



This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights and duplication or sale of all or part is not permitted, except that material may be duplicated by you for research, private study, criticism/review or educational purposes. Electronic or print copies are for your own personal, non-commercial use and shall not be passed to any other individual. No quotation may be published without proper acknowledgement. For any other use, or to quote extensively from the work, permission must be obtained from the copyright holder/s.

The Sociology of Leisure in a New Community:
A Systematic Analysis of Concepts and
An Empirical Examination of Life-Styles in Corby, Northamptonshire.

ANTHONY WILLIAM BACON

Thesis submitted for
the degree of Ph.D.
University of Keele.

September, 1971

C O N T E N T S

	Page
History of the Study	i
Abstract	iii
Table of Contents	v
Overview	vii
CHAPTER 1	1
CHAPTER 2	23
CHAPTER 3	71
CHAPTER 4	92
CHAPTER 5	109
CHAPTER 6	138
CHAPTER 7	165
CHAPTER 8	196
CHAPTER 9	236
Appendix 1; Section 1	257
" 1; Section 2	258
" 2	260
" 3	276
" 4; Section 1	288
" 4; Section 2	289
" 5	300
" 6	304
" 7	308
" 8 Bibliography	310

History of This Study

This study of leisure life styles and leisure/work relationships in Corby, Northamptonshire, grew out of an interest I developed in this field, while I was teaching in a secondary modern school in a Birmingham suburb. At that time I pursued my studies as a private interest, however I was encouraged by my former tutors at Keele to read for a higher degree. In 1964 I decided to further my interest in leisure by securing a post in adult or further education and in 1965 I was offered a post as an adult education organiser, attached to Corby Technical College. I accepted this job for two reasons.

1. Corby was a modern, prosperous and planned community. It promised to offer an interesting locale in which I could study leisure in a modern sector of industrial society.

2. The Principal of the college expressed a willingness to encourage my research interests. He allowed me to take time for my administrative and lecturing duties in order to carry out a research programme.

In 1966 I consulted the newly founded Sociology Department at the University of Keele and was accepted as a part-time external student for the M.A. degree. In the initial stages of my studies I received supervision from Dr. Howard Jones, however this task was subsequently taken over by Mr. John Hilbourne. In 1967 the department supported my request to transfer my registration from that of M.A. to Ph.D. (part-time) and it was agreed that I finish my work some time in the early 1970's.

In 1969 I was fortunate to secure a Social Science Research Council Senior Research Fellowship to the value of £1850 per annum. This grant enabled me to resign my post at Corby and concentrate upon my research work in a full-time capacity. By this time Mr. Hilbourne had left Keele and Professor Frankenberg kindly consented to take over the supervision of the final stages of my work, which was completed in July, 1971.

Abstract

In this work some of the major reasons for the growth of interest in the sociology of leisure in modern industrial society are reviewed. It is suggested that a study of leisure in a newly planned, prosperous and cosmopolitan town such as Corby, might make an interesting contribution to the development of the sociology of leisure in Britain.

The major theoretical and methodological weaknesses associated with the study of leisure are examined and some of the traditional and unitary conceptions of leisure which have been used in previous studies are reviewed and rejected. In their place an alternative conception of a leisure life style is adopted to encompass the total non-working sphere. Each life style is seen as deriving its peculiar properties from the interaction of its component elements with each other and with the sphere of work. A model of a number of types of leisure/work relationships is constructed. This consists of a variety of interlocking propositions about the relationship of the component elements of each dimension of a leisure life style to each other and to the sphere of work. One of these types, polarity/extrinsic is chosen as a basis for the fieldwork in Corby.

The results of a study of leisure and work in Corby are then analysed. It is shown that a common leisure life style is shared by adults in manual and non-manual groups and also at different stages in their life cycle. This leisure life style is sharply separated from and also fragmented by work. It is home centred, family directed and extremely privatised. Work is viewed in purely instrumental terms as a means to operationalise a series of aims and goals which are focussed on expanding living standards and achieving a series of leisure oriented projects.

A number of factors which have contributed to this growing uniformity of leisure life styles are then examined and some recommendations for future research are also suggested. In conclusion a number of speculations are made about the possible effect of this type of leisure life style and leisure/work relationship upon the future development of industrial society.

A Table of the Contents of each Chapter and of the Appendices

Chapter 1 - Leisure in Contemporary British Society

The growth of leisure in modern industrial societies - the development of the sociology of leisure in America, Europe and Britain - the neglect of the study of leisure in contemporary British society - the main reasons why Corby was chosen as a locale for this study of leisure.

Chapter 2 - A Systematic Analysis of Concepts and the Development of a Model for the Study of Leisure.

Changing conceptions of leisure in past and present societies - concepts of leisure in pre-industrial, early industrial and modern industrial societies. A criticism of the conceptions of leisure employed in contemporary research-leisure is defined as a multi-faceted concept with both normative and behavioural dimensions - a classification of different leisure work relationships. A review of aspects of work and leisure in long established industrial communities - in modern industrial communities - and in one selected community : Banbury. A description of the elements and dimensions which compose a model of leisure/work relationships and of leisure life styles - the choice of one ideal type generated by this model as a basis for a subsequent study of leisure in Corby.

Chapter 3 - The Method used to Study Leisure life styles and Leisure Work Relationships in Corby.

A discussion of the main difficulties associated with an empirical study of leisure - the method used in the initial survey of leisure behaviour carried out in 1966 and 1967. The method used in the main survey of leisure life styles and leisure work relationships carried out in 1969.

Chapter 4 - Corby : A Prototype Community.

A summary of the main characteristics of Corby - an examination of the representativeness of the sample - its past history and present cultural diversity - the main reasons people gave for moving to Corby and the length of time they had lived in the town - their previous and present occupations - their family income and level of material prosperity - their age and respective life cycle stage.

Chapter 5 - Work in Corby

The main patterns of work - the segregation of work from leisure - the amount of time people spent at work. Shiftwork and the shiftworkers opinion of their work. Attitudes to work - people's experience of their work situation - their relationships to their work - men's reasons for remaining in their present jobs - women's reasons for going to work.

Chapter 6 - Family Life in Corby

The hegemony of a family centred value system - people's aspirations for their families - the pursuit of material goals in order to remove traditional constraints upon individual or family leisure activities. The structure of family life in Corby - the interaction of members of the family with each other - the failure of the close knit extended kinship system to renew itself in the community - a formal pattern of interaction with relatives - the autonomy of the conjugal family unit.

Chapter 7 - Social Life in Corby

Social institutions in Corby - two contrasting types of organisation - large mass institutions and small face to face groups. An analysis of participation and membership of Trade Unions, Social and Recreational Clubs, Religious Organisations, Amateur Societies and Cultural Organisations, and Political Organisations.

Chapter 8 - Recreation in Corby

A description of the main types of recreational behaviour - an analysis of rates of participation and the amount of time spent in: five physically passive, home centred and largely family direction activities (watching television, listening to the radio, reading, resting and hobbies and crafts): two physically passive, largely family centred but outdoor activities (recreational motoring and visiting the library): two outdoor activities which are sometimes more active and less family directed (visiting pubs and playing Bingo).

Chapter 9 - Conclusion : Leisure in a Modern Industrial Society

The limitations of the present study - its failure to examine holidays, teenagers, or old people. The factors which led to the growth of polarised/extrinsic life styles in Corby - the homogenising effect of regular work, a planned environment, and life in a mass consumption society. Final conclusion - the future of leisure in industrial society - some speculative suggestions.

Appendix 1 - Introductory letter and schedule used in the initial field survey of leisure behaviour 1966/67.

Appendix 2 - Leisure in a new community : a summary of the main features of the initial survey of leisure behaviour carried out in 1966/67.

Appendix 3 - An analysis of the Results of the Initial Survey of Leisure Behaviour carried out in 1966/67.

Appendix 4 - Introductory letter and questionnaire used in the Main survey of Leisure Life Styles and Leisure Work Relationships carried out in 1969.

Appendix 5 - A Comparison of some representative factors which were common to the Initial Survey of 1966/67 and the Main Survey of 1969.

Appendix 6 - The Method used to select the Samples in the 1966/67 and the 1969 survey.

Appendix 7 - An analysis of the Main Types of occupations of all men I interviewed in the 1969 survey.

Appendix 8 - Bibliography

OVERVIEW

Introduction

This overview has five sections.¹ In the first I summarise the reasons why I found it interesting to study leisure and chose to focus my fieldwork in Corby. In the second section I summarise some of the main theoretical and methodological problems which were associated with the study of leisure. In the third section I summarise some of the main features, which characterised leisure/work relationships in Corby. I then go on in section four to examine leisure life styles in Corby. I analyse some of the complexities associated with the interaction of the component elements of this life style, (that is family, social, recreational and minor economic activity), with each other and with the sphere of work. I suggest that this relationship generates a polarised, home centred and privatised life style amongst all groups in my sample. Finally in the last section I examine some of the reasons for this growing uniformity of leisure life styles in the new community and I speculate about the possible implications of this situation for the future political development of industrial society.

Section One The Reasons why I chose to study Leisure and chose to focus my fieldwork in Corby, Northamptonshire. (Chapter 1)

I introduce this study by examining some of the reasons why people are becoming increasingly aware of the importance of leisure. I suggest that this concern may in part reflect the steady decrease in the amount of time spent at work in the past 120 years. In part it may reflect the growth in the number of groups in our society who do not work and in part it may reflect the growing awareness that the mass domestic and leisure oriented market is an important factor in maintaining our present economic prosperity and social stability.

1. These sections do not necessarily coincide with my chapter headings in the table of contents. As a result I indicate after each section title the appropriate chapter to which the section refers.

I then go on to review the development of the sociology of leisure in North America and later in Continental Europe and contrast this with the late development of interest in Britain. I suggest that a number of factors such as the lingering influence of the protestant ethic, the dominance of empiricism in the British intellectual heritage and the social bookkeeping tradition of much of its sociology, have all contributed to this situation. Finally I point out that in spite of this lacuna, the need for more research into this field is becoming increasingly apparent, particularly in the fields of education, urban planning and old age.

In view of these considerations I decide to examine some aspects of leisure in modern British society and I decide to concentrate my fieldwork in Corby, Northamptonshire. This was because Corby was of considerable interest to a student who wanted to study leisure in a modern industrial society. It provided a prototype locale which lacked much of the structure, tradition or fabric, which in many other communities often perpetuated long established and frequently poverty oriented leisure life styles. It had a history of continuous economic expansion and urban growth. Its people were prosperous and lived in a modern planned environment. They appeared to have very few links with the institutions or culture of a long established community or the values of older generations. As a result although Corby was not a representative British industrial community, it provided a locale where I could examine leisure life styles in a milieu which was least likely to be dominated by the influences of the past and was most likely to be receptive to the media communicated and materialist values of a modern industrial society. It represented a critical case study which promised to be more typical of future than of most contemporary British societies.

However, my decision to study leisure in Corby also gave rise to a number of difficulties in both the fields of theory and of method, as a result I could not plunge into my fieldwork until I had attempted a partial solution to some of these problems.

Section Two. Theoretical and Methodological Problems Associated with the Study of Leisure (Chapters 2, 3 & 4)

Theoretical Difficulties

I found that the theoretical foundations of the sociology of leisure were very confused and ambiguous. In part this unsatisfactory situation was a reflection of the lingering impact of an intellectual heritage, which had rarely taken leisure seriously, but had regarded it as a trivial sector, which was peripheral to the major political and economic activities of society. In part this was also a reflection of the close identification of leisure with a series of personal and political assumptions about the pattern of life in present and future societies. And in part this reflected the common practice of using leisure as a general framework on which to hang quasi-philosophical statements about liberty and freedom. Largely as a result of the above considerations, I suggest that most students in this field have preferred to ignore theoretical considerations and have preferred to concentrate their attentions on the methodological problems associated with measuring how and where time is spent.

However, I go on to point out that this neglect leads to serious weaknesses in much of the work that has been attempted in this field. In particular many studies are weakened because they share the common assumptions that leisure is best approached as an unobligated and isolated sphere of behaviour. This has led to the neglect of the equally important norms and attitudes which may inhibit certain leisure patterns and legitimate others. I also examine a number of

studies which assume that leisure is a unitary region of behaviour, which is entered into when all other obligations have ceased. I suggest this distinction between unobligated and obligated time is unhelpful and suggest an alternative approach in which leisure is seen as a complex subject, which encompasses the whole of the non-working sphere and is made up of a large number of constituent elements. Finally I suggest that the adoption of many popular assumptions about leisure often implies a clear cut distinction between the sphere of leisure and work. This has led to studies which ignore the impact of work upon leisure and also fail to take account of the wide variety of leisure and work relationships which may occur.

In view of the above considerations I suggest that it might be useful to reject the traditional, unitary and residual conception of leisure. In place of it I adopted the wider concept of a leisure life style, and used it to analyse the non-working sphere. In theory a leisure life style might be composed of an infinite variety of component elements, for the purpose of this study I distinguished only four of these: social, family, recreational and minor economic activity. In theory these elements might operate on a number of dimensions, however for the purpose of this study I confined my attention to two: the behavioural and the normative. I then went on to postulate that the interaction of the four component elements with each other and with the sphere of work, generated particular types of leisure life styles and leisure/work relationships. As a result of this approach the following analysis may be usefully thought of as containing two separate sections. The first examines leisure/work relationships in Corby, the second examines leisure life styles and describes the characteristic features of the values and patterns of behaviour which occur in the spheres of family, social, recreational and minor economic activity.

The employment of a complex concept such as a leisure life style was more difficult than the task of measuring a residual sphere of non-working behaviour. However in order to facilitate this approach I constructed a model of a series of theoretically potential leisure/work relationships and leisure life styles. I amplified this model by incorporating into it much of the information I had found in community and industrial studies. As a result my model contained a series of interlocking propositions about the relationships of the component elements of each dimension of a leisure style to each other and to the sphere of work. This model also allowed me to build a series of ideal types of leisure life styles and their associated leisure/work relationships. I chose one of these types, which I named polarity/extrinsic as a basis for my fieldwork in Corby, I also used it to examine the theory that in a prosperous industrial society the most significant differences in leisure life styles or leisure/work relationships no longer reflect variations between manual and non-manual groups, but are intergenerational and are associated with differing levels of family responsibility and life cycle stage.

Methodology

I also found that the study of leisure involved a number of methodological problems. In view of these difficulties I decided to split my fieldwork into two sections. The first of these, an initial survey, took the form of a series of semi-structured discussions, which attempted to discover how people spent their leisure time. The second part, which was based upon the experience I gained in the initial survey, took the form of a questionnaire, which systematically investigated all of the elements and dimensions of the model of leisure life styles and leisure/work relationships I developed above.

The main survey provided the bulk of the quantifiable information I used in the subsequent analysis. However, it had a number of inbuilt limitations, as a result I found it necessary to amplify this material with a number of detailed cases from the initial survey.

I conclude this section on methodology by discussing some of the main advantages and disadvantages of the approach I adopted. I also make a number of recommendations about the research strategy I would probably adopt in future studies in this field and finally I examine how far the sample I interviewed in the main survey was a representative one. And how far it represented a critical case which would be of interest for this study of leisure in a new community.

Section Three. The main features which characterised Leisure/Work Relationships in Corby. (Chapter 5)

I then go on to examine leisure/work relationships in Corby. I show that the technical necessities of industrial production and the policies of modern planning have resulted in a breakdown in the fusion between the spheres of work and leisure, which occurred in many long established agricultural or early industrial societies. In Corby, work was a separate and polarised activity, which fragmented daily life into periods of working and non-working time. Work did not fuse into the daily spectrum of family, social, recreational or minor economic activities which interacted to produce a particular leisure life style. In contrast, work was a separate and easily distinguishable sphere, which was sharply polarised from leisure.

I also show that leisure life styles in Corby were further fragmented by shiftworking. This reflected the needs of many large, capital intensive industries to maintain continuous flows of productivity. It also enabled many workers to achieve a high level of material prosperity and achieve many of their material goals. However, this type of work was also viewed unfavourably by most shiftworkers, this was

because it added a further dimension to the fragmenting effects most industrial work had upon their leisure time.

I then go on to examine people's attitudes to their work. I suggest that in most cases work was characterised by large amounts of personal deprivation and alienation. This was because only a few people found their work interesting or satisfying. The majority reported that their level of ego involvement, freedom, autonomy or interest in their work was low.

I conclude this section by suggesting that although a great number of tensions are engendered by this alienating work situation and by this fragmented and polarised leisure/work relationship, they do not lead to any widespread social disruption. This was because in most cases work in Corby was viewed in purely instrumental terms as a means to achieve a series of non-work directed aims and goals which were extrinsic to the work situation and were oriented towards the sphere of leisure.

Section Four. Leisure Life Styles in Corby. (Chapters 6, 7 and 8)

I introduce this section by examining some of the main values which influence people's leisure behaviour in Corby. I show that although elements of an older, work oriented system remain, the dominant value system was not work oriented but was family directed and took the form of a materialist and consumption ethic, which focussed upon expanding living standards and the attainment of a series of family directed and leisure oriented life projects.

I suggest that although elements of this type of value system probably exist in all industrial societies, its rapid rise to hegemony in Corby was greatly stimulated by the town's rapid economic growth and urban expansion. This has tended to concentrate together a

migrant, self reliant group of men and women, who often consciously or implicitly rejected the values of life styles associated with old and long established areas.

Family Activity in Corby

I then proceed to examine the sphere of family activity in Corby. I examine people's relationships with their parents and relatives and I show that in most cases the extended family, with a close knit kin structure has not established itself in the town.

I also examine people's relationships with their neighbours and other friends who live in the area. I show that in most cases social life is extremely privatised, the close knit, collective neighbourhood structure, which was so characteristic of long established industrial areas, has failed to develop in Corby.

I conclude this section on the family by suggesting that a number of factors have probably contributed to this situation. In particular the large number of women who go to work, the endemic shiftworking amongst their husbands and the prosperity of the nuclear family group, have all contributed to the failure of the extended family or close knit kin and neighbourhood structures to re-establish themselves in Corby. In contrast most people in the sample maintained a more formal and distant relationship with their friends and relatives. The conjugal family was a remarkably self sufficient unit which provided many of the services once met by kin, neighbours or by collective social action.

Social Activity in Corby

I then go on to examine the sphere of social activity in Corby. I analyse membership of and rates of participation in a variety of

social institutions and voluntary organisations. I suggest that most people were heavily preoccupied with achieving family directed or leisure oriented material goals. As a result most of their time was either spent at work or in the orbit of their home and family. It was not thought necessary or essential to maintain strong links with the institutions of a wider community.

Although a number of mass institutions such as Trade Unions, Churches and Social Clubs had a large number of members, most people only belonged to them in order to receive the specialised services these bodies provided. Only a few people said they took any part in directing or organising these institutions and this task was left to a small number of activists and full time servants. In contrast, only a few people belonged to small face to face groups, which required a large amount of personal involvement and individual responsibility. This was because in most cases these duties conflicted heavily with working or family directed commitments. As a result the level of social activity in Corby was limited and most people's leisure life styles were relatively privatised.

Recreational Activity in Corby

I conclude my analysis of leisure life styles by examining the sphere of recreation and to a lesser extent minor economic activities. I analyse the amounts of time people spent and their rates of participation in a variety of fields. I suggest that most people were heavily preoccupied with achieving a series of family directed or leisure oriented goals. As a result, although most people had a large amount of recreational time available, most of this was either spent recovering from the deprivation of the work situation, or in a series of family oriented activities, which were largely physically passive

and home oriented. Only a small amount of recreational time was spent outside the home and much of this, as in the case of motoring or visiting libraries, remained a family directed and passive activity.

The majority of recreational time in Corby was spent at home in a series of physically passive and family centred activities, such as resting, reading, watching television or listening to the radio. Some recreational activities, such as do-it-yourself activities or hobbies and crafts, also had some of the characteristics of minor economic activities. This was because many of them, such as maintaining motor vehicles, making furniture or decorating the house, indirectly supplemented the families material well being and standard of living.

Section Five. The Homogeneity of Leisure Life Styles in Corby.
(Chapter 9)

I conclude my analysis by examining some of the more serious limitations of this study. I then go on to suggest that in spite of these limitations, the evidence suggests that in Corby a common leisure life style is shared by people in both manual and non-manual groups and by people at different stages of their life cycle. I examine a number of factors which may have contributed to this general uniformity and discuss the homogenising effect of regular daily work, life in a planned environment and the influence upon life styles of life in a mass consumption society.

I speculate, that the uniformity of this generally privatised, home centred and family directed life style, may provide the objective basis for a new type of social consciousness which may supersede subjective concepts of class and social status and lead to a fundamental change in the nature and character of industrial society. However, I also point out that it may equally well provide the basis for other and more radical changes in the political structure of our society.

CHAPTER 1

LEISURE IN CONTEMPORARY BRITAIN

"Leisure today is a familiar reality in our advanced societies. Yet the concept of leisure has yet to gain full admittance into the systems of thought that guide the thinking of intellectuals and the action of activists, be they of the Left or the Right, supporters or adversaries of capitalism or socialism. Some good minds reason about society as if the notion of leisure didn't exist at all. Some audacious intellectuals even deliberately omit it from their search for a new system that they hope will be a more faithful reflection of the reality of our day. Now a theoretical system that neglects to take full account of leisure risks being maimed from inception, as we propose to show". (J. Dumaxedier, 1967, p.3).

The evolution of modern industrial society, the development of a period of relative prosperity and the gradual elimination of mass poverty has resulted in leisure becoming a more important element in the life styles of many men and women. As a result a study of leisure is often necessary to explain the nature of social activity in many different fields. However, at the time of the inception of this study, the early 1960's, leisure was given little general serious attention in Britain and very few sociological studies of leisure had been undertaken. These shortcomings were reflected in the discussions which took place at the conference on leisure organised by the British Sociological Association in 1967 and by the general increase in interest and research into leisure activities which took place in the late 1960's. In this introductory chapter I shall briefly review the main features associated with the development of industry and the growth of leisure in Britain and other technologically advanced societies. I shall briefly review the evolution of the sociology of leisure in N. America and continental Europe and contrast this fruitful situation with the small quantity of contemporary British research. I shall suggest that the failure to examine and understand the role of leisure in people's lives may be due to the peculiar social and cultural heritage of Britain. This

omission has many serious repercussions upon British society, many vital planning decisions are based upon an inadequate knowledge of the role of leisure in contemporary society or frequently use conventional leisure oriented arguments as a convenient means of hiding the values and assumptions of articulate pressure groups. I shall illustrate this process by a brief examination of the fields of education, urban development and gerontology. I shall suggest that an analysis of current conceptions employed in studies of leisure and a study of leisure life styles in modern British society might form a useful contribution to the development of the sociology of leisure in Britain. I shall conclude this chapter with a brief summary of the main reasons why I decided to focus most of my fieldwork on Corby, Northamptonshire.

Section 1 - Leisure and Industrial Society

"... the economic problem, the struggle for subsistence always has been hitherto the primary, most pressing problem of the human race. If the economic problem is solved, mankind will be deprived of its traditional purpose". (J.M. Keynes, 1930, p.366).

The technologically advanced society of North America, Asia and Europe have experienced a recent period of rapid economic growth and material prosperity. The factors which have contributed to this development are complex; however it is probable that the following have been of major importance.¹

- A. The growth of scientific and technical education. The development of research institutes and the routinisation of innovation.
- B. The increase in the size of economic enterprises. The concentration of production and ownership into large units which were able to undertake complex scientific and technical development.

1. These five factors are not intended to represent an exhaustive catalogue of the complex reasons for the prosperity of technologically advanced societies, there are many other important factors which I have not included, for example the impact of World War 2 on technological innovation, for example the size of modern arms budgets, (M. Kidron, 1970).

- C. The extension of the factory system. The systematic organisation of mass production by means of planned flow process and scientific management of labour.
- D. The recent development of process control which links electronic data processing, numerical and automatic control to facilitate the initial development of a system which dispenses with most if not all human guidance.
- E. The development of large scale production for the mass home market, a process which was complemented by the growing prosperity and rising incomes of the majority of men and women in industrial society.

The recent economic growth of modern technologically advanced societies has not been uniform, some societies such as Britain have experienced lower rates of economic growth than others such as France and Germany.² Post war British economic expansion was very uneven in its development and many geographic regions and social groups were either by-passed by its prosperity or actually got poorer. However in spite of its ad hoc development and the fact that the relative distribution of property and income in the nation was little affected, this general movement towards a prosperous post war period represented a great contrast with all previous and in particular pre-war society. The spectre of poverty, cold, hunger and sickness gradually receded from the consciousness of the majority of men and women in society.

"Most British workers were very much better off than they would have ever expected to be in 1939. For the first time a majority of them were, broadly speaking, free of the struggle for elementary daily necessities and the fear of unemployment. Only the fear of old age remained to haunt them, with its combination of poverty and emptiness".
(E.J. Hobsbawm, p.281).

2. Taking 1950 as 100, productivity per man in Britain stood at 125 in 1960, in Germany it was 159 and in France it stood at 177, (quoted in Marwick, 1958, p.418).

It is probably because of this great contrast that the term the affluent society is popularly used as a relative term to distinguish modern society with its high incomes, living standards and consumption patterns³ from earlier and pre-war periods when real income and expenditure was much lower.⁴

The economic growth which has produced the relative if patchy affluence of contemporary technologically advanced societies has also brought about a growing awareness of the importance of leisure. There are many reasons for this developing interest, however, it is probable that the following are of major if not exclusive importance.

