 301)

Where leisure is studied comparatively using either France or Britain as a focus, the initiative has not tended to come from within that country, nor are there many studies, and even fewer which focus on France than on Britain. Britain is most often compared with America by Americans (eg. Kelly, 1982; Robinson, 1981) and, as noted earlier, whilst France was included in the major cross-cultural study of leisure time carried out by Szalai (a Czechoslovakian) in 1972, Britain was not, and this study focussed particularly on the differences between East and West rather than on the differences between European countries. The joint ESRC/CNRS initiative set up in 1982/83 and referred to earlier may however be an indication that there is a trend in favour of more comparative and collaborative study.

From the point of view of French and British leisure patterns, the existing literature reveals that whilst there are studies of the French by the British which include references to leisure (eg. Ardagh, 1977 and 1982; Hantrais, 1982; Zeldin, 1983), and less numerous of the British by the French (eg. Charlot, 1979), there are very few comparative studies which even refer to leisure, let alone take it as their main theme. Apart from Madge and Willmott's comparative study in 1981 of two districts in London and Paris and Hantrais' (1985) article "Leisure Lifestyles and the Synchronisation of Family Schedules", there are no studies to the writer's knowledge which set out to compare systematically French and British leisure patterns, and it is felt therefore that the present study will help to fill gaps in existing knowledge.

In view of the lack of comparative studies on leisure some established premises about middle class leisure in each country, in this case in the context of the family, are tested, namely that:

1. consumption of leisure by the middle class is relatively heavy;
2. most leisure time is spent at home with other family members;
3. the main activity within the home is watching television;
4. it is at the weekend that people are most likely to go outside the home for leisure and even when they do they rarely go far from home;

5. people tend to take one or two holidays away from home in a year

Some further hypotheses are also tested:

1. leisure is an important area of life for the middle class;
2. several broad family types can be identified which are similar in both societies in so far as leisure behaviour is concerned;
3. the institutional structures and patterns of a society affect access to, use of and attitudes to leisure.

To this end an analytical appraisal and comparison of the French and British sociological literature relating to leisure and particularly to leisure and the middle class family will first be given. This is followed by a short description of the method adopted for the empirical study, which includes a discussion of some of the problems involved in cross-national research and common criticisms levelled at it. The next section of the thesis comprises a portrait of the two towns where the empirical work was carried out, through the eyes of the families in the study, and short case studies of two French and two British families derived from the completed questionnaires and other notes made at the time of the interview. The remainder of the thesis will then be devoted to an examination of the following pertinent areas of leisure behaviour and attitudes to leisure as revealed by the empirical work:

1. the meaning of 'leisure';

2. access to free time;
3. the conception of leisure as a central life interest;
4. leisure patterns with particular reference to leisure activities, participation in voluntary associations and holidays;
5. satisfaction with leisure.

The final chapter will reconsider the four aims of the thesis stated in the opening paragraph in the light of the findings of the research. It will go on to address the five established premises and three further hypotheses listed above and tested during the research, drawing conclusions as to the validity of each and considering any limitations that there may be. Some possible avenues for future research which have been located by the study will then be outlined.

Chapter 1

THE SOCIOLOGY OF LEISURE IN FRANCE AND BRITAIN

The study of leisure by sociologists is a comparatively recent development in both France and Britain. The sociology of leisure originated in the United States during the early 1900's and only diffused into Western Europe during the 1950's. The first resolutely theoretical work on leisure is generally attributed to the American Theodore Veblen, who, in his book The Theory of the Leisure Class, published in 1899, examined the functions and status of leisure. Veblen saw leisure as time without economic value. The study of leisure as a specific field of sociology arose in a sporadic way from the results of empirical work which reflected the new leisure patterns of the middle classes. The first large survey on leisure was Lundberg's classic study in 1934.

It was not, however, until after the second World War, and especially during the 1950's that the idea of leisure as an object of sociological concern became more widespread in Europe and became established as a specific branch of sociology. Although the first European leisure sociologists tended to reject Veblen's thesis, contacts with American leisure sociology have continued to be important. With the aid of UNESCO, European conferences were held (the first being in 1954), and various research centres were set up. These included the Centre Européen

des Sciences Sociales (1960), whose first task was to carry out an international time-budget survey, which resulted in the publication of The Use of Time (Szalai 1972), and the Centre Européen du Loisir (1968), whose first task was to found the journal Society and Leisure (now published in French-speaking Canada), with the aim of establishing links between sociologists and users. Lanfant (1972), however, notes in her discussion of the development of the sociology of leisure in Europe, that in each country, it has developed in a different way according to particular characteristics of the country, such as leisure policy, the organisation of research and theoretical approaches. As we shall see her comments hold true for France and Britain, although similar remarks can be applied to the sociology of leisure in both countries.

One basic and major difference between the two countries is the date when the study of leisure became established as a specific branch of sociology. A further difference lies in the status of the sociology of leisure within the social sciences in each country. In France, where the work of Georges Friedmann is generally considered to have heralded the sociology of leisure, the establishment of a distinct sociology of leisure dates from after the Second World War and especially from the 1950's. Friedmann's main concern was with work in industrial society, and he saw leisure as compensation for the alienation caused by work. This opened the way for a sociology of leisure and the first major study of leisure, similar to that of Lundberg (1934), was

conducted by Dumazedier in Annecy in 1954. Other sociologists were quick to take up the theme, and as Lanfant comments:

La sociologie du loisir est une des branches les plus actives de la sociologie... Surtout après la seconde guerre mondiale, cette discipline n'a cessé de se développer comme domaine spécifique des sciences sociales. (The sociology of leisure is one of the most active branches of sociology.... It has continued particularly from the second world war to develop and establish its importance as a specific field of sociology.) (1972: 1).

The situation in Britain is somewhat different, however, and Pearson talks of the: "worrying lack of any historical perspective in British research" (1978: 46). Indeed, although there had been several community studies which included references to leisure behaviour (eg. Stacey, 1960; Young and Willmott, 1960), the idea of leisure as a specific object of sociological concern was not initiated until 1965 by Dower, as a consequence of the pressure on recreation resources. There has been no shortage of studies since that date, the Leisure Studies Association was founded in 1975 and a specialist journal Leisure Studies produced its first issue in January 1982, but nevertheless it seems that many people do not consider the study of leisure to be a specific area of sociology or that it even merits being treated as such. Parker sums up this attitude when he says:

Until a few years ago the sociology of leisure in Great Britain (in so far as it existed at all) was treated either as a joke - comparable with the sociology of the bicycle - or as an adjunct of the study of work and industrial society. (1976: 1)

In 1980 Smith in The Directory of Leisure Scholars and Researchers showed that the number of academics with research interests in leisure was declining and in the THES in June 1982 the SSRC/Sports Council Joint Panel revealed that it had not been able to attract the required researchers to carry out a funded project to study the meaning of leisure.

A comparison of the two bodies of literature reveals that there are some fundamental differences in the way research is organised. Although in both countries other disciplines such as psychology, political studies, and planning have made valuable contributions to the sociology of leisure and much information has been derived from the results of research in other areas of sociology, the French sociology of leisure tends to form a much more coherent body of research than does the British which is somewhat fragmentary. Sociological research on leisure, as is the case with other branches of sociology in France, tends to be organised within a much more restricted and closely knit framework than in Britain. Such research is for the most part carried out within the CNRS, and also by government bodies such as the Ministère de la Culture, and research institutes like the Groupe d'Etudes Urbaines, the Equipe de Sociologie du Loisir et des Modèles Culturels and the Centre des Communications de Masses. Although in Britain the SSRC/Sports Council Panel for Recreation and Leisure Research was established in 1978 to organise, fund and commission research, it has no monopoly and an equal, if not greater, amount of research is funded by other

bodies. Research in France has consequently been organised round certain 'names' such as Dumazedier (who has now retired), each with their disciples, a tradition which can be traced back to Durkheim. Although in Britain there are well known 'names' in leisure sociology, such as Smith, Parker and Roberts, research is not organised solely round them, but is open to anyone who desires or possesses the funds to do it. In addition, the impression given by the French literature on the sociology of leisure is that it tends to be written for a more specialised intellectual readership i.e. in an identifiably more literary and academic style. Explanation of terms and concepts is less common as everyone knows whose work is being referred to, whereas in Britain styles of writing vary from the academic to the almost novelistic. Although the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) publish their own reports and the Ministère de la Culture has a newsletter, as suggested by Lemert (1981), the publication of research results in France tends to be slower than in Britain, and due to the degree of centralisation in France outlets for publication are more restricted. Such characteristics are, however, according to Lemert (1981), typical of French sociology as a whole.

Such a closely knit and supervised framework naturally makes for coherence in research, but can also have the effect of narrowing and stultifying the range of intellectual creativity and experimentation, and compels authors to heed national rather than universal standards, for if one wishes to carry out or respectably publish research in France one has to fit in with

established tradition. Although British leisure sociology is more fragmentary, French leisure sociology does lack some of the spontaneity and richness of detail in descriptions of everyday life which is characteristic of much of the best of British leisure sociology (eg. Young and Willmott, 1973; Edgell, 1980). On the other hand French leisure sociology, through its very formality, has made its mark in its country's sociology and has been able to achieve the respect that British leisure sociologists despair of doing.

Nevertheless, despite the differences in background and organisation of research, style and dissemination of results underlined above, themes which are on the whole similar, run through the sociology of leisure in both countries. Lanfant suggests that, in most industrial societies, there have been studies of the quantity of free time and its use, the percentage of people going away on holiday, leisure behaviour, the preferred activities of different groups in society, leisure spending and the importance and significance people attribute to leisure. Research in both France and Britain has focussed on such themes as: defining the basic concept of leisure; the debate regarding the existence of a civilisation of leisure; leisure as a central life interest, leisure and the quality of life; the relationship between leisure and particular aspects of other features of industrial society such as work, education, politics, the mass media, the family; leisure and different types of communities such as locality, social class, occupation, women, ethnic groups,

societies; time-budget studies; rates of participation in particular activities, such as sport or the Arts; demand for and use of leisure facilities; the effect of car ownership. However, each country has attributed greater importance to some themes than to others, and has been quicker to emphasise certain themes. Whilst, on the other hand, certain themes, such as the definition of the basic concept of leisure, and the traditional relationship between work and leisure, which Pearson calls: "an old chestnut in the history of leisure research" (1978: 9), have been current in both the British and French sociology of leisure right from the beginning to the present day. There are further themes which have been introduced at a later stage often in response to social trends such as the reduction in work hours, which caused Dumazedier in 1962 to raise the question of whether we are moving towards a civilisation of leisure, or sometimes arising as a result of research in other areas of sociology, such as family or community sociology. It is interesting to note that at the time of the study the CNRS and SSRC/Sports Council were emphasising different areas of research; concern at the CNRS appeared to be with 'time', leisure and culture and leisure and urban society (Annuaire CNRS, Sciences de l'Homme, 1981), whereas the SSRC/Sports Council Panel was emphasising the areas of Leisure and Social Behaviour, Leisure and Economic Organisation and Leisure and Environmental Resources as their main areas of concern.

The above analysis of the themes addressed by French and British leisure sociology, also indicates that the two which are of

special concern to the present study and which therefore merit particular attention have both been addressed by community sociologists and, more recently, leisure sociologists in both France and Britain. The former relationship, that of social class and leisure, has received earlier and more concentrated attention than the latter, but the two are inextricably linked in the sense that studies (eg. Blanc, 1977; INSEE, 1981; Parry and Johnson, 1974; Edgell, 1980) show that the different social classes do have differing identifiable leisure lifestyles: for example the middle classes tend to be greater 'consumers' of leisure, than the working classes. The family and the home can influence the leisure patterns of the individual in terms of living space and environment and money to buy leisure goods and services and as a normative group transmitting skills and guiding members towards suitable pursuits. Thus it follows that members of middle class families will tend to have an advantage, being more likely to have better and more spacious housing, a pleasanter environment to live in and more money to buy leisure goods and services. Evidence also indicates (Coronio & Muret, 1976; Pitrou 1978; Goldthorpe, 1969) that middle class families have become 'privatised'. As Parker suggests:

the essential feature of this lifestyle is a pattern of social life which is centred on, and indeed largely restricted to, the home and the conjugal family. (1976: 86)

This suggests that the picture may now have changed from that painted by Young and Willmott, when they comment that some

managers and professionals:

... work very long hours, spend a good deal of time travelling and do not necessarily share even their leisure with their families, much of it being spent with business colleagues. (1960: 20)

Information about the interrelationships between the family and leisure comes, for the most part in France from secondary sources such as government surveys, community studies and other sociological studies which do not have this interrelationship as their main focus as does a great proportion of that in Britain. In Britain, however, the relationship between the family and leisure is now a well-established and more widely explored area in its own right (eg. studies such as that of Rapoport et al., 1975), which has yet to happen to the same extent in France. In addition to the influence of social class, sources in both countries indicate that the family does influence leisure in a number of ways: that most leisure activities are home-based and centred on the family (eg. Fougeyrollas, 1959; Dower et al., 1981); that there are differences in leisure patterns according to style of marriage (eg. Pitrou, 1978; Bell and Healey, 1973) and sex of family members (eg. Rouse & Roy, 1981; INSEE, 1981; BBC, 1965 and 1981); in Britain that there are differences in leisure patterns at different stages of the family life cycle (eg. Rapoport, 1975) and at different stages of the life cycle of family members (eg. Strelitz, 1979). Some authors, and Dumazedier has been the chief proponent of this view, argue that leisure itself influences the family in terms of where they choose to live and even what type of work they choose to do.

The fact that, as in other areas of leisure studies where data from more than one country are compared, studies of the family and leisure in each individual country do appear to demonstrate trends which are similar, has led to the sort of generalisation about leisure behaviour which Parker is making, following on a discussion on some of the main characteristics of contemporary leisure:

The pattern of contemporary leisure activities that we have considered so far has been typical of Britain, the United States, and other advanced industrial societies. (1976: 84)

However, this comment may be too much of a generalisation and is particularly worthy of note, bearing in mind the nature of the present study, for, whilst Szalai's study did indeed reveal considerable similarities in time use between nations, it also pointed out some interesting idiosyncratic differences, and to ignore these is surely to leave out what is most important. Both Robinson (1981) and Kelly (1982), in their comparative studies of leisure in Britain and America, also illustrate the importance of taking into account the 'behind the statistical and theoretical scenes differences.' They show that just to say people in both countries 'went out for a drink in the evening' is to miss an important point for, whilst the British went to the pub, this phenomenon does not exist in America, and therefore 'going out for a drink' means something quite different in each country. Madge and Willmott also pick up this point in their study of Paris and London, for they asked French respondents whether they

had: 'been to a restaurant or a café', whereas British respondents were asked if they had: 'gone out to a restaurant for a meal in the evening' and also: 'if they had been to a pub for a drink' (1981: 79). All these three studies illustrate the importance of looking behind the scenes for explanations of apparently similar trends. The Americans indicate that the type of leisure pursuits chosen by British and Americans are to a great extent dictated by the more hectic pace of life in America and the slower pace of life in Britain. Madge and Willmott reveal that, whilst on the surface their British and French middle-class respondents appeared to behave in the same way i.e. they did more leisure activities than lower social classes and were more likely to go away on holiday, the British group did more leisure activities than the French, whereas the French group tended to take more holidays than the British. Cullen also underlines the importance of taking such differences into account, when he comments:

We may know how much time people spent watching television or reading, but we do not know what programmes they watched or which books they read. We may know for how long people were with others each day, but not how important such social contacts were to them. And only at the level of such subtleties will cultural differences between nations appear. (1974: 63)

These comments are felt to be particularly relevant for the present study and will be borne in mind during the chapters which follow.

Whilst in both countries research prior to the Seventies tended

more towards 'head-count' studies, current research is becoming increasingly qualitative, but in France there has always been a greater preference for the time-budget study as a tool of research. Comparison of the bibliographies of Lanfant (1972) and Pearson (1978) reveals that the French approach has been more theoretical, has tended to devote greater attention to leisure as a specific phenomenon and laid more emphasis on the relationship between leisure and culture. Pearson (1978) in her literature review of leisure studies indicates that British sociology on the other hand has tended to be more descriptive, has devoted more attention to leisure as it relates to other phenomena, and has laid more emphasis on leisure and the family and leisure and particular types of community.

Nevertheless, similar basic criticisms can be applied to both sociologies of leisure. Although leisure is not a separate part of contemporary life and as such should be studied in its relationships with other features of present day society, it has too seldom been studied as a specific phenomenon and as a consequence there is a general lack of basic theory. Although French leisure sociologists have devoted greater attention to theory, there is still no generally accepted definition of leisure and herein lies the cause of much of the confusion and controversy in the field. Although a great deal of work has been carried out in both countries, close inspection reveals that studies are often repetitious, offer few bases for comparability and support what Lanfant (1972) and Pearson (1978), in their literature surveys of the sociology of leisure,

call the statistical uncertainty and value judgments which permeate the field.

In conclusion then, although the sociology of leisure is a comparatively recent branch of sociology in both France and Britain, it is more recent in Britain and occupies a less respectable place within the social sciences. That the body of literature in France presents a more coherent picture is to a great extent due to the organisation of research and outlets for publication. France has a Dumazedier whom Lanfant rightly describes as a 'pioneer in the sociology of leisure' (1972: 129). He has become a sociologist of international repute, his name is synonymous in sociology with the term 'leisure', and it is difficult to find a sociological work on leisure which does not refer to him. His work has undoubtedly been an influence on British leisure sociology, although it has not shaped it, in the sense that his work is usually quoted in British studies. In Britain, although Parker is perhaps the best known British leisure sociologist and his work has had considerable influence upon his country's leisure sociology, his reputation at an international level is not by any means as universal as that of Dumazedier, nor is his work often referred to in French studies.

Chapter 2

METHOD

Reference was made in the Introduction to the fact that there are problems peculiar to cross-national research and that errors can result from either not taking these problems into account or not managing to overcome them. Several authors writing about family sociology (eg. Moore, 1961; Hill, 1962; Merrit and Rokkan, 1966; Shanas et al., 1968; Heiskanen, 1972) have underlined these problems and the strategies that can be developed to overcome them. The present study which takes selected aspects of the family, ie. their leisure patterns, in two societies, France and Britain, for comparison, is according to Heiskanen:

probably the most frequently employed approach in cross-cultural research in the family... (1972: 34)

However she goes on to suggest that this approach is particularly prone to problems:

...it is this type of comparisons of two societies that are the most problematic from a methodological point of view, and have significantly contributed to some curious discrepancies in the increment of our knowledge about the family. (1972: 35).

The discussion which follows will therefore focus on the choice of method adopted, the problems relevant to this study and the way in which the author has tried to resolve them.

The aim of the study was to compare French and British leisure patterns through the medium of the middle-class, and to this end two main ways of obtaining data suggested themselves:

1. to make use of secondary data about middle-class leisure patterns such as that collected by the government statistical bodies in each country and by existing studies which include information about leisure behaviour and to compare the figures;
2. to carry out an empirical study.

The drawbacks of Method 1 are documented by Burton et al. (1971), who suggest that this type of material has usually been produced for another purpose and can therefore be misleading, biased and unsatisfactory. As underlined in the previous chapter, a common criticism of leisure studies is that they offer little basis for comparison, and the author of the present study found that in most cases it was impossible to compare even the data about leisure behaviour collected by the main governmental bodies in France, the INSEE and in Britain, Social Trends, as the information had been collected in a different way, using different activities and over a different time span.

Accordingly it was felt that whilst this material was valuable because it provided an insight into what happened in each individual country, and could play a useful supportive role, for the purpose of this thesis, an empirical study of two similar sections of the middle-class would be the most appropriate method, since it would enable an exact comparison to be made. Participant observation as a way of collecting empirical data was

discounted as it would have been difficult, if not impossible, to select a middle-class sample even if the observation were to be done where members of the middle-class were likely to congregate, say in a tennis club, which would also have introduced a bias towards a particular leisure activity. Self-administered documents such as time-budget diaries and questionnaires were also discounted because of their inherent difficulties of low response rates and possible ambiguity due to the fact that the respondent is in charge. These types of problems were felt to be crucial as regards the need for comparability in the present study. Accordingly it was decided to use an interviewer-assisted questionnaire for the empirical study in the interests of comparability, and in addition it was felt that this type of instrument would provide a better 'real life' picture.

In 1961, Hill carried out a survey of the problems encountered and strategies developed by forty social scientists engaged in cross-national research. He found that they:

...mentioned again and again problems with language, with cultural differences, and with difficulties in getting to families who would qualify for their studies. These difficulties played havoc with time schedules and financial budgets... (1962: 432-3).

Language did not present a problem in the present study since the author could speak French fluently and had spent a great deal of time in France during the years prior to the study. This proved invaluable for making local contacts and particularly in finding families willing to co-operate in the study. The author was also

able to prepare the interview document, in this case a questionnaire containing questions designed to elicit background information about the respondents and information about their leisure behaviour and attitudes to leisure, so that it was comparable in both languages, and she carried out the interviewing in person, so that this too was comparable. (See Appendices 1 and 2). It was thus hoped to avoid some of the errors caused by the fact that, as Hill found, many studies do not attempt to make their questionnaires culturally comparable. Instead questionnaires which have been used in the home country are often translated by someone else into the language of the country to be visited and interviewing is carried out by yet another person, resulting in quite different meanings from those originally intended.

Time and money were powerful constraints in this Franco-British study; like the majority of researchers who carry out studies of this type, the author was operating on severely limited time and financial resources, and it is very difficult, if not impossible, to go back once the research time and money have expired. Because of this it was decided to collect as much information as possible at the time of the interview, even though all of it might not eventually be used in the same detail, and the range of questions contained in the questionnaire reflects this. Hill also draws attention to the fact that whilst people carrying out this type of research have the advantage of being "... masters of their own ship..." (1962: 433), this can of course make it very difficult

for them to make local contacts. All these factors combined to influence the choice of the French town, the British comparison and the sample size.

A research project to be carried out by the Department of Modern Languages at Aston University was about to begin in Rambouillet, a town in the Department of the Yvelines situated in the Paris Basin (see Appendix 3). The choice of this town meant that the problems mentioned above, as well as those of access to documentation could be more easily resolved. In addition, Rambouillet appeared to be eminently suitable for the purposes of the research. It is situated to the South West of Paris within easy commuting distance of the centre (thirty minutes by train) and other parts of the Paris Region, and at the same time is surrounded by countryside ideally suited for leisure pursuits. During recent years, there has been an increasing disenchantment among the French with flat-dwelling and a new desire to own their house. A large amount of new private housing has been built in Rambouillet as a consequence of this trend. These factors together with the town's geographical situation have therefore made it an attractive, but by no means cheap, place to live for people working in the centre of Paris and its region, who are looking for a pleasant environment to live in which is within easy reach of their employment. Consequently there has been a vast influx of new inhabitants who have increased the town's population from 12,600 in 1962 to 22,470 approximately in 1981 (figures from the Mairie de Rambouillet). According to the Mairie Nouvelles (the Town Hall newsletter), these new

inhabitants are young well-educated couples with children, in high status occupations with an above-average standard of living. The Census in fact reveals that the town does have a higher proportion of people in professional and managerial occupations, (29.2%) than the national average (19.4%). (INSEE Recensement de la Population, 1975). Although new houses have been built in several areas of Rambouillet, preliminary visits, observation and information from local inhabitants indicated that the estate of 'La Clairière' (The Glade) to the north of the town near the R.N. 10 (Route Nationale 10. This corresponds to an A road in Britain) (See Appendix 4) with its wide range of privately owned, high status housing would provide a suitable sampling frame. Pilot testing of the questionnaire confirmed this.

It was then necessary to select a British town which would have as many of the characteristics of Rambouillet as possible. Since Paris is the capital of France, a town outside London might have seemed the first choice for comparison. However, apart from their both being the capitals of their respective countries, London and Paris are very different both in geographical situation, vis-à-vis the rest of the country, and in nature (for example 'the greater density of Paris than London'), a fact brought out by Madge and Willmott's (1981: 4) study of districts of London and Paris. Since the aim of the study was to examine and compare the leisure patterns and attitudes to leisure of a particular section of the middle-class, sufficient comparability would be achieved, provided that the town selected matched

Rambouillet in respect of the following criteria: size and social structure; proximity both to a large city and attractive countryside; recent substantial influx of middle-class inhabitants occupying new private housing. With the constraints of time and finance constantly in mind, the town of Bromsgrove in the County of Hereford and Worcester on the edge of the West Midlands conurbation (see Appendix 5) was selected, since, as discussed below, for many reasons it compared favourably with Rambouillet and would also have the advantage of convenience. Although Birmingham is the second city of Great Britain, the geographical situation of the West Midlands area in relation to the rest of the country is similar to that of the Paris region in the sense that it is centrally placed with commuters able to travel to the city centre from all points of the compass. Bromsgrove, like Rambouillet, is situated to the South West of the city. It has good road and rail links with the city centre (like Rambouillet it is thirty minutes by train) and the rest of the West Midlands area, yet at the same time is surrounded by very pleasant countryside. Its population is of similar size, and has undergone similar changes to that of Rambouillet, rising from approximately 16,200 in 1961 to 18,514 in 1971 to 25,749 in 1981 (Census Figures for Hereford and Worcester). Its population also displays similar characteristics in the sense that the percentage of Social Classes I and II living in the town, 27.3%, is higher than the national average of 23.3%. Although there are new estates in several areas of the town, as in Rambouillet, preliminary visits, observation and information from local inhabitants suggested that a particular estate near the M 5

Motorway on the extreme Western outskirts of the town (see Appendix 6) would be suitable for the present study. Pilot testing of the questionnaire confirmed this.