A. Industrial development and the growth of leisure.

Although it is probable that the development of industrial society initially brought about a sharp decrease in the amount of leisure time available to industrial workers their share of non-working time has slowly increased in the last 120 years. This decrease and later increase can be related to particular stages of industrial development. It is probable that in the early stages of the industrial revolution, the shortage of available capital and the imperative need for capital accumulation, encouraged the employer to pay the minimum wages necessary for their workers survival. This tendency was complemented by the need to discipline and train the workforce in habits of regular work and the fact that the economy did not greatly rely upon the purchasing power of its workers. As a result of this development the leisure time available to the majority of industrial

3. Thus average wages in real terms rose by 20% between 1951 and 1958 and by another 30% by 1964. (Marwick 1968, p.416).

4. E. J. Hobsbawm points out that a similar if less luxurious period of comparative affluence was experienced as a result of the comparatively modest increase in the standard of living which occurred in Britain in the 1850's and 1860's (1969, p.126).

workers was limited by the very long hours they had to work in order to survive. The general increase in the amount of leisure which became available to the majority of industrial workers in the second half of the 19th century may be related to a more modern stage of industrial development; in particular the abandonment of intensive methods of labour exploitation was in part a reflection of the employers greater prosperity and security, he was now less in fear of temporary fluctuations in trade or the threat of imminent bankruptcy.

The extent of the decline in the time spent at work in the last 120 years is difficult to judge. It is complicated by the fact that the majority of workers in N. America and Europe were employed in agriculture and not industrial work. However most estimates suggest that the average industrial working week in the mid 19th century was some 66 hours, this declined to 60 hours in the late 1880's, 55 hours in the period before the first world war, and averages some 40 hours today. (J.S. Zeisel, 1958, H. Wilensky 1961, S. de Grazia 1962). In Britain the 48 hour working week was normal for manual workers in the inter-war period, subsequently the standard work week has declined from 47.2 hours in 1938, to 40.3 hours in 1966. However, the actual fall in working hours including overtime has been slightly less, from 47.7 to 43.4, (R. Boston 1968). The greatest fall in actual hours worked has been in the highly productive manufacturing industries, some of the older industries in Britain have actually seen a slight increase in overtime working and a decrease in leisure in the post-war period. The slow decline in the number of hours worked has been a constant feature of the development of all advanced industrial societies. The consequent expansion of leisure activities and leisure oriented consumption goods has been a great stimulus to the expansion of the domestic market. However, the decline in hours worked has not been

uniform, the most advanced industrial societies have the shortest working year ; less advanced societies such as Britain have slightly longer ones. However, it is probable that as technological change continues the length of the British working week will converge with the American pattern.

Table 1.1 The length of the industrial working year in five countries
(taken from J. M. Kreps, 1968).

Country	Average working year in hours
U.S.A.	1976
Sweden	2002
Germany	2092
Britain	2137
Switzerland	2214

B. The growth in importance of a mass domestic and increasingly leisure oriented markets.

The mass domestic market was not intensively developed in the Victorian period and the majority of domestic oriented production was limited to the supply of the rudimentary necessities of life. The demand for expensive and sophisticated goods was confined to a small minority of the population. Although the end of the century witnessed the growth of several major industries catering for the mass market, (Boot and Shoe, Household goods, Clothing), it was not until the 20th century that the comparative decline of Britain's international trade and the expansion of technology and new industries facilitated the intensive development of the home market. In the inter war years this development was fairly modest and was mainly confined to cheap goods manufactured for personal and domestic use. As a result the rapid post-war expansion of the domestic market for expensive consumer and durable goods was very striking⁵ and as we have seen the contrast with all previous periods popularised the term the affluent society. The

5. Although as E. J. Hobsbawm points out, (1969, p.283), it was more modest than in France or Germany.

development of this mass market has been most striking in the fields of transportation, furniture, and more recently electrical goods. It has greatly reduced the time taken by travel and domestic chores. It has modified many traditional life styles and provided a material base for a considerable growth in individual and family leisure activity. At the same time the expansion of a series of mass leisure interests and activities has provided a stimulus to domestic consumer demand and the development of an economy which is increasingly relying for its prosperity on the expansion of a home based leisure market.

C. The growth of leisure oriented values in modern Britain.

The affluence of much of contemporary British society has removed the spectre of mass unemployment, poverty, hunger and sickness from many lives. These factors did much to maintain the fabric of traditional values and beliefs which stressed the importance of thrift, diligence and the centrality of work in daily life. Although the economic expansion of post war Britain has not been paralleled by any fundamental redistribution of property and many sections of society have been largely by-passed by the wave of modern prosperity, leisure oriented values and attitudes are often becoming more important factors in social behaviour. The problems which J. M. Keynes articulated in 1930 are becoming of increasing concern to contemporary society.⁶

"Thus for the first time since his creation man will be faced with his real his permanent problem - how to use his freedom from pressing economic cares, how to occupy his leisure, which science and compound interest will have won for him to live wisely and agreeably and well". (J. M. Keynes 1930, p.367).

Although the post war period has seen a modest general increase in leisure time and a growth in the importance of leisure markets and

-
6. I shall not develop this point in any detail at this stage, rather I discuss it extensively in chapter 2.

leisure oriented values, a number of observers take a generally pessimistic view of the future development of the relationship between work and leisure. J. K. Galbraith has suggested that,

"The notion of a new era of greatly expanded leisure is in fact a conventional conversation piece" (J.K. Galbraith 1967, 9p.363-364).

he suggests that in the future man will validate the prediction of J. M. Keynes (1936) and choose an increased income in preference to an increased amount of leisure :

"Presiding over the console that regulates the movement of billets through a steel mill may be as pleasant as sojourning with a connubial fish wife. To urge more leisure is a feckless exercise so long as the industrial system has the capacity to persuade its people that goods are more important". (J.K. Galbraith, 1967, p.365).

Although much of the debate about present and future trends in the relationship between leisure and work is impressionistic and not related to any systematic studies of the sociology of leisure, it is probable that some or a combination of the following factors may limit any rapid increase in leisure in British society.

A. The growth of labour extensive service industries

It is probable that the labour extensive service industries will expand and require more labour. A major area of growth is likely to occur in the educational sector to meet the need for a highly trained and technically competent workforce. However, it is equally possible that this growth may stimulate new techniques and methods which convert education into a more labour intensive industry. Another area of growth is likely to occur in the service industries which meet the needs of retired and elderly men and women or those who are no longer capable of working. It has been suggested that the proportion of older inactive workers will rise as levels of mechanisation and automation increase and many occupations are eliminated which require

mental skills and capabilities which are adversely affected by ageing. (D. B. Bromley, 1969, p.174).

B. The Growth in the numbers who take secondary occupations and decide to increase their income in preference to increasing their leisure.

The expansion of maintenance and service industries has increased the number of opportunities for men and women to take up secondary occupations in preference to an increase in their leisure time. The Gallup Poll survey in Britain in 1964 found that one in six male workers had a part-time occupation which took up an average 12 hours per week. In Akron, U.S.A. a city which has experienced the shorter working week for 30 years it has been estimated that between 16 and 20% of the men hold additional full time jobs, and a further 40% hold part-time employment, (De Grazia, 1962, p.71). Although the present evidence is limited by the difficulties associated with investigating an area where employers and employees might be reluctant to impart information, it is probable that the number of secondary occupations which become available will increasingly be located in the expanding trade and service industries.

C. The growth in the numbers of working married women

The development of modern industry has also seen the recruitment of large numbers of women into industrial and other forms of work outside their home. This is not a new phenomena, many industries in Britain have traditionally employed large numbers of women, what is relatively new is the development of this trend from a local to a national pattern. It is probable that in many cases the amount of leisure time available to women has been curtailed by this extension of their customary home-based working activities.

However, although it is probable that in the immediate short term the amount of leisure will not increase dramatically in Britain it is

probable that in the long term British society will experience an absolute increase in leisure time and a fall in the work year from its present 2,137 hours towards the present American standard of 1,976. However Kahn and Wiener extrapolating on trends within American society suggest that the American work year could drop to somewhere between 1,700 and 1,900 hours a year by the end of the century. However, Kahn and Wiener also suggest that if, as is likely, future generations may take up increased productivity in more leisure, then the length of the working year could drop substantially below 1,500 and possibly below 1,000 in the next 40 years, (H. Kahn, and A.J. Wiener, p.125, 1967).

Section 2. The development of the sociology of leisure in industrial societies.

The increase in leisure time in industrial societies and the gradual recognition that leisure values and activities form an important element in the activities and values of the majority of men and women, has stimulated a considerable growth in the systematic study of leisure. This movement first developed in the U.S.A. in the 1920's and in subsequent years a considerable number of studies have been made of leisure activities in American society, the most important of these have been reviewed by M. Kaplan (1960), and J. Dumazedier (1967).

Although leisure was often a subject of literary or philosophical interest in continental Europe, the serious sociological study of leisure did not fully develop until the 1950's. The most interesting and fruitful European studies have originated in France where the political and intellectual climate has stimulated a great interest in the sociology of leisure and produced a number of important theoretical and empirical studies, (H. Lefebvre, 1958), A. Touraine, 1966), J. Dumazedier, 1960 and 1967), M. Crozier, 1965), (N. Samuel, 1967), and P. Bourdieu, 1970). However this growing continental interest

was not confined to France, other programmes of research were conducted in Italy, Germany and Eastern Europe. The growing importance of this movement was recognised in 1968 with the establishment of the European Centre for Leisure and Education at Prague and the publishing of a biennial journal which is designed to co-ordinate and report upon the latest research into leisure.

By comparison with the growing interest in leisure in America, Europe and industrial sections of Asia, the growth of British research remains limited. The small amount of work which has taken place has been primarily a descriptive account of behaviour, (D. Rich, 1949), (B.S. Rowntree and G.R. Lavers, 1951), (F. M. Taylor, 1956), (B.B.C. 1965), (W. Belsen, 1967), (B. Rodgers, 1967). There has been little attempt to analyse the interaction of the spheres of leisure and work or the relationship between value systems and leisure behaviour, only a few attempts have been made to make a theoretical contribution to the study of leisure, (J. Cohen, 1953), (A. Giddens, 1964), (S. Cotgrove, 1965), (N. Elias and E. Dunning, 1967). In fact the only major attempt to link theoretical and empirical research together into a systematic analysis of leisure and work relationships, (S.R. Parker, 1965, 1967, 1969), was made by an employee of the Government Social Survey in his spare time, not as might have been expected by a member of the academic community.⁷ It is probable that the reluctance of British sociology to study leisure may stem from a combination of the following factors.

A. The influence of the protestant ethic

"In work of labour, or of skill,
I would be busy too;
For Satan finds some mischief still
For idle hands to do".

(Isaac Watts 1674-1748).

7. The study of the sociology of leisure like virtually all British sociology first developed outside the universities, for example, the study of urban kinship was developed outside the academic community by the Institute of Community Studies; for example, the study of industrial sociology was developed by Acton Society Trust and P.E.P.

The growth of the sociology of leisure in Britain has probably been seriously inhibited by the influence of the secularised protestant ethic upon the cultural values of the upper middle classes who have produced the majority of British intellectual social reformers and sociologists. This ethic stressed the central importance of work, leisure was regarded as a subject which had very bad moral connotations, as D. Riesman observed,

"many people are uncomfortable when discussing leisure as with sex they want to make a joke of it". (1954, p.202).

As a result of this attitude the study of total leisure styles or leisure-work relationships was evaluated as an essentially frivolous, peripheral activity which was not central to the life interest of an academic or a serious industrial community. The only leisure activities which were sometimes studied in Britain were the pathological aspects of such activities as drug taking, drinking or gambling which might pose a threat to the existing social order. However, this essentially reformist orientation tended to hinder and not further the

"proper understanding of the role of leisure in the people's life and the nature of popular culture" (A. Tropp, 1959).

B. The dominance of empiricism in the British intellectual tradition

The sociology of leisure is in many ways an integrative and totalising discipline, it involves a critical examination of the culture and structure of society. Although the recent loss of Empire and the problems characteristic of modern industrial society have tended to stimulate British intellectual life into some attempt at a totalising examination of its society, most recent British sociology has rarely focused its attention on social wholes.⁸ It has tended to limit its

8. This has not always been the case. In the 19th century many critical observers such as W. Cobbet, H. Mahew and C. Booth attempted this aim. In the pre-war period Mass Observations also focused its attention upon social wholes.

investigations to particular problems which have disturbed the existing fabric of society. In the main these have arisen in the course of philanthropic work or as a result of the struggle for social reform (J. Rex, 1961, p.28), as a consequence P. Anderson has suggested that in Britain sociology

"is still largely a poor cousin of 'social work' and 'social administration' the poor dispirited descendants of Victorian charity" (1969, p.220).

A good example of this failure to examine the totality of a particular problem is seen in the recent growth of industrial sociology. The uneven economic development, low productivity and antiquity of some sections of British industry, has focused a great deal of contemporary research into problems associated with the world of work and industrial relations. However, the obverse of this situation, the world of leisure, which may structure many of the critical attitudes and values found in industry has been largely neglected.

C. The social bookkeeping tradition of British sociology

The domination of the "social bookkeeping tradition of British sociology" (J. Rex, 1966, p.530), and its orientation towards a pragmatic analysis of pressing social problems does not encourage the growth of the sociology of leisure. Although leisure institutions and values are becoming central features of modern societies, leisure has not yet, with the exception of the young and the aged, become a particularly noticeable problem for the majority of men and women in the British Isles. Consequently, although a study of leisure may be an essential pre-requisite for an understanding of many institutions and problems in modern society, it has not become a major concern of British sociology.⁹

9. However, Sociologists such as K. Mannheim and F. Zweig, who settled in Britain, but were brought up in the European intellectual milieu, were well aware of the importance of leisure.

Section 3. Leisure and contemporary British society

The growing importance of leisure in Britain has led to an increase in the number of occupations such as youth workers, adult educational organisers and recreational managers whose task is to organise selected leisure activities. In the U.S.A. a similar movement has coalesced to produce a new profession of recreational managers whose role is to co-ordinate the leisure activities of each American community.¹⁰ It is probable that the increase in leisure in Britain will produce demands for a similar type of profession. E. Hutchinson has suggested in a recent publication of the Pre-Retirement Association :

"There should be someone whose job it is to be sensitive and alert to the needs of adults in their leisure from work and in the long self employment of retirement: not to pressure them into activity, but to increase the means, and the knowledge of the means; to increase their capacity to take hold of their lives and enjoy themselves. This is primarily a job for an educationalist, skilled in techniques of adult education". (1970, p.50).

However, the number of specialists in the field of leisure in Britain remains small, the amount of empirical research into leisure life styles is very limited, while the attempt to construct a theory of the role of leisure in society has barely been attempted. As a result many important decisions are taken which lack a basic knowledge of the role of leisure in contemporary society, or tend to use leisure as a blanket term to legitimise the values and interests of powerful or articulate pressure groups. Although this malaise is fairly widespread, it is at its most serious in the fields of old age, education and urban planning.

A. Leisure and older retired workers

The chances of men or women remaining at work beyond the conventional age of retirement are reduced by the industrial developments

10. A postgraduate course in recreational management has been recently established at Loughborough University.

I described above. At the present time 15% of the population have retired from work and on present trends by 1976 that proportion will have increased to 20% and will number 10 million men and women, (E. Hutchinson 1970, p.5). This growth in the number of retired people is relatively new phenomena, it has produced a considerable expansion in welfare, educational and voluntary services specifically designed to meet the needs of the retired and elderly. However, much of this development has been ad hoc and ill-planned, it has not been based upon a generally accepted social theory of retirement. As a result F. Le Gros Clark has suggested,

"What we are really waiting for in short, is a new social theory of retirement, that would give us some guidance in policy formation". (1960, p.111).

In part this failure to develop a social theory of retirement may be due to the neglect of the sociological aspects of human ageing. The majority of research into old age has concentrated upon psychological and biological aspects of the subject. As a result little is known about the use of leisure time or the meaning of activity amongst retired people. Little is known about the needs of retired people or the cost of meeting these needs (D.B. Bromley, 1966, p.14),

"We have little to go on as to how men and women from middle age onwards mould their lives as the intensive phase of family rearing passes and settled employment is seen as coming to an end. Nor do we know much about what pattern of life emerges during retirement". (E. Hutchinson, 1970, p.7).

B. Leisure and education

The major education reports of recent years have all recognised the growing importance of leisure in society.

"In western industrialised countries, the hours which must necessarily be spent in earning a living are likely to be markedly reduced during the working life time of children now in school. The responsibility for ensuring that this new leisure is the source of enjoyment and benefit it ought to be, and not of demoralising boredom, is not the schools alone, but clearly education can play a key part". (Newsome Report 1963, p.28).

However, the work of the schools and colleges in producing

"People capable of living the fullest possible lives in an age of plenty" (L. Bagrit, 1964, p.36).

is hampered by the lack of a systematic body of theoretical or empirical knowledge of leisure life styles in industrial society. Consequently educational reports are often vague in the recommendations they give to schools,

"One obvious purpose is to fit children for the society in which they will grow up. To do this successfully it is necessary to predict what that society will be like. It will certainly be one marked by rapid and far reaching economic and social change. It is likely to be richer than now, with even more choice of goods, with tastes dominated by majorities and more leisure for all" (B. Plowden 1967, p.185, and extract from the section on the aims of education).

and leisure is often used as a convenient means of legitimising the values and assumptions of the teaching profession. These however do not necessarily form a satisfactory basis upon which to structure an educational system which must meet the needs of students in an age when leisure is becoming more important.

C. Leisure and Urban Planning

The legacy of the early industrial revolution, the growth of population and the development of new industries in sparsely-populated rural areas stimulated a wave of post-war urban expansion. It is probable that a large amount of this new urban landscape will form the physical basis of a society increasingly dominated by leisure. However, the planners and architects who sought to control the physical environment in which this growth took place could not call upon a systematic body of evidence which described leisure-life styles either in existing urban communities or indeed in the first of the newly-built post-war communities. As a result of this lacuna the post-war planning movement in Britain was most vulnerable to the articulately expressed values and ideals of conservative and reformist pressure groups whose

recommendations reflected the assumptions associated with English suburban middle-class life styles. Many of the classic features of post-war urban design stem from this imbalance: the separation of residential and industrial areas, planned social facilities and a variety of modern housing units arranged in large neighbourhood estates with central service facilities were intended to generate the main features of a semi-rural, suburban, gregarious life style. However, the general failure to base urban planning upon a systematic body of research into leisure-life styles in urban society tended to produce diametrically opposed patterns and stimulated the trend towards social isolation and a home centred society. The new urban development lacked much of the physical structure which was an essential basis for the development of communal solidarity and gregarious face-to-face relationships. The abandonment of local corner shops and pubs and the concentration of service facilities in a central area has eliminated the focus of much local social interaction.¹¹ The standardisation of housing units and the lack of adjacent smaller units of accommodation has hampered the attempts of many families to consolidate the territorial unity of their kindred. The concentration of planning priorities upon new churches, civic and community centres, libraries, theatres and adult education premises has resulted in the neglect of such popular leisure facilities as modern cinemas, dance halls, bingo halls and local gambling and sports centres.

Section 4 Leisure in Corby New Town

In view of the above considerations and as a result of the relative neglect of the study of leisure in Britain, I decided in 1965

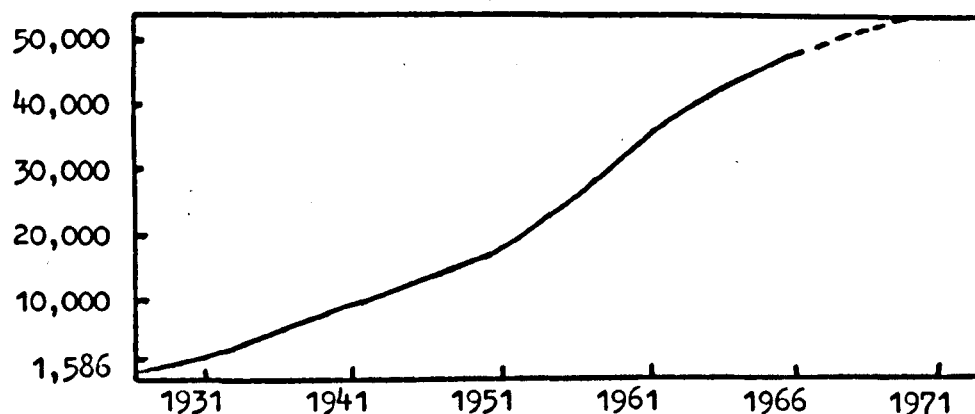
11. R. Glass (1948) (p.13), pointed out that in Middlesbrough, "people in the north live under conditions which almost compel them to be 'matey'; people in the south have chosen conditions which make it possible for them to be secluded".

to investigate leisure-life styles in Corby, Northamptonshire.

Although the main factor which influenced my choice of locale was the proximity of Corby to my home¹² there were a number of other factors which led to my choice of Corby in preference to other adjacent rural or urban communities.

A. Corby is a new community, as recently as the 1930's it was a very inconspicuous semi-industrial village situated in the middle of a relatively impoverished rural area. However the decision of Stewarts and Lloyds Ltd., to base a modern large steelmaking plant in Corby transformed the village into a large and prosperous industrial community. (See Table 1/1).

Table 1/1. The development of population in Corby 1931-1968.



However the process of urban growth in Corby was not allowed to proceed in an ad hoc or speculative manner. The development was planned to include many of the most recent features of urban design : separation of residential and industrial areas, easy access to the countryside, planned social and recreational facilities, centrally situated service facilities, and a variety of modern housing units attractively arranged in neighbourhood estates. Corby therefore offered a milieu in which I could examine many of the effects of post war planning upon the

12. This was because I had to finance my own research and I was not able to afford to spend large sums on travel or subsistence.

development of leisure-life-styles.

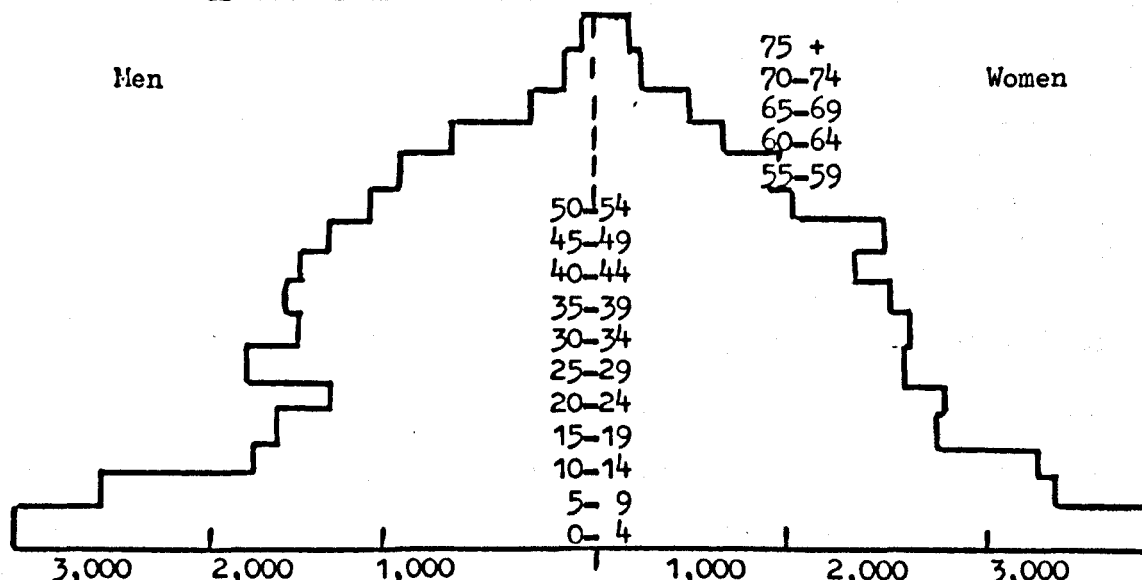
B. Industrial expansion at Corby and the resulting prosperity in the town¹³ has also resulted in a successive wave of immigrants into the community. Many of these are physically isolated from their former communities in Scotland, Ireland, Northern England or the Continent, (1961 Census, Northamptonshire, Table 8). Corby therefore offers an interesting venue in which to examine leisure life styles in a social context where links with older generations communities and traditional cultures are weak and the young immigrant family is perhaps more vulnerable to the media-communicated values of a prosperous industrial society.¹⁴

C. Corby was also a culturally heterogeneous community. It was not primarily composed of one type or group of immigrants as is the case with the large overspill estates and new towns adjacent to Glasgow or London. Corby offers an interesting social situation in which to examine the development of leisure life styles in a situation where no one group is numerically dominant, all traditions are in a state of flux and the young immigrant is perhaps most vulnerable to the influence of the values of modern industrial society.

13. It is probable that in many post war new communities, the close geographic proximity of newly developing and long established areas has encouraged the maintenance of older attitudes and values, e.g. all London's new towns are within a 30 mile radius of the city, the nearest (Hatfield) is only 20 miles.
14. The term prosperity is of course relative to other industrial communities. However although the average wages of men employed in iron and steel tube production (the largest employer of labour in Corby) were lower than those reported in printing or motor vehicle manufacture; they were generally higher than those reported in chemicals, general engineering or a variety of other industrial occupations. (Employment and Productivity Gazette, 1970, February, p. 108-109).

D. The majority of immigrants into Corby are young, consequently the town has an unusual demographic structure, (see Diagram 1/1). It has a comparative lack of large numbers of elderly men and women who were more likely to retain poverty oriented traditions and styles of life and transmit them to younger generations.

Diagram 1/1 The age of the people of Corby (taken from the 1966 Census Report, Northamptonshire.



E. The majority of men in Corby were engaged in manual occupations. This was of interest because of the general discussion which had surrounded the life style of manual workers in modern and prosperous communities,¹⁵ and because of the likelihood that this group would form the bulk of any further projected new community development. However, Corby also contains a small number of men in non-manual occupations, and while these are not large enough to dominate the cultural life of the town they do provide a valuable comparative group for an analysis of leisure styles.

Corby therefore offered me a venue where I could examine the leisure-life styles of a group of manual workers in a community which

15. This debate has been well summarised in Goldthorpe et al. 1969, especially the first chapter.

lacked the structure of traditions to perpetuate attitudes and values associated with older poverty oriented life styles. In addition it has a history of continuous economic expansion and prosperity and very few links with the traditions and values of long established communities or older generations of manual workers. This situation provided me with a locale in which I could examine a leisure-life style which was least likely to reflect the domination of the traditions and values of the past but which would reflect the influence of new values, images and attitudes transmitted by the mass media and the communications network of modern industrial society.¹⁶

Conclusion

I have suggested that leisure is growing in importance in British society. The amount of leisure time has increased considerably in the last 100 years, it is probable that it will further increase in the future. The prosperity of modern industrial societies is increasingly dependent upon the exploitation of an extensive domestic market of leisure oriented goods. The traditional values of British society are increasingly reorientating themselves towards an awareness of the importance of leisure activities in everyday life. However, British sociology has been reluctant to recognise this change in the structure of society; it has often neglected to acknowledge the important influence of leisure upon many social practices and problems. As a result of this neglect I propose in the next chapter to examine various conceptions of leisure which have been used in research in other industrial societies. I shall conclude this review by developing an

16. Ideally I would have wished to have made a comparative study of Corby with a long established community of comparative size. However the cost and time involved in such a project was too heavy a burden for one part-time research worker.

extended model of leisure-life styles which I shall use as a base for a subsequent examination of leisure in Corby New Town.

CHAPTER 2

A SYSTEMATIC ANALYSIS OF CONCEPTS
AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MODEL FOR THE STUDY
OF LEISURE

I argued in the last chapter that leisure was growing in importance in advanced industrial societies and becoming a subject of serious concern and attention. In this chapter I shall examine some of the major difficulties associated with a sociological study of leisure and I shall conclude by developing a simple model of some aspects of leisure work relationships which will form a convenient basis for a systematic examination of leisure in a new community.

I have found it necessary to examine some aspects of the theoretical basis of the subject because at the moment it is very confused and ambiguous. A good deal of this confusion originates in the 18th and 19th century heritage, when conditions of low productivity, unemployment and scarcity emphasised the overriding importance of work and industrial organisation. As a result leisure was rarely the subject of intensive investigation and remained largely the province of the theologian and philosophical speculator. There were of course some prominent exceptions to the pattern, K. Marx (1846-1848), P. Lafargue (1848), W. Morris (1890), were well aware of the importance of leisure and the fundamental antithesis of work and enjoyment which was so deeply anchored in the 19th century ideology. However, their prescriptions that this present situation could only be altered by fundamental social and political change did not stimulate any widespread analysis of contemporary patterns of leisure in 19th century society. The one apparent exception to this general trend, Veblens, Theory of the Leisure Class, (1899), essentially confines its attention to one limited aspect of leisure, namely the impact of life styles upon the

mechanism of social and political stability in late 19th century America; it describes the leisure behaviour of an elite who possess economic power and the time to develop styles of life which serve as desirable copies for the powerless mass of society to emulate, but which in turn through a process of identification tend to sterilise political and social action.

The outcome of this concern with work and with the problem of increasing the productive forces of society or with generating social and political change was that leisure was evaluated as a trivial sector which was peripheral to the major social and economic problems of society, (A. Giddens, 1964, p.81). It was assumed that leisure was not worthy of serious sociological investigation,

"Work is still considered the main task in life and there would be as much objection to the frivolous treatment of work as to the serious treatment of leisure", (Burns 1931, p.225).

and the proposal to seriously examine this area was often greeted with embarrassment, (D. Riesman 1954, p.202, 1957, p.69, A. Giddens, 1964, p.73). As a result the field of leisure was mainly dominated by the literature using a speculative, moral or philosophical anecdotal approach.¹

As I suggested in the introduction the recent growth of sociological interest in leisure may be understood in terms of the changing nature of industrial society, increasing urbanisation and mechanisation has led to a growing concern with the problems associated with full employment and relatively high levels of prosperity. This reorientation of values made its first appearance in the United States of America in the late 1920's, when many of the classic pioneering studies of work and leisure were initiated. However many of these projects did not come

1. Mass Leisure, Meyersohn and Larrabee 1958, contains an anthology of these approaches.

to the fruition or report stage until the 1930's when public and academic attention temporarily reverted to more traditional fields of enquiry. Hence although many of the initial studies of leisure (R.S. Lynd, 1929), (J.F. Steiner, 1933), (G.A. Lundberg, 1934), had their intellectual conception in a period of growing prosperity, the economic and social conditions of the 1930's and 1940's did not stimulate the development of theoretical or empirical research. Consequently it was not until the 1950's that the culminative effects of war time and post war prosperity led to a renewed interest in leisure studies in America, (C.K. Brightbill, 1948), (D. Riesman, 1950, 1957), (E. Larrabee and R. Meyersohn, eds, 1958), (R.W. Kleimeer, ed, 1961). At this time the earlier tradition forged in the 1920's and early 1930's again began to develop and advance. However, it was not until the late 1950's in France and Germany and the mid 1960's in Britain that the remaining advanced industrial societies reached levels of affluence and prosperity which also focused their attention upon leisure as a legitimate and serious field of investigation.

Because of its very recent development the sociology of leisure is still characterised by the theoretical and methodological weaknesses which are found in all nascent disciplines. However, the sociology of leisure is particularly vulnerable to theoretical confusion because the concept of leisure is also used as a framework on which to hang many quasi-philosophical statements which usually invoke concepts of liberty or laziness and are used as a basis for naive sociological generalisations. (B.S. Rowntree and G.R. Lavers, 1951), (T.A. Margerison, 1967). Leisure is also closely connected with particular political or state assumptions about the pattern of life in the present or the future. This latter approach is closely linked to the conception that by understanding the pattern and form of leisure today, we can

predict the problems and course of events that are likely to be met in the future, (H. Kahn, 1967), (N. Samuel, 1967). This concern with the predictive role of leisure studies is not new, however it often masks the unstated intention of political regimes to maintain social cohesion and the existing social structure during the process of development towards an increasingly urbanised and affluent society. The period of prosperity and later poverty and mass unemployment of the 1920's and 1930's which gave birth to the sociology of leisure also witnessed the growing awareness of the vital importance of leisure as a factor in stabilising and maintaining existing social structures, (H. Rochling, 1936, p.86-87).

"Good organisation of the workers leisure is essential not only for social peace within a country but for political peace amongst nations". (R. Hesse 1936).

As a result Nazi Germany adopted a policy of nationally organised leisure, it also made tentative steps towards redeploing the working and non-working time of the individual into more traditional rural models specifically designed to maintain social cohesion. It is probable that similar assumptions underlay the contemporary concern with leisure studies both in capitalist and communist societies. In the former it would seem that the essential problem is one of reconciling conflicting spheres of work and leisure in the interests of industrial harmony, in the latter one of maintaining some links between political and social spheres in the interests of social cohesion, (P. Hollander, 1966, p.186-187).

The sociology of leisure then is still a new and underdeveloped field. It is characterised by its vulnerability to prevailing normative assumptions, the frailty of its conceptual framework and its failure to develop a systematic theoretical structure. (H. Wilensky, 1961, p.115), (E.K. Scheuch, 1967, p.3), (M.F. Lanfant, 1968, p.70).

Partly as a result of this weakness the current emphasis has often concentrated upon methodological and descriptive studies, (R.W. Kleimeer, 1961, p.11). However, since many of these descriptive studies are also based upon a series of tenuous assumptions about individual freedom and liberty, they often neglect conduct which is not socially approved, (M.F. Lanfante 1969, p.71). Moreover, the methodology employed to investigate the individuals usage of non-working time is also most suspect and N.F. Foote, (1961, p.157), has suggested that as a result we are only beginning to examine all the different problems associated with an investigation into the many ways people spent their lives.

As a result of the above difficulties the remainder of this chapter contains four distinct though interrelated sections. The first reviews changing conceptions of leisure in past and present society. The second section examines some of the weaknesses of the main conceptions of leisure employed in contemporary research. The third section reviews some aspects of leisure and work patterns in contemporary industrial society and the fourth section concludes the chapter by developing a model of leisure work relationships which it is hoped will form a systematic and replicable basis for future investigations of leisure in industrial society.

Section 1. Changing conceptions of leisure in past and present western society.

Western theology and philosophy contain many different conceptions of leisure; these are usually found in association with aristocratic, elitist or democratic philosophies of man and society or they are associated with the major Catholic, Jewish or Protestant theological traditions. Each concept of leisure embodies a particular evaluation

of what leisure is or ought to be. These conceptions of leisure are often extremely vague and unsatisfactory. They have little in common with the operational type of definition characteristically employed in sociology. In part this weakness is due to the fact that they are often the product of philosophical or scholastic systems which are not based upon observation and deduction from observed facts, consequently their authors give no objective criteria for their examination or assessment; for example, J. Pieper (1952, p.342), expresses the traditional ideal of the catholic theologian in evaluating leisure as essentially a period of tranquility and contemplation.

"Leisure it must be clearly understood, is a mental and spiritual attitude - it is not simply the result of external factors, it is not the inevitable result of spare time, or holiday or a weekend or a vacation".

By comparison Sebastian De Grazia (1962, p.8), adopts an elitist and philosophical conception of leisure as "a higher type of activity" (p.351) which few can enjoy and as

"a state of being a condition of man which few desire and few achieve" (1962, p.8).

In contrast to this elitist conception of leisure, H. Marcuse (1968, p.53), expresses a more egalitarian if more pessimistic conception and suggests that leisure

"thrives in advanced industrial societies, but it is unfree to the extent to which it is administered by business and politics".

Although the above type of conceptualisations are often obscure and its authors rarely give objective criteria for the examination and assessment of their definition it is unwise to dismiss them from inclusion in a serious sociological analysis of leisure. This is because leisure is a multidimensional concept which may be used partly to describe features of non-working behaviour and partly to describe

the particular system of beliefs and values which seeks to legitimise these activities and structure them into a distinctive life style. As a result it is possible to discern many different conceptions of leisure in the history of Western society. These may as in the case of pre-industrial peasant society be relatively unsystematised and traditional or as in the case of the Athenians a systematic attempt to articulate the interests of an aristocratic elite. They may as in the case of the medieval scholastic movement represent the pious aspirations of an articulate, proselytising minority or they may as in the case of the puritan revolution, come to form a critical element in a system of moral hegemony which actively attempted to stimulate some forms of activity and penalise others. In the remainder of this section I shall briefly illustrate this process in more detail and suggest that the dominance or decline of a particular conception of leisure is not necessarily the result of theological or philosophical inconsistency, rather it reflects a deeper movement in the economic and social structure of society.

A. Work and leisure in pre-industrial western society

In Pre-industrial western society a great gulf often separated the ideals of the major theologians from the customary activities and beliefs of the great bulk of the clergy and laity.² The majority of theologians tended to evaluate religious activity as superior to secular activity and suggested that contemplation of God was the highest and most desirable state man could achieve. They often took a strict and sabbatarian view of the use of leisure time and emphasised the evils associated with idleness and the benefits associated with regular

2. In 1551 the Bishop of Gloucester found that 171 of his 311 diocesan clergy could not list the Ten Commandments, and 27 did not know the author of the Lord's Prayer and 10 could not repeat it. (K. Thomas, 1971, p.164).

manual labour, (St. Benedict, rule xlviij,). Recreation and enjoyment was often suspected as a source of deviation from the contemplative ideal except in such cases as hunting or fighting where it might be justified in utilitarian terms. However, in the pre-industrial period these concepts were largely confined to the writings of a theological elite and they had little direct influence upon the behaviour and traditional attitudes of the majority of men and women.³ They never gained the cultural hegemony they were to exercise in the later early industrial period.

In part this was because the majority of men and women retained a largely unsystematised and traditional conception of leisure. They did not conceive of the two spheres of work and leisure as conflicting entities, rather they were seen as being inexorably fused together into a total life style, composed of a complex web of activities which gradually changed with the rotations of the seasons, the needs of the domestic economy and the demands of the agricultural year. The individual had a considerable amount of independence in deciding the details of his daily routine⁴ and this was frequently characterised by bouts of intense physical effort and long periods of relative inactivity. The amount of leisure time available was often considerable, it has been estimated that the medieval peasant had 52 Sundays and 115

-
3. The monk in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* is in many ways an archetype of the gulf between the pre-industrial ideal and reality. The monk consciously rejects the strict and work-centred rules of St. Benedict, St. Austin and St. Maur and devotes himself to a series of customary, vigorous recreational pursuits.
 4. E. P. Thompson suggests "In good times the domestic economy like the peasant economy supported a way of life centred upon the home in which inner whims and compulsions were more obvious than external discipline". (1970, p.455).

holidays free from work.⁵ Much of this time was occupied in such customary and robust outdoor activities as wrestling, playing games and hunting. However, civic, agricultural and religious ceremonies also provided the focus for a large amount of traditional, communal leisure activity. Although it is possible for the purpose of analysis to distinguish particular types of leisure activity within the pre-industrial culture, for example, religious activity (Christmas festivals), recreational activity (Wrestling, hunting, dancing), social activity (fairs and wakes), such a division is in many ways arbitrary since it obscures the general fusion of each activity into the seamless web of everyday life.

A variety of 19th century writers have tended to idealise the pre-industrial past and lament the passing of many traditional customs; E. P. Thompson suggests that in many ways it is foolish to see the past only in idyllic terms.

"The passing of Gin Lane, Tyburn Fair, orgiastic drunkenness, animal sexuality and mortal combat for prize money in iron studded clogs, calls for no lament". (1970, p.451).

However, the general thesis that the Catholic Church was sympathetic to the people's rest and the Protestant Revolution in England and the French Revolution in France "dethroned the saints in heaven in order to abolish their feast days on earth" (P. Lafargue, 1848, p.117), does seem a reasonable position to advocate. The general waning of the middle ages in the 16th and 17th century saw a decline in traditional attitudes to work and leisure and the rise to hegemony of new conceptions which although they had their intellectual roots in the past, owed their

5. De Grazia based his estimates upon an analysis of a number of medieval calendars, each of which customarily divided the year into a series of public holidays. He points out that his calculations do not include market days which might also rank as periods when little active physical work was done.

increasing domination to the changing economic and social structure of western society.

B. Work and leisure in early industrial society

The 16th and 17th centuries were a time of economic progress in Western Europe. In many countries the period saw the development of trade, the rapid expansion of industry and the increasing rationalisation of agricultural production. This economic change led to the gradual breakdown or bastardisation of traditional patterns of belief and behaviour and the growing dominance of a new ethic which was more appropriate to an economic system based upon the principle of continuous rhythmic work.

"Grass may grow and sheep may graze if the peasant lays drunk under the hedge occasionally, but the wheels of mills cannot turn steadily if boiler stokers have frequent debauches".
(C. A. Beard, 1927).

The term protestant ethic is usually used to describe the general cultural changes in Holland, England, Scotland and Northern Germany which led to the increasing domination of a series of values which stressed the central importance of constant, regular work. As has been suggested earlier, these ideas were not new, they were often found in the writings of medieval theologians, what was new however was their general rise to a dominant position in the cultural fabric of early industrial society. The protestant ethic formed a great contrast with the traditional customs of the medieval period, it stressed the importance of industry, thrift, prudence, self discipline and sobriety. Idleness which had been evaluated by the Greeks as a virtue was seen as sinful and evil, while business success and advance was seen as a reflection of high standing in God's grace. It was an ethic which identified sin with laziness, improvidence, frivolity, gambling and drinking, (R.H. Tawney, 1938), it was an ethic which was in many ways

peculiarly suited to the needs of a commercial and industrial community who found that,

"popish religions created an unaptness for trade, hard work and accumulation" (C. Hill, 1958, p.131).

The gradual expansion of industry and the reorganisation of work which accompanied the economic and social changes of the 17th century produced more easily recognisable distinctions between work and leisure than was discernible in the medieval period. However, the place of leisure in this harsh and work oriented protestant ethic was ambiguous; non-working time, apart from the essential obligations which accompany everyday living was seen as non-productive and a possible source of idleness and distraction. However the social and psychological needs of the individual for rest and recuperation were also recognised. The result of this dichotomy was the development of an uneasy compromise in which the time spent in recreation was only regarded as legitimate if it was the result of work and if it was used to enable the individual to rest and renew his energies ready for further endeavour at the workplace.

The protestant ethic retained its hegemony amongst many sections of English society in the 18th and 19th centuries. The growth of methodism led to its dissemination among many sections of the lower middle and skilled working classes where it tended to complement the social need for a work disciplined and orderly labour force to man the rapidly expanding industrial system.

"The younger leaders of Methodism . . . weakened the poor from within, by adding to them the active ingredients of submission; and they fostered within the Methodist Church those elements most suited to make up the psychic component of the work discipline of which the manufacturers stood most in need". (E.P. Thompson, 1970, p.390).

However it is probable that the work centred ethic was less effective

in penetrating the values of the rural aristocracy or the mass of the unskilled urban⁶ or rural working classes.⁷ The pattern of emigration from Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries resulted in the doctrine gaining a firmer hold in the developing societies of New Zealand, Australia, South Africa and the U.S.A. than it did in Europe where older and bastardised medieval traditions probably remained more important.

However in the period following the development of the industrial revolution in England the protestant ethic was not only found in its religious form. Many writers, including Bentham, Carlyle, Mill and Smith reinterpreted the ethic into its modern secular form of economic rationalism.⁸ It is probable that one of the most important elements the utilitarians inherited from the protestant tradition was their ready acceptance of the theory that poverty was caused by improvidence and vice. As a result they resolutely refused to admit that society had any responsibility for individual poverty, rather they advocated public policies which directly attempted to discourage idleness and stimulate an awareness of the central importance of work. These policies often removed the social fabric which had substained many

-
6. E.P. Thompson suggests, 1970, p.473, that the changes in the character of the English working man called forth the need for a supplementary immigrant labour force who retained a pre-industrial labour rhythm and were content to perform the heavy manual occupations at the base of society which required a "spendthrift expense of sheer physical energy - an alternation of intensive labour and boisterous relaxation".
 7. The Methodist church was less successful in penetrating the traditional values of the village labourer in England. It is probable that Squire and Farmer had less need to foster the growth of a regular labour discipline in an industry whose work loads and routines varied dramatically with the rotation of the seasons.
 8. R. H. Tawney, 1938, p.242, suggested that utilitarianism was not merely a political doctrine but a moral attitude which may be linked to the writings of many 17th century protestant theologians.

customary leisure patterns. Bentham suggested that

"There was no way in which they could help the poor or anyone else except by increasing the nation's capital".

and used this form of argument to justify the enclosure movement of the period.⁹ Adam Smith only conceived of an activity as being truly productive and therefore legitimate if it could transform raw materials into products which could be of use, for in so doing the action produced wealth and therefore economic advance. Conversely Smith argued that the idle who produced nothing were not contributing towards the general level of wealth, consequently they were to be regarded as immoral or idle and set to work. It is difficult to estimate the degree to which the values of economic rationalism penetrated the newly literate 19th century urban population. It is probable that the autobiography of B. Franklin and later the suggestions of Samuel Smiles did much to popularise these values among industrial and mercantile elites and amongst sections of the sober and respectable manual and non-manual working classes. However these values were probably less frequently found among the mass of semi and unskilled industrial workers who as we have seen retained many of the traditions associated with an earlier less sober and more hedonistic rural culture.

C. Work and leisure in modern industrial societies

I suggested in Chapter 1 that the economic and social changes which have taken place in modern industrial societies have led to a growth in general levels of prosperity, and the gradual elimination of the spectre of poverty, cold, hunger and sickness which had probably been most effective in reinforcing the hegemony of the work oriented

9. J.L. and B. Hammond, 1947, pp.75-90, point out that the enclosure movement resulted in the loss of many traditional playgrounds, while in the newly expanding urban areas such facilities were rarely provided by civic authorities who probably shared many of the utilitarians attitudes to leisure and work.

protestant ethic. This change has also led to a gradual decrease in the amount of time spent at work and the slow growth of a new system of values in which it has been suggested leisure occupies the former central position of work, (C.W. Mills, 1951, p.238), (R. Dubin, 1958, p.54), (D. Bell, 1962, p.257). This process of change has not been uniform, it is more apparent in North America than in Western Europe, it is more marked amongst younger than older generations and it is more evident in the modern and prosperous sectors of society than in those dominated by older industries and traditional cultures. The form of this new system of values is still very indistinct and it has been the subject of speculation both in America and Western Europe. In part this obscurity may be attributed to the uneven process of change occurring in a society which often results in older values lingering to conflict with newly emerging ones (D. Riesman 1954, p.202-218), (W.H. Whyte, 1960, p.22). As a result of this process a state of ambivalence often occurs in which it has been suggested one of the major problems is to change and restructure the remaining, lingering traditional concepts of work and leisure in order to give people the sanction and justification to enjoy prosperity and affluence and to demonstrate to them that the hedonistic approach to life is a moral and not an immoral one. (E. Dichter, quoted in W.H. Whyte 1960, p.21).

However, the form of the newly evolving leisure-oriented culture is still obscure, in part this reflects the rapidity of present social change and the lingering impact of values which still fail to take leisure seriously (D. Riesman 1967, p.69): however it also reflects the lack of systematic research into this field (H. Wilensky 1960, p.115), and the failure of sociology to develop a conceptual framework which can form the basis for a systematic examination and comparative analysis of leisure styles or of the changing relationship between

leisure and work. It has been suggested that a new leisure life style is in the process of emergence which is dominated by a "new fun morality", in which pleasure-seeking in-marked variance from the older puritan ethic, rotates from being suspect and taboo to being obligatory (M. Wolfstein, 1951, pp.3-16); in which the milieu is increasingly asking the individual "whether we are good players as well as good workers" and where "non-work activities are pursued with such dogged determination that leisureliness as a quality of life is largely absent" (D. Riesman, 1954, p.211). In contrast a considerable amount of evidence suggests that the balance of change has not been towards a general fun and pleasure-seeking ethic but rather has seen the emergence to dominance of the individual home and family life, (N. Anderson, 1961 pp.232-258), (J. Goldthorpe et al, 1969, p.184). There has been a shift in the balance from a society based on the protestant idea that leisure is essentially a marginal recreational activity designed to recuperate the individual for more work, to a new home-based ethic in which

"The home in which one was allowed a limited amount of recuperation and recreation in reward for working hard has now become the reason for existence which in turn justifies working at all" (M. Mead, 1957, p.14).

A similar lack of systematic investigation and ensuing ambiguity is found in the study of work and leisure relationships in advanced societies; consequently speculation has tended to oscillate between two conceptions of this relationship; the one optimistic, the other pessimistic. The pessimists follow the earlier school of criticism found in the classical socialist tradition and stress the continuing, brutalising and dehumanising effects of industrial work upon non-working life experiences; it suggests that this produces a "spillover effect" which either produces the need to follow violent and compensatory

leisure activities or to relapse into a state of catatonic indifference to the world (H. Wilensky, 1960, p.110-115). However, the pessimists go on to suggest that the drive for greater productivity and prosperity in advanced industrial societies has resulted in a sharpening and magnification of these inherent tendencies, (C. Greenburg, 1953, pp.57-61), and consequently they are most apprehensive about the patterns of leisure which are developing

"A job that leaves men physically and psychologically over-fatigued as does the assembly line, according to the testimony of many workers, destroys the possibility of lively and creative patterns of recreation" (E. Chincy, 1955, p.132).

A slightly modified, less pessimistic and more segmented conception of the evolving relationship between work and leisure in advanced industrial societies has been suggested by G. Friedman (1956, pp.113-121), (R. Dubin 1956, pp-53-72) and more recently by J. Goldthorpe et al (1969, pp181-184). This view suggests that although advanced industrial society is based upon the implicit primacy of production and the individual acceptance of the necessity of work, at the same time a degree of individual compartmentalism is possible between the respective spheres of life which allows the individual to find the opportunity for compensation from the constraints of the working situation through the development of a home and family-centred life or through the development of a civilisation based upon leisure.

In contrast to the pessimistic tradition stressing the latent tensions between the spheres of work and leisure a more optimistic tradition suggests that this may only be a temporary feature of industrial society. William Morris (1890, pp.261-269), suggested that if many unpleasant tasks could be mechanised or dispensed with, then work could become a pleasant activity intrinsically valued for its own sake: "so that instead of avoiding work everybody seeks it" (p.267); a later generation of sociologists have also recorded the gradual

penetration into work of values and practices which were originally unique to the field of leisure. It has been suggested that as modern industrial societies expand their levels of prosperity,

"The boundaries between work and leisure begin to disintegrate - satisfactions formerly sought in leisure are expected in the work situation and work values invade the hours set aside for leisure". (M. Abrams, 1965, p.25).