In view of the aims of the study and bearing in mind the constraints on the study previously discussed, and since the author would have to carry out all the interviewing single-handed, it was felt that a sample of thirty families in each country, although relatively small in size, would provide a sufficient base for the study and would be a realistic proposition to enable the study to be satisfactorily carried out. Blalock underlines the fact that:

when a sample is small, it requires a much more striking relationship in order to obtain significance. (1972: 293)

which, because of the small numbers involved in the present study, suggested that most, if not all, of the data might have to be discounted as it would not be statistically significant. However, in view of the fact that the research is breaking new ground and that its aim was to underline similarities and differences between the two countries and thereby indicate trends, it was felt to be important to draw attention to anything interesting revealed by the data whether statistically significant or not. Indeed a number of writers have cautioned against an over-reliance on tests of statistical significance. One of them, Moser (1958), distinguishes between the statistical significance of data and its substantive significance and argues

that highlighting consistent trends in data can be just as useful as applying tests of statistical significance. Accordingly this method, rather than tests of significance is the one used in the chapters which report, comment on and analyse the data collected in the empirical research.

Since, as we mentioned in the Introduction, the official definition of what constitutes a family in France and Britain differs, in order to take both definitions into account, and since the views of both husbands and wives were to be sought, to qualify for inclusion in the study the family had to include a married couple. The most up-to-date and comprehensive list of households in the two areas available to the author was used to select the families. In France the builders of the 'La Clairière' estate, Groupe J. Riboud of Paris maintained a list of all inhabitants in the estate and this was used, but in Britain as no similar document was available, the Electoral Roll was used.

From Hill's survey in 1961, it was found that one of the major problems faced by all types of researchers was:

... the problem of locating families who would qualify for their studies and of securing their co-operation. (1962: 434).

With this in mind forty-five families were selected in each country using random number tables; numbers thirty-one to forty-five were only to be used in the case of non-suitability or non-

cooperation of those earlier on the list. In an attempt to more easily secure the families' co-operation, as a method of introduction, it was decided to leave a letter (see Appendix 7) at each of the sixty houses outlining the aims of the survey and explaining that the author would be calling within the next week. However, at the pilot stage, carried out during the summer of 1980, this was not found to be useful, as many people claimed not to have received it or, if they had, not to have read it. Neither did it affect whether or not the family agreed to be interviewed: a direct call at the house together with a short verbal description of the aims of the study proved just as successful, so the practice of leaving a letter was not adopted for the main survey. This was carried out during the months June to September 1981, and interviews were either carried out at the first visit to the house, or an appointment was made for a suitable time.

The families selected proved to be extremely co-operative and the warmth of the reception and hospitality offered proved, particularly in France, to be somewhat embarrassing. Only one couple in Rambouillet and two couples in Bromsgrove declined to take part in the study. People seemed genuinely interested in the subject of leisure, although the fact that the interviewing was carried out during a period when people were either looking forward to, or had just had, their summer holiday may have played a part. Initial contact with the families in France usually provoked surprised comments that an English person could speak

French, and in the author's opinion, this factor proved to be invaluable as a means of securing cooperation. People were also interested in the study because it was a comparative one. Whilst in both countries respondents asked questions about the behaviour of people in the other country, it was amusing but not surprising to note, in France, that the most common question was what it was like to have a female Prime Minister, closely followed by questions about the Royal Family.

Each interview took from twenty to forty minutes to carry out, the average being half an hour, and given the time constraints placed upon the study, it was regrettable that all the information respondents, particularly in France, were prepared to provide, could not be included. The fact that the study did yield a much greater amount of data than had been anticipated at the outset made it necessary to be selective as to what should be included in the thesis. Accordingly information which related strictly to leisure behaviour and attitudes was chosen.

Chapter 3

THE TOWNS AS VIEWED BY THE FAMILIES IN THE STUDY

This chapter uses the comments made by the families in the study, together with background data about them, to give a portrait, through their eyes, of what it is like to live in Rambouillet or Bromsgrove. It also looks in greater depth at two French and two British families who are typical of their respective sample group. The French and British families are then compared, and similarities and differences between them are underlined and commented on.

Life in Rambouillet

Rambouillet's privileged position is proudly underlined by Paul Lemarchand when he writes in the Mairie Nouvelles (Town Hall News Bulletin) 1979: "... peu de communes ont, comme elle, la chance d'être à la fois à deux pas de Paris et au coeur d'une forêt..." (few towns are lucky enough to be, like Rambouillet, in the heart of a forest, yet with Paris on their doorstep). The fact that the town is surrounded by thousands of acres of forest, yet is only thirty minutes by train from the centre of Paris together with the excellent leisure, educational, shopping and medical facilities that it offers for a town of its size have made it, like many other pleasantly situated towns within easy commuting distance from large cities, an increasingly attractive

proposition for those who work in the conurbation. It was estimated in 1979 by Town Hall officials that approximately 15,000 people commuted to the Paris area every day, a number which has undoubtedly grown since, due to the vast influx of new inhabitants the town has seen in recent years. Hantrais (1983) suggested that only three-quarters of the people living in Rambouillet at that time were there thirteen years previously, and several estates have been built in various areas of the town in response to the demand for housing. The estate of 'La Clairière' (The Glade) where the families in the study lived, a development of privately owned de luxe houses, detached, semi-detached and terraced is one of these. 'La Clairière' is an attractive estate with tree-lined roads, which in most cases are named after flowers for example, 'Allée des Glycines' (Wisteria Avenue), 'Allée des Eglantines' (Wild Rose Avenue) and each house stands in its own neatly hedged garden. It is self-contained, as it has its own shopping centre with a small supermarket Inter-Marché, schools, sports centre and meeting rooms. As previous research on the middle class would suggest, these facilities provided a valuable forum and focal point for integrating newcomers into the community and were very well used. One wife said:

c'est par mes loisirs que je me suis fait des amis à 'La Clairière'. (I made my friends in 'La Clairière' there through my leisure activities.)

(Assistante de Direction, Family 3)

Here under the aegis of the 'Association Sportive et Culturelle de la Clairière de Rambouillet', run by residents for the

enjoyment of residents, there were flourishing clubs (at the time of the interview): for tennis (430 members), cycling (20 members), athletics (60 members) and creative activities which included embroidery, jewellery making, weaving, painting, cartoon design and leather work (75 members).

The Sales Brochure for houses in 'La Clairière' appears to be particularly aimed at people who work in Paris, for it specifically emphasises Rambouillet's position near both town and country:

C'est habiter une maison à la campagne, en lisière d'une immense forêt domaniale, et dans une sous-préfecture reliée par le train Paris-Montparnasse. Vous êtes à une demi-heure des bureaux de Montparnasse..."(it is an opportunity to live in a house in the country in the middle of a state forest and at the same time in a county town linked by train to one of the capital's central railway stations.)

and the leisure facilities the surrounding area offers:

Tout autour vous découvrez une région réservée aux loisirs. (All roundabout you will find an area ideally suited to leisure pursuits.)

All the families in the study were typical of the 'new Rambolitains' referred to above in that they had all lived in Rambouillet for less than fifteen years and just over two-thirds had moved there within the last five years (see Table 3.1). None of the families had previously lived in Rambouillet before moving to 'La Clairière', and most (70%) had moved out from Paris or its suburbs (see Table 3.2). Three reasons for choosing to move to Rambouillet were given by them. One was that it offered the

Table 3.1

Length of Residence

	France N = 30		Britain N = 30	
	No. of families	%	No. of families	%
1 year	9	30	1	3.3
longer than 1 year but less than 5 years	11	36.7	16	53.3
5 years but less than 10 years	3	10	10	33.3
longer than 10 years but less than 15 years	7	23.3	3	10

Table 3.2

Previous Family Home

	France N = 30		Britain N = 30	
	No. of families	%	No. of families	%
same town	-	-	3	10
city suburbs	18	60	5	16.7
W.Midlands) Paris) Region	3	10	16	53.3
elsewhere in same country	8	26.7	6	20
abroad	1	3.3	-	-

chance to get a larger or nicer house than the family had before. Indeed, one husband, a Civil Servant with the P.T.T. (Post and Telecommunications Office) said that his sole reason for moving to Rambouillet had been to "m'aggrandir" (to get a bigger house). Others said their move had been influenced by work factors:

Pontoise devenait trop bruyant - et puis, à cause du travail de mon mari, à la mort d'un des membres de sa famille, on lui a proposé de reprendre une entreprise à Rambouillet. (Pontoise - a suburb of Paris - became too noisy... and my husband's work. Due to the death of a relative he had the chance to take over the firm in Rambouillet.)

(Housewife Family 17)

but as for this husband the town's situation had proved to be the major attraction :

La plupart de mes activités professionnelles ont eu lieu dans le Nord, dans le secteur public, mais ensuite je suis venu à Paris, il y a neuf ans, pour travailler dans le secteur privé. Nous sommes venus à Rambouillet parce que je ne voulais pas vivre dans la banlieue de Paris. Rambouillet me plaît, c'est tout. (Most of my professional activity had been in the North in the public sector but then I came to Paris nine years ago to work in a private company. We came to Rambouillet because I didn't want to live in the Paris suburbs. I just like Rambouillet that's all.)

(Analyste Informatique, Family 1)

Most of the families were at the early to mid-establishment phase of the family life cycle, as 78% of respondents were aged between thirty and forty-nine, normally with two young children (see Tables 3.3, 3.4 and 3.5).

One wife, a speech therapist, was of the opinion that most people

Table 3.3

Age of Respondents

Age Group	France N = 60		Britain N = 60	
	No.	%	No.	%
20-29	7	11.6	15	25
30-39	25	41.6	33	55
40-49	22	36.6	12	20
50-59	4	6.6	-	-
60-65	2	3.6	-	-

Table 3.4

Family Size

No. of Children in Family	France N = 30		Britain N = 30	
	No.	%	No.	%
0	4	13.3	3	10
1	7	23.3	9	30
2	13	43.3	15	50
3	6	20	2	7
4	-	-	1	3

Table 3.5

Age of Children in Family

Age of Youngest Child in Family	France N = 26		Britain N = 27	
	No.	%	No.	%
pre-school	13	50	19	70
pre-teenage	9	35	8	30
teenage	4	15	-	-

on the estate were as she said "de passage" (temporary residents), and it was obvious that these were mobile families who had already moved house, in some cases several times and indeed 67% said they expected to move again, either because of their career or to get a bigger house.

They were for the most part a very well educated group, 72% had followed some higher educational training since leaving school, although husbands tended to be better educated than wives (see Table 3.6). Their occupations reflected this (see Appendix 8), as all husbands had high status jobs, whereas the national average for those in Professional, Technical, Administrative and Managerial and Teaching occupations was 9.71% (INSEE 1978: 404). Most wives who worked, however, tended to have jobs of lower status than their husbands. In just over half the families (53%) both partners went out to work, a figure again considerably higher than the national average of 40.5% (INSEE 1978: 336) and three-quarters of working wives were in full-time employment. This can perhaps be explained by the fact that, although property in Rambouillet is cheaper than similar property in Paris, because of its popularity house prices have risen above the national average, and, as in this family, two salaries are needed to help pay for the mortgage:

Je préférerais que ma femme reste à la maison. Mais ça serait différent si nous vivions en province, ma femme serait à la maison. Comme nous habitons la région parisienne, elle est obligée de travailler pour raisons financières. (I would prefer my wife to stay at home, but it would be different if we lived in the provinces, my wife would be at home. Because we live in the Paris

Table 3.6

Educational Qualifications

Place where Respondent's highest educational qualification was obtained	France N = 60						Britain N = 60					
	Husband		Wife		All Respondents		Husband		Wife		All Respondents	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
No qualification	-	-	1	3.3	1	1.6	-	-	2	7	2	3.3
School 'Ordinary'	5	17	4	13.3	9	15	2	7	7	23	9	15
School 'Advanced'	1	3	6	20	7	11.6	1	3	5	17	6	10
Further Education *	14	47	13	43.3	27	45	11	37	10	33	21	35
University	3	20	4	13.3	7	11.6	6	20	2	7	8	13.3
Post-University	7	33	2	7	9	15	10	33	4	13	14	23.3

* i.e. any post-school education other than University

area she's obliged to work because of our finances.)
(Husband, Ingénieur, Family 6)

Despite the strains which two working partners can impose on the family, such as travelling to work, arrangements for the care of children, and although in keeping with more traditional views of the family, fewer husbands (57%) than wives (70%) had this view, most respondents (63%) said they thought a wife should go out to work:

C'est une décision que l'on prend à deux - si la femme le désire - si, en travaillant, elle pense qu'elle peut s'exprimer, alors il faut qu'elle travaille. (... it's a question of choice you make jointly - if a wife wants it - if by going out to work she feels she can express herself, she must work.)

(Husband, Représentant, Family 8)

C'est bon pour une femme d'avoir un travail à l'extérieur, mais il faut qu'elle s'arrange pour que la famille n'en souffre pas. (it's good for a wife to go out to work but she must be able to arrange it so the family doesn't suffer.)

(Husband, Cadre, Family 20)

In most cases however it was felt that a wife should have a less demanding job than her husband chiefly for reasons which affected the family's well-being:

une femme doit avoir un travail moins exigeant, mais il faut qu'elle reste à la maison tant que les enfants sont petits. (a wife should have a less demanding job, but she must stay at home whilst the children are young.)

(Housewife, Family 10)

une femme doit avoir un travail moins exigeant pour qu'elle puisse s'occuper de la famille, mais elle ne doit pas rester tout le temps à la maison. (a wife should have a less demanding job so she can look after the family, but she should not have to stay in all the time.)

(Husband, Cadre, Family 11)

but also for personal reasons too:

une femme doit avoir un travail moins exigeant - si elle n'a pas de contacts avec l'extérieur, elle devient inintéressante. (a wife should have a less demanding job - if she has no contact with the outside world she becomes boring.)

(Husband, Directeur de petite/moyenne entreprise,
Family 20)

Some husbands and wives however in accordance with tradition felt very strongly that a wife's place was in the home:

quand les enfants grandissent, une femme peut prendre un travail pour se faire de l'argent de poche. (when the children grow up a wife can take a job for pin money)

(Husband, Officier, Family 18)

je préfère élever mes enfants. (I prefer to bring up the children.)

(Housewife, Family 7)

Many respondents stressed the fact that Rambouillet is "très dortoir", a recognised dormitory town, and in line with this just over three-quarters (76%) of those who worked commuted either to the centre of Paris (33%) or elsewhere in the Paris Region (43%) (see Table 3.7), and in fact there were only four families in the study which did not include at least one commuter. The general rule, however, was for only one partner to be a commuter, and this was in all cases the husband, but in one third of families both husband and wife commuted to work. This, of course, meant that, like large numbers of Rambolitains, many of them were simply not in Rambouillet most of the time, and certainly walking round the estate during a weekday was reminiscent of a deserted landscape. Such an exodus appeared to have disadvantages for

Table 3.7

Place of Work

Place of Work	France N = 46			Britain N = 45								
	Husband		All Respondents	Husband		Wife	All Respondents					
	No.	%		No.	%			No.	%			
Hometown	5	16.6	6	37.5	11	14	5	16.6	11	73	16	35.5
City centre	11	36.6	4	25	15	33	5	16.6	2	6.6	7	15.5
Région parisienne West Midlands area	14	46.6	6	37.5	20	43	20	66.6	2	6.6	22	49

those who were left at home during the day:

je suis enfermée à la maison - je me sens vraiment enfermée ici - dans notre rue il n'y a personne - je ne connais personne ici - Je ne peux pas faire autant de choses que là où nous habitons avant. (I'm shut in the house - I feel very shut in here - there's nobody here in our road - I don't know anyone here - I can't do as much as I did where we were before.)

(Housewife, Family 10)

as well as for those who were not. The fact that so many people were absent during the day combined with the fact that 'La Clairière' is, by its geographical situation, somewhat cut off from the rest of the town, and that, if one is travelling by car from 'La Clairière' to and from the Paris region, it is not necessary to go into Rambouillet at all, suggested that it might be difficult for newcomers to integrate into the local community. This difficulty was confirmed by many commuters:

je passe beaucoup de temps à travailler au dehors, alors je ne connais pas la ville. (I work long hours away so I don't know the town.)

(Husband, Ingénieur, Family 6)

The additional problems of becoming part of the community if you have to follow your husband's career round the country were underlined by one wife when she said:

c'est difficile, quand on déménage souvent comme nous, de s'intégrer quelque part. (It's difficult when you move about like we do to become part of anywhere.)

(Housewife, Family 18)

and the majority (70%) of respondents said that they did not feel

they belonged to the town nor were they 'Rambolitains', but not surprisingly, since more of them were actually in the town for longer periods, twice as many wives as husbands said they felt they did belong.

Although 18% of respondents felt that they could never become 'Rambolitains' because they had not been born in Rambouillet, most people felt that you could get to belong by either living there for a certain time:

depuis vingt ans environ. (twenty years or so.)
(Husband, Technicien Orthophonie, Family 23)

or in some way sharing in the town life:

il faut y travailler. C'est à cause de mon travail que j'ai tant de contacts. Mon mari n'en a pas autant. (You have to work there. It's because of my job that I have so many contacts. My husband doesn't have so many.)

(Wife, Infirmière, Family 20)

en étant ici pendant la journée - en ayant des contacts avec les autres qui habitent ici. (by being here during the daytime - having contact with other people living here.)

(Housewife, Family 16)

en participant à la vie de la communauté, en vivant au centre de la ville, en y travaillant. (sharing in the life of the community, living in the centre of the town, working there.)

(Husband, Analyste Informatique, Family 1)

The author's preliminary visits to Rambouillet and comments made by the families themselves suggested that the inhabitants of 'La

Clairière' and the longer standing residents of Rambouillet did not mix too easily. Many people simply dismissed this and implied that it was because the two were quite separate entities:

'La Clairière' n'est pas du tout Rambouillet. ('La Clairière' isn't part of Rambouillet at all.)

(Husband, Ingénieur Informatique, Family 2)

les gens de 'La Clairière' ont tendance à penser qu'ils sont à part. (People in 'La Clairière' tend to think they're separate.)

(Husband, Technicien Orthophonie, Family 23)

J'estime que Rambouillet et 'La Clairière' sont deux choses différentes. (I don't consider Rambouillet and 'La Clairière' are the same thing.)

(Husband, Cadre Météo Nationale, Family 3)

'La Clairière' est différente. ('La Clairière' is different.)

(Husband, Conducteur de Travaux, Family 7)

For another wife it was 'La Clairière's geographical situation vis-à-vis the centre of Rambouillet which was the causal factor:

Nous sommes isolés de la ville - nous sommes différents de la ville - c'est difficile d'aller en ville. Je n'ai pas l'impression de vivre en ville, mais dans un petit village tout proche. (We're isolated here from the town - we're different from the town - it's difficult to go into town. I don't feel as if I'm living in a town but in a little village nearby.)

(Housewife, Family 10)

Another factor that emerged was that it was felt that the traditional Rambolitains were bourgeois in their attitudes and resented the newcomers because they had different views:

Rambouillet était autrefois une ville plutôt

résidentielle, mais maintenant c'est vraiment une cité dortoir et les vieux Rambolitains, ils n'ont pas la même vie et ils ne comprennent pas. (Rambouillet used to be formerly essentially residential, but now it is very much a dormitory town and many old Rambolitains, the older people, they don't lead the same sort of life and they don't understand.)

(Husband, Officier, Family 18)

or because like typical members of the mobile middle class they had been quick to make their presence felt:

les gens de Rambouillet n'aiment pas 'La Clairière' parce qu'ils réclament ce qu'ils veulent et ils l'obtiennent tout de suite, comme les bus. Les gens de 'La Clairière' sont plus dynamiques. (The Rambouillet people don't like 'La Clairière' because they shout out for what they want and get it quickly like the buses. 'La Clairière' people are more outgoing.)

(Housewife, Family 17)

'La Clairière' est différente - elle a ses propres représentants - quand il y a quelque chose à faire, ils le font. ('La Clairière' is different - it has its own representatives - when something needs to be done they do it.)

(Wife, Directrice d'école maternelle, Family 24)

c'est surtout les nouveaux habitants qui ont modifié les attitudes de Rambouillet, ils ont changé les choses. (It's particularly the people who have moved in recently who have changed attitudes in Rambouillet, they have made things different.)

(Husband, Analyste Informatique, Family 1)

Although the Sales Brochure for 'La Clairière' stresses that inhabitants are part of the local community: " Vous êtes un habitant de Rambouillet, un Rambolitain" (you are a real Rambolitain), the families interviewed at least did not appear in most cases either to feel or to want this. They seemed to take what they wanted from Rambouillet, or if it was not there, to

take steps to see that they got it but were not prepared to become involved in the town. Whilst many did identify with 'La Clairière', their immediate locality, their main concerns seemed to be with their work or family life rather than with their town, since in most cases they saw themselves as temporary residents who would soon be moving on.

Life in Bromsgrove

Because of its situation within easy commuting distance of Birmingham, but in attractive countryside, the town of Bromsgrove has proved an increasingly popular place to live. This trend is expected to continue:

With its pleasant rural setting, its convenient location and its excellent communications, Bromsgrove will undoubtedly continue to attract an increasing number of residents.

(Bromsgrove District Official Guide: 13)

Several new estates have sprung up in and around the town in response to the demand for houses. One wife felt that this population influx had had the effect of making Bromsgrove:

... a little bit like a new town so many people have come - people have moved out from the West Midlands conurbation.

(Housewife, Family 31)

The estate where the research was carried out is situated on the extreme Western outskirts of the town and Sales Particulars for houses there stress both the de luxe nature of the property and the estate's pleasant situation with the park on one side and near open countryside on the other. It consists of a mixture of

detached, and semi-detached three and four bedroomed houses each with an unfenced lawn in front of it, indistinguishable from many 'executive style' estates in other towns in England.

The families interviewed were typical of the town's new inhabitants in that they had all lived on the estate less than fifteen years, and just over half (57%) had moved there within the last five years (see Table 3.1). Only three of the families had lived in Bromsgrove before moving to their present home, most (70%) had moved out from Birmingham or elsewhere in the West Midlands area (see Table 3.2). Three different reasons were given for the choice of this estate as a place to live. For one group it was Bromsgrove's pleasant environment and convenient situation that had attracted them:

it's a nice small town, convenient for the motorway and getting home but close to the country and the town.
(Husband, Dentist, Family 36)

Others said they had moved there because of work factors:

work suggested Bromsgrove and helped us with the deposit for the house.
(Husband, Buyer at British Leyland, Family 45)

The most popular reason however for moving to this estate was the particular type of property which was available at a highly competitive price:

it was a nice area with cheaper housing.
(Husband, Chartered Accountant, Family 47)

We moved to get a nicer, bigger house.
(Wife, Part-time School Secretary, Family 51)

Most families were at the early to mid-establishment phase of the family life cycle, three quarters of respondents were aged between thirty and forty-nine, normally with two young children (see Tables 3.3, 3.4, and 3.5). They were a very well educated group: 72% compared with the figure of 34% for Bromsgrove and 26% for Britain as a whole (Key Statistics for Urban Areas The Midlands, 1984: 36) had gone into Higher Education after leaving school: husbands tended to be better educated than wives (see Table 3.6). The occupations of the husbands reflected this (see Appendix 9), but except in one case, Family 57, where the wife was a doctor and the husband a chemist, all wives were in lower status occupations than their husbands. In exactly half of the families both partners went out to work, but like the majority of married women in Britain (see Key Statistics, 1984: 50), most wives (67%) worked part-time. Indeed most respondents (62%) felt that women should go out to work, but more wives (77%) than husbands (47%) felt this. For the most part respondents felt that a wife should have a less demanding job than her husband:

a wife should have a less demanding job. It brings in topics of conversation.

(Husband, Commercial Manager, Family 35)

part-time work is best - if a wife can cope with full-time work then its okay, a wife who stops at home gets no change.

(Wife, Part-time Freelance Market Researcher, Family 48)

if a wife works full-time something has to give or the husband is under pressure.

(Wife, Teacher, Family 46)

Although several housewives said they would definitely like to go out to work, but could not because of their children, others felt strongly that their place was in the home:

I don't work because I decided to stay at home. It's important to stay at home - children shouldn't be farmed out.