As a result of this process unpleasant aspects of work are reduced as much as possible by pleasant distractions such as music, interior decorations and rest periods (D. Bell, 1962, p.257), former dangerous work such as steelmaking becomes often leisurely and gregarious (D. Riesman, 1954, p.208), and it has been suggested that as a result of work becoming more pleasant and individual wants becoming greater, work may be a more desirable option than leisure in the future course of industrial society (J.K. Galbraith 1967, p.364). However as W. Morris suggested "the expansion of a never-ending series sham of artificial necessities" may well result in modern industrial societies burdening themselves "with a prodigious mass of work merely for the sake of keeping the wretched system going" (1963, p.263).

Conclusion

Although there are a number of different views about the place of leisure in modern society the situation remains obscure. In part, as I suggested above, this reflects the complexity of the contemporary cultural situation and the uneasy juxtaposition of traditional and newly evolving cultural hegemonies. It is also probable that much of the obscurity is due to the lack of any widespread study of leisure until comparatively recently and the constraining impact on such work as has been undertaken of the values and assumptions found in the secularised versions of the classical protestant ethic. As a result of this situation, leisure is often assumed to be a residual and peripheral

sphere of behaviour, coterminous with recreation, and ancillary to the major domain of work. It has frequently resulted in studies which are insensitive to the economic structure of society and which tend to

"concentrate on the residential community or some recreational activity . . . and thereby lose sight of the line of influence from economic systems and workplace to leisure routines".

(H. Wilensky, 1960, p.119).

and which further tend to ignore or examine the system of individual values and attitudes which are reflected in working and non-working activities, for in part the sociology of leisure encompasses

"That part of the sociology of culture which attempts to discover the moral character of a style of life by studying the behaviour of groups under conditions where that behaviour is less constrained by instrumental decisions". (B.M. Berger, 1962, p.37).

As a result of this general confusion and unsatisfactory situation I propose to examine in the next section of this Chapter some of the major strengths and weaknesses of current conceptions of leisure employed in contemporary research.

Section 2. A review of the main concepts of leisure employed in contemporary research.

The recent development of the sociology of leisure has often led to the uncritical adoption of terms commonly found in everyday language. Leisure is seen as a period of "free time at one's own disposal",¹⁰ or as "opportunity afforded by freedom from occupation".¹¹ This type of approach is superficially attractive, it appears to be easy to operationalise and it complements the residual conception of leisure implicitly assumed by many research workers. It has formed the basis for many of the pioneering investigations of leisure from G.A. Lundberg 1934,

"Time which is free from the more obvious and formal duties which a paid job or other obligation imposes upon us".

10. Concise Oxford English Dictionary

11. Oxford English Dictionary.

to B. Rodgers, 1968, p.26,

"Leisure presumably is what remains after sleep, work and the allocation of disposable time to extra sleep or work have all been subtracted from the 168 hours of the week".

However the assumption that leisure is a residual period of time in which behaviour is free from obligation and in which the individual is able to develop his personal qualities, his quest for freedom and self fulfilment is liable to produce a number of problems. As a result this definition needs to be extensively modified if it is to form the basis for a systematic study of leisure in industrial society.

It can easily form a basis for the development of studies which are in essence descriptive catalogues or statistical accounts of selected types of time expenditure and recreational behaviour, (D. Rich, 1949), (F.M. Taylor, 1956), (B. Rodgers, 1968), and (K.K. Sillitoe, 1969). While these descriptions are interesting and useful sources of information they often fail to relate behaviour to the social, economic and cultural factors which tend to stimulate and legitimate certain activities and inhibit others. This problem was recognised by Rowntree and Lavers as early as 1951,

"The task of finding out why people choose some activities and reject others involves no less than a study of their philosophy of life as well as an examination of the principle factors that affect behavioural form and character. We found in fact that we had involuntarily embarked upon a study of the cultural and spiritual life of the whole nation" (p.xi).

However their largely descriptive and often moralising account of life and leisure in post war Britain fails on the whole to achieve this aim. A similar reluctance to investigate the cultural and normative dimensions of leisure behaviour mars most recent sociological studies of leisure and has resulted in the anomalous position that many of the most fruitful studies of leisure have been the produce of other disciplines or are the result of studies of other arenas of sociological

interest. For example E.J. Hobsbawm and B.H. Harrison made a short analysis of the major changes which took place in popular sports in the 19th century, they concluded that former ill-organised, brutish, co-operative sports were no longer relevant to the social, economic or cultural conditions of an increasingly urbanised Britain which required a new type of codified, mass organised and disciplined activity in which

"Men rather than animals were henceforth to exert themselves in sporting activities". (1965, pp.96-103).

An occupational study of Grimsby fishermen, (J. Tunstall, 1961), also fruitfully investigated the economic, social and cultural factors which combined to produce a particular type of intermittent and explosive leisure activity, which was legitimised by the particular function it served, that is status seeking and compensation for the physically arduous and dangerous work the fishermen undertook. By comparison another study of a mining community, (N. Dennis, et al, 1956), illustrated a series of leisure activities which were vigorous and frivolous and gave no thought to the future. This pattern was linked to a leisure culture of immediate gratification and compensation which was related to the constant fear of death, unemployment, fluctuating wages and accidents which characterised the mining community.

It would seem reasonable to suggest then that the weakness of an approach which studies leisure as an isolated and residual sphere of unobligated behaviour may be modified if it is supplemented by the decision to examine also the norms and attitudes which inhibit certain leisure patterns and legitimate others. This conception of leisure may be represented diagrammatically as follows:

Diagram 2/1

Dimension of study	Time and Activity	
Behaviour	Work + Allied Obligations.	Leisure behaviour
Attitudes	Work + Allied Obligations	Leisure attitudes

A second weakness associated with the supposition that leisure is a residual period of free time in which the individual is free to develop himself is that the sociological potential of leisure as an integrative or summative concept¹² is weakened in a fruitless search for the unitary essence of leisure. The basis of this weakness originates in the assumption that leisure is a unitary region which is entered into when all other constraining biological, social or economic obligations have ceased. This assumption leads to the rejection of such wide integrative definitions of leisure as,

"Time not sold, one's own free time, is thought of as leisure no matter what one does with it". (G. Soule, 1957, p.16).

"Leisure refers to free time, free that is from the need to be concerned about maintenance". (E. Gross, 1961, p.41).

The same assumption leads to the adoption of a more complex approach to leisure which seeks to define it as a residual category of time and behaviour which is undertaken when all other constraining activities have been completed. The residual category so formed is then sometimes but not always designated as recreation, the most common feature of which is seen as play, within which the individual creates his own temporary sphere of irreality and escapes from the constraints and obligations of social existence. This residual approach to leisure has formed a basis for many investigations, its two most recent exponents have been J. Dumazdier and S.R. Parker. Dumazdier defines leisure as,

"Consisting of a number of occupations in which the individual may indulge of his own free will - either to rest, amuse himself, to add to his knowledge or improve his skills disinterestedly, or increase his voluntary participation in the life of the community after discharging his professional, family and social duties, (1960, p.526).

12. R. Dubin, 1969, p.61, suggests the use of the term summative to describe a concept which derives its form from the interaction of a number of component properties.

This definition may be represented as follows:

Diagram 2/2

Work Time		Non-Work Time	
Work	Work Obligations	Semi Leisure	Leisure
e.g. work	e.g. travelling to work	e.g. family and social duties	e.g. reading and writing

S. R. Parker, 1968, closely follows the residual approach of Dumazdier and conceives of leisure as,

"Time free from obligation either to one's self or to others - time in which to do as one chooses".

This relationship between leisure and the range of other individual obligations may be represented as follows:

Diagram 2/3

Work Time		Non-Work Time		
Work	Work Obligations	Physiological Needs	Non-Work Obligations	Leisure

Although this type of approach to leisure has produced some valuable initial studies, (S.R. Parker, 1964, 1965 and 1967), (J. Dumazdier, 1960 and 1967), it has serious weaknesses which preclude its uncritical adaption into a systematic scheme for the study of leisure in industrial society. In particular it tends to assume that the residual period of time designated as leisure is free or semi-free from obligation. However, as has been seen above, this time may be as obligated by the norms of a particular culture as time which is devoted to other spheres of obligation and constraint. Moreover this approach can easily lead to a limited study of leisure as a residual sphere of activity, which is independent of other important and characterising elements, for example work (B. Rodgers, 1968), or social and family obligations (S.R. Parker, 1968).

However, although this residual approach to the study of leisure has many weaknesses, it does classify and elaborate the elements which

impinge into the total field of non-work and whose formation and combination give rise to particular types and styles of leisure. G. Friedman (1961, p.109), has classified these impinging elements into four major fields. These are as follows:

1. Economic needs
2. Social obligations
3. Family duties
4. Recreational and Cultural needs.

This classification of the four major component elements of the non-working sphere may be used to supplement the scheme developed in diagrams 2/1 and 2/3 above. Leisure is now seen as a multidimensional concept, which for the purpose of this investigation, can be conceptualised on behavioural and normative dimensions. It is composed of many complex elements. These may be classified for the purpose of this investigation into four distinct groups. This scheme may be represented diagrammatically as follows.

Diagram 2/4							
Dimension of Study	Work		Leisure (Life Style)				Physiological
	Work	Work Allied Obligations	Social Sphere	Family Sphere	Recreational Sphere	Minor Economic Sphere	Biological
Behaviour							
Normative							

A third weakness associated with the adoption of popular suppositions about leisure as the basis for systematic research is that they tend by nature of their terminology, ("free time at one's own disposal", "Opportunity afforded by freedom from occupation"), to imply a clear-cut distinction and division between working and leisure time. Although this assumption complements the intellectual tradition of the protestant ethic it can also lead to two particularly unfruitful research strategies. It can lead to descriptive investigations which essentially ignore the effect and interaction of work into leisure, (F.M. Taylor,

1955), (B. Rodgers 1968), and as a consequence separate leisure from what is often its most characterising element.

"Leisure even for those who do not work is down at bottom a function of work, flows from work and changes as the nature of work changes". (C. Greenburg, 1957, p.57).

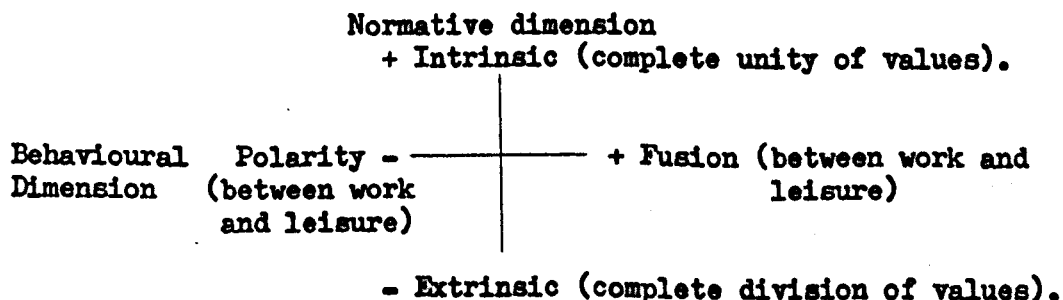
"In our society the successive phases of (man's) life tend to be defined in terms of his relations to the worlds of school and work; pre-school, school, work and retirement . . . There is a certain order in the lives of men in society . . . The ordering of our society is very much a matter of man's relation to the world of work". (E.C. Hughes, 1958).

This approach can also lead to the development of a polar conception in which leisure is seen as a period of time and activity clearly separated and distinguishable from work. However in many occupations and sub-cultures there is evidence of a considerable overlapping between working and non-working spheres; it has already been suggested that in pre-industrial societies it was often most difficult to separate leisure from the web of economic activities within which it was enmeshed; similarly in many occupational sub-cultures in modern industrial society there is evidence of much interaction between leisure and work relationships on both behavioural and normative dimensions. The confusion which this variety of life styles produced is reflected in the debate on the nature of leisure work relationships in industrial society (reviewed in section 1 of this Chapter). The main positions in this extended debate have been summarised by H. Wilensky (1960) and S. R. Parker (1969). Wilensky distinguishes two separate approaches the "segmentalists" who see a sharpening division between the world of work and leisure and the "fusionists" who suggest that whatever split industrial brought to work and leisure in its early stage, advanced industrial society is marked by a fusion in which work is becoming more like play and play like work. However as Wilensky points out

"partly because of the vagueness of the debate but mainly because systematic research in this area has hardly begun and even descriptive information is lacking the issue remains obscure". (1960, p.115).

However in spite of this lack of systematic research it is logically possible and practically consistent with the available information to extend the above polar conception of leisure work relationships into a systematic scheme in which leisure and work relationships are classified according to the degree of polarity or fusion which characterises their respective spheres. This projected typology of leisure work relationships can usefully supplement the scheme developed on page 45. Leisure is now seen as a multidimensional and complex concept whose most characterising element is work. A variety of leisure work relationships is logically possible. These relationships may be examined on two dimensions, a behavioural which examines the degree of fusion or polarity between the component elements of leisure and work, and a normative dimension which examines the degree to which values found in work complement or are diametrically opposed to those found in the component elements of the leisure sphere.

These scheme may be represented diagrammatically as follows:



Conclusion to section 2.

Contemporary research into leisure then is often dominated by conceptions which assume the existence of a unitary and residual sphere of behaviour; as a result many existing studies of leisure tend to consist of descriptions of certain limited recreational activities.

However the changing conceptions of leisure found in the history of western society suggest that this contemporary approach is neither necessarily unique nor potentially fruitful. Indeed it is probable that a different conception of leisure will be needed to investigate the nature of social cohesion in sections of society where poverty has largely been eliminated, where prosperity is endemic and where work is declining in importance in favour of a non-working or leisure oriented life style. As a result of this present situation many of the most penetrating insights into leisure and leisure work relationships have been the fortuitous result of community or industrial studies which were often designed to investigate very different aims. These studies have examined aspects of the behavioural and normative dimensions of leisure and work relationships and they have also examined some of the component elements of particular leisure styles. However since they were designed to investigate many different aims and consequently utilised a variety of research strategies their contribution to the sociology of leisure is fragmentary and often difficult to integrate into a unified scheme. However these studies contain a valuable source of information with which it is possible to supplement and expand the conceptualisation of leisure developed in this section into an operational scheme which can be used as a base for a systematic examination of leisure in industrial society. As a result I shall review in the next section of this Chapter some of the major community and industrial studies which have fruitfully investigated some aspects of leisure and work relationships in different parts of British industrial society.

Section 3. Leisure and Work in Industrial Society.

A number of industrial and community studies, not directly focused on my theme, nevertheless contain valuable insights into the relationship

between work and leisure in some critical areas of industrial society. They also provide interesting studies of the relationship between certain component elements and dimensions of different leisure styles. However, these studies also have a number of weaknesses, they have taken place over the last 30 years and some of them may be unrepresentative of modern society since the coming of television, (R. Durant, 1939), (M. Young and P. Wilmott, 1962). Some were designed to examine different problems and consequently used a variety of techniques of investigation and analysis which may make direct comparison or replication difficult. They tend to concentrate either on smaller communities or to study the problems associated with basic productive industries. As a result of these factors although their evidence is valuable it gives a very fragmented picture of selected sections of leisure styles and leisure-work relationships. However in spite of these weaknesses these studies are of immense value for they are the source of much of the available evidence on the relationship between work and leisure in industrial society. They provide a source of information on which it is possible to build and develop a systematic and replicable scheme for the investigation of leisure life styles in industrial society.

1. Work and Leisure in Long established urban communities.

A number of studies examine aspects of work and leisure in long established industrial communities whose economic structure is more characteristic of early than modern industrial society, Manchester Dockland, (T.S. Simey, 1954), Ashton, (N. Dennis et al, 1956), Bethnal Green, (M. Young and P. Wilmott, 1962), Leeds, (R. Hoggart, 1958), Banbury, parts, (M. Stacey, 1960), Hull, (J. Tunstall, 1962), Northampton, (J. Seabrook, 1967). Within these areas of society there

is a lack of occupational variety. The major source of work is found in local industries which have low levels of mechanisation and productivity and which require physical effort rather than educational or technical skills. These industries frequently have a history of chronic instability and unemployment. Because of the lack of occupational opportunity sons traditionally follow the occupation of their fathers. In turn one also finds local industry, or in the case of fishing its base, is situated near to the home or the local community, consequently there is frequent interaction between home, family and workplace. The majority of kindred and neighbours in the community are also employed in the same industry and as a result local social, family and occupational communities overlap in membership.

Within the local neighbourhood members of an extended kinship network live in close geographic proximity to each other and as a result the web of informal social interaction in local work and recreational activity produced a people centred and very gregarious community. However the respective roles of men and women tend to be segregated and the traditional subjection of women and their vulnerability to social and economic insecurity has led to a reinforcing of their dependence on the supportive network of a large number of kin. As a result the values of close family co-operation and interdependence are emphasised and a merely child-centred approach is rarely reported.

Within this social situation it is possible to discern the operation of a process of social selection in which the individual can accept his lot passively and follow his father into employment in local industry or he may sever his links with home, neighbourhood and community and become a geographically mobile worker. It is probable that as a result of this process many of these studies of long established communities

reflect the values of the conservatives and traditionalists who have accepted local conditions and remained; they rarely reflect the values of the ambitious and the status-dissenters who have left. Consequently in all of them a leisure life style has been reported in which long established and tightly organised kinship networks systematically transfer the norms of an older culture which tends to be resistant to the norms and values of modern industrial society. Within this culture there is often a division between two poles, at the one extreme are found the "respectable" who retain the values and attitudes associated with the hegemony of the protestant ethic, who are religious, sober, prudent and give serious thought for the future. They are often extremely conscious of the importance and centrality of work in their lives and their recreation is quiet, home-centred, joint conjugal and contemplative. At the other end of the spectrum are the "rough" who maintain many of the values and attitudes associated with a more remote and vanished rural past; they reject the necessity of work for any but the most pressing economic reasons, they give no thought for the future but live in the present. The men's central life interest is decisively focused on a spectrum of recreational activities which are primarily role segregated and take place outside the orbit of home and children. The majority of their recreational activities are hedonistic, frivolous and often violent yet they provide a compensatory sphere of activity which allows a temporary relaxation from the constant dangers of work and the tensions of economic insecurity.

2. Work and Leisure in modern industrial communities

A number of studies have examined aspects of work and leisure in recently established and developing sectors of British society, Oxford (J.M. Mogey, 1956), Woodford (P. Wilmott and M. Young, 1960), Bambury, parts (M. Stacey 1960), Dagenham (P. Wilmott 1963), Luton (J. Goldthorpe

et al, 1968, 1969, 1 & 2). In contrast to the long established communities examined above, these modern societies possessed a variety of highly productive, mechanised and prosperous industries, which have a recent history of growth and full employment; consequently labour has been at a premium and there is a wide choice of available occupations. As a result of these highly favourable economic conditions, immigration into these communities is high and many workers in the labour force have a history of recent geographic, if not social, mobility. The local community is no longer adjacent to or a dormitory for only one large local industry, consequently local, social and work communities are no longer coterminous, rather local neighbourhoods contain a variety of different occupations and social groups and traditional communal solidarity is no longer reported. Rather the new communities form a society of self-reliant, geographically mobile and economically independent family groups whose members have often consciously or implicitly rejected all values of local, traditional, communal solidarity by moving away from their old community and kindred. As a result of this process the social fabric which traditionally transferred social values from the older to the younger generations is largely absent and consequently the individual is most vulnerable to the influence of those media-communicated values which reflect the normative structure of a prosperous and highly productive society. As a result of these processes it is possible to discern some of the elements of a new value system in which a systematic life plan or project is adopted in order to achieve many of the goals associated with a highly productive society: an expanding standard of family life and material prosperity, the accumulation of an extended range of household goods and consumer durables, the enjoyment of a limited range of expensive leisure pursuits. Within this value system work is viewed primarily in

instrumental terms, it no longer occupies the central life interest of the individual nor is it seen as a regrettable but evil necessity of life, rather it is seen as a contractual necessity to enable a particular series of goals to be attained. As a result of this process the individuals social status in his community is no longer evaluated in terms of occupational success or personal qualities, rather social status is directly related to family income and a visual evaluation of consumption levels, which indicate how far the individual has achieved desired and socially acceptable goals. The relative prosperity and economic independence found in new communities also weakens the motivation to maintain strong and extensive links with kin and kindred as a result a more formal, less frequent pattern of interaction develops and the individuals social life becomes restricted for the most part to the confines of his home and conjugal family unit.

The major consequences of this different juxtaposition of the elements of work, social interaction and family life is that a new and different life style has developed. Leisure time is severely curtailed by the constraints of overtime working, moonlighting¹³ and high rates of participation by women in the paid labour force. In addition the desire to achieve a particular life style has also stimulated a variety of home centred, minor economic activities such as decorating, car maintenance and home improvement schemes. As a result the prevailing pattern of leisure is no longer gregarious or oriented towards members of the neighbourhood or the extended family, rather leisure is severely privatised and most of the time is spent at home in domestic activities centred on family and children. The majority of leisure activities are

13. Moonlighting is a term which originated in North America, it refers to the practice of fully employed workers taking an additional full or part-time occupation.

physically passive and a lot of time is occupied with television, radio programmes, newspapers and magazines. This type of leisure activity tends to reinforce the process whereby the values and attitudes of the past are rejected and those of a prosperous and modern industrial society are gradually accepted.

3. Work and Leisure in one selected community

The above brief review of the main features of leisure life styles in industrial societies is based upon a fortuitous residue of studies usually designed to serve different aims and often focused on small or relatively isolated communities. It is probable however that in many industrial communities in Britain the process of economic change is very uneven and that leisure styles associated with the old and the new lie in uneasy juxtaposition with each other. This process is well illustrated by the study of Banbury (M. Stacey, 1960), in which it was possible to distinguish two contrasting leisure styles, the traditionalists and non-traditionalists, in each of the three major social classes.¹⁴ In the case of the working classes, the traditionalists, or in Mogey's terms, status assenters, were born locally and accepted the language, values and standards of their area or street. They talked very little about social class, trade unions or any general topic which involved a frame of reference outside Banbury. The keynote was their lack of aspiration, their passive acceptance of one's lot in life. The other working class group, the non-traditionalists, or in Mogey's terms, status dissenters, were in the main composed of immigrants who rejected the values and tightly organised social system of the old town. Their frame of reference extended into the modern world outside Banbury, they were concerned with the maximisation of their economic aims in order to

14. However Stacey also makes the point (p.160), that these life styles were not utterly opposed or mutually exclusive and a degree of cross cultural exchange took place between them.

increase their material standard of living. They spoke consciously of the working class, showed signs of aspirations to move higher in the social hierarchy of the town and had a tendency towards ostentatious expenditure. In the case of the middle class (and also partly the upper class) the keynote was less to do with passivity and acceptance of one's lot in life, than with form and type of economic activity. The traditionalists who by birth and family form part of the locally established social structure, focus their economic activity on family-owned businesses or services. They sought to maintain the continuity of local institutions and values, they formed a contrast with the non-traditionalists who were not born in Banbury and had few local ties or loyalties to local, traditional institutions and values. Their social roots in the town were very shallow and their main interest and allegiance was given to a nationally organised institution which might require them to sever their connections with Banbury in order to further their careers in another locality.

Conclusion

The above review of the main outlines of work and leisure life styles in old and new industrial communities in Britain is very incomplete. It is based upon a number of studies which were not intended to examine total leisure styles but which used a variety of methods to investigate many different fields and aims. These studies did not systematically describe the complex interaction between elements which generated a particular life style. Consequently although many of them contain penetrating insights into leisure life styles and leisure work relationships, they do not contain a theoretical structure which it is easy to replicate or utilise for a study of leisure. It is necessary, therefore, that in the final section of this chapter I should develop and

elaborate a simple model which I shall use to form the base for a systematic description and analysis of leisure in industrial society.

Section 4. A model of leisure life styles and leisure work relationships.

I suggested in the previous sections of this chapter that the adoption of a unitary or residual conception of leisure is potentially unfruitful and a source of the confusion surrounding contemporary views of leisure in industrial society. As a result I developed an alternative approach which conceived of leisure as a complex, multidimensional concept which could be usefully used to describe the total non-working sphere. In this approach leisure is not examined independently from work, rather a leisure life style derives its particular properties from the interaction of its component elements with the major economic activity which is undertaken. In the last section I reviewed a number of community and industrial studies which investigated the interaction of some component elements of a total leisure style. However, I concluded that since these studies pursued a variety of aims and employed many different methods they did not develop a systematic theoretical structure which it is easy to utilise in a study of leisure. For this reason in this section I have constructed a model of leisure in industrial society which uses some of the available evidence from existing community and industrial studies to develop a systematic series of interlocking propositions, which describes the contributory dimensions and elements of each leisure style and their relationship to the sphere of work.