(Housewife, Family 50)

I believe that young children should be looked after by their mothers.

(Housewife, Family 47)

I would like to work if it didn't mean having to sacrifice the children to someone. I did have a job working at home but it was too much effort for too little reward. It was making dried flower pictures. I found I was doing it too fast to get through and didn't enjoy it.

(Housewife, Family 45)

The fact that there is a good commuter train service from Bromsgrove to Birmingham City Centre is indicative of the town's dormitory nature. For many of the families in the study it was a dormitory, as nearly two thirds of those who worked commuted either to the Centre of Birmingham (15.5%) or to elsewhere in the West Midlands Region (49%) (see Table 3.7), and of all the families interviewed only four did not include at least one commuter. Most families only included one commuter, in all cases the husband, but in 13% of families both partners had to travel.

Although there appeared to be a lot of activity in the estate during the day, mothers with prams and pushchairs, people gardening and taking their dogs for a walk in the park, some wives complained of how lonely it was:

You'd think with all these new houses there'd be some organisation that could bring people like us with no families together. Round here (indicating the Close she lived in) there've been seven babies born but none of them have got together. I suppose it just needs someone, one person, to suggest it.

(Housewife, Family 45)

This feeling of everyone on the estate keeping themselves to themselves and at the same time up with the Jones' was reinforced by one husband, although he obviously saw it as an advantage:

Yes you don't feel as if you live on an estate - you rarely come into contact with anybody unless you go to Church - we only have a nodding acquaintance.

(Husband, Commercial Manager, Family 38)

Other inhabitants however found this sort of atmosphere overpowering and felt that people who did not fit in with the tone of the estate were made to feel distinctly unwelcome:

I'd like to move further out because we have my husband's work van parked outside the house. It's not fair on the other houses - we're looked down on.

(Wife, Full-time Clerical Officer with Birmingham Housing Dept., Family 41)

There are very unfriendly neighbours - they complain about us. Where we used to live when anyone new moved in we used to be out with cups of tea... They're boring people on this estate. I hate living here. I had a three piece suite donated for Charity in the drive for six weeks - the boys made a den - the neighbours complained. The lady opposite - has she told you about me ? She couldn't do her embroidery because of it."

(Wife, Part-time Teacher of Mentally Handicapped Children, Family 34)

Perhaps as a consequence of this, many families did not feel attached to the estate, as just over half the respondents (53%)

said they did not know whether they would stay on the estate, and the number of 'For Sale' notices indicated a rapid turnover of property. Nearly two-thirds (65%) said they did not feel as though they belonged to the town, nor was there a great difference between the views of husbands (70%) and wives (60%) who held this view. The feeling seemed to be reinforced by the fact that many felt there was a distinct division between the long standing inhabitants of the town and the newcomers who had moved in:

old Bromsgrove people don't like the new development it attracts the Brummies.

(Wife, Clerical Officer at
Birmingham Housing Dept, Family 41)

I still don't know my way round well - the old Bromsgrove residents are quite a close knit community.

(Husband, Chartered Accountant, Family
41)

Although 20% of respondents felt that they would never 'belong' to the town, as they felt that for this you had to have been born in Bromsgrove, the majority felt that you could get to belong either by length of residence:

by living here for ten years, knowing a lot of people not just friends, shopkeepers too.

(Husband, Dentist, Family 36)

or by working in the town:

getting to know people, being a professional person there. A teacher knows people and you easily become integrated.

(Husband, Teacher in a local school, Family 50)

or by taking part in the town's life:

taking part in local activities, getting involved in clubs.

(Husband, University Lecturer, Family 40)

The best description of life on the estate seemed to be given by the wife who said:

I've had to go out of my way to fit in and make friends - people aren't so forthcoming.

(Part-time, School Secretary, Family 15)

Case Study 1

M. and Mme. Sempol's house was on the extreme edge of La Clairière overlooking open countryside to the front. They were a couple in their mid-thirties with a son of thirteen and a daughter aged nine. M. Sempol was a Civil Servant working for the National Weather Forecasting Service in the Vallée de Chevreuse (an area between Rambouillet and Paris, some 15-20 minutes distance). Mme. Sempol was on the clerical staff of a large oil company in Versailles, involving her in a round trip of nearly two hours every day. They had lived in La Clairière for nine years, having moved there from Trappes (a district between Rambouillet and Paris) and fully expected to have to move on again within the next two years because of M. Sempol's work. They had chosen Rambouillet as a place to live because it was convenient for M. Sempol's work and because his firm provided free transport from Rambouillet to the office every day. They

said they were very satisfied with their choice and had made many friends.

The couple emphasised different central life interests. Whilst Mme. Sempol said that work, leisure and family life were all equally important to her, her husband said that he felt that it was important to have a good balance between all three, but that their relative importance differed for him according to the time of the year, leisure taking precedence during the summer. For both of them leisure differed from work in that it meant freedom to choose what to do, whereas work did not.

The couple led a very full social life with some joint and some separate interests. Mme. Sempol's leisure activities included tennis, bridge, sailing, listening to the radio, and going out to restaurants and theatres. Her husband was equally active, listing tennis, cycling, sea fishing, going to the theatre and cinema, bridge and photography as his interests. Both belonged to the Tennis Club in La Clairière and to a Bridge Club in Saint-Cloud (a suburb of Paris) and M. Sempol was also a member of the Photography Club in Rambouillet. Both of them also said they liked to travel abroad, they each had one month's paid annual leave, and going away on holiday was consequently very important to them.

Despite the numerous leisure activities in which they already participated, the couple both indicated that there were other leisure activities, namely sea sports, and in M. Sempol's case

also walking in the nearby forest, that they would like to do. Time, they felt, was the main constraint which prevented them, due to the fact that Rambouillet is some distance from the coast.

Although as indicated above both made use of their local facilities and were reasonably satisfied with them, M. Sempol, in common with many other residents, felt that nevertheless some improvements could be made in the sense that he would like the existing leisure activities to be more accessible to all.

Case Study 2

M. Chauvin, a computer executive and his wife, the headmistress of a nursery school, had two school-age boys and lived in a large detached property. They had moved to Rambouillet three years previously from Montfort L'Amaury (a suburb of Paris) and had originally been attracted to the town because of the pleasant environment of the surrounding forest. M. Chauvin worked at Trappes, some 20 minutes drive from his house towards Paris and his wife in Rambouillet itself.

Mme. Chauvin said she felt that it was difficult for a woman to have a career and a family at the same time but like her husband, she said that work, family life and leisure were all of equal importance in her life. For her, like many others in her type of occupation, work and leisure amounted to the same thing:

il n'y a pas une différence, c'est la même chose.
(there's no difference, they are the same thing.)

whereas for her husband there was a definite difference between
the two areas:

le loisir c'est une détente. (leisure is relaxation.)

Neither belonged to any association nor had many leisure activities, and those that they had were home-centred. M. Chauvin claimed his only leisure activity was DIY which he did every weekend, whereas his wife's interest was gardening. They appeared to be quite satisfied with their leisure, although both said that they would like to play tennis but that lack of time prevented them from doing so. Although their leisure activities were few in number, going away on holiday which they did every year was very important to them both, because according to Mme. Chauvin it provided:

un changement de la vie quotidienne (a change from day
to day routine.)

Case Study 3

Mr. and Mrs. Johnson, a couple in their mid-thirties lived with their two small boys aged two and a half and seven months in a comfortable detached house. Mr. Johnson taught science at a Birmingham high school whilst Mrs. Johnson was now a housewife, having given up her job as a secretary when her first child was born. She said however she thought she would go back to work again when the children were older. They had moved to their present house three years ago from Kidderminster, a large town



some fifteen miles west of Bromsgrove because, according to Mrs. Johnson:

we were looking for a house and my husband didn't want to travel too far.

They were well satisfied with their choice of house and had not had any difficulty settling in. Mrs. Johnson put this down to the fact that there were so many other newcomers to the town:

Bromsgrove is a little bit like a New Town so many new people have come. People have moved out from the West Midlands conurbation.

They both felt that family life was the most important feature of their life, rather than work or leisure. Mr. Johnson was typical of others in the caring professions in that for him the boundaries between work and leisure were not completely clear cut:

work is something you have to do but I get pleasure from work as well.

Mrs. Johnson on the other hand emphasised that whilst work was something you had to do, you could choose what you did for your leisure.

Both of them were interested in sport; Mr. Johnson played golf and his wife squash and this was the only leisure activity they did outside the home. Mr. Johnson's other interests were music and: "anything scientific, science is my subject", again

underlining the close links between his work and leisure. Mrs. Johnson's other leisure activities consisted of sewing, cooking, photography and talking to people. She said that they did not do any family activities yet because:

the children are too young but we aim to do everything, swimming, sport, music when they're older.

In addition, Mrs. Johnson, unlike her husband, belonged to two societies, the Bromsgrove Branch of the National Housewives Register and the local Squash Club. She said however that time prevented her from doing all the leisure activities she would like such as listening to music and investigating their family history. This factor, coupled with cost, was felt by Mr Johnson who would have liked to buy a personal computer, to be the main constraint on his leisure.

They had not always gone away on holiday since the birth of their children and did not consider that it was important to do so, but had gone away for days instead. As Mr. Johnson said:

I've got quite a bit of holiday - there's plenty to do here.

Although they sometimes spent holidays with their parents Mrs. Johnson did not consider that this was a proper holiday:

holidays mean the idea of getting away from everything.

Although they both said they were reasonably satisfied with their

own leisure Mrs. Johnson complained that she felt there was a national lack of leisure facilities:

There are no leisure facilities for over twenty-one's. There are facilities for young people and the elderly but we need more subsidised facilities for people like us.

Case Study 4

Mr. Brown, a Mechanical Engineer, and his wife, a part-time Freelance Market Researcher, a couple in their mid-forties with two school-age boys, had lived in Bromsgrove for seven years. Mr. Brown said they had moved from South Wales because of his job and had chosen Bromsgrove because:

it was on the outskirts of a built up area with the benefits of both country and town with easy travel.

Mrs. Brown confirmed that they liked the area very much and did not want to move:

We didn't want to move back to Wales although we had the chance to a few years back.

The couple emphasised differing central life interests; whilst Mrs. Brown felt that family life was most important to her, her husband felt that work, leisure and family life were all equally important to him. He also felt that there was no clear cut distinction between work and leisure because:

a lot of things can be interpreted as leisure.

The element of 'choice' and 'enjoyment' however were the factors

which distinguished leisure for Mrs. Brown.

The couple had a shared interest in that they liked to travel and go for trips out. However, whilst Mr. Brown alone belonged to a voluntary association and had no home-centred interests, badminton and coaching children's athletics comprising his leisure activities, his wife's leisure was mostly home centred, involving reading, gardening and patchwork, although she also attended a German evening class at the local College of Further Education.

Mr. Brown had six weeks annual paid leave and they both felt that going away on holiday was very important and usually did so, but they did complain however of the fact that they always had to go away in July or August because of the children's school holidays.

Mr. Brown said that he was quite satisfied with his leisure, but his wife said that cost prevented her from doing everything she wanted:

I wanted to do an oil painting class but it was too expensive so I had to settle for patchwork and German.

They were reasonably satisfied with the leisure facilities available to them locally but Mr. Brown echoed his wife's sentiments that things could be better when he said:

The basics are here, but I'd like to see more of all kinds of leisure facilities.

The Families Compared

The two estates where the research was carried out looked very different to the observer. Each possessed features particular to that country such as style of house-building, the layout of the gardens and the plants in them, and the type of car in the drive, which gave one estate its Frenchness and made the other unmistakably British. Since, however, each estate was a recently completed one, consisting of de luxe private housing built on the outskirts of a suburban town within easy commuting distance of a large city, it seemed therefore a reasonable assumption that the types of family who chose to live there would possess certain basic similarities.

The families in the study were for the most part (78% in Rambouillet and 75% in Bromsgrove) in the early to mid-establishment phase of the family life cycle. The French sample tended to be an older group than the British, a factor which can possibly be explained by the fact that in France, even for the middle class, flat dwelling is the norm and, due to the complicated mortgage system, house ownership is not usually possible until a much later career and family stage than in Britain, where a middle-class couple can usually purchase a house when they get married. The typical family in each country had two children, at least one of whom was under school age, but it is worthy of note that three times as many French families as British had more than two children. An influential factor here, in addition to the younger age of the British sample who might

not yet have completed their family may be the financial incentives offered in France to families who have a third child.

Like Pahl's (1971) managers, these were mobile families, well educated (72% of respondents in each country had continued with higher education after leaving school), with husbands in high status occupations, and for none of them was it their first family home. The majority too, in each country, 67% in Rambouillet and 53% in Bromsgrove fully expected to move again. One of the attendant problems of such mobility, that of establishing new social networks, was reflected by the feelings of the majority of respondents in both countries, 70% of whom in Rambouillet and 65% in Bromsgrove did not feel they 'belonged' to the town. All families, except three in Bromsgrove, had moved into the town from outside, chiefly out from the neighbouring city, 70% in each country had moved out from Paris or from Birmingham. Respondents in both countries gave one of three similar reasons for their choice of Rambouillet and Bromsgrove as a place to live; the type of house available there, the particular situation of the town and work factors. However the major factor influencing their choice differed. For French respondents it had been the town's situation (37% of respondents) whereas for the British group it had been the type of housing (43%), perhaps because there are few towns so attractively situated as Rambouillet within easy reach of Paris. All the families were relative newcomers to the town, as none had lived there for more than fifteen years, but the majority in each

country (67% in Rambouillet and 57% in Bromsgrove) had come to live in the town within the five years preceding the study. This could indicate that there is greater mobility for this section of the middle class in France than in Britain, but it could also be that this is another consequence of the trend mentioned earlier of comparatively late house ownership in France.

Pahl comments that: "Generally the middle class live some distance from their place of work" (1971: 3) and this held true for the majority of husbands in the study, 83% of whom, in each country, commuted to work either in the neighbouring city centre or its surrounding area. Both sample groups were comprised half of families in which both partners worked (53% in Rambouillet and 50% in Bromsgrove), but whereas most French wives who worked did so full-time, most British wives worked part-time. In France too 32% of working wives commuted, compared with only 12% of working wives in Bromsgrove. The author suggests that the explanation for these differences lies in the significantly better arrangements for child care which exist in France and the whole range of incentives and measures taken to help a wife more easily to continue with her career although she has small children, where there are neighbourhood crèches provided by the State for pre-school age children and facilities for looking after older children before and after school.

The above comparison of the background characteristics of French and British respondents does indeed reveal that there was

considerable similarity between the French and British families in the sample who consequently provided two well matched groups for study. The only major difference between them lay in the area of women's work which the author suggests is due to different social and cultural factors operating in this sphere in each country.

Chapter 4

THE MEANING OF LEISURE

The problems and difficulties involved in elaborating a satisfactory and generally agreed definition of what leisure means, because it means different things to different people, have already been underlined in the Introduction to the thesis. With the points raised in that discussion in mind, this chapter will consider the meaning of leisure from three different viewpoints: firstly that of three main French and English language dictionaries; secondly the views of two prominent French and British leisure sociologists, Dumazedier and Parker, who have both attempted to summarize the main trends in sociological definitions of leisure; thirdly the meaning of leisure to the respondents in the Rambouillet and Bromsgrove sample groups. The aim of this process is to establish which criteria are used in each case to define leisure, if it is defined in the same way in France and Britain and what links, if any, exist between the three viewpoints.

A comparison of how three of the main French and English language dictionaries define the term leisure reveals that, although the word is more commonly used in the plural, "les loisirs", in French, it is defined in much the same way by all six dictionaries:

temps disponible en dehors du travail, des occupations habituelles (time available outside of work and everyday tasks).

(Larousse, Vol.2, 1979: 809)

temps dont on dispose en dehors de ses occupations régulières, de son métier, pour se distraire, pour se reposer, pour ne rien faire (the time available after everyday chores, and professional work, to enjoy oneself, to rest or to do nothing).

(Dictionnaire du Français Contemporain, 1966: 687)

temps dont on peut librement disposer en dehors des occupations habituelles et des contraintes qu'elles imposent (time freely available outside everyday tasks and the constraints they impose).

(Robert, 1976: 1006)

opportunity afforded by freedom from occupation; the state of having time at one's disposal; time which one can spend as one pleases; free or unoccupied time.

(Oxford English Dictionary, Vol.VI, 1970: 192)

time free from employment; freedom from occupation.

(Chambers 20th Century Dictionary, 1983: 722)

freedom or spare time provided by the cessation of activities.

(Websters Third New International Dictionary, 1961: 1292)

In each case the definition is straightforward, and more than one criterion is needed to define it. All the definitions stress that it is a period of time; that an element of freedom is involved and that it is something to be distinguished from work and other everyday activities. One of the French dictionaries, the Dictionnaire du Français Contemporain also defines the function of leisure.

As we have already mentioned, there exists a multitude of attempts by sociologists at defining the term leisure, many of which use different criteria: this, according to Rapoport has

meant that: 'as leisure grows both as a phenomenon and as a field of study, so grows the confusion' (1974: 215). Apparently the need for some order in this confusion was felt in both British and French sociology, and at a similar time, for during the nineteen seventies leisure sociologists in both countries (eg. Roberts, 1970, 1978; Parker, 1971; Lanfant, 1972, Dumazedier, 1979) discussed the various trends current in defining leisure. Parker (1971) and Dumazedier (1979) both attempted to summarize these and make a classification of the main trends. It is interesting to note, however, that although Dumazedier's summary was written some years later than that of Parker, both pick out three main trends which are similar. This would seem to indicate that despite the prolific work in both France and Britain which has appeared between 1970 and 1980, the situation does not appear to have altered a great deal.

The first type of definitions they identify are residual definitions. Here leisure is seen as time, but it is seen primarily in relation to work, in that it is the free time or residue left after work and other everyday obligations have been taken away, eg.:

leisure is the time available to the individual when the disciplines of work, sleep and other basic needs have been taken away (Countryside Recreation and Research Group, 1976: 10).

and:

le mot loisir... désigne l'ensemble des activités institutionnalisées ou en voie d'institutionnalisation, qui s'instaurent dans le temps libre; celui-ci étant délimité à partir du temps de travail' (the word

leisure means... all the established actions or those in the process of establishment which take place in free time. The boundaries of leisure time are set by work.) (Lanfant, 1972: 22).

Another group of definitions they identify are those which see leisure firstly as a residue, but also include a positive description of the content or function of leisure:

leisure time is time free from work and other obligations (Parker, 1971: 22).

and it also encompasses activities which are characterized by a feeling of relative freedom:

le loisir est d'abord un résidu... il est un produit de travail... Il est conditionné par lui... Mais en même temps, il est davantage... le loisir tend à reproduire dans la vie quotidienne des valeurs existentielles (leisure is first and foremost residual... It is a product of work and is determined by it. But at the same time it means something more... leisure tends to reproduce existential values in everyday life). (Dumazedier 1979: 11)

The third main group of definitions are those (eg. by De Grazia, 1962; Lanfant, 1972) which see leisure as a state of being and stress its quality:

le loisir est un état d'âme, un rapport individuel philosophique, une expérience définie d'une façon individuelle et changeant avec l'humeur (leisure is a state of mind, an individual philosophical relationship, an experience which each individual defines for himself and which changes according to his mood. (Lanfant, 1972: 52)

or (eg. by Kaplan, 1975, Dumazedier, 1979):

c'est le temps du plaisir, de la pleine satisfaction de soi-même dans des groupes aux contraintes minimales qui convient le mieux à l'expression de soi-même, de ses potentialités...' (It is a time for pleasure and complete personal satisfaction for the individual within a setting which best suits him and his abilities and which involves minimal constraint.) (Dumazedier, 1979: 10)

Whilst the first two types of definition, which, according to Edgell: 'have a long tradition in sociology' (1980; 72) have recognisable links, the second being an extension of the first, the third type is rather different and is less commonly found in British and French leisure sociology.

Roberts (1978) comments that investigators (eg. Dumazedier, 1967; Berk, 1979; Roadburgh, 1977) who have asked the general public about the meaning of leisure have found general agreement with 'scholars' definitions'. Similarly the majority of respondents, in the Rambouillet and Bromsgrove samples, in common with the way French and British sociologists usually define leisure, differentiated leisure time from work and other obligations:

le loisir et le travail sont complètement opposés
(leisure and work are completely opposed).

(Husband, Technician Orthophonie, Family 23)

le travail - on est à la disposition des autres. Le loisir - c'est plus spirituel et plus satisfaisant (at work you belong to other people. Leisure is more spiritual and personally satisfying).

(Wife, Acheteuse, Family 13)

although this tendency was more marked in the French group (97%) than in the British (70%). Those who did not differentiate

sharply between work and leisure were either in 'creative' (eg. design, the BBC) or 'caring' (eg. teaching, nursing) professions or were housewives, where the boundaries between work and leisure might be expected to be more imprecise:

if you teach, you choose to do it just like you choose leisure.

(Husband, Teacher, Family 50)

there's very little difference between work and leisure. A good many years ago there was, but now the house is empty I work for pleasure.

(Wife, Part-time Hospital Auxiliary, Family 33)

Roberts (1978) suggests that the fact that an activity is remunerated is sufficient to place it outside leisure, and some respondents, but again more French (31%) than British (10%) did make such a distinction between work and leisure:

le travail, c'est une nécessité à cause de l'argent. Le loisir, c'est indispensable pour la détente (Work is a necessity because of the money. Leisure is a necessity too because you need to relax).

(Husband, Ingénieur, Family 5)

The fact that, in the British sample, there were more respondents in 'creative' and 'caring' professions and more housewives may help to explain the difference between the two countries. The majority of respondents in both countries also mentioned either the content or function of leisure, and, again in common with 'scholars' definitions', the most frequent response was that leisure meant freedom of choice, or second most frequent, that it meant pleasure and enjoyment:

le loisir c'est de faire ce qu'on a envie et quand (leisure means doing what you want when you want).

(Wife, Professeur, Family 9)

if you enjoy something then its leisure.
(Wife, Part-time Freelance, Market Researcher, Family
48)

Thus we find that leisure is defined in much the same way by both sets of dictionaries, sociologists, and individuals in the sample in France and Britain. Individuals' definitions tended to agree with scholars' definitions, especially those which see leisure as containing two elements, time and content or function. Such definitions tended to be broader than all the dictionary definitions except for one. However all the criteria, such as time, distinction from work and other obligations, content and function of leisure, have their attendant problems which make a theoretical definition so difficult to apply to reality.

Since industrialisation has brought us our present type of leisure, leisure in contemporary society must to some extent be seen in the context of work, and, although it is true that many leisure sociologists, particularly the French, would disagree. To regard leisure as the free time left over after work and other obligations does seem to offer at least a basis for consensus. It can be linked to a standardized framework of hours and days, it provides a 'hard' measure and it has shown itself to be a useful tool in practice (eg. Szalai 1972). However, as the Rambouillet/Bromsgrove survey also showed, there are some sections of the population, such as housewives, who do not go out to work, or specific occupational groups, such as professional sportsmen, for whom the boundaries of work and non-work are imprecise and therefore difficult to measure:

Leisure is when I go out of the house, otherwise the two, leisure and work, tend to blend.

(Housewife, Family 42).

In addition, for any individual, whether in paid employment or not, it is extremely difficult to say where, in non-work time, obligation ends and leisure begins. For example, to what extent is time spent with the family leisure or obligation? Parker (1971), commenting on the increasingly privatised world of the modern family, suggests that the family and leisure have now come to mean the same thing, the demands of the family make free time come to mean time with the family. Is the chartered accountant who reads the Financial Times on his way to work or the housewife who plays squash to get slim to fit in with society's image of the ideal woman, fulfilling an obligation or indulging in leisure?

This also raises the question, how far does leisure involve freedom of choice? Edgell suggests that the contemporary focus on leisure as 'free choice' or 'choosing time' (1980: 75) may be in danger of overlooking something. Although studies of leisure behaviour often include 'relaxation' in their activity lists, the individual who spends his leisure sitting in an armchair may be considered by society as lazy or as wasting time, although it is what he enjoys most. In short society's attitude tends to be 'doing something is good for you', and we are overtly and covertly encouraged to do things during our leisure time. This, in addition to other constraints such as money, time, knowledge and

facilities all serve to make the best description of contemporary leisure as being relatively freely chosen activity.

The basic difficulty in ever finding a definition of leisure which has general applicability, due to its variety of meanings for different individuals, was well illustrated by the Rambouillet and Bromsgrove sample groups. Although, for most respondents, leisure was something to be distinguished from work and other obligations and involved freedom of choice or enjoyment, for others it meant something quite different, such as spending time with their children:

leisure is doing things with our four children.
(Wife, Teacher, Family 40)

for others it meant the time when their children were not there:

leisure is time away from the children. Leisure for me is when I'm myself, not a wife or a mother.
(Wife, Teacher, Family 38)

for others it meant doing something creative:

pour moi quand je crée c'est le loisir' (leisure is when I am being creative).
(Husband, fonctionnaire, Family 4)

and for many others leisure was closely bound up with spending money. The data did suggest however that husbands and wives tended to share a similar view of leisure, as for 63% of both French and British couples, leisure meant the same thing.

Further, as we have already mentioned, all those in the sample

who did not differentiate sharply between work and leisure tended to be either housewives or belong to specific occupational groups, such as nursing or teaching. However, it must be emphasised that in both French and British sample groups there were also several individuals belonging to these categories who did differentiate sharply between work and leisure.

The actual content of leisure, in terms of the activities people do in their leisure time, is fraught with problems too. Since society tends to emphasise 'doing', it is difficult to get respondents to admit to doing nothing, which may in fact be the true picture for many people. Many activities do not fall easily into the category of work or non-work, and it is often difficult to decide whether a particular activity should be classed as leisure or not. Such activities as cooking, home improvement, gardening and sewing, classed by Dumazedier (1967: 93) as 'semi-loisirs' (activities which are semi-obligatory, semi-pleasant) always have a question mark hanging over them. Both major governmental statistical bodies in France and Britain recognise this problem, but try to get round it in different ways. Great Britain Central Statistical Office (1980) adds 'for pleasure' after these types of activity in order to include them in leisure, while the INSEE (1967) asked the respondent to indicate if this type of activity was leisure or an obligation for them. In the Rambouillet and Bromsgrove samples, the activities of gardening, home improvement, cooking, shopping were generally considered to be leisure, but respondents generally made a distinction between these types of activity when done for

everyday routine purposes (work or obligation) and when done for special purposes (leisure). As Berk (1979) discovered, the criterion which made such activities definitely leisure rather than work or obligation was that they were 'pleasant' to do.

Although less is known both in France and Britain about the meaning of leisure to the individual than to the sociologist, in common with previous studies which have addressed this question, the data from this survey tended to support the view that individuals' definitions are broadly consistent with those of the researcher. French and British definitions on the whole were similar and indicated that Roberts' view that:

regarding leisure in contemporary society as relatively freely undertaken non-work activity is broadly consistent with the everyday use of the term and can also be a penetrating sociological formula. (1978: 3)

has some justification. The data did also illustrate some of the problems involved in arriving at a satisfactory definition of leisure. It was clear that leisure is not a separate area of life and that for some sections of the populations the boundaries between work and leisure are less precise than for others and that whilst for many people leisure may mean something similar, for others it can mean something completely different.

Chapter 5

TIME FOR LEISURE

Calculations by sociologists of the amount of leisure time an individual has generally involve considerations of the amount of work, paid or unpaid that individual does together with the social, personal and familial obligations he/she has to fulfil: leisure time is what is left when these have been subtracted. Such definitions are also employed by the governmental statistical sources in France and Great Britain (eg. INSEE, Social Trends). This however seems to place a somewhat secondary value on leisure time, to imply that it is not something in its own right, but only what is left after other activities, which are felt to be more important, have been considered.

Although the forecasts for a further explosion of free time in Western industrial societies during the late seventies and early eighties have not been fulfilled, it is often assumed that workers and their families, and especially that category of families which this thesis is examining, now have more leisure time than similar individuals in earlier generations. This is due to the fact that, on paper at least, working hours have steadily been reduced since the Second World War and paid holiday entitlements have been increased (for example during the period 1967 to 1975 the average weekly hours of work for manual workers in all industries went down from 46.7 hours to 42.5 hours in France and from 44.3 hours to 41.8 hours in the United Kingdom,

and their basic paid holidays rose from 18 days in 1960 to 24 days in 1976, and from 12 days to 15 to 20 days respectively) (Eurostat 1977: 126/127 and 130/131), though at different rates in each country. *The case is* not necessarily proven because of the increasing availability of modern labour-saving technology in the home.

However, the fact that we may now have more leisure time than before does not necessarily make it any easier to measure. Although Robinson, in his comparative study of British and American non-work time, suggests that: "unlike other measures in the social sciences there is little argument over how time is being measured" (1981: 291-292), Sue, commenting on time-budget studies which calculate leisure time, claims that these can only provide an estimate:

car comment évaluer de manière précise le temps disponible ? (for how can one measure exactly how much time is available ?) (1980: 4)

The amount of leisure time any individual has in a day or a year is notoriously difficult to measure as it is so closely linked to what an individual himself thinks of as leisure and, as we have seen in the previous chapter, this may vary considerably from one individual to another. What is leisure for one person may be an obligation for another or semi-leisure for another. It is therefore difficult to decide firstly where in non-work time leisure begins and ends, secondly for those who do not do any paid work, it is difficult to say where work begins and ends, and

thirdly there is leisure at work too.

Sociologists' attempts at quantifying the amount of leisure time an individual has have generally been in one of two ways: either to consider it in conjunction with full-time paid employment, or by means of time-budget studies where all the activities of the day are noted and classified by researcher or respondent (or both) as work, leisure or obligation. Although both methods have been used by both British and French sociologists, the former approach is more common in Britain (eg. Parker, 1972; Roberts, 1970, 1978) and the latter in France (eg. Stoetzel, 1958, Lemel, 1972, 1974). Both methods have their advantages and disadvantages. Whilst the first method does allow the researcher to calculate a figure for non-work time and hence a notional figure for leisure time, it does not cover those not in paid employment, and although the second method does cover the total population, it depends to a large extent upon the interpretation of the person classifying the activities. A third type of approach (eg. Kelly, 1978, 1982), whilst not directly attempting to quantify leisure activities aims to get some idea of this by the extent of a person's activities. Szalai's comparative study of twelve countries however showed that it was not necessarily the countries with the most free time who did the most leisure activities and thus demonstrated the importance of separating out time and activity.

Many studies (eg. Girard, 1958; Myrdal and Klein, 1968; Rouse and Roy, 1981) show that housewives have only slightly more free

time than do full-time workers of both sexes (about one hour per working day), whilst more recent studies (eg. Roberts, 1978) show that they have no more, in fact may have slightly less. Since, however, for those in paid employment certain parts of the working day are definitely not leisure, this enables some basic quantitative measure of non-work time to be made. Since at least three-quarters of the sample groups in Rambouillet and Bromsgrove were in paid employment and at least half in each group worked full-time, the following discussion will consider leisure time first and foremost in the context of full-time paid employment.

No discussion of leisure time can be complete without consideration of how this time is structured. One of the first sociologists to write about leisure, Lundberg (1934), suggested that one of the most distinctive features of leisure time in industrial societies was that it tended to occur in a rhythmical pattern throughout society. Contemporary sociologists of leisure, such as Dumazedier, who stated in the sixties that modern leisure would be uniform and imitative, and Roberts (1970), have pursued this line of thought. Roberts contends that contemporary leisure tends to be: "blended into a common rhythm of life." He goes on to suggest that the rhythm of life in our society is based round the organisation of work with: "periods of leisure occurring in much the same sequence..." and that: "during the working week, throughout society leisure time occurs in the period mainly in the evening between finishing work and going to bed." (1970: 11). In addition, a norm applicable to most people in full-time paid

employment is that weekends and paid holidays are free for leisure: this norm is particularly pertinent in the case of someone who works 'normal' ie. in Britain nine to five type hours, as did all those who worked full-time in the Rambouillet and Bromsgrove samples, although leisure type activities can conceivably also be done during two parts of the working day; the journey to work and the lunch hour.

In 1975 according to the Statistical Office of the European Communities, France had both the longest working day and the longest holidays in Europe. Indeed the traditional British stereotype of the French is of a nation who have long holidays, long lunch breaks and little weekday evening leisure. The phenomenon of the Saturday/Sunday leisure unit is a relatively recent one in France, and it is interesting to note that although the term 'fin de semaine' exists their fondness for English expressions has led them to adopt 'le weekend'. Ardagh, suggests that: "the French are now becoming more like other people" (1977: 409). So do the French then, still differ from the British regarding the structure of their leisure time, and does the leisure time of the two countries fit into a common rhythm ?

A comparison of the minimum paid holiday entitlement and working hours for full-time white collar workers in France and Great Britain in 1981 reveals a basic difference in attitude. Whereas in France these are laid down by law and cover all the workers in that category, in Britain: "the hours of work of adult men ... are not restricted by statute", and: "holiday entitlements are

normally determined by collective agreements" (Britain, 1981: 326). When it comes to actual amount a further difference emerges. The so-called 'normal' working week in Britain was 37 to 38 hours compared with 40 hours in France (subsequently reduced to 39 hours in early 1982), and whilst no figures were available for standard paid holiday entitlement for non-manual workers this was: "at least three weeks plus eight Bank Holidays" and: "... non-manual workers generally have more" (Britain, 1981: 326), compared with the minimum of twenty-four days (increased to five weeks in 1982) plus ten Bank Holidays enjoyed by all French workers.

Thus whilst we have shown that official statistics in both countries do not seem to consider leisure time as something in its own right, minimum non-work time arrangements appear to be more clearly defined in France and to cover a wider population. On paper at least the British worker appears to have more non-work time during the working week and the French during holidays, so whilst there does not appear to be a very great difference in amount of time over a year, it appears that a difference does exist in the structure of non-work time. However, actual hours worked may differ greatly from standard hours, paid holiday entitlements may vary and the effect of additional factors, such as the journey to work may contribute to present a very different picture.

Corresponding to the trend already mentioned, none of those in

either sample group had to go to his/her paid employment at the weekend, so all in theory enjoyed a similar block of non-work time then. Although none had a paid holiday entitlement of less than the legal or 'normal' entitlement for their country, very few had just the minimum entitlement, and most, 78% of the French and 85% of the British, were entitled to more than this, the largest single group, 45%, in each country having at least six weeks paid holiday per annum plus Bank Holidays. Both groups seemed to be relatively advantaged when it came to holidays, but contrary to traditionally held views and national figures there was not much difference in the amount of paid holiday each country enjoyed. This might perhaps be explained by the fact that the husbands and wives in the two groups who were full-time workers had similar, relatively high status occupations in which one might reasonably expect a fairly generous holiday entitlement, i.e. having reached a certain career stage in the particular types of occupation mentioned, holiday entitlements are more or less uniform, it is in lower status occupations where the minimum legal entitlement of a particular country will apply.

Comparison of the normal weekly work hours and length of the working day of the two groups supported the view that the French work longer hours and have a longer working day than the British. The normal weekly work hours of any individual in the French sample ranged from 42 to 65 hours and in Britain from 35 to 55 hours. However in keeping with studies which show that managers, executives and those in the professions tend to have a normal working week of far greater hours than the standard ones (eg.

Child and MacMillan, 1973; Parker, 1976; Debreu, 1973; INSEE 1978), all the French group, and 68% of the British, worked longer hours than was standard for their country. Nevertheless most people in both groups did not have a normal working week of more than 48 hours, only 23% of French and 20% of British came anywhere near Young and Willmott's (1973) managers who had a working week of 57 hours.

A measure often used in calculations of non-work time is that of the total daily absence from home of the worker, or 'amplitude de la journée' (time required for all work related activities including the journey to work and breaks) (INSEE, 1978: 89). In order to accommodate the extra hours worked, the French working day tended both to start earlier and finish later. No equivalent British figures were available for comparison, but in 1974 the average daily absence for a white-collar worker, both anywhere in France and in the 'agglomération parisienne', was 11.4 hours (INSEE, 1978: 90). The total daily absence for any worker in the Rambouillet sample ranged from 7 to 13 hours and for Bromsgrove 7 to 11 hours. Whilst over half of the workers in both sample groups (59% in Rambouillet and 54% in Bromsgrove), were absent between 10 and 11 hours, a further 26% of Rambouillet workers were away longer than this. Therefore, although the majority in each country were away each day for a similar length of time, the French as a whole had a longer working day. However, both the average Rambouillet and Bromsgrove worker, who had a working day of 10.4 hours and 9.4 hours respectively, were away a shorter

time than the national average previously mentioned. The fact that commuter transport services have been greatly improved in both areas in recent years may help to explain this difference. In addition the fact that the French tended to have longer journeys to work, when added to their longer working hours, may explain the difference between the two countries.

Studies (eg. Young and Willmott, 1973; Debreu, 1973) have shown that those in high status occupations do not always leave their work behind when they leave their place of employment at the end of the day, and the two sample groups were no exception. The majority in each group regularly brought work, connected with their paid employment, home to do, but this appeared to be more of a British phenomenon, as nearly twice as many British (82%) as French (43%) regularly did at least one hour's work per weekday night. This type of work obviously reduces possible leisure time still further and, although the French tended to have longer absences from home, if work done at home is included in work-related hours, then the week-day non-work time of the two groups might balance out more.

What amount of non-work time is left then during a working day? Since sleep is an essential, following the 'three eights' and allowing eight hours in twenty-four for sleep, the greatest amount of non-work time left for any French or British worker in the sample was 9 hours and the least 4 hours or 6 hours respectively, so the average British worker in the sample enjoyed about 1 hour more non-work time per working day than the French.

However, we must not forget that this is not all time free for leisure, but that it has to include all the other necessary social, personal and familial obligations too. Szalai (1972) in his time-budget study showed that the average amount of free time in a day in all the countries examined ranged from 3.7 hours to 5.1 hours, of which 1.7 hours to 3 hours were leisure time. Britain was not one of the countries in the study, the average for France (4.5 hours) fell towards the lower end of the scale; of this 4.5 hours 2.1 hours were leisure time. A British sociologist, Cullen (1974), who aimed to effect a comparison between Britain and the countries included in Szalai's study, set the free time figures for six cities in France against figures for the London region. He was able to show, as indicated by the figures from Rambouillet and Bromsgrove, that the British enjoyed more free time, 5.9 hours, than the French during a working day. Szalai also found that, although there were differences in the amount of leisure on different days of the week, the amount of leisure at the weekend, which appears to be freer from constraint, is also linked to the amount of leisure in the working week, Sunday providing only 4 more hours free time for a working man and 3 hours for a working woman. However it may be that the additional non-work time the British appear to enjoy during the working day may not be a difference just with France, for Robinson in his comparison of British and American non-work time also found that the British had two hours more free time in a working day, although he does not offer any explanation for this.

The two sections of the working day, which, whether strictly interpreted as work or not, when leisure type activities can be done, are the journey to work and the lunch break. Most studies (eg. EEC Statistics, 1972, 1975, 1976) indicate that the journey to work is considered as part of work: the majority of respondents in each sample group lent support to this view by their responses. Indeed in France, where the employee must be insured by his employer during his journey to work, it is legally part of work. Nevertheless many people in the two sample groups did do what are usually termed 'leisure activities' eg. reading, listening to the radio during their journey to work. Obviously here the type of leisure is strictly limited and depends to a great extent on length of journey and type of transport.

The length of a journey to work (one direction only) for a working husband or wife in the Rambouillet sample ranged from five to one hundred and thirty-five minutes, and in Bromsgrove from five to sixty minutes, and the majority in each country travelled to work by car. As we have already said the majority of workers in each country were commuters and, as such, might be expected to travel some distance to work, but more French did so and had longer journeys: whilst over 75% of British had journeys of forty minutes or less, over half in France had longer journeys than this.

The figures from the two sample groups supported the 1976 (see Table 5.1) figures in that the French had longer journeys, but in

Table 5.1

Comparison of daily journey to work in minutes.
 Percentages for Isle-de-France and West Midlands (1976)
 compared with Rambouillet and Bromsgrove (1980-1981)

	< 30	30-60	> 60
Isle-de-France	49.5	32	19.5
West Midlands	76.5	26.5	2.5
Rambouillet	28.5	50	21.5
Bromsgrove	54	46	-

(From: EEC Regional Statistics, 1976: 411)

both sample groups a greater percentage than in 1976 travelled further to work. This can perhaps be explained by the increasing trend towards living in dormitory towns, but it also indicates that more of the French sample had greater opportunity for leisure activities during the journey to work.

The French have traditionally been famous for their extended lunch hour (frequently up to two hours), although Ardagh (1977) suggests that the habit is dying in the Paris area because of commuting; this may also be due to the fact that French firms are increasingly by choice or by necessity standardising the structure of their working hours to fit in with those of other countries. He states that many firms have changed to a uniform one-hour lunch break so they can close earlier and not work Saturdays. A basic difference however still remains: in France the lunch hour is not considered as part of the hours worked in the week. In addition Ardagh comments that even though his lunch hour has been reduced, the Frenchman still regards it as: "something of a necessary human right" (1977: 411). The majority of the French in the sample corresponded to this new trend. Very few came home for lunch, and only one person regularly took more than one hour's lunch break. However the remnants of the old tradition still appeared to cling, as the French sample still took longer lunch hours than the British and appeared to place more value upon this period of time, as they tended to always take the same fixed amount of time each day, whereas the British were very flexible.

The foregoing comparison of French and British non-work time and its structure confirms the view expressed at the beginning of the chapter that, whilst it is difficult to measure the extent to which other obligations occupy this time, hence what is left for leisure, is almost impossible to quantify. Nevertheless, if a crude estimate of the non-work time available to a full-time worker in paid employment is made then the amount available to someone who does not work in paid employment can also be deduced. This, taken together with an examination of the patterning of non-work time, permits a broad picture of this feature in the two societies to be presented.

On paper the French worker appears to have the advantage, in that the scope of national arrangements is broader, but a basic difference in the structure of non-work time appears to emerge. Though the data obtained from the two French and British sample groups did not always accord with national or local statistics, it did however tend to support the evidence of previous studies of groups of a similar social status, and in particular the French group appeared to reflect the new trends in non-work time current in French society, which are bringing it closer to what applies in Britain.

The main difference in non-work time appeared to lie, not in actual amount enjoyed over the year, but when that time occurred. This was especially marked during the working day. Although for the majority in both groups, evening leisure time did appear to

be at a premium, thus focussing leisure more on the weekend (cf. Robinson's (1981) middle-class 'weekend culture'), this tendency was more marked in France. The French sample did however appear to have more opportunity for leisure activities during parts of the working day, although, as these time periods are not generally considered as leisure, the value placed on them may be somewhat less, and it may be that this time is underused. Broadly speaking then, from a time point of view the French appear to have more 'block' leisure and the British a more 'fragmented' style. The degree to which this may or may not affect the actual leisure activities done in the two countries, i.e. how people use their leisure time, will be addressed in Chapter 7 which focuses on leisure activities.

Chapter 6

LEISURE AS A CENTRAL LIFE INTEREST

Since the 1960's in both France and Britain leisure has been coming increasingly to the forefront of people's thinking: the indications of this have been discussed in earlier chapters. At a national level there has been the concern to improve both the quality and quantity of leisure, and at a familial level there has been the increased demand, especially in France, with its tradition of high-rise, high-density housing, for sufficient space and a suitable environment for leisure, that is a house with a garden. Participation in all kinds of leisure activities has increased in recent years and the percentage of the family budget devoted to recreation, entertainment, education and cultural services rose in both France and Britain during the period 1970 to 1974 (Social Indicators for the European Communities: 93). This increase was greater in France than in Britain, a rise of 3% compared with 1%. However, the proportion of the household budget devoted to leisure expenditure in Britain continued to exceed that in France, by a considerable margin (10% compared with 6.5%), indeed the proportion in Britain was also greater than in any other EEC country (Social Indicators for the European Community: 93). Following these figures, therefore, one might construe two things about leisure in France and Britain. Firstly that 'leisure' has been and still is considered as more important in the eyes of British families since they devote a greater part of their resources to it, but that its importance

has not changed greatly during the last ten years. Secondly that leisure is now playing a greater part in the lives of French families than it did, since their expenditure in this area is steadily increasing. Does this then indicate that leisure is, or is becoming, a central life interest ?

The American sociologist Dubin (1956) uses this term 'central life interest' to mean that component or components of an individual's life, family, work or leisure, where he finds or expects to find his greatest satisfaction. Sociological opinion however, as to whether leisure is becoming a central life interest, seems to vary, and comprises views at both ends of the spectrum and a number of views situated somewhere between the two. At one end of the spectrum there is the view, proposed by Dumazedier, that leisure values are replacing the work ethic as the dominant social value, that leisure is becoming a legitimate life goal and that it is leisure which is likely to shape the individual's attitudes and behaviour. At the other end, there is the view which asserts that work has not become insignificant nor has a leisure-based existence been achieved by many occupational groups, namely those where the time devoted to the demands made by work are considerable and curtail leisure (eg. Linder, 1970; Carter, 1971). British leisure sociologists on the whole seem to take the sort of middle view expressed by the following: "leisure is as much a part of life as work and it plays an equally important part in man's development and the quality of his life" (House of Lords Select Committee), i.e. leisure is important, but it has not replaced work as the pivotal

focus either in society or in people's lives. Two recent surveys ^{which} covered all social groups, in France (L'Expansion, 1980), 82% of respondents felt that their work and leisure lives were equally important, and in Britain (Gallup for Birds Eye, 1982), in which people were invited to rank their top twenty life values, support this view. In the latter, leisure, whilst being rated as an important value (eleventh) came just behind work factors (steady employment ninth, job satisfaction tenth), but both ranked as far less important than family (second) and home (fifth). This underlines the growth in familism noted in France by Sue (1980) and in Britain by Monitor (1981).

Whilst priorities are obviously not clear cut for all individuals or groups, previous studies of the middle class have pointed to work and achievement as being their key values, to a greater extent than for other social groups. The studies have further suggested that values may vary between different sections of the middle class (eg. Parker, 1976); at different stages of the family life cycle (eg. Rapoport et al., 1975); at career stage, for example Edgell (1981) suggests that a blocked career (i.e. one where the individual realises he cannot go any higher up the career ladder) may lead the individual to place more emphasis on family and/or leisure pursuits; that there are gender differences with women being more likely to emphasise family values than men (eg. Rapoport, 1975; Edgell, 1981) and that some individuals may have competing value systems eg. success at work versus family involvement (eg. Parker, 1976).

Many studies which set out to explore an individual's central life interest by asking people which area of life is most important to them only give respondents a choice between work and leisure. However, in view of the growth in familism noted by authors in both countries during the late Seventies and commented on earlier in this chapter, respondents in this study were given the choice between family, work and leisure.

In the present study participants were asked: "Which is the most important to you, your family, your work or your leisure?" In many cases, however, respondents claimed that not just one of these values was more important than the others, but that, as for this husband, all three of them were of equal importance:

c'est difficile. Je donne tout à mon travail ou à mon fils, il ne me reste pas beaucoup de loisir. Le week-end, je bricole... mais les vacances sont très importantes aussi (It's difficult to say. I give everything to my work and my son, there's not much leisure left. At the weekend I do jobs around the house... but holidays are important too).

(Husband, Ingénieur, Family 6)

Responses indicated that leisure played a more influential rôle in the lives of French couples, in the sense that more French than British respondents claimed that leisure was a life value for them, however, responses did not lend any support to the view that leisure is becoming the motivating force in people's lives, as only 6% of French and no British respondents classed it as their sole central life interest. Where leisure counted at all, and for over half of the French sample and nearly three-quarters

of the British it did not, it was more often where individuals had competing value systems (i.e. leisure was rated as being equally important as other values). Work and family life emerged as more important values, but here there were interesting differences between the two countries. Whilst in neither country did the data particularly emphasise the traditional view of work as the key middle class value, but rather the growth in familism commented on earlier, the French sample fitted in more with the traditional image of the middle class. Work counted more for the French sample than the British, both as the main central life interest and was a life interest for the majority (see Table 6.1). The trend towards familism however was particularly marked in Britain where the family was the main central life interest for 62% and a life interest for a further 27%.

Edgell (1981) talks of the fundamental conflict in work and leisure values experienced by the middle class, but the majority of both sample groups, though more in Britain than in France, did not appear to experience any such rôle-strain. Again, in line with the trend towards familism already noted, it was interesting that all those who felt they had more than one central life interest emphasised three values, work, family and leisure as being of equal importance to them.

Whilst the primary concern of this thesis is to compare France and Britain, and not gender differences, it was interesting to note that as Parry (1974) and Rapoport et al. (1975) suggest, in both countries the family was more often the central life

Table 6.1

Central Life Interest of Respondents

Central Life Interest	France N=60		Britain N=60	
	No	%	No	%
work	17	28	7	12
leisure	4	7	-	
family life	16	27	37	62
work/leisure/family life	23	38	16	27

interest of wives and work that of husbands, although over half of British husbands too had the family as their central life interest, and in both countries husbands were more likely than wives to have competing values systems. A further difference between the two countries emerged in that, whereas 50% of British couples shared the same central life interest or interests, nearly three quarters of French couples did not.