A. A model of leisure life styles

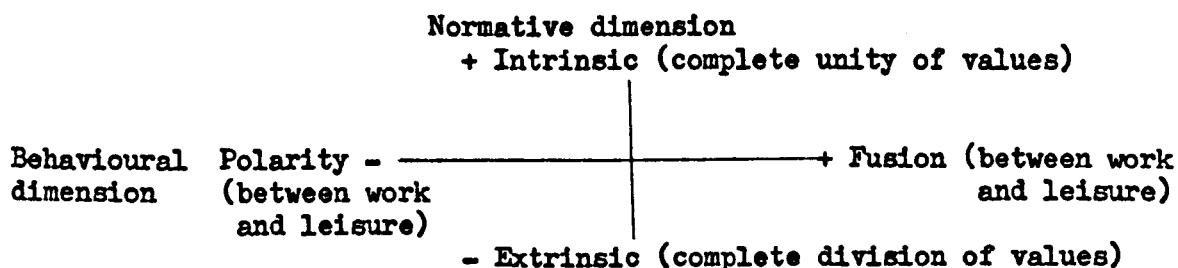
The examination of a complex concept such as leisure is potentially more difficult than the investigation of a more limited field of behaviour since the properties of each leisure style derive from the

interaction of a variety of component elements upon a number of dimensions. However, an analysis of these complex variables is most easily undertaken, if a model is constructed of the critical elements and dimensions, which must be examined if an analysis of leisure styles is to be attempted. This model is intended to be selective and not an inventory of all component elements and dimensions, which contribute towards a leisure style. It will only examine elements and dimensions which the evidence reviewed above suggests are essential components of a particular leisure style. It is envisaged as an essentially operational structure, a heuristic device designed to aid the investigation of the relationship between conflicting or opposing views of leisure. It can also aid the generation of a series of ideal types based on a number of interrelated hypotheses one of which will form a base for a subsequent investigation of leisure life styles in a new community.

B. Dimensions of the model

It was suggested in the previous sections that the component elements of a leisure life style may interact upon a variety of dimensions. It has been traditional to focus most attention upon the dimension of observed behaviour, however it is probable that other dimensions, for example the biological are equally important and worthy of inclusion in a study of leisure. The model developed in this section retains the behavioural dimension and supplements it with a normative dimension. The latter is concerned with the spectrum of values and attitudes which are relevant to the various elements of the leisure style. The dimensions of the model are envisaged as existing on two separate axis, the first axis examines the behavioural dimensions of leisure life styles and has two poles which are called polarity and fusion. The second axis which examines the normative dimension of

leisure life styles also has two poles which are called extrinsic and intrinsic. The relationship of these two axis is illustrated diagrammatically as follows:



The contrasting poles of the first axis, fusion and polarity are conceived of as occupying opposite ends of a continuum; a variety of leisure life styles and leisure-work relationships may exist between these two extremes. The exact position they occupy depends upon the interrelationship of behaviour inside and outside work. In the case of polarity the division is clear cut. The various elements of social, family, minor economic and recreational activity which interact to produce a total leisure style are clearly separated from work.¹⁵ In the case of complete fusion the interrelationship is most diffuse and is characterised by the utter unity of life styles within the outside work. The various elements of social, family, minor economic and recreational behaviour interact to produce a total leisure style which is interconnected at all levels with the world of work.¹⁶ The contrasting poles of the second axis, intrinsic and extrinsic also occupy opposite ends of a continuum; a variety of leisure life styles and leisure work relationships exist between the two extremes. The position occupied depends upon the (individual's) relative evaluation of work and leisure in the society under investigation. In the case of the intrinsic pole of the model the relationship is complementary, systems of values

15. In this situation it is a simple matter to distinguish a leisure life style from a leisure-work relationship.

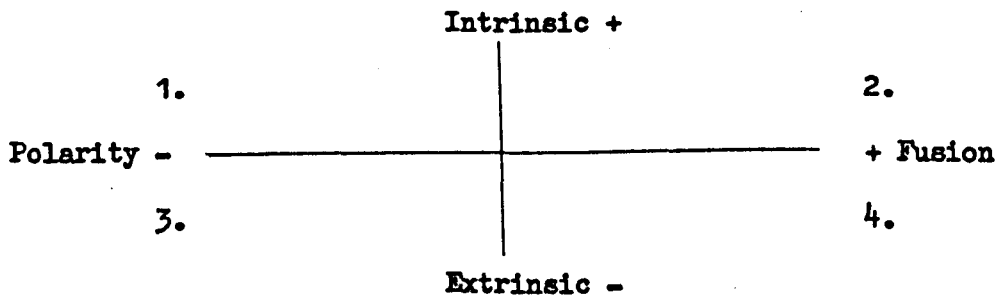
16. In this situation it is not easy to distinguish a leisure life style from a leisure-work relationship since both fuse into a total complex web of activities.

and attitudes to work are closely interrelated with leisure, so that values and attitudes found in work penetrate all elements of the non-work situation and leisure is evaluated as a period adjacent to and complementary to work. In the case of the extrinsic pole of the model the relationship between work and leisure is compartmentalised and systems of values outside the work situation contrast with those found in the work situation; work is undertaken in order to operationalise this leisure oriented system. Consequently the values and attitudes which dominate leisure are extrinsic to the work situation and a total value system does not exist, rather there is a compartmentalisation of values and attitudes. Within this fragmented system work is evaluated in primarily instrumental terms. That is work is only seen as legitimate because it allows the operationalising of a value system which is oriented to the non-working life sphere.

It was seen earlier in this chapter that a complexity of often conflicting views about different relationships between work and leisure exist in the minds of people in industrial society. These views may be related in the minds of sociologists to the different sections of the above model. Conversely the model also allows the construction of a series of ideal types which may be used as a starting point for an investigation of leisure life styles and leisure work relationships. The simplest of these types occupies the mid position between the two poles of each axis of the model and are termed,

1. Polarity intrinsic
2. Fusion intrinsic
3. Polarity extrinsic
4. Fusion extrinsic

The relationship of these types to the two dimensions of the model may be illustrated diagrammatically as follows



The model also facilitates the potential construction of a variety of more complex types of leisure life styles, each with a distinctive relationship with work, and each occupying a different mid point between the two dimensions of the model, for example intermediate fusion intrinsic or intermediate extrinsic polarity.

C. Elements of the model

The position of each leisure style in the model stems from the interaction of its component elements with each other and with the sphere of work. It was suggested earlier in this Chapter that it was useful to identify four of these critical elements, namely family, social, minor economic, and recreational activity. The relationship of these four elements to the two dimensions and four poles of the model may be represented schematically as follows.

Dimensions of analysis				
Normative		Behavioural		
Poles of the dimensions.	Extrinsic	Intrinsic	Fusion	Polarity
Elements of analysis at each pole of the model		Family activities Social activities Minor economic activities Recreational activities.		

The elements of the model are conceived of as following a continuum from one pole to the other, consequently the elements at opposing poles represent a series of interrelated and contrasting propositions which give rise to one dimension of a particular life style. It was seen in the previous section that a considerable amount of evidence was available from earlier industrial and community studies to describe aspects

of the above elements.¹⁷ However much of this evidence was fragmentary and was not usually related to a systematic conceptualisation of leisure-work relationships. However it is logically possible and practically effective to resolve this consequent lack of clarity by relating the factors of each contributory element of a leisure life style to the model of leisure-work relationships developed above. The factors of each element are then converted to pure types or extreme forms which stand at diametrically opposed terminals of the model. This strategy facilitates the systematic description of the interrelated series of elements which compose each pole of the model. It also allows the framework of each ideal type to be elaborated into a series of interconnected hypothesis which may form the basis for an initial empirical examination of leisure in a new community. It remains to conclude this section by describing in some detail the factors within the four poles of the model and the particular ideal type of leisure-work relationship which will form the basis for subsequent investigation.

A detailed enumeration of the inter-related elements which compose the poles of the model of leisure life styles and their relationship with sphere of work.

<u>Intrinsic</u>	<u>Extrinsic</u>
<p><u>General Description</u></p> <p>1. Work is viewed intrinsically it does not require an external system of legitimisation. Leisure is only legitimised by the successful completion of work and is intended to regenerate the individual for future work.</p> <p>2. The values of the work and leisure spheres are complimentary and produce a total value system.</p>	<p><u>General Description</u></p> <p>1. Work is viewed instrumentally as a means to achieve a series of leisure oriented goals.</p> <p>2. The values of the work and leisure spheres are in constant opposition and conflict with each other and a total value system does not exist.</p>

17. With the exception that the amount of information about minor economic activities was limited, as a result I have not amplified this element in any detail in the model.

IntrinsicWork

1. The individuals desire for a particular style of work or vocation influences his choice of occupation and leads to the pursuit of intrinsically satisfying work situation.
2. Work is viewed intrinsically. It is dominant among the central life interests of the individual. The levels of ego involvement, freedom, interest and autonomy in work are high; work is viewed as a meaningful source of individual satisfaction.
3. Aspirations for occupational success are high and are usually conceived in terms of a hierarchical ascent due to individual efforts

Family

1. The individual's family unit does not occupy a consciously central position of importance in the individual's hierarchy of values. It does not provide the focus for a value system to legitimate the work situation.

Social

1. Social status in leisure milieu is the product of occupational success.
2. Social status is measured by a personal evaluation of individual worth and occupational involvement.

Recreation

1. Recreational activity is evaluated as a period which is an extension or is at least complementary to work
2. Recreational activity is not highly valued, it is seen as a marginal period which is subsidiary to the main interest of life, work. It allows the individual to recuperate from his work in order to proceed to a more effective work achievement in the future.

ExtrinsicWork

1. The desire to achieve a series of expensive leisure-oriented aims and goals influences the individual's choice of occupation and may lead to the pursuit of an unsatisfying work situation.
2. Work is viewed instrumentally. It is subordinate among the central life interests of the individual; ego involvement and levels of autonomy, freedom and interest in work are low. Work is not viewed as a meaningful activity in itself or as a source of individual satisfaction.
3. Aspirations for individual occupational success are low, advancement is evaluated as a collective movement and is measured in terms of expanding leisure-oriented aims and goals.

Family

1. The family unit is of prime importance in the individual's hierarchy of values. It provides the focus for a value system which legitimates an alienating work situation.

Social

1. Social status in leisure milieu is not the product of occupational achievement but is measured in terms of individual success in achieving a distinctive life style.
2. Social status is measured by a visual evaluation of income through types of consumption and display.

Recreation

1. Recreational activity is evaluated as a period which is a sharp break and violent contrast with work.
2. Recreational activities are highly valued. Recreation is seen as a period in which the individual can escape from the constraints of his work situation and pursue his family oriented leisure activities.

FusionGeneral description

1. The division between work and leisure is most diffuse. The form type and physical venue of leisure life styles are closely interconnected with work.
2. The life cycle of the individual tends to form a uniform pattern in terms of total leisure life styles.

Work

1. The physical venue of work and the time spent in work is closely interconnected with the remainder of the individual's leisure behaviour.
2. Leisure behaviour is not easily distinguishable from working behaviour, rather the two spheres are inexorably fused together and at times are synonymous. It is not convenient to make a simple operational definition in terms of a polar contrast with work rather the two spheres must always be analysed concurrently.

Family

1. The individual's links with an extended family network are strong and the conjugal family occupies a subordinate position in a large and extensive community based kinship network.
2. The individual family unit is completely enmeshed into the working milieu.
3. Work the major economic activity of the individual is closely interconnected with other minor economic activities of the family.

PolarityGeneral description

1. The division between work and leisure time is sharp and most distinctive. The form, type and physical venue of leisure life styles is clearly separate from work.
2. The life cycle of the individual and the particular leisure life style pursued are capable of differentiation into distinctive periods of time characterised by particular patterns of leisure behaviour, consumption patterns and attitudes to work and leisure.

Work

1. The physical venue of work and the time the individual spends at work is clearly separate from the remainder of the individual's leisure behaviour.
2. Leisure behaviour is easily distinguishable from working behaviour. It is convenient to make a simple operational definition of leisure in terms of a polar contrast with work.

Family

1. The links with an extended kinship network are weak and the conjugal family forms the most characteristic social unit.
2. The individual's family unit is completely divided from his place of work.
3. Work, the major economic activity of the individual is completely divided from other minor economic activities of the family and household.

FusionSocial

1. Social interaction and behaviour inside and outside the work context are inseparable and reciprocal in style and nature.
2. There is a high level of social interaction inside and outside the work situation.
3. Social interaction outside the workplace is characterised by an extensive range of formal and informal secondary relationships. There is a low level of privatisation.

Recreation

1. The pattern of recreation is fused into the total work situation. The forms and types of recreational patterns pursued are often clearly interconnected with the work situation.
2. The majority of recreation takes place either within the orbit of work or outside the individual's home and family.
3. Participation in recreational activities which require a degree of independence and autonomy is high. Participation in commercially provided recreation is low.
4. The forms of recreational behaviour pursued are complementary to work; they may be extremely violent or passive but they do not form a contrast with the behaviour of the work situation.

PolaritySocial

1. Social interaction and behaviour inside and outside the workplace is distinct in style and character from behaviour and patterns of interaction outside work.
2. There is a low level of social interaction outside the workplace or within the work situation.
3. Social interaction outside the workplace is characterised by a limited number of formal and informal relationships. There is a high level of privatisation.

Recreation

1. The pattern of recreation is distinct in form and type from work. It shows a distinct contrast with the work situation.
2. The majority of recreation is centred outside the sphere of work in the orbit of home and family.
3. Participation in recreational activities which require a prerequisite high degree of autonomy is low. Participation in commercially provided and largely passive recreational pattern is high.
4. The forms of recreational behaviour pursued are distinct in style from work. They may be passive or violent or a combination of the two, however they contrast with and compensate for the deprivation of the work situation.

The model developed above is not intended to be exhaustive.¹⁸ It would need extension if it was used to investigate leisure life styles in non-industrial societies where a variety of social and recreational

18. As I have said it does not deal in any detail with minor economic activities.

activities are reported to occupy the dominant central life interest of the community. However the above four types provide a satisfactory basis for an initial investigation and comparative analysis of leisure life styles in many occupations and communities in industrial society. The fusion/intrinsic type of leisure work relationship provides a suitable foundation for a systematic analysis of life styles in societies where work and leisure spheres fuse into each other and where the values of each area are clearly inter-related or are at least complementary, to each other. These types of relationships have been reported in traditional rural and agricultural communities (C.M. Arensberg and S.T. Kimball, 1940), in family-based industrial organisations (P. Laslett, 1960), and in recently industrialised rural communities (R. Blauner 1967, p.88). It has also been reported in a number of residential occupations where work and non-work spheres interact and work is highly valued and interpenetrates all aspects of leisure. The resident professor on a university campus who evaluates his work as a pleasant alternative to leisure, who allows his academic and social commitments to penetrate all aspects of his non-working time and who enjoys little commercially organised recreation, might well form an extreme example of this type of leisure style (J. Gerstl, 1961, pp.146-147). In contrast polarity/intrinsic life styles form a suitable base for an analysis of situations where although the physical venue of work is clearly separated from the remainder of the individual's leisure behaviour, the values of the two spheres fuse into each other or are at least complementary. This type of relationship has been reported amongst such occupations as teachers, nurses, (H.L. Orzack 1959), Child Care Officers, (S.R. Parker 1965), and traditional craftsmen (R. Blauner 1967, p.50). However, perhaps the classic example of this relationship is found in the analysis of

clerical workers by D. Lockwood (1958), where the choice of a particular style of work, the close identification of the values and personal interests of the clerk with his employer and the associated pursuits of a "gentlemanly" and respectable leisure life style produced a particularly deferential and submissive worker whose work formed his central life interest. In comparison the fusion/extrinsic life style forms a suitable basis for an analysis of situations where the close physical proximity of work and leisure and the interaction of social, family and recreational activities within and outside the work situation produces a considerable fusion between the spheres, which is paralleled by a predominantly instrumental evaluation of the work undertaken. This type of relationship has been reported in many long established and mainly traditional industrial areas (T.S. Simey, 1954), (J. Seabrook 1967); it is also probable that a similar life style occurs in many other manual occupations in such closed institutions or communities as the armed services, the police force and residential hospital service workers.

However although the above types form a satisfactory basis for an analysis of leisure life styles in traditional occupations and communities, it is probable that an increasing number of leisure styles in advanced industrial society fall into the polarity/extrinsic sector of the model. The increasing mechanisation and rationalisation of manual and non-manual work and the reduction in individual levels of autonomy, pride and skill has limited the number of occupations which generate some form of intrinsic work evaluation. The wave of prosperity which such continuous innovation has produced has diminished the spectre of scarcity and eroded the economic basis, which maintained the cultural hegemony of the protestant ethic. It has stimulated the the growth of a leisure-oriented value system in which it is suggested

work is seen primarily as a means to achieve a series of expensive goals which focus on the individual's household and the completion of a number of consumption-oriented life projects. This process of cultural change has been paralleled by a wave of modern urban development in which the use of modern forms of communication and transport has allowed planners to separate commercial and industrial zones from the individual's place of residence and consequently physically polarise the world of work from the world of leisure. As a result of this process the leisure life styles of a wide variety of modern manual and non-manual occupations are converging and acquiring many of the characteristic fragmented and compartmentalised features associated with the polarity/extrinsic section of the model. It is probable that this process has proceeded at its most rapid rate in those newly expanding communities which have modern and highly productive industries and geographically mobile workforce, whose weakened links with an extended kinship network and the values of a long established community have led to a rupture of the structure which traditionally maintained older values. Consequently in the remainder of this work I shall be concerned with the empirical investigation and verification of the interrelated series of hypothesis which compose the following life style.

The polarity/extrinsic life style

Polarity

General Description

1. The division between work and leisure time is sharp and most distinctive. The form, type and physical venue of leisure life styles is clearly separate from work.

Extrinsic

General Description

1. Work is viewed instrumentally as a means to achieve a series of leisure oriented goals.

Polarity

2. The life cycle of the individual and the particular leisure life style pursued are capable of differentiation into distinctive periods of time characterised by particular patterns of leisure behaviour, consumption patterns and attitudes to work and leisure.

Work

1. The physical venue of work and the time the individual spends at work is clearly separate from the remainder of the individual's leisure behaviour.

2. Leisure behaviour is easily distinguishable from working behaviour. It is convenient to make a simple operational definition of leisure in terms of a polar contrast with work.

Family

1. The links with an extended kinship network are weak and the conjugal family forms the most characteristic social unit.

2. The individual's family unit is completely divided from his place of work.

3. Work, the major economic activity of the individual is completely divided from the other minor economic activities of the household.

Extrinsic

2. The values of the work and leisure sphere are in constant opposition and conflict with each other and a total value system does not exist.

Work

1. The desire to achieve a series of expensive leisure-oriented aims and goals influences the individual's choice of occupation and may lead to the pursuit of an unsatisfying work situation.

2. Work is viewed instrumentally. It is subordinated among the central life interests of the individual; ego involvement and levels of autonomy, freedom and interest in work are low. Work is not viewed as a meaningful activity in itself or as a source of individual satisfaction.

3. Aspirations for individual occupational success are low, advancement is evaluated as a collective movement and is measured in terms of expanding leisure-oriented aims and goals.

Family

1. The family unit is of prime importance in the individual's hierarchy of values. It provides the focus for a value system which legitimates an alienating work situation.

PolaritySocial

1. Social interaction and behaviour inside and outside the workplace is distinct in style and character from behaviour and patterns of interaction outside work.

2. There is a low level of social interaction outside the workplace or within the work situation.

3. Social interaction outside the workplace is characterised by a limited number of formal and informal relationships. There is a high level of privatisation.

Recreation

1. The pattern of recreation is distinct in form and type from work. It shows a distinct contrast with the work situation.

2. The majority of recreational activity is centred outside the sphere of work in the orbit of home and family.

3. Participation in recreational activities which require a prerequisite high degree of autonomy is low. Participation in commercially provided and largely passive recreational patterns is high.

4. The forms of recreational behaviour pursued are distinct in style from work. They may be passive or violent or a combination of the two, however they contrast with and compensate for the deprivation of the work situation.

Conclusion

In this Chapter I have reviewed some of the major problems associated with the study of leisure. I have suggested that leisure is a concept which can be usefully employed to analyse total working-spheres and I have chosen one particular type of leisure-work

ExtrinsicSocial

1. Social status in the leisure milieu is not the product of occupational achievement but is measured in terms of individual success in achieving a distinctive life style.

2. Social status is measured by a visual evaluation of income through types of consumption and display.

Recreation

1. Recreational activity is evaluated as a period which is a sharp and violent contrast with work.

Recreational activities are highly valued. Recreation is seen as a period in which the individual can escape from the constraints of his work situation and pursue his family oriented leisure activities.

relationship as a basis for an investigation of leisure life styles amongst different social groups and life cycle stages in a new community. This research strategy also enables me to make a more general contribution to the ongoing debate upon the form of leisure and work relationship in modern industrial society. However in the bulk of the remainder of this work I shall investigate how far the simplified structuring of reality represented in the component interrelated propositions of the polarity instrumental leisure style corresponds to the social and cultural situation which exists in Corby New Town.

CHAPTER 3

THE METHODS USED TO STUDY LEISURE LIFE STYLES
AND LEISURE WORK RELATIONSHIPS IN CORBYIntroduction

In this chapter I shall describe the methods I used to investigate leisure life styles and leisure work relationships in Corby. It was seen in the last chapter that leisure was a complex concept which had many dimensions. I decided to study two of these, the behavioural and the normative; ideally I would have wished to have included others, such as the biological and the psychological, however such a task was obviously outside my sphere of competence.

A study which seeks to investigate normative and behavioural dimensions of leisure must inevitably concern itself with two different if not easily separable fields. It must examine what activities people do in their leisure time. It must also examine the values, attitudes and systems of belief, which people hold and which leads them to follow certain patterns of behaviour and reject others.

It was seen in the last chapter that there had not been a great amount of research into leisure in Britain. In 1965, there were only a few studies available which, either attempted to describe how people spent their leisure time,¹ or which examined people's attitudes to various leisure life styles.² As a result of these limitations, I

-
1. One of the best of these, Spare Time in the Black Country, (D. Rich 1953), unfortunately took place before the advent of television. Another study The People's Activities (B.B.C.1965) was also useful since it reported a survey of national time usage. However it had a number of serious limitations, in particular, since it was commissioned as part of an audience research project, it failed to examine home based or outdoor activities which did not relate to the B.B.C's interests.
 2. The most interesting of these studies was by S.R.Parker. In 1965 he reported in The Sociological Review the results of an investigation he had made into attitudes to work and leisure in three different occupations. (Work and Non-Work in Three Occupations), (Sociological Review, March, 1965).

decided to conduct two separate studies of leisure life styles in Corby.

The first of these, an initial survey, was conducted during the period October 1966 to April 1967 and was intended to be a preliminary inquiry. It took the form of a series of 385 successfully completed interviews, in which I attempted to find out how people in Corby spent their leisure time and I also examined some of their attitudes to the spheres of leisure and work.

I used the information from these interviews as a basis upon which I constructed the questionnaire used in the main survey, which I carried out in 1969. This questionnaire was intended to systematically investigate all of the interrelated series of hypothesis which composed my model of leisure life styles and leisure work relationships. It was also intended to be easily applicable and replicable and was designed to facilitate a rigorous, systematic and quantifiable analysis of these spheres. This was necessary, because I hoped that my study of Corby would form the first of a number of investigations, which would systematically examine leisure and leisure work relationships in a number of different communities and occupational groups in Britain.

As a result of this dual and somewhat cumbersome research strategy, the following chapter contains two sections. The first of these describes the main problems I encountered, the methods I adopted and the response rate to the initial survey. The second section describes a similar process with respect to the questionnaire I used in the main survey. I conclude the chapter by discussing some of the main advantages and disadvantages associated with the methods I used in each survey and I suggest that in any future study I would probably synthesise some of the best features from each of them.

Section 1. The Method used in the initial survey of leisure 1966-1967.

In this preliminary survey I wanted to find out how people in Corby spent their leisure time. A number of alternative techniques were available to measure people's leisure behaviour and in particular their use of non-working time. Each technique had a number of advantages, unfortunately they also had the following difficulties associated with them.

Leisure frequency scales

In this technique a number of leisure activities are arbitrarily chosen and the respondent is asked to indicate how often he does them.

For example in the main survey I asked the following question:

"How many hours a day do you usually spend watching television ?"	1. Never
	2. Under 1 hour...
	3. 1 to 3 hours...
	4. 4 or more hours

This type of frequency scale has many advantages, it is cheap and also a rapid method of measuring activity. I found that it was useful to include it in part of a large questionnaire, which required a series of rapid and spontaneous answers about behaviour before it went on to examine attitudes. However, unless it is used with caution, it can easily become a conservative tool which merely measures participation in the leisure activities the questionnaire designer has chosen to nominate. These in turn may reflect a series of personal values about the position of particular leisure activities in society, or they may simply repeat assumptions which were inherent in a design which was borrowed from another survey.

Leisure frequency scales can also lead to error as a result of the respondent's attempt to reflect the conventionally accepted values of society. He may give a very high frequency rating to culturally approved activities such as reading a book or going to the cinema. He

may give low or negative frequencies for activities which he may believe are the subject of shame or popular disapproval for example visiting strip clubs or a cock pit.

This method also fails to measure the amounts of time spent by people on different activities. This can lead to a serious misrepresentation of information, for example although two men may score equally on the leisure frequency scale, "visited the public house once weekly", they may in fact spend vastly different amounts of time upon this activity. One man may spend five minutes on a Sunday morning, one may spend the whole of a Saturday evening, yet they both record the same score.

As a result of these weaknesses, I decided to use these types of scaling devices only when they were based upon a systematic body of evidence, which can also be referred to in order to check the reliability of the completed survey results. However, when this information is available, then they do offer a cheap and reliable means of checking the leisure activities of large populations.

The Diary Method

This technique is commonly used in market and audience research. The respondent is provided with a diary and is asked to record his daily activities over a specified period. As a result a highly detailed and accurate picture of time usage is often built up. However, this method also has a number of fundamental difficulties. There is usually a very high non-response rate, many people refuse to keep detailed diaries which may give intimate details about their behaviour. Many more people who agree to complete diaries fail to fill them in regularly or accurately (unless they are paid). This type of investigation also assumes a literate audience, it is not very

successful with the semi-literate and of course the activities of the illiterate are not measured by it.

In spite of these disadvantages, it is probable that the diary method is a useful tool for gaining information from co-operative and literate social groups. However, I decided it was not suitable to employ in a general investigation of leisure behaviour in a new community.

The Diary Recording Schedule

This method is similar to the diary method I examined above. The crucial difference is that the diary is used as a recording schedule, which is completed by the interviewer and not by the respondent, who is simply required to give an account of his leisure activities over a particular period.

However, this technique also has a number of disadvantages. It involves an extensive and guided discussion to explore all the nuances of a person's behaviour. The interview commonly takes the form of a long conversation in which the respondent is taken over a carefully pre-selected group of subjects. Naturally such a process requires a highly skilled interviewer; it takes up a large amount of time and it can be extremely expensive. The adoption of this technique also involves considerable problems of standardisation. This is because interviewers are likely to differ slightly from each other in the methods they use to guide the general discussion. Finally the diary recording schedule possesses all of the difficulties associated with personal recall of past events. This is particularly likely to occur in situations where behaviour is not routinised or patterned. For example, many families who had recently migrated to Corby were unlikely to have developed settled leisure routines which reflected their adjustment to the

environment of a new community.

However this method also had a number of advantages, and as a result I considered these merited their use in the initial survey of leisure behaviour in Corby. In particular, it enabled an accurate and objective picture to be built up of time distribution and activity. Although the problem of recall was always present, I attempted to eliminate it as much as possible by conducting my survey in areas which had been settled for at least a year and in most cases more than five years. As a result, I assumed that most men and women in my sample had lived in Corby long enough to have developed settled routines, which helped them to remember their leisure activities. The other major problems involved in using this method were related to standardisation and expenses. However these were largely eliminated in the initial survey, this was because I decided to finance the expense of the survey myself and carry out all the interviews in my own spare time.

The decision to use a diary recording schedule in the initial survey gave rise to a number of additional problems. I had to decide the length of time I wished the respondents to recall and I also had to choose a unit of time which would measure his (or her) leisure activities. I also had to decide the form the diary recording schedule would take and what sort of additional, exploratory questions I wanted to ask about attitudes to work and leisure in Corby.

The length of time to be recalled

Studies which used the diary method usually examined people's activities in the week prior to the interview (D. Rich, 1959, B.B.C. 1965). This strategy tended to produce satisfactory results because the week was a commonly accepted unit of time, which was short enough to enable past activities to be recalled with some degree of accuracy.

These studies also suggested that most people's activities tended to follow characteristic patterns throughout the week. This in turn made the concept of a weekly cycle of leisure activities meaningful and aided most respondents recall.

In view of the above considerations I decided to use the week as the basis for the length of time I wished respondents to recall. And for the purpose of the survey the week was defined as the period of seven days duration immediately preceding the day on which the guided discussion took place.

A unit of time for measuring leisure behaviour

A variety of units were obviously available to measure the amount of time people spent in different leisure activities. The diary completion method commonly used the quarter hour. However, I decided this would be imprecise in a diary recording schedule; this was because although people can usually accurately recall the general nature of their activities in any particular period, their precise knowledge of the time when an event occurred was often very vague. In contrast, D. Rich in her study of Coseley adopted the two hour period as the unit of recall. This approach also proved to be an unsatisfactory one. Although it provided a means of describing the general location of leisure behaviour, it did not provide sufficient detail about the variety of activities which were carried on within the general orbit of the home. In view of the above limitations of units of time which were either too small or too large, I decided to compromise and adopt the hour as the basic unit for measuring the amount of time spent in different leisure activities.

This strategy had a number of advantages. It facilitated a rapid analysis of time distribution and it enabled me to make a simple

comparison of the number of hours different in sample groups spent in particular leisure activities. This unit of time was also large enough to provide me with the details of most people's leisure activities in Corby, but it was small enough to exclude necessary physiological activities, whose inclusion may have obscured the general pattern of leisure activity under investigation.

However the decision to adopt the hourly unit of time as the basic unit for measuring leisure behaviour also introduced a number of disadvantages. The most serious of these was that it tended to produce an artificially structured impression of leisure behaviour. This was because it naturally recorded events as lasting for one hour's duration, when actually they may have lasted for slightly longer or slightly shorter periods. However since this method was adopted to measure and analyse the primary pattern of leisure behaviour in Corby, then the advantages of this system tended on balance to outweigh the minor errors and imperfections involved in its utilisation.

The form of the diary recording schedule

The diary recording schedule was constructed so that it took the form of time sheet, on which I could record the leisure activities of respondents during the week prior to the interview. In an ideal situation and with unlimited funds and co-operation, I would have examined the whole spectrum of activities which took place during the previous 7 day, 24 hour cycle. However I decided to limit myself to activities which took place in the morning between the hours of 9 a.m. and 12 noon, in the afternoon between 2 and 5 p.m. and in the evening between 6 p.m. and 12 midnight.

This was because a pilot survey indicated that many respondents found it onerous to account for their previous activities on a 24 hour

cycle. Many of them pointed out that their most important leisure activities, or the activities they wanted to talk about if they wanted to appear "good respondents", took place in the morning, afternoon or evening. As a result I found it much easier and much more useful to conduct the survey by making reference to the above times and ignoring periods when most people were either sleeping, having breakfast, lunch or tea. However on reflection, 6 years after I decided to adopt this strategy, I am less happy with it. This is because the initial survey inevitably ignored many important leisure activities which took place at the times I purposely chose to ignore, for example eating one's lunch and listening to the radio or reading the newspaper; for example going to bed and having sexual relationships with one's spouse. It also seemed probable at the time that if I had chosen to investigate the whole 24 hour cycle, then either my response rate would have been much lower or I would have been physically injured, unless I had decided to concentrate upon developing a more intensive relationship with a much smaller and probably far less representative sample.

The various leisure activities which people recorded during the course of the interview were recorded on the initial schedule and where necessary in a notebook. They were later classified into the following categories, which formed the basis for much of my subsequent initial analysis of leisure life styles in Corby.

A classification of leisure activities recorded in the diary recording schedule.

- | | |
|------------------------------|---|
| 1. Listening to the radio | 10. Reading |
| 2. Watching television | 11. Visiting Friends |
| 3. Do it yourself activities | 12. Visiting the Family |
| 4. Hobbies and crafts | 13. Visiting Social and
Recreational Clubs |
| 5. Letter writing | 14. Visiting Bingo Clubs |
| 6. Gardening | 15. Visiting Public Houses |
| 7. Indoor games | 16. Cinema going |
| 8. Resting | 17. Dancing |
| 9. Study | |

- | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 18. Betting | 28. Shopping locally |
| 19. Visiting the Theatre | 29. Shopping town centre |
| 20. Visiting concerts | 30. Shopping out of Corby |
| 21. Church services | 31. Walking and cycling |
| 22. Church societies | 32. Motoring for pleasure |
| 23. Visiting the Library | 33. Women's organisations |
| 24. Going to Evening Classes | 34. Amateur societies |
| 25. Visiting Sports Clubs | 35. Welfare work |
| 26. Playing sport | 36. Youth work |
| 27. Watching sport. | 37. Any other activities. |

Additional information required in the survey

In addition to recording the respondents previous weekly leisure activities, the diary recording schedule also contained a number of supplementary items which measured age, occupation, life cycle stage, education and work patterns. This information was necessary if I wanted to distinguish between different groups within the sample, in order to test some of the theories I had reviewed in chapter 2.

Finally, the schedule contained a number of more vaguely worded items such as,

"Do you think your life in Corby could be improved by a modern sports stadium and sports facilities ?".....

These exploratory questions were intended to stimulate a general discussion, which would help me to understand some of the attitudes which governed the pattern of time distribution I had measured in the diary recording schedule. In practice I found that this additional stimulation was rarely necessary. Most people were very willing to express attitudes and opinions as they recounted their previous week's leisure activities to me.

The Leisure Recording Schedule and the above additional questions together with an introductory letter are included in Appendix 1 of this work.

Fieldwork

The fieldwork for the initial survey was conducted during the

period October 1966 to April 1967. I conducted 385 interviews in 237 households selected at random from the Lodge Park and Forest Gate areas of Corby.³

I decided to limit my fieldwork to the above areas because they seemed to be fairly representative of most stages of Corby's growth. I did not want to choose a random sample from the whole town. This was because the very unusual demographic structure of Corby, (see diagram 1, chapter 1), made it seem likely that if I adopted this approach, then the number of older people and those at the latter stages of their life cycle, would be too small to facilitate the in sample comparisons I wanted to carry out. In contrast, the above two areas could reasonably be expected to contain a sufficiently large number of people in each age, life cycle and occupational group, to facilitate a reliable in sample analysis of leisure life styles and leisure work relationships.⁴

The Forest Gate area was mainly composed of housing built by Stewarts and Lloyds Ltd., between 1934 and 1940. It also contained two small enclaves of private housing and a small section of council houses built in the 1950's. The majority of people who lived in this area had moved to Corby in the 1930's and 1940's, it seemed probable that most of them had raised their families in the 1940's and 1950's and by the mid 1960's were either entering the mature phase of married life or had passed on into retirement.

In contrast, the Lodge Park area was mainly composed of housing which was built by the Urban District Council in the 1950's. Most of

-
3. For a more detailed analysis of the methods I used to select the sample for the initial 1966/67 survey (and the 1969 survey), see Appendix 6.
 4. I also wanted to avoid the extra expense and burden which a random survey of the whole adult population living in the urban area of Corby would have necessarily incurred.

the remaining houses were either built by private developers in the early 1960's or by The Development Corporation in the later 1960's. The majority of people who lived in this area had either migrated to Corby in the 1950's and 1960's or they were the children of the first wave of migrants to the new community. It seemed reasonable to assume that most of them would be in much earlier stages of their adult life cycle than was the case with the Forest Gate area.

Results

The design of the diary recording schedule provided me with a satisfactory tool with which to make an initial examination of leisure behaviour in Corby. I found that the majority of people I met were very co-operative and 82% of all households I contacted agreed to take part in my survey.

The evidence suggested that the sample contained a representative number of men working in manual and non-manual occupations, and an examination of Table 3/1 below illustrates that the proportion in each of these groups was very similar to that reported in the 1966 Sample Census.

Table 3/1 The Proportion of men working in manual and non-manual occupations (A comparison of the 1966 sample census and the 1966/67 Survey)

<u>Occupation</u>	1966 Sample Census	1966/67 Survey
	N =	N = 196.
	%	%
Manual	82	85
Non-manual	18	15
Total	100	100

However, my choice of the Forest Gate and Lodge Park areas which as we have seen was made in order to include a large number of older people in the sample, was too successful. As a result an examination of Table 3/2 illustrates that the proportion of people in the older age

groups was much higher than that reported in the 1966 Sample Census.

Table 3.2 The proportion of people in different age groups (A comparison of the 1966 sample census and the 1966/67 survey).5

	1966 Sample Census N = 1,408	1966/67 Survey N = 385
	%	%
1. 17-20	-	-
2. 21-29	26	14
3. 30-39	25	24
4. 40-49	22	23
5. 50-59	16	26
6. 60-64	5	6
7. 65 +	5	6
Total	100	100

In the main survey I attempted to correct the above imbalance by supplementing the original two areas with part of a newly built and settled estate. However although this tended satisfactorily to resolve the age balance to near the 1966 Sample Census level, it so reduced the number of elderly and retired men and women that I omitted them from the analysis of my main sample data.

The other main weakness of the initial survey was that, although I contacted 239 households and interviewed 385 people, many of the groups within my sample were too small for me to undertake any reliable in sample comparison of leisure behaviour. As a result I decided in the main survey to increase my sample size to 340 households.

Although as I have said above, the diary recording schedule proved a useful tool to study some aspects of people's leisure time, I also found that the attempt to contact 239 households and conduct a series of intensive interviews with 385 people, more physically and emotionally exhausting than I had imagined it would be at the start of the survey.

-
5. In the above table I have included 6 young married teenagers who were all 18 or 19 years old in the category for 20-29 years. This is because I wanted to compare my sample data with the adult age range in Corby. I omitted comparison with the 15 to 19 year old age group because most of these people were neither married nor householders.

This personal experience, together with my need for a larger sample, proved critical factors in leading me to adopt a different method in the main survey, namely a questionnaire which most respondents could fill in themselves.

Conclusion to section one

In spite of the above difficulties, the initial survey produced a large amount of detailed information about leisure life styles and leisure work relationships in Corby. I have summarised some of the main features of this survey in Appendix 2, while in Appendix 3 I have included a more detailed analysis of the amount of time which was spent in a variety of general and particular activities. I was also able to use the information I gathered in the course of this initial inquiry as a base on which I could build the questionnaire I used in the main survey in 1969.

Section 2. The method used in the main survey of leisure carried out in 1969.

In this main survey I wanted to examine all of the series of hypothesis included in the model of polarity/extrinsic life style, which I had developed at the end of chapter 2. I wanted an easily applicable and replicable questionnaire, which would facilitate a rigorous, systematic and quantifiable analysis of leisure life styles and leisure work relationships in Corby. A variety of techniques were obviously available for use in this project, however I decided to adopt the following methods to examine leisure behaviour and people's attitudes to the spheres of work and leisure.

Leisure behaviour

I decided to use the leisure frequency technique to measure people's leisure activities. This was because I needed a cheap and rapid means of examining behaviour, which would not tire the respondents before they

came to answer questions about their attitudes and values. As I pointed out in section 1, this approach has a number of weaknesses. Many of the most serious objections to the use of this method are removed if the leisure-frequency scales are built upon a systematic body of evidence, (such as I had accumulated during the initial survey) and are not merely a reflection of the personal assumptions of the survey designer.

Attitudes to work and leisure

I employed a series of open and closed questions to measure attitudes to various facets of work and leisure. Many of these questions were based upon the informal discussions which had so often accompanied the completion of the diary recording schedule, during the course of the initial survey.

The Questionnaire

The questions about leisure behaviour and attitudes to work and leisure were grouped together to form a long document, which was designed to be filled in by the respondents themselves.⁶ I employed a questionnaire of this type because I wanted a cheap, reliable and effective instrument, which could be easily applied to a large sample of 340 households, which could be easily used in comparable surveys of other areas, which would not be as emotionally or physically exhausting to apply as the initial survey and which would avoid many of the problems that might have occurred if I had employed inexperienced personnel to administer a highly searching questionnaire.⁷

6. A copy of this questionnaire together with an introductory letter is included in Appendix 4.

7. At the time of the survey, I was teaching a class of mature married women. I could have employed this group to deliver the questionnaire as part of their work. However I decided against this because in my opinion, most of them lacked the experience or the resilience which was often needed to persuade a person to accept and complete a highly searching questionnaire.

The main disadvantages associated with a questionnaire of this type were the potentially high refusal rate and the problems which semi-literate or illiterate adults might encounter if they were asked to fill in such a long document themselves. However, I partly eliminated these difficulties by adopting the following procedure.

1. A carefully worded letter of introduction was sent jointly to the man considered to be the head of the household and to his wife. This letter which is included in Appendix 4, was designed to explain the main aims of the survey and also to prepare the household for a visit by the person delivering the questionnaire.

2. The questionnaires were delivered by myself, my wife and by one friend who kindly offered to help us. We all had previous experience of survey work and we were also used to meeting the public, since two of us were teachers and one was a librarian.

3. The questionnaires were checked with the respondents before they were collected from them. Any difficulty in interpretation was resolved at this stage, for example some people were uncertain about the correct answer they should give to the following question (No.71).

"Please tick the box against the figure which roughly represents your joint family income" 8

Some people wanted to know whether I required the nett or the gross amount and I was able to tell them that I wanted the total nett income of their family.

4. In the case of semi-literate or illiterate men and women, help in filling in the questionnaire was given by the person who delivered

8. This question was deliberately left in a loose form since at the time I believed people would be reticent to disclose details of their income if I was too precise about gross and net amounts. In the event I found this was not the case and most people I met were quite willing to disclose their gross and net family income.

and collected it.

5. In the case of households where it was not possible to contact anyone, five separate visits were made before the attempt was abandoned.

Fieldwork

In November 1968, I tested the design of the questionnaire in a pilot survey of 40 households. I was worried at the time that the design of the survey and in particular the length of the questionnaire, together with the requirement that people fill it in themselves, would seriously reduce the response rate. However 78% of all households I contacted returned completed questionnaires and this compared favourably with the response rate of the initial survey of 1966⁷, which was 82%.

The experience I gathered during the pilot survey resulted in a number of minor modifications to the questionnaire. In particular the sequence of questions was altered so that they ran from the simple to the more complex, this was because I wanted people to get used to filling in the questionnaire by answering items which were simple and straightforward first of all, before they went on to more difficult and less familiar fields. I also eliminated the more complex words so that the questionnaire could be easily completed by people with a low reading age.

The fieldwork of the main survey was carried out during the period January to April 1969 and 470 successfully completed questionnaires were collected from a sample of 338 households selected at random from the Beanfield West 1, Forest Gate and Lodge Park areas of Corby.⁹ The latter two areas had also been the subject of the initial field survey; however as I pointed out in section 1 of this chapter, I wanted to supplement them with a newly built estate which in all probability would

9. For a more detailed account of the method I used to select the sample for the survey see Appendix 6.

contain a large number of young families. This was because I wanted to satisfactorily resolve the slightly underrepresentative age distribution which had characterised the initial survey. Most of the houses in the Beanfield area had been built by the Development Corporation in the early 1960's; however a small enclave had been built later in the mid 1960's while the remaining houses had been erected by private builders.

The majority of the questionnaires were distributed and collected either by myself or by my wife. As I have said, a friend who worked in the local library also helped and he covered a block of 40 houses.

Results

The design of the questionnaire provided me with a satisfactory tool with which to make an examination of leisure life styles and leisure work relationships in Corby. I found that most of the people I contacted were very co-operative and 73% of all households agreed to take part in the survey. However, this was slightly lower than the response rate I recorded in the initial survey (82%). This was probably because more people found it difficult to fill in a questionnaire themselves, than to take part in a guided discussion. The details of the response rate for each of the areas I surveyed are set out in Table 3/3 below.

Table 3/3. A comparison of the response rate in the three areas I examined in the main survey.

<u>Areas</u>	<u>Number of Households in the sample</u>	<u>% Success</u>	<u>% Refusal</u>	<u>% Non-Contact</u>
Beanfield West 1	120	75	20	5
Lodge Park	106	73	25	2
Forest Gate	112	70	27	3
Total	338	73	24	3

An examination of the above table shows that there was a slightly

higher non-contact rate in the Beanfield area. This was probably a reflection of the more rapid movement of families in and out of a newly built estate in the early years of its development. As a result many houses in this area stood empty, waiting for new tenants, while their former occupants had moved to other parts of Corby or left the town.

The above table also shows that the highest refusal rate was in the Forest Gate area. This was probably a reflection of its demographic structure, as we have seen most of this area was built and settled in the 1930's and it naturally contained a large number of older men and women. This group contained many people who were lonely and isolated, suspicious of callers and reluctant to admit interviewers into their home. It also contained many people who found having to fill in a questionnaire themselves most difficult. As a result of these factors, there was such a high refusal rate amongst the elderly that I only had data on 10 completely retired men and women, together with a further 15 older women who were widows. Because of the small number of people in this group I omitted them (together with 3 unemployed men) from inclusion in the bulk of the subsequent analysis. This decision reduced my sample size from 470 to 442.

Conclusion

The main characteristics of the people who filled in the questionnaire were very similar to those I interviewed in the initial survey.¹⁰ The only exception was that the proportion of older people in the main survey was lower than that in the initial survey.¹¹

-
10. In Appendix 5, I have examined a number of representative factors which were directly comparable and common to both samples.
 11. As we have seen this reflected the different sampling frames I used in the two surveys. This was because in the main survey I attempted to correct the age imbalance which had occurred in the initial survey. As a result I supplemented the original two areas I examined in 1966/67 with a third area which seemed likely to contain a large number of young people with young families.

The questionnaire used in the main survey had a number of advantages over the diary recording schedule I used in the initial survey. It was simple and inexpensive to administer and it produced a large amount of easily quantifiable information. As a result it would be easy to use this questionnaire again, in other studies of different communities (and occupational groups). In this way a series of easily comparable studies of work and leisure in different sections of industrial society could be built up.

It also seems probable that the type of information the questionnaire produced could form the basis for a more sophisticated, mathematical analysis of leisure life styles. This is because much of the information it produced about leisure behaviour and attitudes to work and leisure was easily quantified. Although in the subsequent analysis of leisure life styles in Corby, my limited mathematical and statistical competence, forced me to adopt a largely descriptive approach, this is not necessarily the most fruitful or easily comparable. It is probable that this type of questionnaire could also be incorporated into a series of studies which employed more sophisticated mathematical models of leisure life style and more sophisticated techniques of analysis, and which attempted to study leisure in many different communities in Britain.

However, the questionnaire I used in the main survey also had a number of weaknesses. Much of the information it produced was numerical in form and impersonal in character. It could not by nature of its design produce the complexity, variety and richness found in the cases I recorded during the course of the initial survey. These often vividly illustrated the complex interaction of personal activities, which contributed towards the construction of a total leisure life style. As

a result, in any future inquiry of this nature, I would always supplement the large scale questionnaire by a series of intensive, personal case studies. I would hope that these additional studies would produce fresh and penetrating insights into total life styles and would usefully supplement a sophisticated mathematical analysis of the numerical data.

However, in the remainder of this work I am not always in the happy position of an old craftsman, who works with well chosen and seasoned timbers. Like many young journeymen I must compromise with the material which the rashness of youth and inexperience thrust into my hands. As a result in the remainder of this work I have decided to draw on the information produced by the main questionnaire for the bulk of the detailed statistical and descriptive information about leisure in Corby. For the reasons I have given above, I felt that it was also necessary to amplify many points in the narrative by illustrating them with some of the cases I gathered during my initial survey.

In the next chapter I shall go on to describe the main features of this survey in more detail. I shall also discuss how far it was representative of Corby and how far it formed a group which was of critical importance for a study of leisure in modern industrial society.

CHAPTER 4

CORBY, A PROTOTYPE COMMUNITY,
AN ANALYSIS OF THE MAIN CHARACTERISTICS OF CORBY NEW TOWN.

In chapter 1, I suggested that Corby was a new and in many ways unusual industrial community. It was a cosmopolitan town which was geographically distant from the source of most of its population. It lacked the long established social structure which (as suggested in chapter 2), helped in many older communities to perpetuate traditional and often poverty oriented life styles. It had a short history of continuous economic expansion and prosperity, and in contrast with most industrial towns, all of its development had been planned, and its designers were able to call upon the experiences of earlier and more often ad hoc phases of urban growth. Corby was also different from most other post-war new towns in that its economy was mainly based upon heavy industry (steel making), and most of its men worked in manual occupations.¹ As a result, Corby was a somewhat unusual new community and many of its major features, such as its planned environment, its migrant cosmopolitan population and its general prosperity, were probably more characteristic of future than of most contemporary urban societies.²

I shall now describe how far the sample I surveyed in 1969 was representative of the adult population of Corby. I shall also show

-
1. In contrast, the ring of post-war new towns surrounding London and Glasgow possess lighter industries than Corby, and a higher proportion of their labour forces work in non-manual occupations. (Thomas R. 1969, 1 & 2).
 2. Since I began this study in 1965, large expansions have been planned for many towns, (Peterborough, Northampton and Daventry being some examples). These towns will also be geographically distant from the sources of their populations. The fusion of young immigrants with an old established population will tend to make the communities less homogeneous and more cosmopolitan.

that the sample contained many characteristics which provided me with a group that seemed less likely to be dominated by the people and traditions of the past, and most likely to be receptive to the media-communicated values of a modern, prosperous industrial society.

History

Most men and women in the sample (90%), were not born in Corby but had moved to the town from other parts of the British Isles.³ An examination of Table 4/1 below shows that many people in the sample had migrated long distances in order to live in Corby.

Table 4/1 The place of origin of all men and women in the sample.

<u>Place of origin</u>	<u>Men</u> N = 228%	<u>Women</u> N = 214%	<u>Total</u> N = 442%
1. Born in Corby	8	11	10
2. Midlands and East Anglia	22	22	22
3. North West and North East England	12	14	13
4. Wales	3	3	3
5. Scotland	41	38	40
6. Ireland	6	4	5
7. Southern England	7	7	6
8. Other places	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100

The constraints of time, distance and money, made it very difficult for many people to maintain close contact with their community of origin, and as a result, although many said that they would like to return to their old homes when they retired, in most cases this represented a pious dream rather than a realistic assessment of their present situation.