Farmer states that:

the growth of leisure has had an important effect on the quality of life but is not, certainly for the majority of the middle class, the whole of life. (1979: 189)

a statement which seems to sum up well the impression gained from the present study. Whilst both sample groups reflected to some extent the growth in familism, the British group tended to resemble those which the Pahls are commenting on when they state:

the emerging style of the new middle class in Great Britain is not the self-conscious, status-seeking typical of the American literature, but rather a contented domesticity, centred around shopping trips on Saturday and annual camping holidays with the children. (1971: 241)

The French sample on the other hand, presented an interesting contradiction, for whilst tending to represent more of the traditional work values of the middle class, at the same time it contained the only individuals who did have leisure as a central life interest and appeared to be, as Ardagh describes: "still uneasily torn between old and new". (1982: 378)

Chapter 7

LEISURE ACTIVITIES

It is very difficult, if not impossible, to obtain an accurate picture of the activities an individual does during his leisure time for a variety of reasons. Firstly, whereas for one person leisure may involve sitting in an armchair doing nothing at all, for another it may involve a definite activity such as swimming or playing squash, and, although activity lists generally include 'relaxing' or an equivalent, since people are often embarrassed to say they do nothing, such an activity as sitting in an armchair will not appear on the list of leisure activities they give to the researcher, although it may be the most important way that that individual spends his leisure time. Secondly the types of activity classed by Dumazedier as 'semi-leisure' eg. cookery, DIY, gardening, may be leisure for one person and not even semi-leisure for another. Thirdly, it is difficult to gauge the relative importance of a particular activity in an individual's life. If asked how many leisure activities he pursues during his leisure time, a respondent might list five activities : it might transpire that he does two of them (eg. sailing and windsurfing) only when on holiday, whereas he may read or watch the television every day. It would therefore require a very complex questionnaire indeed to take account of all these factors, although most studies do now try to take factors such as frequency and duration into account. Researchers in the field of leisure research have had to grapple with this question. In an

attempt to overcome the difficulty, a variety of methods have been used, resulting in further difficulties such as problems of comparability between studies. Examples of such research methods are the unstructured interview which allows people to talk generally about their leisure (eg. Edgell, 1980; DART, 1981), and keeping a diary in which all the day's activities are minutely noted down (eg. Szalai, 1972). In other studies the researcher himself compiles a list of leisure activities and asks the respondent to tick off which of them he does (eg. Madge and Willmott, 1981; Kelly, 1982) or respondents are asked to freely list which leisure activities they do regularly (eg. Weinberger, 1975; L'Expansion, 1980) and a specific time, such as 'during the last year' or 'last month' is usually stated. In addition, respondents are often asked to select say five or ten of the activities they have named and to say which are the most important to them in terms of satisfaction, which they do most often, whom they do particular activities with, where and when. The method chosen obviously influences the end result and, since none of the methods detailed above is, or indeed can be, foolproof, the leisure studies researcher must choose the method he feels is most appropriate for his particular research.

Since the aim of the present study was to compare two cultures, France and Britain, using a particular group within them, known to be a sensitive indicator of trends, it was felt that if a list of activities was compiled in advance, some interesting insights into the differences and similarities between the two countries

might thus be lost, and that the most comprehensive portrait possible might be obtained by other means. Respondents were therefore asked to state what activities they did in their spare time and what they had done during the last week. Further, they were asked to provide information as to whom they generally did particular activities with and detailing where and when they generally did them and how often in a week. Any comments they made about their leisure were also noted down. In addition, since Rambouillet and Bromsgrove were both 'dormitory' towns, and it was anticipated that many of the respondents would be commuters, it was felt that it would be useful to examine how much attraction the neighbouring large city exercised for leisure. For the purpose of analysis, emphasis was placed on leisure activities done by French people and British people, those activities done by all members of the family unit together and the leisure patterns of husband and wife viewed as a couple.

The data indicated that British respondents seemed to be far more 'leisure-minded' than French in terms of what they said they did, for they appeared to do more and a wider range of leisure activities. The total number of leisure activities done by any individual ranged from none to nine (see Table 7.1), and whereas all British respondents named at least one leisure activity, 5% of French respondents said they did none. It was however interesting to note that if a person did any leisure activity at all, then they were likely to do more than just one, i.e. if the person was motivated to do any activities in his spare time then they were likely to have several interests (the majority of

Table 7.1

No. of leisure activities done by individual respondents

Total No. of activities	Rambouillet		Bromsgrove	
	N = 60	No.	No.	%
0		3	-	-
1		-	1	2
2		9	6	10
3		12	4	7
4/5		25	24	40
6/7		9	18	30
8/9		2	7	11

respondents in both countries, 60% in Rambouillet and 82% in Bromsgrove, in fact said that they did at least four or five leisure activities).

Fifty-six different leisure activities were mentioned by respondents in Rambouillet and eighty-five in Bromsgrove (see Appendix 10) which ranged from commonplace activities, such as reading and watching television, to the more unusual, such as hunting and scuba diving. Although many of the leisure activities mentioned by the French were not mentioned by the British and vice-versa, in the majority of cases, this can be put down mostly to individual taste or inclination rather than to any cultural difference. However it is worth drawing attention to the relative popularity of 'vélo' (cycling) among the respondents in Rambouillet and squash in Bromsgrove, both sports not being referred to in the other country. Cycling amounts to something of a national passion in France, both as a spectator and participant sport. During one of the author's preliminary visits to Rambouillet the 'Tour de France' passed through Chevreuse, a village a few miles from Rambouillet, and the size and enthusiasm of the crowds who turned out to watch and wait (in pouring rain) was indicative of the esteem with which this sport is held in France. Whilst in Britain cycling is considered as a cheap but very dangerous way to get to work, it is not regarded as a leisure activity to anything like the same extent. The interviews took place whilst squash was in its heyday in Britain and before jogging had replaced it as the middle-class leisure

activity, and not surprisingly, in view of the type of sample, it was a popular sport. At that time, squash was beginning to arrive in France as a sport, but the availability of courts was not widespread. Since no French person mentioned this sport and since it was so popular in Britain, the author asked French respondents if they had heard of it. Not everybody had, and no one had played it. It was also interesting to note that, of the five most popular leisure activities in each country, in France, all were home-based compared with only two in Britain. This supports evidence given elsewhere in the thesis about the sample and already referred to as to the Frenchman's greater preference than the British for staying at home for his leisure. Of these five activities only two were the same in both France and Britain, reading (ranked 1 in France and 2 in Britain) and gardening (ranked 5 in France and 4 in Britain); both activities which are highly likely to be popular as they can be done virtually at any time, with little or no preparation, without the necessity of the company of other people. Although it is interesting to discover which leisure activities individual respondents did, both as case studies of individuals and along the lines mentioned above, such a diverse list taken in isolation is difficult to compare with other studies. Accordingly the list was divided into eight groups (see Appendix 10 and Table 7.2.)

Respondents in both countries mentioned five different times when they did leisure activities: weekday, evenings only, weekends only, weekends and evenings only, holidays only or at a mixture of these times. 50% of British respondents and 43% of French

Table 7.2

Categories of leisure activities in order of popularity

Rambouillet			Bromsgrove		
Activity	No. participating	%	Activity	No. participating	%
1. sporting	62	26	1. sporting	76	28
2. cultural/ entertainment	52	22	2. semi-leisure	63	23
3. semi-leisure	49	20	3. cultural/ entertainment	57	21
4. hobby	39	16	4. hobby	45	17
5. radio/tv	23	10	5. associational	12	4
6. musical	12	5	6. radio/tv	9	3
7. associational	2	1	7. musical	8	2
			8. religious	2	1

said they tended to do their leisure activities at all of these times, rather than just at one specific time, implying that leisure was part of the daily round rather than something 'different' or 'separate'. As mentioned previously, traditional stereotypes suggest that the French have less free time on a weekday evening than the British (this was borne out by the data): however, there was little difference in the number of respondents (29% in France, 22% in Britain) who said they did not do any leisure activities during weekday evenings.

About half the respondents in each country had a mixed pattern as regards where they did their leisure activities, i.e. they did some at home and some outside the home. Of the rest, in line with other data which suggested the French were more home-based in their leisure, 21% of them compared with only 12% of British said all their leisure activities took place within the confines of the home. A similar trend was evident amongst those who said they did some of their leisure activities outside the home. Again the majority in each country said they did their leisure activities both in their home town and elsewhere (60% and 64% respectively), but 24% of French respondents, compared with only 16% of British, said that they did all their leisure activities outside their home in either Rambouillet or Bromsgrove.

A pattern of completely solitary leisure pursuits did not seem to be a popular one, and whilst most people did some activities on their own, they also had a variety of companions with whom they

spent their leisure time (see Table 7.3). Nevertheless the French tended to have a much more restricted circle of companions with whom they spent their leisure time: 54% of them said they did all their leisure activities either alone or with other family members only, compared with 36% of British, i.e. they never went outside the family circle.

How attractive were the leisure opportunities offered by the two neighbouring large cities? The majority of respondents in both countries said that they did sometimes go to the city for leisure, but more French (77%) than British (57%) did so. This may be due to the particular and unique attractions of Paris, but it is worthy of note that, in both countries, for those who did use the city for leisure, a similar pattern of usage emerged, as slightly less than half (46% in Rambouillet and 47% in Bromsgrove) were accustomed to go to the city for leisure at least once a month. The vast majority in each country (93% and 88%) said they had been into the city for leisure during the year preceding the interview, and 56% in both Rambouillet and Bromsgrove had visited it during the month preceding the interview. Six distinct types of leisure activity were mentioned by respondents (see Table 7.4) which were similar in both countries, with the exception of visiting friends, in France. Not surprisingly people tended to go to the city for the special or different types of leisure opportunities it afforded, i.e. those such as theatres, shows etc. which were not to be had in their home-town. In view of French tradition it was not a surprise to find that the French were more likely to visit Paris

Table 7.3

Companions for leisure activities

Companion	Rambouillet		Bromsgrove	
	No.	%	No.	%
alone	3	5	2	3
with family members	10	17	5	8
alone /with family members	18	32	15	25
alone /with others	1	2	1	2
alone /with family members /with others	24	42	37	62

Table 7.4

Types of leisure activities done in Paris and Birmingham

Activity	Paris		Birmingham	
	No.	%	No.	%
entertainment	17	37	21	66
sightseeing	13	28	1	3
restaurant	9	19	1	3
shopping	4	9	8	25
visiting friends	2	4	-	-
sport	1	3	1	3

to go to a restaurant. When they had last visited the city for leisure, French respondents were less likely than British to have been accompanied by a member of their family. The majority, however, in both countries, had been accompanied by members of their family, in contrast to the pattern which emerged for everyday leisure activities.

Leisure activities for the whole family are likely to come within a more limited range than leisure activities for the individual. The reasons for this include the nature of the activity (i.e. whether it is suited to group performance), the organisational problems of getting all the family together at the same time, and the differing needs and inclinations of family members according to the age and ability of each one. In the study respondents did, indeed, cite a more limited number and range of activities (see Table 7.5). Five different types of activity were mentioned, only two of which, sporting activities and trips out, common to both countries, enjoyed any real popularity. French families were seen to be less likely to do any family leisure activity (50% compared with 73% of British families). In both countries, however, families reporting any family leisure activity at all, tended to do more than one such activity (56% and 59% respectively).

In view of the differing time commitments of various family members, not surprisingly the weekend was the most popular time for family activities, although some respondents said that they

Table 7.5

Types of leisure activity done by the whole family together

Activity	Rambouillet		Bromsgrove	
	No.	%	No.	%
sporting (swimming, walking, vélo)	10	66	10	45
religions	-	-	1	5
board games	1	7	-	-
DIY and gardening	1	7	-	-
trips out	3	20	11	50

did family activities during the week and during the holidays instead. Three types of family emerged as regards where families did these activities: those who always stayed in the home, those who always went out of the home and those who sometimes stayed at home and sometimes went out. The most usual place for family activities, influenced of course by the type of family activities mentioned by respondents, was outside the home. Again French families were more 'home-based' than British: whereas all British families did all their family leisure activities outside the home, this was the case for 80% of French families. A similar trend emerged in respondents' answers as to where they did their leisure activities when they did go outside the home, for whereas over half the French families (57%) always stayed in Rambouillet, only 14% of British families always stayed in Bromsgrove, although there appeared to be a similar range of possibilities available in each town.

It is often claimed (eg. Edgell 1980) that husbands and wives have different leisure patterns due to the fact that different activities may appeal to each sex; that women are in a sense the losers when it comes to leisure as they have less leisure time due to the burden of domestic chores: consequently, the leisure activities they choose may be dictated by this to some extent. The total number of leisure activities which couples did (taking the sum of husband's and wife's leisure activities), ranged from none to seventeen, but there was a difference between the two countries: whereas 70% of French couples numbered under ten activities between them, 60% of British couples numbered ten or

more. In the case of most couples (80% of French and 90% of British) one partner did more leisure activities than the other, but whereas French couples fitted in with the idea that women are more disadvantaged than men in the area of leisure (among couples where one partner was dominant in leisure, in 65.5% of cases this was the husband), the reverse was true in Britain, where in 78% of cases the dominant partner in leisure was the wife. This, however, may be due to the fact that French wives tended to work full-time, whereas British wives did not, and the latter would therefore in theory have more time available for leisure. The above data might appear to suggest the presence in the sample of couples who went their separate ways for leisure, but this was not the case, as only 10% of French and 7% of British couples said they did not share any leisure activity. The most common pattern in both countries was for husbands and wives to have some separate and some shared leisure activities (90% in Rambouillet and 80% in Bromsgrove) and times for doing them (57% of French and 70% of British couples had some joint and some separate periods of leisure time). It did however emerge that husbands and wives tended to be similar in where their leisure activities were done: 70% of French and 50% of British couples had a completely similar pattern of either staying within the home or going out, and where they did go outside the home for leisure (57% and 70% respectively). As mentioned above, due to domestic pressures, it is often claimed that women have to have more home-centred types of leisure interests. In this regard six types of couple emerged from the study (see Table 7.6), but British wives through their

Table 7.6

Leisure interests of couples

Leisure interest	Rambouillet		Bromsgrove	
	No.	%	No.	%
husband and wife are both totally home-centred in their leisure activities	3	10	1	3
husband and wife both have some home-centred leisure activities	14	47	13	44
neither husband nor wife has any home-centred leisure activities	7	23	6	20
husband only has home-centred leisure activities	3	10	-	-
wife only has home-centred leisure activities	3	10	10	33

responses, gave greater credence to this trend than did the French.

Chapter 8

MEMBERSHIP OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

Belonging to and participating in clubs and societies, usually classsified by sociologists as being a member of a voluntary organisation or association, is one way in which people can and do choose to spend part of their leisure time. As has been shown in the preceding chapter, both British and French sample groups included respondents who participated in voluntary associations. Kelly (1975) found that participating in a voluntary association ranked low in the highest twenty activities mentioned by his respondents and, in comparison with other types of leisure activity, this was the least popular in both countries in this study too.

Voluntary associations may vary considerably in size and type of membership, may cater for widely differing interests from painting to politics, may be based at a local or national level and may require a great deal or a very small amount of effort from participants. However the International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences (1968) suggests that all voluntary associations have three key elements: that a voluntary association is an organised group of persons formed to further some common interest of the members, in which membership is voluntary in that it is neither mandatory nor acquired through birth and that it exists independently of the State. Exceptions to this definition do occur where membership of a Union or

Professional Body may be a condition of employment or practice and hence not strictly voluntary, where someone may 'inherit' membership of a particular Church from his parents or where a voluntary association must register with the State.

Community sociologists, studies of social class and governmental statistics (eg. Bott, 1957; Stacey, 1960; Thorns, 1973; Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, 1974) have also underlined several other important features about voluntary associations: the fact that they lure people out of the home, for participation usually involves going out to some type of meeting or event; that in contrast to the view of the suburb often expressed, particularly by American sociologists such as Whyte and Mumford, as being: "peopled with anxious footloose migrants somehow keeping themselves to themselves and yet up with the Jones's" (Myrdal and Klein, 1968: 75), that voluntary associations are characteristic of the suburbs, where there are more of them and where the residents are more likely to participate than people who live in the city; that social class plays an influential rôle, the middle class being more likely both to join such associations and to assume positions of responsibility within them.

The explanation usually given for the prevalence of voluntary associations in the suburbs is that the suburbs are predominantly middle-class, that joining such associations is a way for the middle class to meet their own kind and to quickly establish

social contacts and friendships despite their mobility. Young and Willmott (1973) also suggest that many of the middle class join a particular association, such as a golf club, to deliberately further their career.

Nevertheless, the French lack of participation in voluntary associations throughout all social classes is well documented (eg. Lerner, 1956). Statistics produced in Pratiques Culturelles (1974: 319) showed that only 28% of all French people over the age of fifteen belonged to at least one voluntary association; this compares with a figure of 37% in Britain (Young and Willmott, 1973: 222). These figures together with the rate of 28% for 'cadres supérieurs' and 'professions libérales' in France (Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication, 1974: 319) and 58% for social classes I and II (Sillitoe, 1969: 57) seems to indicate that the French middle class are less likely to belong to a voluntary association than the British. Figures from the present study support this, at least for the particular section of the middle class under consideration: in comparison with 57% of British respondents, only 25% of French respondents claimed to belong to at least one voluntary association. However, it was interesting to note that where a French person belonged to a voluntary association at all, they were more likely than a British person, 53% compared with 35%, to belong to more than one. Although very few respondents in either country were in positions of responsibility within a voluntary association, the figures of 3% for respondents in Rambouillet and 12% in Bromsgrove again support the trend of previous figures in both

countries of 9.5% (Pratiques Culturelles, 1974: 319) and 16% (Young and Willmott, 1973: 222) for all social classes. However more of the French respondents tended to belong to associations where membership was restricted to a specific group within the population (73%) whereas the reverse was true for Britain (21%).

Lerner puts the lack of participation in France down firstly to the relative scarcity of voluntary associations in France, compared for example with the number in the United States, and secondly to the fact that he says the French are repelled by groupism, that the Frenchman guards his inner privacy and that he distrusts others. Several respondents in Rambouillet did in fact make comments which tended to follow this line of thinking. One husband, a 'conducteur de travaux' (Family 7) was extremely surprised that any French person had been found by the interviewer who did belong to a voluntary association and explained his own non-participation by saying:

le Français est individualiste. Il ne s'arrange pas facilement pour le loisir. (French people are individualists. They don't like to be organised in their free time.)

Although one might be tempted to assume that a contributory factor is that few voluntary associations exist in France, in Rambouillet at least, official lists showed the existence of a large and wide ranging selection of clubs and associations. Numbers were approximately equal in the two towns studied, 120 in Rambouillet and 116 in Bromsgrove. All kinds of interests from

gardeners to music lovers (see table 8.1) were catered for.

There were, however, differences in the number of clubs catering for particular broad areas in the two countries, most noteworthy there were just over twice as many clubs catering for sporting activities in Bromsgrove and the reverse for clubs catering for cultural interests in Rambouillet. In addition there were no clubs listed in Bromsgrove which catered for work or Ex-Service and military interests (see table 8.1).

Many community studies (eg. Stacey, 1960; Sillitoe, 1969) have tended to underline the importance of the Parent Teacher Association, church activities and Women's Clubs in the suburbs. Thorns (1973), however, in his study (although he found the Womens Institute was the most important association), did not find any one activity which stood out as the activity of the suburbs. In the present study, although the figure was twice as high in Britain, clubs catering for sporting activities were by far the most popular in both countries, the tennis club in Rambouillet, (35% of respondents) and the Squash Club in Bromsgrove (17% of respondents), these two being the only two associations with any real degree of popularity: significantly both of them were facilities for the 'fashionable' sport at the time of the interviews, in each respective country.

In his study, Thorns found that a total of thirty-four voluntary associations were mentioned by his respondents which had one of

Table 8.1

No. of Clubs and Associations in Rambouillet and Bromsgrove, by type, as listed in official town publications

	Rambouillet	Bromsgrove
Sport	24	52
Work related	9	-
Hobby	6	21
Political	8	5
Voluntary Work	37	25
Cultural	27	13
Ex-Service and Military	11	-
Total	122	116

Table 8.2

Voluntary Associations and their Base belonged to. by Respondents in Rambouillet and Bromsgrove

<u>Rambouillet</u>	<u>Local</u>	<u>Neighbouring City</u>	<u>National</u>
	Club de Tennis TAO Club d'Athlétisme Club de Gymnastique Club de Photographie Rambouillet Accueil	Discothèque Bibliothèque Club de Bridge	St. Cyriens (Anciens de St. Cyr)
<u>Bromsgrove</u>	National Housewives Register National Childbirth Trust P.T.A. Babysitting Circle Girls Brigade W.R.V.S. Twin Town Association Squash Club Badminton Club Walking Club Choir	Genealogical Society Cumbrian Society Midlands Biology Teachers Steam Enthusiasts Golf Club Sailing Club M.G. Car Club Sea Otters Diving Club	National Trust

three bases: the place where respondents lived; in neighbouring towns and cities; national associations. In the present study a total of thirty-two different voluntary associations were mentioned by respondents whose bases followed a similar pattern to the above (see table 8.2). Not surprisingly, in view of the greater number of British people who belonged to any voluntary association, the range there was twice as great, but in both towns the majority, 66% in Rambouillet and 65% in Bromsgrove, belonged solely to voluntary associations within the town i.e. their immediate locality.

It has already been mentioned that a feature of voluntary associational membership is that it draws the individual outside the home. In the same way that fewer of the French respondents tended to be drawn out in this way, if they did belong to a voluntary association, they were less likely to belong to associations which had their bases solely outside Rambouillet (only 6% of French participants compared with 23% of British).

Lerner comments on the fact that among the French middle class there were few parallels of clubs for men like the Rotary or the Lions and for women like the Parent Teacher Association (now statutory) and the Womens Institute, the latter because he claims: "Women remain firmly rooted in their primordial sex rôle." (1956: 190). Whilst there were in fact Rotary, Lions and Parent Teacher Associations in both Rambouillet and Bromsgrove, there were no womens' associations in Rambouillet corresponding to those in Bromsgrove. The only one which seemed to exist was

for widows (Association des Veuves Chefs de Famille).

The figures from this study tended to endorse Thorns' statement that on the basis of his research in Bristol and Nottingham:

... there is little to support the view that there is a marked association between involvement in organizations and living in the suburb. (1973: 136)

and fitted in with a picture of today's suburban man becoming increasingly privatised in his leisure time, i.e. that involvement in family and home-centred activities was greater than participation in organizations. This was, however, more marked in Rambouillet than in Bromsgrove and, as has been shown, there were differences between the two groups.

Despite the fact that in both towns, inhabitants appeared to have an equally wide range of voluntary associations available to them, this study supports the idea that the French are not a nation of 'joiners'. A possible explanation of the difference between the two groups may be the time factor. Many voluntary associational activities of necessity take place during weekday evenings, and as has been shown in an earlier chapter, although most families in both sample groups had at least one member who worked outside the town, the French sample tended to have a longer working day and arrived home much later in the evening, a distinct discouragement to weekday evening activities outside the home. An additional factor may lie in the early socialisation pattern of children in France. There children's relationships

tend to be more limited to other family members and relatives and outsiders are not encouraged. Although there did not seem to be any marked 'activity of the suburbs' it was interesting to note, in the middle class fashion the most popular club in each country was the one connected with the 'fashionable' sporting activity of that country.

Chapter 9

HOLIDAYS

Holidays constitute a major 'block' of leisure time and, since they are usually a time when all the family is together, provide a good example of the family as a leisure unit. Holiday time can be spent at home, but one of the major ways in which people use this leisure time is to go away from home. Definitions used by official statistical organisations of what constitutes going away on holiday are similar in both France and Britain: for example that of the British Travel Association: "a period of four or more nights away from home which is considered by the respondent to be a holiday" (King and Rayner 1981: 180) and that of the INSEE "... un déplacement d'au moins quatre jours consécutifs en dehors de son domicile..." (a period of at least four consecutive days away from home) (1978: 15).

Although, as has already been shown in Chapter 5, it appears there are differences on paper in the amount of paid holiday entitlement in the two countries, the French enjoying more than the British, there was, however, not a great deal of difference between the length of paid annual leave of the families interviewed in Rambouillet and Bromsgrove. None had less than four weeks per annum and nearly half in each country had six weeks or more.

Existing studies do also tend to suggest that some similar

patterns exist in both France and Britain: that it is the block of free time that people would most like to see extended (eg. Alexandre, 1980; Dower et al., 1981) that there are regional differences, with people living in large urban conurbations going away more; that there are social class differences, with the middle class enjoying a greater paid holiday entitlement, going away more often and for longer periods, having more holiday facilities at their disposal and having particular preferences for certain types of holiday and accommodation (eg. Le Point, 7/11/77; Economie et Statistique, June 1978; L'Expansion, 18/4 - 8/5/80; Roberts, 1970; King and Rayner, 1981; Charlot, 1979).