3. It was difficult to estimate how far this was typical of all men and women in Corby, because the 1961 and 1966 Census reports did not differentiate between people born in Corby of immigrant parents, and people born in other parts of England. However, many other factors in the survey correspond closely with these Census reports and therefore it seems reasonable to assume that the proportion in Table 4/1 was representative of the men and women in Corby.

As Mrs. Smith said:

"We came here from Jedburgh in 1939. My Tommy often talks of going back home when he's done his time at the works, but our parents are all dead, and our friends have all gone away. We're not known there now, and it would be just like going back to a strange land. We'd best stay in Corby now till we die".

In most cases the migrants to Corby came from long established areas, which had experienced a decline in their staple industries. As a result, these depressed regions no longer enjoyed the prosperity which was to be found in the expanding communities of the Midlands and Southern England. Mr. Jones was typical of many men I met who as a young man had left his native valley in South Wales, in order to found a new life for himself in the Midlands.

"I was born in Crynant, and when I left school I was taken on at the local pit, but I was thrown out of work in 1926 so I decided to join the army. I served six years with the Royal Welch Fusiliers, and when I came out in 1933, they sent me to a labour camp. One day I saw an advert in the Daily Herald "Labour wanted in Corby at 10½d an hour", so I came up here. It was rough at first, and I slept in a chair for six months, until the firm built these houses and I sent for my wife. I remember Irishmen sleeping in the bushes in the open on the Weldon Road. It was so rough I was often frightened to go out at nights".

Cultural Diversity

The presence in Corby of a predominantly migrant population also gave a considerable degree of cultural heterogeneity to the sample. Corby was not dominated by a population recruited from one source area as was so often the case with the new communities established to relieve urban congestion in London, Glasgow and Edinburgh. Members of the sample came from many different areas and communities of the British Isles and beyond.

A considerable element (40%) came from Scotland and theoretically this group might have given a degree of cultural heterogeneity to the sample. In practice this was not found to be so. Differences

between urban and rural, highlander or lowlander, Catholic or Protestant, people from fishing communities or isolated villages, all contributed to a great diversity and variety within the Scottish element.⁴

The same diversity was found amongst the Irish, 40% of whom came from Ulster and 60% from Eire. It was also to be seen amongst the Welsh, who came from the mining valleys of the South, as well as the hill farms and quarries of the North.

The other large group in the sample came from the Midlands and East Anglia, where again there was within the group, a considerable diversity and variety of background. For example it would be misleading to conceive of a steelworking specialist from Bilston, a former boot and shoe operative from Kettering and an ex-farm worker from Norfolk as forming a cohesive or solitary group.

Reasons for moving to Corby

The motives which brought people from various parts of the British Isles to Corby are naturally complex. I attempted to elicit some of these motives by asking the following question :

"What are the main reasons why you moved to Corby ?"

The answers to this question are represented below in Table 4/2.

Table 4/2. Reasons for moving to Corby (including all men and women in the sample except those born in Corby).

<u>Reason</u>	<u>Men</u> N = 208 %	<u>Women</u> N = 190 %	<u>Total</u> N = 398 %
1. To join one's family	10	27	18
2. To get a house	19	26	23
3. To find work	39	15	28
4. Attraction of living in a new town	5	6	5
5. Wish to leave old area	12	10	10

4. This gulf was particularly evident and often verged on the borders of excessive religious bigotry. One Scottish Presbyterian told me, "No we don't go to the kirk any more. When the pastor sent his girl to the Convent school in Kettering that really finished us with his kirk".

Table 4/2 (cont)

<u>Reason</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Total</u>
	N = 208 %	N = 190 %	N = 398 %
6. Came as a child with parents	6	8	7
7. To get work and housing	7	3	5
8. Attraction of new town and work	-	1	1
9. Other reasons	2	4	3
Total	100	100	100

The pattern of these answers indicate that most men and women moved to Corby because they wanted to change their life styles and improve their material standard of living. The respondents continually reiterated the advantages of finding modern housing, regular work and a satisfactory physical environment in a newly expanding community. Altogether 46% of men mentioned the attraction of finding work, 26% of men and 29% of women mentioned the attraction of modern housing and 17% of men and 16% of women mentioned the attraction of a new town together with the desire to leave their old homes.

An examination of this table also shows that 10% of men and 27% of women came to Corby to be reunited with their husbands and families. In part these answers reflected a common pattern of migration to Corby, in which men come first, find work, establish roots and then send for their wife and family.

In part it also reflected a pattern of migration which in some cases involved a complex relocation of extended family groups, from declining communities to this new town.

Despite these varied reasons for moving to Corby, all the respondents shared one common characteristic, in that they were willing to move a considerable distance, in order to improve their standard of living and quality of life.

Length of time lived in Corby.

Most of the people in the sample had lived in Corby long enough to have settled down and developed new life styles. The question, "How long have you lived in Corby?" was asked and the results are represented in Table 4/3 below:

Table 4/3 Length of time lived in Corby, (all men and women in the sample).

<u>Time in Corby</u>	<u>Men</u> N = 228 %	<u>Women</u> N = 214 %	<u>Total</u> N = 442 %
1. Under 1 year	4	4	4
2. 1 to 3 years	10	6	8
3. 3 to 5 years	7	10	9
4. 6 to 9 years	16	16	16
5. 10 years and over	63	64	63
Total	100	100	100

These figures show that most men and women had lived in Corby for at least three years and most of them had lived in the town for over ten years.

Only a few recently arrived immigrants had lived in the town for under three years and it is probable that these people were still adjustment to their new environment.⁵

B. Cullingworth in a recent work (The Needs of New Communities, H.M.S.O. 1967), has suggested that during this initial stage of entry into a new community, it is unlikely that people will join in activities in the town, but rather that their attention will be focused

-
5. I suspect that many families who could not adjust to life in Corby left during this period. As a result, my study must inevitably reflect the life styles of those men and women who opted to remain in the town.

on their immediate locality.⁶

"The men will meet each other at work and the children at school. The women will get to know each other at informal meeting places such as the local shop or school entrance. When eventually groups begin to form, and local leaders emerge, activities are mainly concerned with children, gardening and improving local conditions". (1967, page 22).

However, an examination of Table 4/3 shows that most people in the sample had lived in Corby for over 5 years, and 63% had lived in the town for over 10 years.

Some people like Mrs. MacKenzie could remember Corby in the 1930's:

"It was like living in a village then. Occupation Road was a leafy lane, cows in the fields came and broke into people's gardens, and men on their way to work would take bets on how far the new buildings would have grown by the time they finished work for the day".

As a result of the above information, I concluded that most people in the sample had lived in the town long enough to have recovered from the dislocation and readjustment which accompanies long distance migration.

Cullingworth suggested that in this second phase of development:

"Families feel more settled and secure in their new environment. They join town organisations and start to take a responsible position in town affairs. Children who may have mixed in primary schools with others from the same housing areas are now friends in the secondary school, and with children from other districts. There is a movement not only into the town by the newcomers, but also outward into the new areas by the established residents. Thus, while some people come in for shopping and to belong to a variety of organisations, others go out to the new areas for employment, to enjoy sports facilities, or to take part in some neighbourhood activity".

-
6. B. Cullingworth (1967 page 22) suggested that the following three stages of social integration into the new community may be discerned:
- A. The initial settlement of the family. At this time the main need is for information about services in the community.
 - B. The post settlement period when the family feels more secure and takes part in the organisations of the town.
 - C. The family integrates with older residents in the community.

Although most people in my sample did not pursue this vigorous pattern of social interaction it seems reasonable to assume that most of them had lived in the town long enough to have settled down and developed life styles which were characteristic of a prosperous, planned and expanding community.

Occupational Mobility

Although most men and women in the sample had moved considerable distances in order to live and work in Corby, the information gained indicated that they mostly continued to work in the same type of occupation as they had done before they had moved. I asked the question:

"What was your previous job before you decided to move to Corby?"

Table 4/4 Previous occupation before moving to Corby (all men in manual and non-manual occupations).

<u>Previous Occupation</u>	<u>Manual Work</u>	<u>Non-manual Work</u>
	(at present in Corby)	
	N = 163	N = 33
	%	%
1. Manual occupation	74	12
2. Non-manual occupation	5	70
3. Unemployed	3	-
4. School	7	6
5. Armed services	9	12
6. Other	3	-
Total	100	100

Although most men had not changed their type of occupation in their move to Corby many of them had fulfilled one of their major aims by improving their living standards by the move. They lived in the planned environment of a new town which, in theory, placed less constraint on their leisure time than a long established urban area.

They all lived in recently built (post 1934) houses, with internal sanitation, bathrooms and gardens. They could all use the facilities and amenities of a modern planned community. In short they lived in

a regulated environment of a new town.

Occupation

Although most men in the sample worked in manual occupations, an examination of Table 4/5 below illustrates that the distribution of occupations in the 1969 survey was similar to that reported for Corby in the 1966 Sample Census. The only exception being that unskilled workers were slightly underrepresented and the skilled workers were slightly overrepresented.

Table 4/5 Classification by occupation of all men in the sample (A comparison of the 1966 Sample Census and the 1969 survey).

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>1966 Sample Census</u> N = 14,08 %	<u>1969 Survey</u> N = 228 %
1. Professional workers	2.5	2.2
2. Employers, managers, etc.,	4.4	5.7
3. Non-manual workers	11.4	9.2
4. Skilled manual workers	46.7	51.6
5. Semi-skilled manual workers	18.6	19.0
6. Unskilled manual workers	15.6	12.3
Total	100	100

The proportion of men working in manual occupations was 82.9%, which compared favourably with the Sample Census for 1966, where the figure was 81.7%.⁷ The remaining group of men who worked in non-manual occupations (17.1%) was large enough to allow me to compare and contrast the leisure life styles of manual and non-manual workers and their wives in Corby, in the subsequent chapters of the study. I was also able to examine the theory that in prosperous sections of modern industrial society, the leisure life styles of manual and non-manual workers are converging and acquiring many of the fragmented and

7. In order to classify men working in manual and non-manual occupations I followed the criteria set out in the Classification of Occupations 1966, General Register Office. For a more detailed account of the different types of manual and non-manual occupations in the survey, see Appendix 7.

compartmentalised features associated with polarity/extrinsic section of my model.

Family Income

Largely as a result of the fact that most men and women in the sample were young, and that there was work readily available for them, the majority of families were fairly prosperous.⁸

In Table 4/6 below I have compared the distribution of family income in the sample, with the national figures reported in the Family Expenditure Survey.⁹ This comparison suggests that whilst the proportion of families with incomes of over £40 per week was lower than the national average, the proportion of families with an income of less than £15 per week, was also below the national average. Most incomes in Corby ranged between £21 and £34 per week.

It is probable that this deviation from the national pattern, reflected the unusual demographic structure of Corby.

Table 4/6 A comparison of weekly average household incomes (taken from Family Expenditure Survey 1969 and from 1969 survey of Corby)

<u>National figures</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Corby figures</u>	<u>%</u>
1. £14 and under	14	1. £14 and under	5
2. £15 to £19	7	2. £15 to £20	20
3. £20 to £24	10	3. £21 to £24	20
4. £25 to £29	12	4. £25 to £29	25
5. £30 to £34	12.5	5. £30 to £34	17
6. £35 to £39	10.5	6. £35 to £40	6
7. £40 +	34	7. £41 +	7
Total	99	Total	100

8. However in the next chapter I shall suggest that much of this prosperity reflected the long hours of overtime that many men worked, and the fact that 59% of their wives also had either full time or part time jobs.
9. These two surveys are not directly comparable, because the National Survey deals with gross income, whereas the Corby survey asked the respondents to indicate "the category which roughly represents your joint family income". Despite these variations, the comparison is still useful since the Family Expenditure Survey is a readily accessible indicator of the degree to which Corby varied from the national pattern in 1969.

As we have seen in Chapter 1 the proportion of older retired men and women who did not work, and who thus depended partly or entirely upon state retirement pension was low. It was also probable, that the proportion of infirm or disabled men with low family incomes was less than the national average because most men and women who migrated to Corby tended to be physically active and able to work. This deviation from the national average also reflected the choice that many highly paid professional workers and self employed business men had made, in order to live in the attractive rural areas surrounding Corby.¹⁰ It was also probable that the absence of a representative number of high income families in Corby, reflected the comparatively recent growth of the town. It still relied for many of its services upon a number of surrounding towns. The proportion of highly paid professional workers was therefore lower than is usually found in a long established urban area, with a more elaborate range of service industries.

Material Prosperity

The above comparisons between national and local levels of family income are not always helpful indicators of prosperity in relatively rural areas, such as Northamptonshire, or new communities, such as Corby. Many additional factors must be taken into account, such as local cost of living, travel, housing and labour, if an accurate comparison is to be attempted.

The evidence in Corby suggested that although there was not a large proportion of families with incomes over £40 per week, the majority of families did enjoy a higher material standard of living than the national average.

10. In some cases it was cheaper to buy houses in the rural areas because the price of land in the villages tended to be lower than in Corby.

Table 4/7 below compares the local pattern of ownership of a number of material goods with the national pattern.

Table 4/7 A comparison of ownership of durable material goods (taken from the Family Expenditure Survey 1969 and from 1969 survey of Corby).

<u>Material Goods</u>	<u>Corby</u>	<u>National Family Expenditure Survey</u>
	%	%
1. Motor vehicles	60	45
2. Refrigerators	70	60
3. Washing machines	88	63
4. Televisions	98	91
5. Telephones	14	32
6. Second motor vehicle	4	6

This table shows that ownership of television sets, refrigerators, washing machines and motor vehicles was much higher than the national average, but ownership of telephones and second motor vehicle was much lower.¹¹ In chapter 6 however it will be seen that people's aspirations towards owning these goods were very high indeed. It was difficult to estimate how far the material prosperity of the sample was representative of all the families in Corby. It is probable that it was slightly higher than the general level of prosperity in the town. This is because the sample tended to underrepresent the unskilled manual workers. The only reliable indicator available to measure material prosperity was the 1966 Sample Census. Report on motor vehicle ownership, which indicated that the level of ownership in Corby was 44%. This was considerably lower than the results of the 1969 survey.¹² It seemed probable that the general expansion of motor vehicle ownership in the intervening three years had considerably lessened this differential,

11. In the case of second motor vehicles and telephones, comparison with the national average may be distorted by the common practice of many employers of providing these goods for their employees. It is probable that most families in Corby do not enjoy these fringe benefits, since the majority of men work in manual and not managerial or professional occupations where a telephone or a car is often regarded as a function of employment.

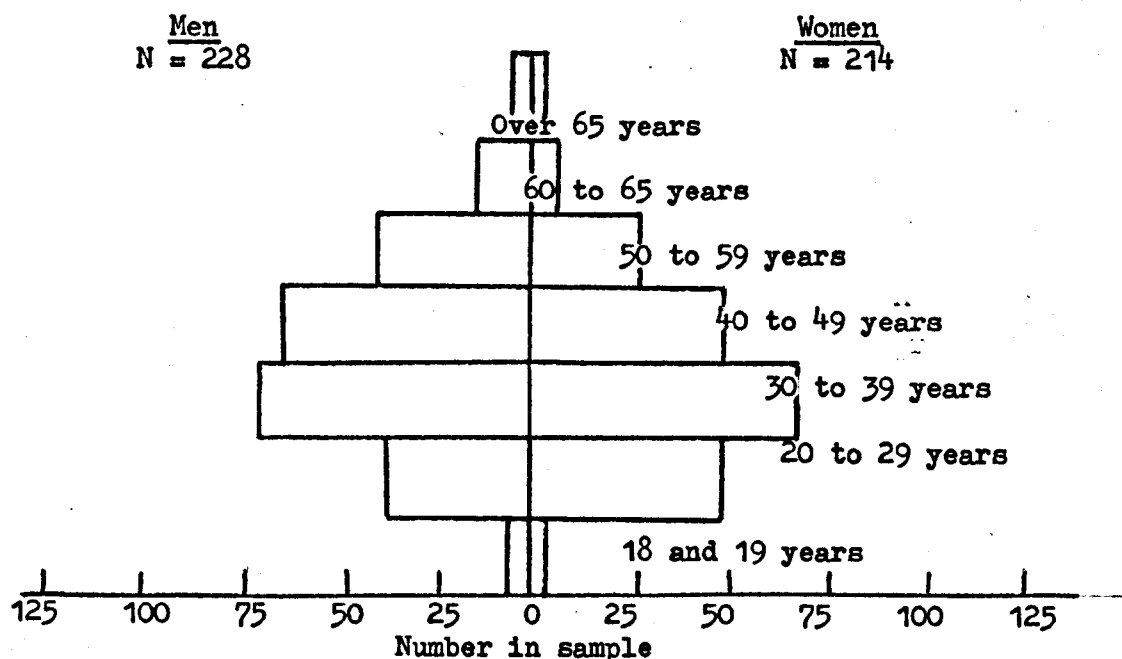
12. This figure roughly approximates to the national average taken from the Family Expenditure Survey, 1969.

and made the sample not unrepresentative of the general level of prosperity in a new community.

Age

The majority of people in the sample were young and active adults. An examination of the population pyramid (diagram 4/1) below illustrates that 79% were under 50 years old, and 53% were in their teens, 20's or 30's.

Diagram 4/1 Population Pyramid : the ages of all men and women in the sample.



This unusual demographic distribution was very important because I suggested in chapter 1 (page 20) that older people were more likely to hold 19th century poverty-oriented attitudes and patterns of behaviour. In Corby the majority of people were young and had grown up in the 1940's, 1950's and 1960's. It seemed probable that this group was less likely to hold traditional beliefs and was more likely to be vulnerable to the media-communicated values of a prosperous industrial society which was busily concerned with the development of

a mass domestic market.¹³ I also found that many young immigrants had either severed links with their parents or only maintained very tenuous ones, their parents wishing rather to go on living in their old declining communities. This meant that many children rarely saw their grandparents, and consequently the social bond which would normally have transmitted values and attitudes from the old to the young was severely weakened.

The age distribution of the sample was also fairly representative of all adults in the town, although an examination of table 4/8 below, shows that it tended to slightly underrepresent the number of people in the age range of 20 to 29 years.¹⁴ This was probably because this group contained a high proportion of men and women who were either not married or who did not hold household tenancies, and were not therefore included in the survey.

Table 4/8 A comparison of Adult age distribution.¹⁵ (Taken from the 1966 Sample Census, and the 1969 Survey).

<u>Age</u>	<u>Sample Census 1966</u> N=2,506	<u>Survey 1969</u> N=442
	%	%
1. 20 to 29 years	26	21
2. 30 to 39 years	25	32
3. 40 to 49 years	22	25
4. 50 to 59 years	16	14
5. 60 to 64 years	5	5
6. 65 years and over	5	2
Total	99	99

13. Indeed it seemed that many young immigrants had implicitly rejected the life styles associated with their home communities, by taking the decision to migrate and start life again in a new and expanding town.
14. In the table I have included the eight young married teenagers who were all 18 or 19 years old, in the category for 20 to 29 years. This was because I wanted to compare my sample data with the adult age range in Corby. I omitted comparison with the 15 to 19 years age group because most of these people were neither married nor householders.
15. In the questionnaire I wanted to make the item asking about age as simple as possible. I therefore collapsed the age groups used in the Sample Census in order to produce only 7 instead of 13 categories (here I refer to people over 15 years). This means that the age groups in this table and in the population pyramid on the preceding page cover intervals of ten years, whereas in the pyramid in chapter 1 (page 20) they cover periods of only five years.

The sample also underrepresented the number of retired men and women in Corby since, as we have seen in chapter 3, the number of people in this group who refused to complete the questionnaire was so high, and the number of successfully completed ones was so low, that I decided to omit it from the major analysis of my data.

Life Cycle Stage

Although most people in the sample were young, age was not always a good indicator of family responsibilities. Table 4/9 below shows that as would be expected most people with grown up children were in the age group of 50's to 60's, but many men and women in their 40's and 50's also had families in which the youngest child was still an infant or at least still at school. In contrast, in many young families, all the children were of post compulsory school age, although the parents were only in their 30's and 40's. Many of these children were indeed out at work.

Table 4/9 age and life cycle stage (all men and women in the sample).

<u>Age</u>	<u>No Children</u>	<u>Age of youngest child</u>			
		0-5years.	6-15years	16-20years.	20 years +
	N = 42	N = 170	N = 136	N = 46	N = 48
	%	%	%	%	%
1. 17 to 19 years	12	2	-	-	-
2. 20 to 29 years	57	38	1	-	-
3. 30 to 39 years	17	48	40	9	-
4. 40 to 49 years	5	11	48	42	18
5. 50 to 59 years	7	1	10	43	41
6. 60 to 64 years	2	-	1	6	41
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Most people in the sample had heavy family responsibilities and Table 4/10 below shows that in 38% of cases, the youngest child was an infant, and in a further 31% of cases, the youngest child was of school age.

Table 4/10 Life Cycle Stage (all men and women in the sample).

<u>Life Cycle Stage</u>	<u>Men</u> N=228	<u>Women</u> N=214	<u>Total</u> N=442
	%	%	%
1. No children	10	10	10
2. Children 0 to 5 years	38	39	38
3. Children 6 to 15 years	31	30	31
4. Children 16 to 20 years	10	10	10
5. Children 21 years and over	11	11	11
Total	100	100	100

The remaining groups of men and women were large enough for me to be able to compare the effects of family responsibility upon leisure life styles at different stages in the life cycle. These remaining groups were, people with no children and people with children over the age of fifteen. Below are the three stages of the life cycle which I devised for the purposes of comparison in subsequent chapters.¹⁶

Stage One - Men and women with no children, whose leisure life styles were less constrained by family responsibilities.

Stage Two - Men and women, whose leisure life styles were more heavily constrained by the physical presence of young children under fifteen years of age, and by the financial responsibilities of a growing family.

Stage Three - Men and women whose leisure life styles are less constrained because all their children are over fifteen years of age, in most cases have left school, started to work, and in some cases have left home.

This analysis also enabled me to examine in the following chapters, the theory that, in a prosperous section of modern industrial society, leisure life styles differ significantly at each stage of the life cycle, and contribute to the fragmented and compartmentalised features associated with the polarity/extrinsic section of my model of leisure life styles.

16. However in a number of sections of my analysis, the number of cases in each category was large enough to enable me to attempt a more sophisticated analysis in which I distinguished between cases where children were of pre-school age, or at school, or of post-school age, or over 21 years of age.

Conclusion

The evidence suggested that the sample contained a cross section of men and women who were representative of the adult population of Corby. Most people in the sample were migrants who had come to the town from many different parts of the British Isles in order to find work and a better life for their families. They were often separated by considerable geographic distances from their original communities. They formed a culturally heterogeneous group of materially prosperous workers whose links with the traditions of their old communities or the life styles of older generations were often tenuous. As a result, it was probable that their life styles were likely to reflect many of the values of modern industrial society.

In the chapters to follow I shall describe the main features of work and leisure that I found in Corby, and I shall compare and contrast the leisure life styles of manual and non-manual workers and their wives. I shall also describe the main similarities and differences I found in leisure life styles at each stage of the adult working life cycle. I shall conclude by illustrating how far the reality I found in Corby differed from the simplified polarity/extrinsic model of leisure work relationships which I developed in chapter 2.

CHAPTER 5

LEISURE WORK IN CORBY.

I suggested in chapter 1 that economic growth, material prosperity and a growing awareness of the importance of leisure are characteristic features of modern industrial societies. Within these societies, the mechanisation and rationalisation of production has led to a growing polarisation of working and leisure activities, and the former fusion and interaction of domestic and home based work with other activities has broken down. I suggested in chapter 2 that there are of course exceptions to this general trend in occupations, such as residential academics or farmers, where technical factors allow a degree of fusion to remain between work and leisure. In general, however, most work in industrial society is becoming segregated from leisure.

This movement towards segregation is stimulated by the assumption that working activities are best concentrated in special commercial or industrial zones. Consequently, in a new town like Corby, there are few places where the workplace is adjacent to a workers home or neighbourhood.¹

Chapter 5 examines patterns of leisure/work relationships in Corby. I shall try to show that work is a separate and polarised activity, which fragments daily life into periods of working and non-working time, and that life is further fragmented by shiftworking, which reflects

-
1. The size of many factories is a critical factor determining planning policy. Some large factories, such as a modern steelworks, are too large or noisy to place in a residential area. However there are many modern factories in Corby making footwear, clothing, processing food, or assembling parts, which have been placed in peripheral zones, and could have been placed much nearer the workers' homes.

the need of capital-intensive industries, in order to maintain a continuous flow of production.

I shall also examine attitudes to work, and I shall show that in Corby, most men and women experience low levels of ego-involvement, autonomy, or interest in their work. They only undertake this work as a means to achieve a series of goals which are extrinsic to the work situation. I shall conclude by suggesting that the prevailing attitude to work in modern industrial society such as Corby, is best understood in terms of an instrumental and not an intrinsic relationship.

Section 1

A) The Pattern of Work in Corby

Corby's recent history is characterised by industrial growth and urban expansion. Demands for labour have been high and unemployment has been low.

In the 1969 survey, all of the men in the sample, with the exception of three newly arrived immigrants, had full time jobs, and 59% of the women also had full time or part time employment. It is probable that the large number of women in the labour force has greatly contributed to the relative prosperity in the town.