Obviously, whether a family goes away on holiday or not depends to a great extent on its resources: i.e. whether they can afford to go away, or if there is a relative's house where they can stay. But, another perhaps equally important factor is how important going away is to the individual. If going away on holiday is of paramount importance to the family, then they will make sure they go away somehow, and it is here that previous research and traditionally held stereotypes tend to indicate that there may be some differences between France and Britain. The traditional view of central Paris as being totally deserted by the French during July and August and inhabited by foreign tourists, although a perhaps somewhat exaggerated one, is well known. Ardagh contrasts this with the situation in central London where: "... many of us work peaceably through all the dog-days of summer, in Paris by the end of June people are talking of

nothing but 'les vacances' and their irritation with the city has grown visibly near breaking point" (1977: 430).

National surveys of French holiday patterns and especially those of the middle class (eg. Alexandre, 1980; Sales, 1977) indicate that going away on holiday is so important to the French that they think about this much of the rest of the year and work so hard only in order that they can go away on holiday. This determination to take the annual holiday away from home is a major influence on the numbers of women working. Perhaps Ardagh is right when he suggests that: "holidays have become a major national obsession" (1977: 410). The situation may not be so extreme in Britain, however, although the DART study emphasises the place of holidays in people's lives: "our study indicated that having a holiday was very important to people's level of satisfaction" (1981: 4), as stated in New Society, when asked to list their life values in order of importance, the British ranked holidays as only nineteenth out of a list of twenty-three; in other words holiday, in company with entertainment and sport, were "also-rans" (The way we are now, 1982: 104).

Further differences in national attitudes towards holidays are perhaps indicated by the obviously greater degree of importance of holidays in the eyes of French Trade Unions and pressure groups, whose main efforts have been directed to getting longer paid holidays and the length of the working week reduced. In addition the extent of governmental and official intervention in

an attempt to provide holidays for all is remarkable: this appears to stem from an expectation on the part of the general public that having a holiday is a right and that Government should do something about it. In France during the school holidays government, local authorities and firms are active in sponsoring 'centres de vacances' (holiday centres for children) and great efforts have been made in the area of 'social tourism' in recent years by the creation of cheap holiday villages and hostels in deserted rural areas. The British public cannot be said to have equal expectations of always going away on holiday, neither, despite the existence of British 'holiday camps', do attempts at social tourism exist on such a grand scale, although as Rapoport et al. may be correct in suggesting, in Britain: "The reality as well as the idea of a paid holiday as a right rather than a privilege has been established" (1975: 1).

As might be expected from previous studies of middle class lifestyle, going away on holiday was very important to the vast majority of respondents in both Rambouillet and Bromsgrove, but also in line with the above discussion, it was more important in Rambouillet (93% of respondents) than in Bromsgrove (73% of respondents). People may say that the idea of a holiday or of going away is important to them, but how does this compare with reality i.e. how many people do actually go away, how many holidays do they take in a year and when and where ?

Ardagh (1977) mentions the post-war growth in tourism, but says

this is not confined to France and indeed statistics indicate that the number of people of all social classes going away on holiday at least once a year has increased in both countries since that period, eg. during the Sixties to Seventies from 64.1% to 73.6% in Britain (Charlot, 1979) and in France from 44% to 53% (L'Expansion, 1980). These figures also lend support to Ardagh's view and are consistent with the findings of Madge and Willmott's study of districts in London and Paris, that the number of people who take holidays away from home is still lower in France than in Britain. These figures do include all social categories, but according to L'Expansion there are three social categories, all sections of the middle-class, in which more people than average go away; eg. in 1977 90% of professions libérales (the professional classes) and cadres supérieurs (top management), 80% of cadres moyens (middle management) and 65% of employeurs (employers) (an average of 78%) compared with the national average of 53%. This compares with the British figures for the same year for social classes AB of 73% (King and Rayner 198) compared with the national average of 60% (Great Britain Central Statistical Office, 1979: 178). The respondents in Rambouillet and Bromsgrove corresponded to this pattern, indeed the figures were slightly higher, such that 94% and 79% of respondents had been away on holiday at least once during the last year. These figures support the view that it is the middle class who are more likely to go away on holiday in both countries than other social groups, but this trend was more marked in France than in Britain.

Rapoport et al. (1975) are of the opinion that a saturation point seemed to have been reached by the early 1960's, i.e. the total number of people who were likely to go away on holiday at all did so, and any increase since then has been due to those already going away taking a second or even a third holiday, for example from 1971 to 1975 the percentage taking two or more holidays away from home had risen from 14% to 23% (Charlot 1979). Comparative figures for 1977 (Great Britain Central Statistical Office, 1978; Anfré et al., 1978) suggest that for the middle class this trend is more marked too in France than in Britain, for whereas only 33% of British social class AB took more than one holiday away from home in that year, the average number for French 'professions libérales', (the professional classes) and 'cadres supérieurs', (top management) and 'moyens', (middle management) was 2.12 holidays per annum. In the present study however, no family was accustomed to going away on holiday more than twice a year, and whereas the Bromsgrove respondents compared favourably with the national figures above, 33% regularly taking two holidays per year, only 27% in Rambouillet did so.

National attitudes to 'holidays' appears to vary significantly between France and Britain. It is suggested that, in Britain, holidays have become victims of the recession: "When people are out of work, they cut back on inessentials ... even when people are in work they may not be able to afford a proper holiday" (The Joy Machine, 1982: 283). It is further suggested that people are not taking a long holiday and turning to the weekend break. The

present study, however, indicates that it may be the working class rather than the middle class who are the main sufferers. No such similar trend appears to be commented on in France, rather the reverse, in that people, and particularly the middle-classes, are now beginning to take weekend breaks in addition to their main holiday(s). Indeed the pattern in both Rambouillet and Bromsgrove was for respondents to regularly go away for the weekend; but the lower figure of 57% in Rambouillet, compared with 73% in Bromsgrove can perhaps be explained by the relatively recent establishment of a weekend-break tradition in France.

The huge growth in holidays abroad during the Sixties and Seventies due to the introduction of relatively cheap package holidays has been underlined in both France and Britain (eg. Ardagh, 1977; Charlot, 1979). Ardagh comments on how the French who: "hitherto ... have always seemed a sedentary people" (1977: 450) are now smitten with a new restlessness. This restlessness does not take the people very far, it seems, for as in Britain (see INSEE and Social Trends) most holidaymakers remain within their own country for their main holiday; in 1979 80% of all British and 81% of all French holidays were taken within their respective countries. This trend applied too to those who did go abroad for their holiday as, in the same year, the preferred foreign countries for British holidaymakers were, in order, Spain, France and Italy, and 73% of French holidaymakers who visited other countries stayed within Europe. Although it is the middle classes who are the most likely to venture outside the boundaries of their own country, on the whole they too seemed to

prefer to remain on the spot: in 1979 77% remained in France and 74% in Britain, the seaside being the most popular destination for both groups. This was the exact trend in the present study too, where the majority of families in both countries had taken their last main holiday within their own country, but more British families than French had been abroad, the search for better weather was perhaps a factor here, especially as the seaside was the most popular destination.

It has already been mentioned that actual physical facilities, i.e. having at one's disposal somewhere to stay for holidays, play an important part in an individual's decision to go away. Many studies (eg. Roussel, 1976; Pitrou, 1978) have underlined the particularly French traditions of taking holidays with members of their extended family in a family-owned property, and the growth in middle class ownership of a 'résidence secondaire' (holiday homes), and these factors may well have an influence on the numbers of French who do go away. Not surprisingly therefore, in the present study nearly twice as many French families (53%) as British (27%) had somewhere to stay for a holiday freely available to them. Interestingly however, whilst there was no difference in the numbers owning a holiday cottage (10% in each country), the familial tendencies of the French were again underlined, 37% of families in Rambouillet having a family-owned property available to them as opposed to only 7% in Bromsgrove and this was where the real difference between the two groups lay. A further difference between France and Britain,

underlined by the studies mentioned earlier, is the status of camping and caravanning holidays. In France, these tend to be more of a working class preserve (unlike in Britain), and the figures from the present study tended to support this, as only 6% of French families compared with 10% of British owned camping or caravanning equipment, although of course possession does not imply use.

A number of factors help to determine when a family goes away on holiday, and indeed in France the Government has recently attempted to steer people away from the traditional holiday months of July and August. 90% of each sample group felt there were some constraints upon their choice of holiday time. The same four factors emerged in each country: work influences, children, climate and crowds. It was interesting to note that the relative importance of these factors tallied with the central life interest most often mentioned in each country. Thus work factors were felt to be by far the most important influences in France, (40%) with family factors (eg. children's school holidays etc.) coming well behind (20%), whereas in Britain these two factors ranked equally (23%). The other two factors, climate and crowds, ranked equally in each country (13%) and (10%) respectively. Obviously therefore it appeared that in the case of holidays at least the main force seen by the individual as motivating his life was affecting his leisure.

Nevertheless people do tend to be conservative as to the time when they go away, and the two groups interviewed proved to be no

exception, but the French were more inclined to be so, 97% always taking their main holiday at the same time of year, compared with 82% of British. The French tradition of the long July/August holiday is an obvious influence here and, not surprisingly, whilst most families in each country took their main holiday during this period, more French (67%) than British (40%) did so. For those who took two main holidays per annum two patterns emerged: those who went away in summer and winter (13% in each country) and those who went away in June and September (10% in each country).

Thus it emerged that whilst both groups tended to be representative of 'expected middle class behaviour', going away on holiday did appear to be more important to the French, both in their thinking and in their actual behaviour. Traditions commented on by previous writers as being particularly French, such as going away during July/August for a long holiday and extended family holidays, were also underlined by the present study. This type of leisure at least appeared to be subject to the influence of the individual's main central life interest and a similar tendency to that concerning the arrangement of leisure time (discussed in Chapter 5) is now discernible in respect of each country's holiday patterns: the British prefer to split up their holidays, going away for weekends and dividing up their available weeks throughout the year, rather than taking them all at one time in a main block of holiday.

Chapter 10

SATISFACTION WITH LEISURE

It is suggested in Chapter 5 that many respondents had little available leisure time; from Chapter 6 it appears that leisure was not of central importance in the lives of most; work and family commitments took greater precedence. However, Chapter 7 demonstrates that all respondents appeared to participate to a greater or lesser degree, and each individual's activities were diverse, if not numerous. Individual or family pursuits were more popular than associational activities, and great importance appeared to be attached to reserving a major block of leisure time for holidays. According to the DART study "leisure is a major area for satisfaction in people's lives" (1981: 2), but was this so for the respondents in the present study in view of the opinions they expressed about the place of leisure in their lives? Were they satisfied with their present leisure patterns or would they really have liked leisure to play a greater part in their lives?

A number of questions designed to find out how satisfied respondents were with their leisure were included in the questionnaire. Respondents were asked whether they would like more free time and when they would like it; whether there were any leisure activities they would like to do more of, or would like to do but could not do and about any constraints they felt affected their leisure. They were also asked about their

preferences regarding where they spent their leisure time and about any changes they would like to see in the range of leisure activities available locally.

Two suggestions came from the questions designed to find out how satisfied respondents were with the amount of leisure time they had and what they did; firstly in both of these areas respondents were not satisfied with their present lifestyle, and secondly French respondents were less satisfied than British. Of those who worked full-time, i.e. those who in theory would have the least time available for leisure pursuits, all would have liked more free time. From the discussion in Chapter 5 it appeared that the French tended to have larger blocks of free time, eg. holidays, at intervals throughout the year whilst the British tended to have a more broadly spread pattern. This was obviously a source of dissatisfaction for French respondents, as 62% of them would have liked more free time in the evenings, whereas British respondents would also have liked more free time, but no particular time predominated.

When asked if there was any leisure activity they would like to do that they did not do at present, the majority of respondents replied positively and a wide range of leisure activities were mentioned (see Appendix 12 for a full list and grouping). Again however, French respondents appeared more dissatisfied as only 6.7% of them were content with their present leisure activities compared with 33.3% of British. It was interesting to note that

in common with the leisure activities which respondents already reported doing, sporting activities were by far the most popular activities that they would like to do (see Table 10.1). A further interesting point to note here is that these are activities which involve going out of the home and that activities based in the home were the least popular in each country, indicating perhaps that, in contrast to the view of modern man as a privatised being, which is often quoted and presented by the media, people would like to get out of their homes more often for leisure if they could. From Table 10.1 it can be seen that there were two activities in particular which were ranked differently by French and British respondents: 'entertainment' and 'any other leisure activity at all'. Entertainment included such activities as going out to restaurants and theatres etc. and was more often mentioned by British respondents, although it was nevertheless ranked as third choice in France, and, doing any other leisure activity at all was more often mentioned by French respondents. This is perhaps due to the fact that in comparison with the British sample, the French were relatively 'deprived' in the number of leisure activities they did, so provided they could do something else, they did not mind what it was. In addition, since 'eating out' is a more common practice in France than in Britain, this could account for the relatively large number of British respondents who said they would like to do more of this type of activity.

Respondents were also asked where they preferred to spend their leisure time, at home or outside their home. Over half the

Table 10.1

Types of leisure activities respondents would like to do

Type of Activity	Rambouillet N = 56		Type of Activity	Bromsgrove N = 40	
	No.	%		No.	%
1. sport	48	86	1. sport	18	45
2. hobby)	8	14	2. entertainment	11	27.5
3. entertainment)			3. hobby	9	22.5
4. cultural	4	7	4. any other activity	3	7.5
5. any other activity	2	3	5. home-based	2	2.5

respondents in each country had a definite preference as to where they spent their leisure time, but more British respondents (48%) than French (32%) did not mind. Of those who did have a definite preference, in both countries there was an almost equal division between those who preferred to stay at home and those who preferred to go outside their home. Respondents were then asked where they preferred to go when they did spend their leisure time outside their home, in their home town or further afield. Opinions were far more definite here again, especially so among French respondents with only 24% saying they had no particular preference, compared with 35% of British. Although some people said it was easier for a variety of reasons just to stay in Rambouillet or Bromsgrove, it appears that when respondents did go out for leisure they very definitely preferred to look beyond the facilities their home-town had to offer; apparently this was mainly because they felt that their home-town did not possess a wide enough range of activities. This trend was more evident in Britain (85% of respondents) than in France (63% of respondents), indicating that when people did make the effort to go out, then they would rather travel a certain distance for activities which were either not on offer or superior to those available locally. Whilst it is difficult as an observer not living in a particular town to make a judgment on the quality or quantity of local leisure facilities, as has been mentioned earlier, the two towns possess a reasonably similar range of facilities, a factor which might again point to the British being less privatised than the French. On the other hand, as shown in Chapter 5, since the

French travelled further to get to work, it might just be that once they got home they might prefer to stay there and indeed the comment:

je suis fatigué par mon travail ... je préfère rester à la maison ... on est bien chez soi (I'm tired after work. I prefer to stay at home. It's nice at home).
(Husband, Chef Technicien, Family 12)

expressed a sentiment common among French respondents.

Hillman and Whalley discuss the multitude of constraints on leisure: "... lack of time, opportunity, mobility and so on ..." (1977: 98) and the DART Study suggests that: "... many people are beset by constraints and inhibitions which keep them from using available opportunities" and that:

they may lack money. They may be immobilised by illness, disability or lack of transport; heavily committed to work or family or domestic duties or constrained by difficulties of language, or by religious or ethnic customs, or inhibited by shyness, diffidence or fears of physical violence. (1981: 4-5)

Despite the preferences expressed above by respondents as to where they spent their leisure time, in this study it seemed that comments in the DART study were reinforced. Most respondents in both countries who were dissatisfied with their present leisure patterns felt that there was some external constraint or constraints which exercised a direct effect on their leisure. These constraints were of six types (see table 10.2) but again more French respondents (94%) than British (67%) felt that there

Table 10.2

Factors mentioned by respondents as constraints on their leisure in order of importance

Factor	Rambouillet N = 56		Factor	Bromsgrove N = 40	
	No	%		No	%
1. time	32	59	1. family	17	43
2. family	13	24	2. time	10	25
3. work	3	6	3. work	6	15
4. physical constraints (eg. illness)	3	6	4. cost	4	10
5. cost	2	3	5. lack of facilities	3	7
6. lack of facilities	1	2			

were constraints on their leisure.

Table 10.2 indicates that the same constraints, except for physical constraints among British respondents, were mentioned and that the three most important, time, family and work, were the same in both countries, although these factors were ranked differently. Among French respondents, time was felt to be the major constraint upon their leisure, like for example the French husband (Family 6) an employee of the Météorologie Nationale who said:

la plus grande contrainte... c'est le manque de temps... c'est donc difficile de choisir entre les différents loisirs (the biggest constraint is lack of time. It's consequently very difficult to choose which leisure activity to do).

The major constraint was family influences of various kinds among British respondents, such as the British wife (Family 51) who said she would like to paint but couldn't because: "my husband thinks I'm stupid". From data previously discussed, lack of time obviously was a major constraint upon French respondents' leisure which, because of work factors, they could do little to alter. However, as the family proved to be the central life interest for the majority of British respondents, the question is raised as to whether this was in a sense a self-imposed constraint. This certainly appeared to be the case for some, if not all, respondents like the housewife (Family 47) who was a keen squash player but said she could not play at the time because of:

having to leave Eleanor (her 19 month old). I think there's a crèche there but I haven't really investigated it.

A further method of gaining some idea of a person's general satisfaction with his leisure patterns suggested by the DART study is to ask him about the leisure opportunities in his area:

in order to understand people's interests and the activity opportunities they need for fulfilling them, it is important to know what environmental settings mean to people, and also how they define leisure and recreational places. (1981: 49)

There are however difficulties in doing this as the DART study comments:

local areas or environments are difficult to define. People have different views of what is 'local', ... it may encompass areas many miles away. (1981: 49)

Consequently in the present study, since both estates were right on the outskirts of the town (a distinction was drawn between estate and town i.e. immediate locality and further away), respondents were asked firstly to name the leisure facilities they were aware of in the area of their estate and secondly those they were aware of in the town itself. The comments above about different views of what is 'local' were in fact borne out among British respondents, as there was a Squash Club right on the edge of the estate between it and the town, and whilst most people considered this as being part of the town's leisure facilities,

eight respondents considered it as being part of the estate's facilities.

While French respondents were better informed about facilities in their immediate neighbourhood, the British were better informed about facilities in their town, again supporting the trend previously mentioned that British respondents were accustomed to going a further distance from their home for leisure. (See Table 10.3, and for a full list of facilities, see Appendices 12 and 13).

Respondents were on the whole well informed about their local facilities, which must indicate a certain interest in leisure, to the extent of what is available, even if the facilities are not used. This in fact tended to be the case as, although in both countries more respondents used the facilities in their town than on their estates, even these were not generally 'well' used by the respondents in the study. This was especially true in France where 75% of respondents said they never used the leisure facilities on their estate compared with 57% of British respondents and 58% and 30% respectively said they never used the leisure facilities in their town.

In view of this it was interesting to note that respondents did however say they were on the whole satisfied with what there was available, the French (76%) more so than the British (52%). This perhaps suggests that, because respondents knew what was available and thus said they were satisfied because there did

Table 10.3

No. of leisure facilities mentioned by respondents on their estate and in their town

	<u>Estate</u>		<u>Town</u>	
	Rambouillet N = 60	Bromsgrove N = 60	Rambouillet N = 60	Bromsgrove N = 60
No.			No.	
0	-	13	2	2
1	17	34	9	8
2	11	10	20	19
3	18	3	14	13
4	9	-	10	8
5 or more	5	-	5	10

Table 10.4

Type of local leisure facilities respondents were not satisfied, in order

Facility	Rambouillet N = 14		Facility	Bromsgrove N = 29	
	No.	%		No.	%
1. cultural	10	71	1. cultural	17	59
2. sporting	4	29	2. shopping	10	34
			3. sporting	4	7

appear to be a reasonably wide range on offer. However if they actually did make use of the facilities, then they might not be quite so satisfied when they found out what they were really like. For those who were not satisfied with their local leisure facilities (see Table 10.4), cultural facilities eg. theatres, cinemas, concerts were felt to be most lacking in both countries. Unlike the British, where this was seen as quite important, the French did not spontaneously mention shopping as leisure, and lack of a local branch of Marks & Spencer was a common complaint among British respondents.

Although leisure did not appear to be a major area of importance in the lifestyles of those interviewed, in both countries the majority of respondents were not satisfied with their present leisure patterns and would have liked more leisure time and to do more leisure activities. This was more true of French respondents and data indicated that they did in fact have less free time and do fewer leisure activities than the British. Both groups of respondents felt that there were constraints on their leisure, but whereas that of time was seen as the most important in France, the major constraint in Britain was the family. All data tended to indicate that as regards leisure preferences the French were more firmly fixed to their home base than the British, preferring to remain closer to home for their leisure activities and being more aware of what was available for leisure in their immediate locality.

CONCLUSION

The purpose of the thesis has been to increase the amount of understanding and add to knowledge concerning leisure patterns in France and Great Britain, using the middle-class family as the vehicle. Four aims of this comparative study were set out at the beginning of the thesis together with five established premises about middle-class leisure behaviour and three new hypotheses which were to be tested, and these will now be reconsidered in the light of the research findings.

Chapter 1, which compared the French and British sociological literature relating to leisure, and to leisure and the middle-class family, sought to address part of the first aim, that of identifying and underlining similarities and differences between the French and British sociological approaches to the study of leisure and determining to what extent these can be explained in terms of the institutional structures and patterns of each society. It also sought thereby to address the third aim, that of bringing to the attention of French sociologists and British sociologists respectively an area of each country's research which, apart from a very few studies, is not widely known in the other country.

By means of this comparison of the literature, the author was able to identify many differences of academic approach to the sociological study of leisure in France and Britain, though some similarities were also observed. The literature comparison indicated that there were similarities as to the date when the area became established as an area of sociological concern in its

own right, i.e. comparatively recently in both countries. There are further similarities too, which the author suggests are characteristic of the sociology of leisure as a whole and not just of leisure sociology in France and Britain, because many are weaknesses of the field. These similarities lie in the themes which have been addressed and the fact that much information about leisure behaviour has been derived from secondary sources.

Similar criticisms can be applied to the sociology of leisure in both countries: that leisure has too seldom been studied as a specific phenomenon has led to a lack of basic theory; that despite a great deal of work, and although there is now greater agreement, there is still no generally accepted definition of what 'leisure' is; that studies are often repetitious and offer few bases for comparison, a fact which was brought home to the author when she was trying to compare existing figures about leisure behaviour in France and Britain and which causes the field often to be labelled 'confused' and 'controversial'. Also revealed was the fact that, apart from the few works available in English translations mentioned on page 7, French sociological works on leisure are not widely known in Britain and vice-versa, a fact which the author suggests may be due to some extent to parochialism, but more particularly to the language barrier. Further, whilst there have been studies of the French by the British and vice-versa which include references to leisure behaviour, there have been few comparative studies of other French and British social institutions which refer to leisure and none which explore this area as their main theme.

However the differences between the two countries revealed by the comparison can be summarised as the fact that the sociology of leisure occupies a more respectable place within the French social sciences than it does in Britain, that it forms a more coherent body of research in France than in Britain and that in France the emphasis placed on and preference shown for some themes and research methods rather than for others differs from that in Britain. The explanation for this lies in the different traditions of each country; the more closely knit organisation and style of research in France and the fact that the sociology of the leisure sprang from different origins in each country, from the sociology of work in industrial society in France and from the pressure on recreation resources in Britain, a fact which has doubtless influenced the ensuing themes studied and research methods adopted.

Although, as discussed in the Introduction, cross-national research is a worthwhile and useful research method, in comparison with other methods, it has not tended to be a popular one. This is due in no small measure to the particular problems it involves, and the difficulties in resolving them have often brought criticisms as to the comparability of the methods used and phenomena studied. The fourth aim of the study was to document and analyse some of these.

The second Chapter of the thesis set out to do this, using the empirical study as a framework. A formidable list of problems which can confront the researcher proposing to embark on a piece

of cross-national work emerged. First and foremost as in single-nation studies too, time and money can act as powerful constraints on the researcher because these are usually limited and if they have run out, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to carry the study to a successful conclusion. Consequently, as in this research, these factors can serve to influence the type and size of study to be carried out. Language can be another problem. If the aim of study is to compare two countries which speak different languages, then language can prove a major problem. If the researcher is not a competent speaker of all the study languages himself, his only alternative is to find someone who can carry out the research for him, which can introduce its own problems of bias and misunderstanding. Herein lies the explanation for the large proportion of cross-national studies between countries which speak the same language. Whether the researcher carries out the research himself or not, the problem of finding suitable and willing participants, can be particularly acute, as cultural differences relating to the subjects people are readily prepared to be interviewed about can vary considerably from one country to another. In some countries the subject of the current study, the family, is sacrosanct, whereas in others, people are more readily prepared to admit strangers to their family, and this can drastically affect the success of the study. Such cultural differences can also affect the validity and comparability of secondary data because it has been gathered in a different way and from a different viewpoint (for example, as mentioned in the Introduction, in the case of the present study the different definitions of what officially

constitutes a 'family' used in France and Great Britain).

Despite the existence of these problems it was argued that cross-national study is a worthwhile method of research, for by examining the ways in which other countries do things and think about them, we can learn a great deal. It was further argued that, in addition to looking at statistics and theories, one must also look behind them to discover fully where the nature and extent of the differences between countries lie. Szalai's study of time use in twelve countries (1972) exemplified but did not attempt to explain this, for whilst his research did indeed show amazing similarities in daily life, it also pointed to certain idiosyncratic differences between the countries. It is also well illustrated if we take a simple example from the two countries which are the subject of the present study. A textbook may show that most French and British men spend a great deal of their spare time doing sporting activities. However if we do not know that what the French are doing is playing 'boules', whilst the British are playing cricket, the reason being that each is a national sport of the particular country, we are not getting a true picture of leisure behaviour in each country. With this in mind the first aim of the study, in addition to addressing the academic approach, was also to identify similarities and differences between France and Britain in actual leisure behaviour and attitudes towards leisure within middle-class families and to determine to what extent these could be explained in terms of the institutional structures and patterns of the society. To this end Chapters 4 to 10 of the thesis examined

five areas of leisure behaviour and attitudes, using the data from the empirical study supported by relevant literature.

Chapter 3 confirmed that, as one might reasonably expect, families who lived in private estate housing, of fairly recent construction, in suburban towns within easy commuting distance of large cities, possessed certain basic characteristics which were similar, despite differences in cultural context, since the choice, or, more significantly, the ability to choose such an environment as a place to live is indicative of a certain high-status type of lifestyle and social characteristics. The author was able to suggest that the differences that did emerge between the two groups of families could be put down to differing French and British social and institutional patterns relating to house ownership, governmental policy and social attitudes concerning children and childcare, for example the negligible amount of 'education for leisure' provided in French schools compared with that in Britain.

A similar situation proved to extend to their actual leisure behaviour and attitudes to leisure. Chapter 5 underlined the fact that it is difficult to quantify the amount of leisure time an individual has because the boundaries of what constitutes leisure are so often imprecise for particular groups in society and in the case of certain specific activities. Using a residual definition however, an attempt was made to quantify non-work time for those in the sample who were in full-time paid employment. In line with the official statistics quoted, access to leisure

time appeared to be more or less similar in both countries throughout a year, due, it was suggested, to the similarity in occupational status of the French and British respondents. It was in the structure of leisure time where the difference between the countries lay. French leisure was structured in 'blocks' i.e. long periods of work and long periods of leisure (holidays), a pattern which derives from the French tradition of a long working day and long holidays. British respondents on the other hand had a more 'fragmented' pattern, i.e. leisure time was more evenly distributed throughout the year (evenings, weekend and shorter holiday periods). Nevertheless, although more markedly in France, leisure time, apart from holidays, did tend to be focussed on the weekend since weekday evening leisure was at a premium for both groups. Did this differently structured pattern of leisure time cause the French and British respondents to use that time differently?

Chapters 7 to 9 indicated that French and British respondents displayed many similar trends in all three areas of leisure behaviour examined, and the data tended to support existing studies of middle-class leisure behaviour, which have been referred to throughout the thesis. Similarities emerged in the number of leisure activities, the relative popularity of particular activities, the place where these were done, in leisure companions both for individuals, couples and whole families, in holiday patterns and in voluntary associational participation. These trends, however, masked some interesting differences which call for comment. In every aspect of leisure

the French were more home and family centred than the British and supported the idea of the 'privatized' family. The author suggests that the explanation for this lies in more than one factor. There has traditionally been a greater emphasis on the family unit in all aspects of everyday life in France, which obviously still persists. In addition and perhaps more influentially among the particular groups in this sample, the individual who works full-time, has a long journey to work and a long working day does not usually have either the time or the inclination to stir far from his home when once he returns to it. Following this argument, then, as more of the French sample fitted this description, the trend is self-explanatory.

Although the British sample may simply have been more leisure oriented than the French, the author suggests that work-related factors may play a part in explaining other differences in leisure behaviour between the two groups. British respondents appeared to be more leisure-minded than French in the sense that they did more leisure activities and quoted a wider range of them among their interests. The author suggests however, that it was not that the French were un-interested in leisure, it was rather the fact that their work commitments limited their time and their energy so that they tended to opt for activities which could be done virtually at any time, alone, and with little or no preparation, which, of course, tends to restrict their range and number. Although different types of leisure activities were mentioned by respondents in each country, except for one activity in France, 'vélo' (cycling), which is a national sport, and one

activity in Britain, squash, which was only just beginning to be available as a leisure activity in France, differences could be put down to individual taste and inclination, rather than national differences.

A further difference emerged, in that, whereas in France, in accordance with the traditional view expressed (eg. ^{by} Edgell 1980), that it is the husband who is the dominant partner where leisure is concerned, the reverse was true in Britain. This could perhaps be put down to work related factors too: since more women in the Rambouillet sample than in the Bromsgrove sample worked and did so full-time, their leisure time would be reduced even further by the demands of household chores, although the British figures may simply exemplify the trend underlined by Strelitz (1981) as a new and increasing phenomenon in Britain.

The factors, underlined in the above paragraph, may also help to explain the non-existence of Womens' Associations in France parallel to those in Britain. Chapter 8 commented that voluntary associational activities were not a popular way of spending leisure time in comparison with other types of activity for either group and suggested that the French sample fitted in with traditional stereotypes regarding their associational behaviour. They were far less likely to belong to or to hold a position of responsibility within a voluntary association than were the British. Again work related factors such as time and fatigue may help to explain this trend, but from the comments of respondents together with their preference for home-centred activities, the author derived the impression that the real explanation lay more

in their national trait of individualism i.e. that the French do not tend to be attracted to group activities.

Similarities emerged in the way respondents defined leisure and they demonstrated at first hand the difficulty of finding a generally agreed upon definition of the term. Whilst most respondents in each country defined leisure in the same way, there were also others who underlined different factors by their definitions. Husbands and wives tended to share a similar view of leisure; leisure did not appear to be a major area of importance in people's lives; respondents had definite preferences about where they spent their leisure time; most of them were ~~dis~~satisfied with their present leisure patterns and the factors which they felt constrained their leisure were similar.

The two groups differed, however, in the greater number of people in Britain who did not differentiate leisure from work. This, it is suggested, is due not to national differences, but to the fact that there were a larger number of housewives and members of the caring professions, for whom the boundaries between work and leisure are less marked, in the British sample. Although leisure was not an area of central importance in respondents' lives, it counted more as a central life interest on its own or in combination among the French. Why is this so? It is perhaps due to the French obsession with their holidays, which, for many of those interviewed, appeared to represent the main block of leisure time in the year, and which, because of the traditional French attitudes outlined in Chapter 9, they felt were of great

importance to them, thus bringing leisure into the arena as a central life interest. Perhaps for the British on the other hand, as leisure was more a part of everyday life, it did not rate as being of sufficient importance to be considered a central life interest.

The fact that French respondents were less satisfied with their current leisure patterns than the British, it is suggested, is also a consequence of their work patterns, for in comparison with British respondents they were relatively 'deprived' in terms of leisure. A different factor in each country was cited by respondents as being the greatest constraint on their leisure. This was time in France, again a consequence of work patterns, and in Britain it was the family. However, in view of the extent to which the family was quoted as being a central life interest by British respondents, the question arises as to whether this was merely a pretext or a self-imposed constraint?

In view of the lack of comparative studies on leisure in France and Britain, it was decided to test five established premises about middle-class leisure behaviour and three new hypotheses. Although Chapters 4 to 10 of the thesis have already broached these, they will now be briefly readdressed individually.

The data from the study did tend to support the first of these premises, that consumption of leisure by the middle-class is relatively heavy in the sense that they do many leisure activities. Although the number of leisure activities that each respondent claimed to do regularly ranged from none to nine, 60%

of French respondents and 81% of British claimed that there were four to five leisure activities that they did regularly.

It is felt that the second premise, that most leisure time is spent at home with other family members, also tended to be supported by the data, although this trend was more marked in France than in Britain. 21% of French respondents and 12% of British said all their leisure activities took place within the home, and a further 51% of French and 53% of British respondents said their leisure activities took place both within and outside the home. 17.5% of French respondents and 8% of British said that their only leisure companions were other family members, and a further 73.5% of French and 87% of British, regularly did some leisure activities with other family members.

The data did not support the third premise, that the main activity within the home is watching television, as only 16% of French respondents and 6% of British said that this was one of their leisure activities. Although watching television was ranked the eighth and sixteenth most popular activity by French and British respondents respectively, in France reading (45%), DIY (28.5%), listening to the radio (27%) and gardening (21%), all home-based activities, were more popular. In Britain the home-based activities, reading (20%), gardening (19%), DIY (8%) were more popular. It must be said, however, that getting respondents to say that watching television is a leisure activity does pose problems, either because people may not want to admit they do, or because it is such a commonplace activity that people do not think it worth mentioning as a separate leisure

activity. It may therefore be that many respondents did this activity, but for one reason or another did not include it on their list.

It was possible to test the fourth premise, that it is at the weekend that people are most likely to go outside the home for leisure, and that even when they do, they rarely go far from home, by the data on family activities, and this tended to support the trend. The weekend was the main time for family activities (60% in France and 73% in Britain). 80% of families in France and all in Britain nearly always did these activities outside the home and usually not far from home (86% in France and 80% in Britain).

The final premise, that people tend to take one or two holidays away from home in a year, was also supported by the data. The trend was slightly stronger among French respondents as 94% of them compared with 80% of British respondents followed this pattern.

The first additional hypothesis, that leisure is an important area of life was not supported by the data in either country, nor did the data suggest any tendency towards this trend. Chapter 6 showed that leisure as a sole central life interest came a very poor third, although it was more important to the French sample. Although respondents in both countries were very willing to discuss their leisure as being a part, but not an overwhelmingly important one, of everyday life, it ranked well behind work (28%) and family life in France (27%), and family life (62%) and work

(12%) in Britain.

The second additional hypothesis, that several broad styles of leisure can be identified, which are similar in both societies in so far as leisure behaviour is concerned, was addressed in Chapter 7, by looking at family activities and the leisure activities of both husbands and wives together. Three types of family were identified in terms of where they did their family activities: those who were always based in their home town, those who were never based in their home town and those who varied their pattern. Four types of family emerged in this respect, some of whom are exemplified by the Case Studies in Chapter 3, regarding the leisure activities of husbands and wives: those whose leisure activities were always home-based, those whose leisure activities were never home-based, those where only the activities of one partner were home-based and those whose pattern varied, who were the most common type in each country.

The theme of the last hypothesis, that the institutional structures and patterns of a society affect access to, use of and attitudes to leisure has been constantly addressed throughout the thesis. Chapters 4 to 10 of the thesis, together with the remarks made in the Conclusion have indicated that in this study at least, the particular institutions of the country were shown to have far-reaching effects upon many aspects of an individual's leisure and to explain many similarities and differences in the leisure patterns of the two sample groups.

Overall, the findings of Szalai's study of 1972, namely that

there were remarkable similarities between nations in their day to day use of time, despite cultural differences, have been supported. However, the author suggests that the two most striking conclusions to emerge from the study are: firstly, that national differences, by which are meant the differing social and institutional patterns of a country, can affect other areas of an individual's everyday life (in this case leisure) to the extent that they differ appreciably from those of an individual in a country with different institutional patterns; Secondly, provided that every attempt is made to ensure that the phenomena being compared and the research methods employed are, indeed, comparable, cross-national research is a very revealing exercise for the social scientist.

The author accordingly suggests that further cross-national studies would be worthwhile: firstly, on a larger scale, encompassing all groups within the middle-class, since the present study only examined one section of it; secondly, replicating the study using other countries in addition to France and Britain; and finally (because the data from the empirical study suggested that this would repay further investigation), comparing the differences in leisure behaviour and attitudes between the sexes on a cross-national basis.

KEY

ALL	= QUESTION TO BE PUT TO ALL RESPONDENTS
NW	= QUESTION TO BE PUT ONLY TO HOUSEWIVES
CW	= QUESTION TO BE PUT ONLY TO MEN AND WOMEN WHO WORK

Detached house	1
Semi-detached	2
Terrace	3
Flat	4
Other (specify_____)	5

o o o

First of all I would like to ask you some questions about work.

ALL 1. What is your occupation?

none	0
	1

ALL 2. What is/was your father's occupation?

your mother's occupation?

NW 3. Have you ever worked?

yes	1
no	2

If yes, what was your last job?

Why did you give up work?

NW 4. Would you like to work at the moment?

yes	1
no	2

Why?

If yes, what prevents you doing so?

NW 5. Do you think you will be seeking work in the future?

yes	1
no	2
don't know	3

If yes, when?

NW 6. Do you get bored during the day?

never	1
rarely	2
sometimes	3
often	4
very often	5

Why?

C
W 14. How many hours did you work last week?
_____ hours

C
W 15. What type of hours do you work?

fixed

1

it varies

2

flexi-time

3

part-time

4

other

5

(specify _____)

6

C
W 16. How long do you usually have for lunch?
_____ hour

C
W 17. Did you bring any work home to do last week?

yes _____ hours

1

no

2

C
W 18. If working hours were reduced when would you prefer to have more free time?

lunchtime

1

evening

2

weekend

3

holidays

4

C
W 19. Which is most important to you?

work

1

leisure

2

family life

3

other

4

(specify _____)

ALL 20. What do you think is the difference between what you call 'work' and what you would call 'leisure'?

ALL 21. Do you think that the journey to work has an effect on leisure time?

^C
_W 22. Do you do anything during your journey to work?

Do you consider this as a leisure activity or as something to pass the time?

leisure

1
2

something to pass the time

ALL 23. What leisure activities do you do in your spare time?

where	with whom	when	how many times a week	do you usually do these

ALL 24. Did you do any other leisure activities during the last week?

where	with whom	when	how many times during the week

ALL 25. What clubs or societies do you belong to?

ALL 26. How many do you attend regularly or take an active part in?

ALL 27. How much time do you spend each week on these activities?

ALL 28. Where do they meet?

ALL 29. Are the members of these clubs or societies mainly

people who have lived in Bromsgrove a long time

1

newcomers

2

colleagues from work

3

other (specify _____)

4

ALL 30. Are there any leisure activities that you would like to do more often or that you can't do at the moment?

What prevents you?

ALL 31. During your leisure time do you prefer to

stay at home

1

go out

2

it depends

3

Why?

ALL 32. Can you always do what you want?

yes	1
no	2

If no, why?

ALL 33. Do you prefer activities that you can do at home or activities that you have to go out for?

at home	1
out	2

Why?

ALL 34. When you go out during your leisure time do you prefer?

to stay in Bromsgrove	1
go elsewhere	2
if you work in Birmingham to stay there	3

Why?

ALL 35. How often do you normally go to Birmingham for your leisure activities?

several times a week	1
once a week	2
once a month	3
less often	4

ALL 36. When was the last time you went to Birmingham for your leisure activities?

last week	1
last month	2
during the last year	3
more than a year ago	4

What leisure activity did you do?

With whom?

C
W 37. How many days holiday did you take last year?

How many days are you entitled to?

C
W 38. When do you usually take your main holidays?

C
W 39. Is there anything that obliges or influences you to take your holiday at a particular time?

ALL 40. Do you normally go away on holiday?

yes

1

no

2

Why?

ALL 41. Is it very important for you to go away on holiday?

yes

1

no

2

Why?

ALL 42. Do you have the use of any of the following for your holidays?

a holiday home belonging to you

1

a holiday home belonging to your family

2

caravan/tent

3

none

4

ALL 43. How often do you spend your holidays with your parents or other members of the family?

If yes, how long?

Now I would like to end with some questions about your family life in Bromsgrove.

ALL 44. Excluding yourself, how many people live in your household?

relationship	sex	age

ALL 45. Do your parents or any of your family live in Bromsgrove?

in the West Midlands?

If not, where do they live?

ALL 46. How often during a normal week do you get in touch with?

	telephone	visit	letter
1. your parents			
2. other members of your family			

ALL 47. When problems arise and you need to ask for help or advice, whom do you normally go to first about

	finance	children	health	marriage
husband				
close relation				
friend				
professional advice				

ALL 48. In your house who makes the decisions about:

	you alone	your husband	both together	all the members of the family
day to day household expenses				
larger items				
children's education				
leisure activities				
choice of holiday				

ALL 49. What do you think is the ideal family size?

Why?

ALL 50. Can you tell me which of the following most closely resembles your idea of family life?

- | | |
|--|---|
| a family where both husband and wife have an equally demanding job | 1 |
| a family where the wife has a job, but a less demanding one than her husband | 2 |
| a family where the wife stays at home | 3 |
| other (specify _____) | 4 |

ALL 51. Do you (does your husband) do any of the following household tasks at least once a week?

- | | |
|----------------------------|---|
| washing up | 1 |
| cooking | 2 |
| cleaning the house | 3 |
| ironing | 4 |
| bed making | 5 |
| looking after the children | 6 |
| other (specify _____) | 7 |
| none | 0 |

ALL 52. Where were you born?

ALL 53. How long have you lived in Bromsgrove?
_____ years

ALL 54. Where did you live before you came here?

ALL 55. Why did you move to Bromsgrove?

ALL 56. Would you describe yourself as belonging to Bromsgrove?
How do you become accepted as a local?

ALL 57. How long do you think you will stay here?
Why?

If you had to move, where would you choose to go?

ALL 58. Can you tell me what leisure facilities there are in
1. this estate?

2. Bromsgrove?

If you don't use them, why don't you?

What changes would you like to see?

ALL 59. Do you think that there is any difference between the people who have lived in Bromsgrove a long time and those who have come here recently?

ALL 60. Are your friends mainly

- | | |
|---|---|
| people who have lived in Bromsgrove a long time | 1 |
| newcomers | 2 |
| people you have got to know through work | 3 |
| other (specify _____) | 4 |

ALL 61. Sex

M	1
F	2

ALL 62. Age

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| less than 19 | 1 |
| 19 - 29 | 2 |
| 30 - 39 | 3 |
| 40 - 49 | 4 |
| 50 - 59 | 5 |
| 60 and over | 6 |

ALL 63. What is your highest educational qualification?

- | | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| no qualifications | 0 |
| C.S.E., 'O' levels | 1 |
| 'A' levels | 2 |
| Degree | 3 |
| Higher degree | 4 |
| Professional Qualifications | 5 |
| other (specify _____) | 6 |

maison individuelle	1
maison jumelée	2
maison attenante	3
appartement	4
autre (préciser _____)	5

Je voudrais d'abord vous poser des questions sur le travail.

ALL 1. Quelle est votre activité professionnelle?

pas d'activité professionnelle	0
	1

ALL 2. Quelle est/était l'activité de votre père?

de votre mère?

NW 3. Avez-vous jamais travaillé?

oui	1
non	2

Si oui, quelle était votre dernière activité professionnelle?

Pourquoi est-ce que vous avez cessé de travailler?

NW 4. Voudriez-vous travailler actuellement?

oui	1
non	2

Pourquoi?

Si oui, quelles raisons vous en empêchent?

NW 5. Pensez-vous que vous chercherez du travail à l'avenir?

oui	1
non	2
ne sait pas	3

Si oui, dans quelles circonstances?

NW 6. Est-ce qu'il arrive que vous vous ennuyez chez vous pendant la journée?

jamais	1
rarement	2
quelquefois	3
souvent	4
très souvent	5

Pourquoi?

C
W 7. Où travaillez-vous?

C
W 8. Pourquoi travaillez-vous là (plutôt qu'ailleurs)?

C
W 9. Quels sont les moyens de transport que vous utilisez pour vous rendre à votre travail?

voiture	1
autocar	2
train	3
autre (préciser _____)	4

Pourquoi?

C
W 10. De combien de voitures dispose votre ménage?

pas de voiture	0
une voiture	1
deux voitures	2
plus de deux voitures	3

Est-ce qu'il y en a une qui est une voiture de fonction?

C
W 11. Combien de temps mettez-vous pour vous rendre à votre travail le matin?

_____ heures et minutes

et pour le retour le soir?

_____ heures et minutes

C
W 12. A quelle heure quittez-vous en général votre domicile pour vous rendre au travail?

_____	1
variable	2

C
W 13. A quelle heure rentrez-vous en général chez vous?

_____	1
variable	2

C 14. Combien d'heures effectives est-ce que vous avez travaillé
W pendant la semaine dernière?

_____ heures

C 15. Quel type d'horaires avez-vous?
W

des heures variables

1

régime interimaire

2

temps partiel

3

autre

(préciser _____)

4

C 16. Combien d'heures prenez-vous en général pour le déjeuner?
W

_____ heure(s)

C 17. Pendant la semaine dernière est-ce que vous avez ramené du
W travail à la maison pour votre entreprise?

oui _____ heures

1

non

2

C 18. S'il y avait une diminution de la durée des heures de travail
W quand préféreriez-vous avoir plus de temps libre?

le midi

1

le soir

2

à la fin de semaine

3

pendant les vacances

4

C 19. Pour vous lequel a le plus d'importance?
W

le travail est plus important

1

le loisir est plus important

2

la vie de famille

3

autre

(préciser _____)

4

C 20. Pour vous quelle est la différence entre ce que vous appelleriez
W 'le travail' et ce que vous appelerez 'le loisir'?

Puis des questions générales sur vos loisirs.

ALL 21. Qu'est-ce que vous pensez des trajets journaliers?
Est-ce qu'ils ont un effet sur le temps de loisirs?

C 22. Avez-vous la possibilité de faire quelque chose pendant votre
W trajet journalier?

Est-ce que vous considérez cette activité comme un loisir ou comme quelque chose pour faire passer le temps?

comme un loisir

1

pour faire passer le temps

2

ALL 23. Quelles sont les activités de loisir que vous pratiquez pendant votre temps libre?

où	avec qui	quand	combien de fois pendant la semaine	pratiquez-vous en général ces activités

ALL 24. Est-ce que vous pouvez me dire si vous avez pratiqué d'autres activités de loisir pendant votre temps libre au cours de la semaine dernière

où	avec qui	quand	combien de fois pendant la semaine

ALL 25. De quelles associations êtes-vous un membre?

ALL 26. A combien allez-vous régulièrement ou à combien participez-vous activement?

ALL 27. Combien de temps en général pratiquez-vous ces activités associatives par semaine?

ALL 28. Où sont les lieux de rencontre de ces associations?

ALL 29. Les membres de ces associations sont-ils pour la plupart

des gens qui habitent Rambouillet depuis longtemps

des nouveaux venus

des collègues de travail

autre (préciser _____)

1

2

3

4

ALL 30. Est-ce qu'il y a des activités de loisir que vous aimeriez pratiquer plus souvent ou que vous ne pouvez le faire actuellement?

Qu'est-ce qui vous en empêche?

ALL 31. Pendant votre temps de loisir est-ce que vous préférez

rester chez vous

sortir

ça dépend

1

2

3

Pourquoi?

ALL 32. Est-ce que vous pouvez toujours réaliser cette préférence?

oui	1
non	2

Si non, pourquoi?

ALL 33. Est-ce que vous préférez des activités qu'on peut faire chez soi ou à l'extérieur?

chez soi	1
à l'extérieur	2

Pourquoi?

ALL 34. Quand vous sortez pendant votre temps de loisir est-ce que vous préférez

faire des activités à Rambouillet	1
aller ailleurs	2
si vous travaillez à Paris y rester	3

Pourquoi?

ALL 35. Combien de fois en général allez-vous à Paris pour vos activités de loisir?

plusieurs fois par semaine	1
une fois par semaine	2
une fois par mois	3
plus rarement	4

ALL 36. Quand êtes-vous allé à Paris pour la dernière fois pour vos loisirs?

pendant la semaine dernière	1
pendant le mois dernier	2
pendant l'année dernière	3
il y a plus d'un an	4

Quel loisir avez-vous pratiqué?

Avec qui?

C 37. Combien de jours de vacances avez-vous pris au cours de l'année
W dernière?

A combien de jours avez-vous droit?

Est-ce que vous avez pris plus et si oui combien?

C 38. En général quand prenez-vous vos grandes vacances?
W

C 39. Est-ce qu'il y a des raisons qui vous obligent ou vous influencent
W à prendre vos vacances à un moment donné?

ALL 40. Est-ce qu'en général vous partez en vacances?

oui 1

non 2

Pourquoi?

ALL 41. Est-ce que c'est très important pour vous de partir en vacances?

oui 1

non 2

Pourquoi?

ALL 42. Est-ce que vous avez la possibilité d'utiliser pour vos vacances

une résidence secondaire 1

une maison de famille 2

une caravane/tente 3

ALL 43. Combien de fois passez-vous vos vacances avec vos parents ou
d'autres membres de la famille?

Si oui, combien de temps?

Maintenant je voudrais terminer avec des questions sur votre vie
familiale à Rambouillet.

ALL 44. Sans vous compter, combien de personnes vivent dans votre foyer?
 Est-ce que vous pouvez m'indiquer le lien de parenté, l'âge et le
 sexe de chaque personne?

	lien de parenté	sexe	âge

ALL 45. Avez-vous des parents ou de la famille qui habitent Rambouillet?
 dans la région parisienne?
 Si non où habitent-ils?

ALL 46. En semaine combien de fois contactez-vous

	téléphone	visite	lettre
1. vos parents			
2. d'autres membres de votre famille			

ALL 47. En cas de difficultés, il arrive que l'on ait besoin d'en parler
 avec quelqu'un pour obtenir un conseil ou une aide. Dans votre cas
 personnel à qui parleriez-vous en premier des problèmes suivants?

	des problèmes d'argent	des problèmes d'enfants	de votre santé	de votre vie conjugale
votre conjoint				
un parent proche				
un ami(e)				
un spécialiste				

ALL 48. Qui est-ce chez vous qui prend les décisions dans les domaines suivants?

	vous seul(e)	votre conjoint	ensemble	tous les membres de la famille
les dépenses courantes du ménage				
les grosses dépenses				
l'éducation des enfants				
les activités de loisir				
le choix des vacances				

ALL 49. Pour vous quelle est la dimension idéale de la famille?

Pourquoi?

ALL 50. Est-ce que vous pouvez m'indiquer sur cette carte quel modèle se rapproche le plus de votre idéal de la vie familiale?

une famille où les deux conjoints ont un métier qui les absorbe également

1

une famille où la femme a un métier, mais moins absorbant que celui de son mari

2

une famille où la femme reste au foyer

3

autre (préciser _____)

4

ALL 51. Faites-vous (votre mari fait-il) au moins une fois par semaine les travaux du ménage suivants?

la vaisselle

1

la cuisine

2

le nettoyage du ménage

3

le repassage

4

faire le lit

5

le soin des enfants

6

autre (préciser _____)

7

aucun

0

ALL 52. Quel est votre lieu de naissance?

ALL 53. Depuis combien d'années habitez-vous à Rambouillet?

_____ années

ALL 54. Où est-ce que vous habitiez avant de venir ici?

ALL 55. Est-ce que vous vous considérez comme un Rambolitain?

Comment est-ce qu'on en devient un Rambolitain?

ALL 56. Qu'est-ce que vous pensez de Rambouillet? Est-ce que vous en êtes satisfait comme lieu de résidence?

ALL 57. Pendant combien de temps est-ce que vous pensez que vous allez rester ici?

Pourquoi?

Si vous deviez déménager où iriez-vous?

ALL 58. Est-ce que vous pouvez me dire quels sont les équipements de loisir à

1. La Clairière

2. Rambouillet

Si vous ne vous en servez pas, pourquoi?

Quels changements aimeriez-vous voir?

ALL 59. Certains disent qu'il y a une division très nette entre les gens qui habitent Rambouillet depuis longtemps et ceux qui y sont venus récemment. Qu'est-ce que vous en pensez?

ALL 60. Vos ami(e)s sont-ils(elles) en général

des gens qui habitent Rambouillet depuis longtemps

des nouveaux venus

des gens que vous avez connus par votre travail

autre (préciser _____)

1

2

3

4

ALL 61. Sexe

M 1

F 2

ALL 62. Age

moins de 19 ans

de 19 à 29 ans

de 30 à 39 ans

de 40 à 49 ans

de 50 à 59 ans

plus de 60 ans

1

2

3

4

5

6

ALL 63. Quel est le dernier diplôme que vous avez reçu?

pas de diplômes

certificat d'études

certificat d'aptitude professionnelle

brevet élémentaire

baccalauréat

diplôme de fin d'études supérieures

autre diplôme (préciser _____)

0

1

2

3

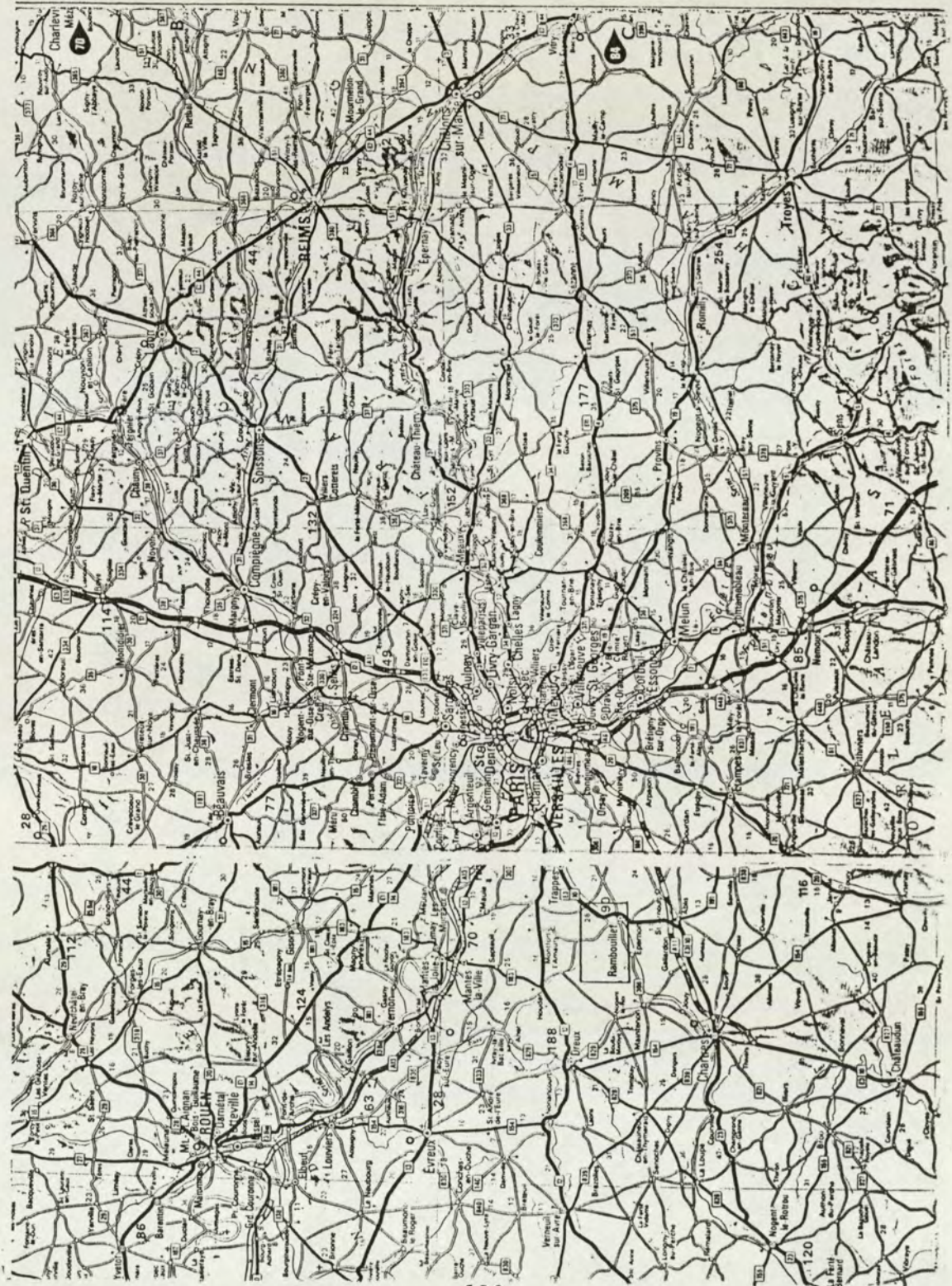
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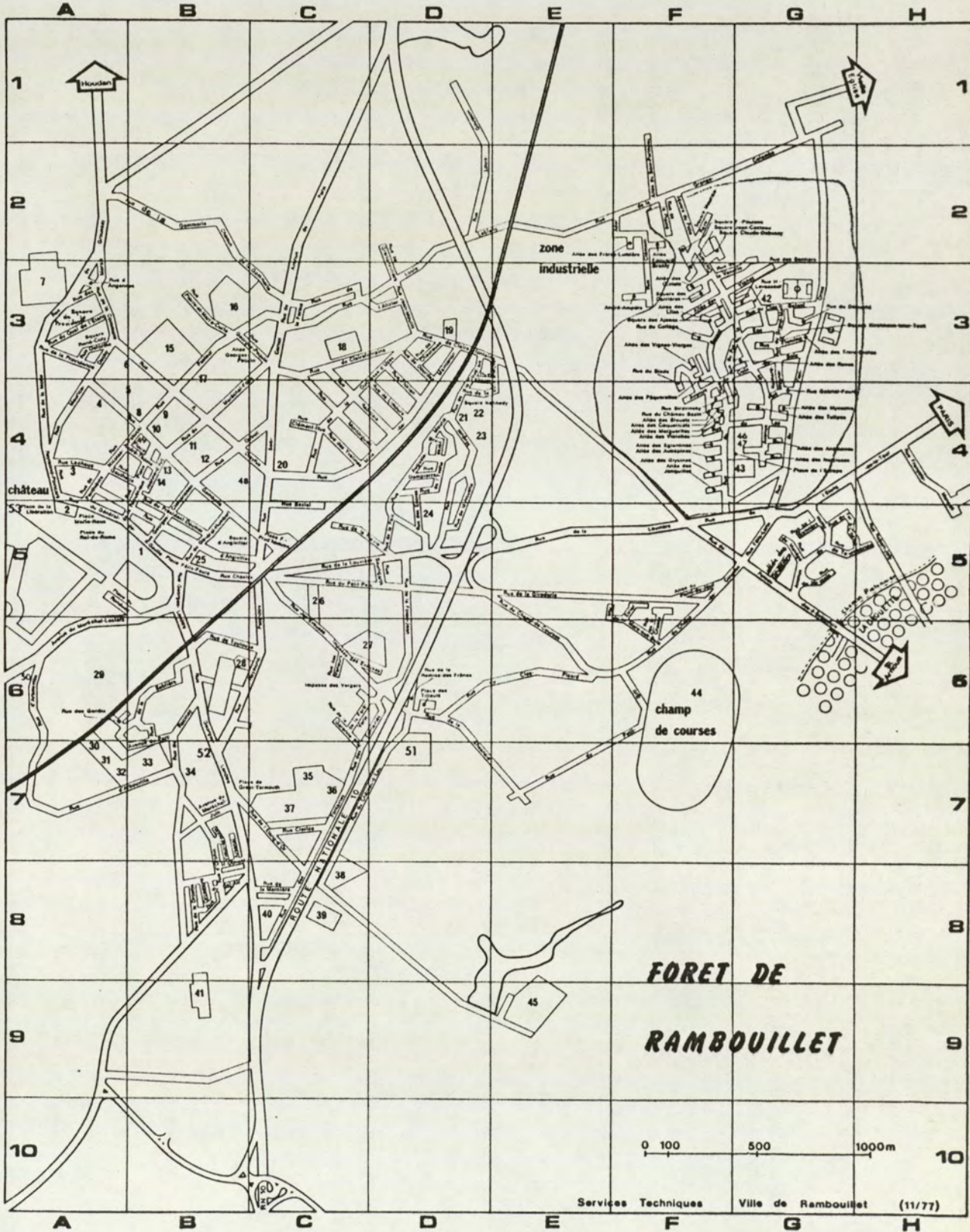
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Appendix 3 Map showing Rambouillet in relation to the Paris Region

in Philips' Road Atlas Europe (1972)
London, George Philip & Son Ltd.



Street plan of Rambouillet showing the research estate



Appendix 5 Map showing Bromsgrove in relation to the West Midlands Area

in Collins Road Atlas Britain & Ireland
Revised edition 1977/78, Glasgow,
Wm. Collins Sons & Co. Ltd.





THE UNIVERSITY OF ASTON IN BIRMINGHAM

APPENDIX 7

Gosta Green, Birmingham B4 7ET/Tel: 021.359 3611 Ex

Department of Modern Languages

Professor of Modern Languages: D E Ager BA, PhD

Professor of Language: F Knowles MA, MSc

Reader in the History of European Universities: J M Fletcher MA, DPhil

Letter sent to French households at pilot-testing stage of the research

ML/SG/CDK

Monsieur/Madame,

J'appartiens à un groupe de chercheurs du département de langues appliquées de l'université d'Aston, Birmingham, Angleterre, et comme vous l'avez peut-être lu dans la presse locale, nous faisons une étude sur les activités auxquelles les familles françaises consacrent leurs loisirs, afin de découvrir dans quelle mesure elles diffèrent des habitudes anglaises.

Nous avons choisi Rambouillet pour y faire notre enquête détaillée, car c'est une ville qui présente certaines tendances économiques, sociales et culturelles qui préfigurent l'évolution que connaîtront probablement d'autres villes dans les 20 années à venir.

Nous faisons appel à un échantillon représentatif de la population de la ville et votre nom est l'un de ceux qui ont été sélectionnés par des méthodes statistiques. Nous vous serions très reconnaissants de bien vouloir nous permettre de venir vous poser quelques questions sur vos loisirs, à l'heure et à la date qui vous conviendront. Nous pouvons vous assurer que vos réponses resteront totalement anonymes.

En vous remerciant d'avance de votre coopération, je vous prie de recevoir, Monsieur/Madame, l'expression de mes salutations distinguées.

Sheila M. Greenfield (Madame)
Membre du groupe de recherche

PS. Je vous rendrai une visite initiale dans le courant de cette semaine pour fixer un rendez-vous, si vous acceptez de collaborer avec nous.

Respondents' Occupations by Couple - Rambouillet

<u>Interview Family</u>	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>
1.	analyste informatique	sans travail
2.	ingénieur informatique	expert comptable
3.	météorologiste (météorologie nationale)	assistante direction
4.	fonctionnaire (PTT)	fonctionnaire (PTT)
5.	ingénieur	infirmière
6.	ingénieur	agent technique de gestion
7.	conducteur de travaux	sans travail
8.	représentant	sans travail
9.	professeur	professeur
10.	ingénieur	sans travail
11.	directeur de petite entreprise	sans travail
12.	chef technicien	infirmière
13.	programmeur	acheteuse
14.	professeur	professeur
15.	cadre	sans travail
16.	dessinateur	sans travail
17.	chef de chantier	sans travail
18.	officier (de l'Armée Nationale)	sans travail
19.	cadre	sans travail
20.	cadre	infirmière
21.	directeur de petite/moyenne entreprise	sans travail
22.	directeur de petite entreprise	vendeuse (Intermarché) - part-time
23.	technicien (orthophonie)	orthophoniste
24.	informaticien	directrice d'école maternelle
25.	inspecteur d'assurances	sans travail
26.	cadre	sans travail
27.	agent comptable	sans travail
28.	professeur	infirmière
29.	cadre	fonctionnaire (PTT) - part-time
30.	ingénieur	fonctionnaire

Respondents' Occupations by Couple - Bromsgrove

<u>Interview Family</u>	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>
31.	teacher	housewife
32.	graphic designer	housewife
33.	advertising executive	playgroup helper - part-time
34.	BBC engineer	secretary
35.	commercial manager	hospital auxiliary - part-time
36.	dentist	housewife
37.	financial accountant	housewife
38.	commercial manager	teacher
39.	engineer	housewife
40.	university lecturer	teacher
41.	representative	clerical officer (Housing Dept.)
42.	engineer	housewife
43.	planning engineer	branch secretary
44.	chartered accountant	teacher of mentally handicapped childminder
45.	buyer (British Leyland)	housewife
46.	chartered civil engineer	housewife
47.	chartered accountant	housewife
48.	mechanical engineer	freelance market researcher - part-time
49.	engineer	home help - part-time
50.	teacher	housewife
51.	managing director	school secretary - part-time
52.	engineer	hotel cashier - part-time
53.	engineer	housewife
54.	computeur programmeur	secretary - part-time
55.	management executive	housewife
56.	contracts manager	housewife
57.	chemist	doctor
58.	teacher	district nurse - part-time
59.	executive (British Leyland)	housewife
60.	post office engineer	housewife

APPENDIX 10

List of leisure activities done by respondents

Rambouillet			Bromsgrove		
Activity	No. who did this activity	% of sample who did any activity	Activity	No. who did this activity	% of sample who did any activity
1. lire (h)	21	45	1. walking (s)	18	21
2. vélo (s)	16	28.5	2. reading (h)	17	20
3. bricolage (sl))	15	27	3. swimming (s))	16	19
4. radio (rt))			4. gardening (sl))		
5. jardinage (sl)	12	21	5. trips out (ce)	14	16
6. natation (s)	11	20	6. squash (s))	10	
7. musique (m))	9	16	7. knitting (sl))		
8. télévision (rt))			8. sewing (sl)	9	12
9. visiter amis (ce)	8	14	9. theatre (ce)	8	9
10. tennis			10. music (m)	7	
11. aller au restaurant(ce)			11. shopping (sl)	6	8
12. tricot			12. visiting friends(ce)		
13. marche (s))	7	12.5	13. DIY (sl)		
14. cinéma (ce))					
15. couture (sl))	6	11	14. concerts (ce))	5	6
16. aller aux			15. cookery (sl))		
expositions (ce)			16. television (rt))		
17. tourisme (ce))	5	9	17. evening class (sl)	4	5
18. théâtre (ce))			18. golf		
19. gymnastique (s)			19. keep fit (s)		
20. concerts (ce)			20. going to pubs (ce)		
21. recevoir des amis (ce)	4	7	21. holidays (ce)	3	3.5
22. bridge (h)			22. trips to museums(ce)		
23. photographie (h)	3	5	23. radio (rt)	3	3.5
24. shopping (sl))			24. visiting National		
25. aller aux			Trust properties(ce)		
spectacles (ce))	25. local history (h)		26. working on cars (sl)		
26. bicyclette (s)	2	4	27. going to library(ce)	3	3.5
27. peinture (h))	2	4	28. sport (s)		
28. yoga (s))			29. photography (h)		
29. sport (s)			30. badminton (s)		
30. mots croisés (h))			31. making things (sl)		
31. crochet			32. Steam enthusiast(h)		
32. tapisserie (h))	33. conversation (h)				
	34. National Childbirth				
	Trust Activities(a)				
	35. travel (ce)		2	2	
	36. cinema (ce)				
	37. car Club (c)				
	38. flower arranging(h)				
	39. clubs (a)				
	40. visiting village				
	auction sales (h)				
	41. antiques				

33. voile (s)			42. racketball (s)		
34. antiques (h)			43. dressmaking (sl)		
35. ski (s)			44. ice skating (s)		
36. visites des musées (ce)			45. anything 'acty' (h)		
37. chasse			46. MENCAP (a)		
38. cours d'expert comptable (sl)			47. mountain walking (s)		
39. la nature (h)			48. aircraft (h)		
40. ping-pong (s)			49. anything 'old and mechanical' (h)		
41. camping (s)			50. other people's company (h)		
42. patinage (s)			51. patchwork (h)		
43. accompagner les enfants à l'équitation (sl)			52. coatching childrens' athletics (sl)		
44. tissage (h)	1	2	53. snooker (s)		
45. football (s)			54. meals out (ce)		
46. échecs (h)			55. National Trust Activities (a)		
47. guitare (m)			56. sailing (s)		
48. orgue (m)			57. embroidery (h)		
49. écouter des disques (m)			58. crafts (h)		
50. puzzles (h)			59. sport on tv (rt)		
51. visiter châteaux et musées (ce)			60. scuba diving (s)		
52. bateau (s)			61. camping (s)		
53. pêche marine (s)			62. dancing (s)	1	1
54. Rambouillet accueil (a)			63. bowls (s)		
55. Anciens de St. Cyr (a)			64. manicure (h)		
56. jouer avec les enfants			65. darts (s)		
			66. Girls Brigade (a)		
			67. yoga (s)		
			68. driving (s)		
			69. anything scientific(h)		
			70. piano (m)		
			71. riding (s)		
			72. disco (s)		
			73. WRUS Voluntary Work(a)		
			74. fishing (s)		
			75. electronics (h)		
			76. computing (h)		
			77. going to the park (ce)		
			78. tennis (s)		
			79. geneology (h)		
			80. singing in the Church Choir (r)		
			81. scouting (c)		
			82. going to Church (r)		
			83. Twin Town Association (c)		
			84. Car rallying (s)		
			85. go karting (s)		
<u>Key :</u>					
s = sporting activities					
sl = semi-leisure					
rt = radio/television					
m = musical activities					
ce = cultural/entertainment					
h = hobbies					
a = associational activities					
r = religious activities					

Leisure Activities respondents said they would like to do

Rambouillet		Bromsgrove			
Activity	No. mentioning this activity	as a % of those who would like to do another leisure activity	Activity	No. mentioning this activity	as a % of those who would like to do another leisure activity
1. tennis (a)	14	25	1. theatre (c)	5	12.5
2. vélo (a)	6	11	2. going out (e)		
3. marche (a)	5	10	3. sport (a)	4	10
4. natation (a)	4	7	4. any other activity (f)	3	7.5
5. voile (a)			5. squash (a)		
6. sport (a)			6. walking (a)		
7. théâtre (e)			7. tennis (a)		
8. équitation (a)			8. swimming (a)		
9. couture (b)			9. oil painting (b)		
10. danse (a)	3	5	10. sewing (b)		
11. bicyclette (a)			11. home-based activities (d)		
12. cinéma (e)			12. golf (a)		
13. voyager (c)			13. classical music (b)		
14. sports de mer (a)			14. scouting (b)		
15. autre activité (f)			15. concerts (e)		
16. tissage (b)	2	3	16. gliding (a)		
17. cours du soir (c)			17. reading (b)		
18. motocyclisme (a)			18. home-computing (b)		
19. artisanat (b)			19. music (b)		
20. pêche marine (a)			20. investigate family history (b)		
21. aller au restaurant (c)			21. badminton (a)		
22. ski (a)	1	2	22. sailing (a)		
23. peinture (b)			23. bowls (a)		
24. gymnastique (a)					
25. bridge (b)					
26. visiter des amis (e)					
27. jazz (b)					
28. aller aux spectacles (e)					
29. excursion aux musées (c)					

Key :
 (a) = sporting activities
 (b) = hobby
 (c) = cultural activities
 (d) = home-based activities
 (e) = entertainment
 (f) = another activity

APPENDIX 12

Leisure facilities mentioned by respondents on their estate

Rambouillet		Bromsgrove	
Facility	No. of times mentioned	Facility	No. of times mentioned
1. tennis	41	1. park	20
2. football	17	2. squash	8
3. ateliers pour femmes	12	3. swimming	7
4. Associations	11	4. tennis	5
5. gymnastique)	10	5. bowls)	3
6. stades)		6. lanes for walking)	
7. Clubs d'échecs	7	7. putting green)	1
8. artisanat	6	8. Millfield Social Club)	
9. bibliothèque	5	9. Millfield Fishing Club)	
10. atelier de couture)	4	10. Battledore Badminton Club)	
11. atelier de peinture)		11. Club)	
12. bridge)		12. pub)	
13. Club de vélo)	3		
14. atelier de tissage)			
15. Club de cyclisme)	2		
16. Club de Décathlon)			
17. bricolage)			
18. athlétisme)			
19. salles pour réunions)			
20. ping-pong)			
21. piste vélo)	1		
22. atelier de bijouterie)			
23. volleyball)			
24. handball)			
25. Club de randonnées)			
26. pédestres)			
27. église)			
28. Centre d'Activités)			
29. basket)			

APPENDIX 13

Leisure facilities mentioned by respondents in their town

Rambouillet		Bromsgrove		
Facility	No. of times mentioned	Facility	No. of times mentioned	
1. piscine	40	1. swimming pool	23	
2. cinéma	14	2. squash Club	20	
3. équitation	9	3. evening classes at College of Further Education	9	
4. tennis	8	4. Clubs	8	
5. associations				
6. stade	6	5. pubs	7	
7. football				
8. forêt	5	6. youth Club	6	
9. école de danse				
10. sections sportives	4	7. Avoncroft Museum	6	
11. Maisons de Loisirs	3	8. Norton Museum		
12. gymnastique				
13. piste cyclable				
14. rugby	2	9. Bingo Hall	5	
15. Maison des Jeunes				
16. chorale	1	10. library	4	
17. musique				
18. Lac de la Tour		3	11. dancing	
19. cyclisme				
20. le Croix Rouge		2	12. church	
21. Club de yoga				
22. théâtre		2	13. cinema	2
23. judo				
24. bicyclette		1	14. keep fit	
25. volleyball				
26. concerts		1	15. sports facilities	
27. athlétisme				
28. escrimes		1	16. golf	
	17. riding school			
	18. music centre			
	19. wine bar			
	20. night Club			
	21. football			
	22. badminton			
	23. netball			
	24. rotary			
	25. W.I.			
	26. fencing			
	27. tennis			
	28. athletics			
	29. Hanbury Hall			
	30. good countryside for walking			
	31. concerts			

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Note: The works mentioned below are those referred to in the thesis. A larger number of works were consulted during the preparation of the thesis.

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