An examination of Table 5/1 below reveals that women's participation in that work was at its highest when family demands were at their greatest. Of these women, 86% with children between the ages of 6 and 15 years, and 68% with children in their late teens, had full or part time jobs. Participation was lower amongst women who had no children, or whose families had grown up. It was at its lowest amongst women who had babies or infants to care for, only 6% of this group having full time jobs, and 28% part time jobs.

Table 5/1 The work pattern of women in relation to their life cycle

<u>Work Pattern</u>	<u>Life Cycle Stage</u>					Total N=214 %
	No Children N = 20 %	Children 0-5 yrs. N = 83 %	Children 6-15yrs. N = 66 %	Children 16-20yrs. N = 22 %	Children over 21 N = 23 %	
1. Housewife (full time)	40	66	14	32	48	42
1. Part time work	25	28	42	18	35	32
3. Full time work	35	6	44	50	17	26
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

The survey also contained a series of items about work, and the respondents classified into groups whose work could be partly, or fully completed at home, and those whose work could only be undertaken in a specialised location, for technical or other reasons.

Most people in the sample had jobs which were separated in terms of place and time, from the remainder of their daily activities, and were situated in factories or other workplaces. An examination of Table 5/2 below illustrates that only a few men had occupations where it was technically possible to work at home or in unison with other non-working activities.² It is probable that even in occupations where it was technically possible to fuse working and non-working activities that few men followed this unitary life style.

Table 5/2 The place of work of all men and women in the sample

<u>Place of work</u>	<u>Men</u> N = 228 %	<u>Women</u> N = 126 %
1. Factory	84	34
2. Office	11	29
3. School	1	15
4. Laboratory	1	-
5. Shop	1	18
6. Other places	2	5
Total	100	100

2. In the sample one man worked as a taxi driver and one as a club steward.

The above table also shows that in the case of women a similar pattern emerged, with the exception that two women with young children worked at home, one of these sorted mica and the other was a typist. However in the remaining cases work was decisively segregated in time and place from the remainder of non-working life.

Most people in the sample spent large amounts of their time at work 55% of working women spent over 30 hours and 55% of men spent over 45 hours a week at work. An examination of table 5/3 below illustrates that the hours men worked varied considerably with the type of occupation they followed and a significantly higher number of manual workers reported working over 44 hours a week.^{3.}

Table 5/3 The hours worked in a week; men in manual and non-manual occupations.

Hours worked	Occupation		Total N = 228 %
	Manual N = 189 %	Non-manual N = 39 %	
1. Under 40 hours	2	33	8
2. 40-44 hours	38	44	39
3. 45-49 hours	17	8	15
4. 50-54 hours	22	8	19
5. 55-59 hours	10	-	8
6. Over 60 hours	11	8	11
Total	100	100	100

In the case of men working in manual occupations the number of hours worked also varied significantly with their life cycle stage.⁴ An examination of table 5/4 reveals that the group of men with young children had the highest proportion of members working a 50 hour week or more; the group with no children had the highest proportion working a 44 hour week or less; whilst the group of older men with fewer family commitments, and often with declining health, had a smaller

3. $\chi^2 = 16.4$; for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

4. $\chi^2 = 6.99$; for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

proportion working 50 hours or more per week.

Table 5/4 The hours worked in a week; men in manual occupations and their life cycle stage.

Hours worked	No Children	Children 0-15 years	Children over 15 years
	N = 17 %	N = 130 %	N = 42 %
1. Under 44 hours	71	35	48
2. 44 to 49 hours	12	18	17
3. 50 hours and over	18	48	36
Total	100	100	100

The following cases illustrate these three life cycle stages, and the different patterns of work which occur at these stages.

Case 1. A young married manual worker with no children

Mr. G. was in his early 20's, had been married for 18 months, and as yet had no children. He was employed as a bricklayer by a local Corby firm and his wife worked as a machinist at a local clothing factory. They rented a house from Corby Council, but were saving up to buy a private house in Kettering which would be much closer to Mrs. G's mother and sisters.

Mr. G. worked a five day week from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m., and did not usually work any overtime. Although he usually remained at home in the week, his wife commented that he rarely helped with the housework, and he retained many of his old bachelor friends. He regularly met his old pals for a drink on a Friday, and he usually met them again on Saturday when they all visited the betting office, went on to a football match and spent the remainder of the evening in local pubs and social clubs. His wife, who maintained close ties with her family, visited her sister and mother while her husband was away at the weekend.

Case 2. A manual worker with heavy family commitments

Mr. C. was a married man in his late 20's. His wife did not work, but stayed at home to look after their two children who were two and five years old. The family rent a house from Corby Council, and run a modern car. Mr. C. works as a fitter at a nearby crisp factory. He used to be a shiftworker in the local steelworks but gave it up since "conditions at Golden Wonder are far better, and I can spend more evenings with my family". Mr. C. had worked 64½ hours in the week prior to the interview, and he said that this was fairly typical. He started to work at 7 a.m. and finished at 7.30 p.m. on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays, he finished at 4.30 p.m. on Monday, Friday and Sunday, and at 12.30 p.m. on Saturday. However, his work routine did allow him to spend most evenings at home with his family, whilst on Saturday afternoons he was able to take his wife shopping, leave his children with his mother and take his wife out to the cinema in the evening.

Case 3. An older manual worker with fewer family commitments and declining physical energies.

Mr. M. was in his late 50's, was married with six children, all of whom were grown up. His wife did not work, and the couple rent a house which was built in the 1930's by the steel company. Mr. M. used to be a shiftworker in the steelworks but gave it up because he suffered from chronic bronchitis. He had taken a lighter day working job as a stocktaker in the tubeworks. He worked a five day week, from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m., but he worked overtime on Saturday and Sunday mornings in order to make his wages up to near his previous shiftwork level.

Most of his non-working time was spent resting from work, and watching television, although he visited his local pub on Saturday and Sunday lunchtime prior to his lunch and afternoon nap.

In contrast in the case of men who worked in non-manual occupations hours of work did not vary significantly with life cycle stage.⁵ An examination of table 5/5 below illustrates that the majority of non-manual workers worked under 45 hours a week at all stages in their life cycle. There was one slight, though not significant exception to this pattern in that a high proportion of young married men with no children were working over 50 hours a week.

Table 5/5 Hours worked in a week; men in non-manual occupations and their life cycle stage.

Hours worked	No Children	Children 0-15 yrs.	Children over 15 yrs.
	N = 5 %	N = 27 %	N = 7 %
1. Under 45 hours	60	85	57
2. 45 to 49 hours	-	4	29
3. Over 50 hours	40	12	14
Total	100	100	100

The following cases illustrate the general uniformity of non-manual work patterns at three very different stages of the life cycle.

Case 4. A young married non-manual worker with no children

Mr. F. was in his early 20's and had been married for two years. He taught in a local secondary school and his wife worked at the adjacent primary school. Mr. F. rented a house from the Development

5. $x^2 = 1.90$; for $p < .05$, $x^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

Case 4. (cont)

Corporation but was saving up a deposit in order to buy a home of his own in a nearby village. He worked a five day week from 8.45 a.m. to 4.0 p.m. and he also worked on Saturday mornings looking after the school football team; for this extra duty he received an additional special responsibility allowance. He also had a part time job as a taxi driver and he said that this work gave him a little extra pocket money and also helped in the running of his car.

Case 5. A non-manual worker with heavy family commitments

Mr. M. was in his mid 40's, he was married and had three children aged 9, 14 and 17. His wife worked as a secretary at a local school. Mr. M. was buying his own home and he also ran a modern car. He worked as a wages clerk (section head) in the local steelworks and his hours of work were from 8.30 a.m. to 5 p.m. He always worked a five day week and he told me he rarely worked overtime, as a result he had his early and late evenings free from work and he had plenty of time to follow his own and family centred interests.

Case 6. A non-manual worker with fewer family commitments and declining physical health.

Mr. Q. was in his late 50's, he was married but his wife did not work. He had one daughter who was at university. He owned his own house and also ran a modern car. He worked as a Chief Cashier at a large local company and he had been there for 20 years. He said to me that he was "entering the period of life when one slackens one's activities" and he thought part of this increasing laziness was due to the sedentary nature of his work. He told me he was far less active than he was in his younger days when he was a member of the Choral Society and regularly sang at Rockingham Castle with Lady Florence. He said he found the routine of getting home, having tea and reading the papers quite enough for him these days. However although his physical level of energy was declining he was still able to occupy a senior and responsible occupation at his place of work.

It was difficult to discern the reasons why manual and non-manual workers spent different amounts of time at work at each stage of their life cycle. A probable explanation may be found in the contrasting work patterns pursued by each group. The majority of men engaged in manual work were paid hourly, had limited opportunities for work advancement and reached their peak earning capacity in their early 20's; from then on their income remained fairly static unless, as was often the case, the onset of physical illness in later life sharply reduced it.

Mr. Hunt was typical of many men I interviewed who was about to experience this sharp reduction in his wages. He was a thin, wiry, softly spoken Scotsman. In the past he worked in a highly paid, if repetitive and arduous occupation, which involved continuous shiftworking. At the time I met him he was recovering

from a coronary thrombosis. He had six years to go before he retired and was hoping to be allowed to spend these in a lighter, if more lowly paid, daytime job.

By comparison, many non-manual workers in Corby were salaried, had the opportunity to ascend a promotional hierarchy, reach their peak earning capacity in later life and as we have seen in Case 6 above they can continue to work effectively even though their physical energies were declining. If these assumptions are correct then non-manual workers had less imminent need or opportunity to work overtime during the period when their family responsibilities were at their heaviest. Paradoxically the non-manual workers tended to work longer hours when they were young and just married in order to maximise their income, whereas in later life they had less need. Although the above view is tentative, because the numbers in the non-manual group are small, the following table 5/6 below, offers some supportive evidence for this general explanation. As will be seen, the family income of non-manual workers, tended to reach a peak in later married life. In contrast the income of the manual group, tended to follow a more stable pattern, with peaks in the earlier stages, followed by a general decline in later life.

Table 5/6 A comparison of family income and life cycle stage (of men working in manual and non-manual occupations).

Income	No Children		Life cycle stage			
			Children 0-15yrs.		Children over 15	
	Manual	Non-manual	Manual	Non-manual	Manual	Non-manual
	N = 17	N = 5	N=130	N = 27	N = 42	N = 7
	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Under £18	18	-	7	-	26	14
2. £18 to £30	35	80	68	47	57	14
3. Over £30	47	20	26	53	15	71
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

B) Women and their Work in Corby

An examination of table 5/7 below illustrates that there was no

significant difference in the number of hours the wives of manual and non-manual workers spent at work.⁶

Table 5/7 Hours worked in a week (by the wives of men in manual and non-manual occupations).

<u>Hours worked</u>	<u>Manual</u> N = 100 %	<u>Non-manual</u> N = 26 %	<u>Total</u> N = 126 %
Under 20 hours	35	24	35
21 to 39 hours	32	46	37
40 hours and over	33	20	31
Total	100	100	100

The hours women worked varied considerably with each life cycle stage. Inter-group comparison of participation by the wives of manual and non-manual workers at each stage is however difficult. This was because of the small numbers in the non-manual group. However, a general analysis of the time spent at work by all women in relation to their life cycle stage shows a significant variation in accordance with family constraints and demands.⁷ An examination of Table 5/8 below reveals that, women in full time occupations with working weeks of 40 hours or more, were primarily those who had no children or whose children were of post school age. Women who were constrained by the presence of infant children spent the least hours at work and had the highest percentage of part-time jobs. Women who were in the latter stage of the life cycle, with children over the age of 21 years, together with women who had children in full time primary or secondary education, tended to follow an intermediate pattern.

6. $\chi^2 = 2.77$; for $p = < .05$, $\chi^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

7. $\chi^2 = 15.16$; for $p = < .05$, $\chi^2 = 9.49$, $df=4$.

Table 5/8 A comparison of hours worked in a week and life cycle stage (of wives of manual and non-manual workers).

<u>Hours Worked</u>	<u>Life Cycle Stage</u>					Total N=122 %
	No Children N = 11 %	Children 0 to 5 N = 29 %	Children 5 to 15 N = 57 %	Children 16 to 20 N = 13 %	Children 21 + N = 12 %	
1. Under 20	25	59	30	-	33	33
2. 21 to 39	25	27	40	31	50	37
3. 40 and over	50	14	30	69	17	30
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

C) Shiftwork in Corby

The work of most men and women in Corby, occupied a considerable amount of time, and was sharply separated from their leisure. However, the leisure of many men and women was further fragmented by shift-working, since a shiftworker's leisure may not coincide with other members of his family, or with that of the general community, which follows a regular daily routine of work.

Shiftworking is a common feature of life in Corby, since the large steelworks, and some of the smaller industries operated on a 24 hour cycle.⁸ This shiftworking is of interest for a study of leisure/work relationships in industrial society, because it is probable that the growth of capital-intensive industries, with requirements of continual production, may make this a common state of affairs, and therefore a general relevance. The following cases serve to illustrate the effects of shiftworking upon people's daily routines in Corby, and to illustrate the fragmentation that occurs.

8. At the time of the survey, two different systems of shiftworking operated in Corby. One, the older system, involved six days working, either from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m., from 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. or from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. The newer system involved working two days from 6 a.m. to 2 p.m., two days from 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. and two days from 10 p.m. to 6 a.m. Each six days of consecutive work was followed by a two day rest period before the cycle was resumed. I gained the impression that the latter system was more popular, since it did not produce extensive periods in which men saw little of their families.

Case 7 A Shiftworker who works Overtime

Mr. T. was in his early 30's and had three young children, aged 8 years, 2 years and 2 months. His wife did not work as she was busily employed looking after her young family. Mr. T. worked as a bricklayer at the local steelworks, and was employed on shifts. He also frequently worked additional shifts in order to meet his family commitments. The following simple schedule shows the disruptive effect that shiftworking had upon the periods that Mr. T. spent sleeping, and at home generally with his family. 9

<u>Day</u>	<u>6 a.m. to 1 p.m.</u>	<u>2 p.m. to 10 p.m.</u>	<u>10 p.m. to 6 a.m.</u>
Monday	at home	working	sleeping
Tuesday	at home	working	sleeping
Wednesday	at home	visiting	working
Thursday	sleeping	at home	working
Friday	sleeping	at home	sleeping
Saturday	working	at home	sleeping
Sunday	working	at home	sleeping

Case 8 A Shiftworker who does not work overtime

Mr. P. is in his mid 30's and has four children, aged 7, 12, 13, and 16 years. He works as a fitter in the local steelworks and his wife works full time in a shop. The following simplified schedule illustrates his routine during a normal week of shiftworking.

<u>Day</u>	<u>6 a.m. to 2 p.m.</u>	<u>2 p.m. to 10 p.m.</u>	<u>10 p.m. to 6 a.m.</u>
Monday	sleeping	at home	working
Tuesday	sleeping	at home	working
Wednesday	sleeping	at home + bingo	sleeping
Thursday	at home	at home + pub	sleeping
Friday	at home	working	pub + sleeping
Saturday	at home	working	pub + sleeping
Sunday	at home	working	pub + sleeping

Case 9 A Shiftworker's routine during the so called "dead week"

Mr. M. is in his early 40's, and has two children who are at secondary school. His wife works full time in a local clothing factory. He works as a turbine driver in the blast furnace section of the steelworks. The following simplified schedule shows his work pattern in the so called "dead week" when he works six consecutive shifts from 2 p.m. to 10 p.m. and when all remaining leisure activities are severely curtailed.

-
9. In this simplified schedule, sleeping refers to the time when the individual is either in bed, or resting in a chair at home. At home is a general term, which refers to the location of the person's activity, and most commonly includes watching television, listening to the radio, playing with the children, reading and doing some domestic chores.

Case 9 (cont)

<u>Day</u>	<u>6 a.m. to 2 p.m.</u>	<u>2 p.m. to 10 p.m.</u>	<u>10 p.m. to 6 a.m.</u>
Monday	at home	working	T.V. and sleeping
Tuesday	at home	working	T.V. and sleeping
Wednesday	at home	working	T.V. and sleeping
Thursday	at home	working	T.V. and sleeping
Friday	gardening	working	T.V. and sleeping
Saturday	gardening	working	T.V. and sleeping
Sunday	sleeping	at home	T.V. and sleeping

In the main survey, I elaborated upon my initial investigation of shiftworking. I asked people whether or not they worked shifts. If they did, they were then asked to state their opinion of this pattern of working.

The responses to these questions indicated that most men, and a small number of women, were engaged upon full time shiftwork. The percentage of women involved was small (8%) and these women were mainly engaged in morning, afternoon and evening shiftwork in light engineering or food producing factories.

However the number of men was high, being 53% and these were mainly employed in the neighbouring steelworks. The pattern of shiftworking and dayworking varied significantly with the men's types of occupation.¹⁰ (See Table 5/9) below. The majority of manual workers who were directly employed in operating or maintaining the productive processes on a continuous basis, were employed in shiftwork. By comparison, most non-manual workers were on day work since they were employed in administrative, technical and clerical jobs, which were not directly linked to the productive process.

10. $X^2 = 15.37$; for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

Table 5/9 Work patterns of men in manual and non-manual occupations

<u>Work pattern</u>	<u>Manual</u> N = 189 %	<u>Non-manual</u> N = 39 %	<u>Total</u> N = 228 %
1. Shiftworking	58	28	53
2. Dayworking	42	72	47
Total	100	100	100

The pattern of shiftworking and day working did not vary significantly with the life cycle stage of manual workers¹¹ (see table 5/10), and the percentage of manual workers engaged on shiftwork remained constant at all life cycle stages. This pattern suggests that shiftworking is not, except in a minority of cases, an option which can be taken up or refused as the demands necessitate. Rather, it is an intrinsic element in the occupational pattern of the majority of manual workers in Corby, which can not be relinquished unless the individual chooses to leave the town, or seek work in other probably less well paid occupations.

Table 5/10 The work patterns of men in manual occupations and their life cycle stages

<u>Work patterns</u>	<u>No Children</u> N = 17 %	<u>Children 0 to 15 yrs.</u> N = 130 %	<u>Children Over 15 yrs.</u> N = 42 %
1. Shiftworking	59	58	64
2. Dayworking	41	42	36
Total	100	100	100

In the case of non-manual workers engaged upon shiftwork, there was also little significant difference in the numbers working at each successive life cycle stage.¹² (See Table 5/11 below).

Table 5/11 The work patterns of men in non-manual occupations and their life cycle stages.

<u>Work patterns</u>	<u>No Children</u> N = 5 %	<u>Children 0 to 15 yrs.</u> N = 27 %	<u>Children over 15 yrs.</u> N = 7 %
1. Shiftworking	20	33	15
2. Dayworking	80	67	85
Total	100	100	100

11. $X^2 = 1.91$; for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 5.99$, $df=1$.

12. $X^2 = 1.5$; for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

The table above shows that a higher proportion of non-manual workers engaged on shiftwork when they had young children, and their need to maximise their income was at its greatest. This suggests some evidence for the view that non-manual workers may have had more flexible and adaptable work patterns than manual workers, although the numbers were too small for any conclusive generalisation to be made.

The questionnaire also investigated the general attitude of shiftworkers to their work. The response (see Table 5/12) indicated that only a minority viewed this work favourably, the majority were either indifferent or expressed a positive dislike of shiftwork. There were no significant differences in this orientation between men working in manual or non-manual occupations.¹³

Table 5/12 The attitudes of shiftworkers to their work (all men in manual and non-manual occupations).

<u>Attitude</u>	<u>Manual</u> N = 110 %	<u>Non-manual</u> N = 11 %	<u>Total</u> N = 121 %
1. Like shiftwork	28	27	28
2. Indiffærent	36	46	37
3. Dislike shiftwork	36	27	35
Total	100	100	100

There was a slight though not significant in-sample difference in attitudes to shiftwork with each successive life cycle stage.¹⁴ The group of mainly young workers with no children contained a higher percentage who viewed this work favourably. Men with growing families, or the mainly older workers with grown up families, contained the highest percentage of responses which indicated a positive dislike of shiftworking patterns, as can be seen in Table 5/13 below.

13. $X^2 = 1.68$; for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

14. $X^2 = .62$; for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

Table 5/13 The life cycle stage of shiftworkers and their attitude to shiftwork

Attitude	No children	Children 0 to 15 yrs.	Children over 15
	N = 8 %	N = 85 %	N = 28 %
1. Like	37	26	28
2. Indifferent	26	38	40
3. Dislike	37	36	32
Total	100	100	100

The reason why shiftworking in Corby was so generally unpopular appears to be complex. The following cases express some views which were commonly held by both shiftworkers and dayworkers. They suggest that the fragmentation of leisure life styles, and in particular the disruption of family, social and recreational routines, were some of the most commonly mentioned factors. However a minority of men reported that they liked shiftwork, since it complemented their recreational interests, if not always their family routines.

Case 10. A Young Shiftworker

Mr. G. was a locally born Kettering man. He was in his mid 20's and was married with two children, aged 3 and 6 years. Mrs. G. did not work. Mr. G. had left the local boot and shoe industry in order to find more highly paid shiftwork in the blast furnace works in Corby. He did not like shiftwork since it meant that he only had one weekend in seven with his wife and found it difficult to join in the weekend round of social activities with his old friends and relatives in nearby Kettering. He had however decided to carry on with the shiftwork, as he could not find another job in the area which was so well paid.

Case 11 An Older Shiftworker

Mr. S. a married man with a grown up family, was in his mid 50's. He was a chargehand at the steelworks. He complained bitterly that shiftwork interfered greatly with his social life. He was a very keen gardener and had played an active part on the committee of his local gardening club, but as shiftwork prevented him from attending meetings regularly, he had decided to leave, rather than be accused of not pulling his weight.

Case 12 A Former Shiftworker

Mr. B. was a married man with two teenage children. He was in his late 30's, and used to be employed on shiftwork at the local steelworks. However he hated the routine so much that he gave it up in order to seek well paid daily work as an erector with a construction firm. In this job, he worked a five day week from 8 a.m. to 5 p.m. each day, but the daily pattern of up to two hours travelling each day

Case 12 (cont).

left him so tired that he usually stayed at home in the evenings reading and watching television. He felt that the main advantage of his new job was that he had his weekends free for himself and his family. He was a regular attender at the local Glasgow Rangers' Supporters Club on Friday, Saturday and Sunday, and this activity formed the main focus of his leisure interests.

Case 13 A Permanent Dayworker

Mr. C. was a local man from a nearby village. He was in his early 40's and was married with three children all at school. His wife did not go to work. Mr. C. was a keen gardener, and he also worked a large allotment in his native village where he said he found the soil lighter than the heavy clay of Corby. Mr. C. did not want to work shifts although he realised that it could have meant more money for his family. He said he thought it was more important that a father was at home in the evenings. As a result, he found it necessary to work regular overtime and weekends in his job as a pipe-fitter's mate, in order to support his family. He usually only had one day off in fourteen, but was able to finish work by 5 p.m. giving him the opportunity of spending part of his early evening in his allotment and the latter part with his family.

Case 14 A Man who liked working Shifts

Mr. W. was a maintenance fitter in his mid 50's. He was married with three grown up children. His wife did not go to work. Mr. W. liked working shifts since he was a keen golfer, and usually aimed to play three or four rounds a week. He found that shiftwork complemented this interest as it gave him whole mornings or afternoons free in which to visit the local municipal golf course.

Case 15 Another man who liked working Shifts

Mr. M. was in his early 20's. He was newly married with a child of 8 months. He worked as a turner at the local steelworks, and said he liked it very much. Since going on shifts, however, he had found it difficult to continue playing football for a local team, but shiftwork gave him more time to be at home in the day and help his wife with the chores and the new baby. He also had more time in the day to work in his large allotment and new greenhouse.

Patterns of work in Corby : Conclusions

It seems clear that Corby had a ready availability of mechanised and highly productive work, and that work for wages remains the major activity of its men and women. The technical necessities of industrial production and the policies of modern planning in Corby, had resulted in work becoming a separate and polarised activity, which fragmented daily life into periods of working and non-working time. Work did not fuse into the spectrum of daily social, recreational, family and minor

economic activities. Rather it was separate and easily distinguishable.

Life in Corby was further fragmented by shiftworking which was an important factor in enabling many manual workers to achieve high levels of prosperity. This was viewed unfavourably by the majority of shiftworkers since it added a further element to the fragmenting effect of industrial work, upon non-working time.

I suggested in Chapter 2 that the increasing separation of work from the remaining spheres of life, is paralleled by the growth of instrumental attitudes to work, and a growing awareness of the importance of leisure activities. Consequently, the remainder of this chapter will be examining in more detail the prevailing orientation to work which was characteristically found in Corby.

Section 2. Attitudes to Work in Corby.

It was seen in chapter 2, that the interrelationship of value systems and work patterns, forms an essential component of different leisure work relationships. I suggested that in modern industrial societies, these were becoming increasingly segregated, that work and non-work values no longer form a total system, and work was not valued as an activity of intrinsic interest. Men and women experienced low levels of ego-involvement, autonomy, or interest in their work, which was only undertaken as a means to achieve a series of goals which were extrinsic to the work situation. Consequently the prevailing attitude to work in modern industrial societies is best understood in terms of an instrumental rather than an intrinsic relationship. In order to examine attitudes to work in Corby in more detail the questionnaire used in the main survey contained two types of questions; the first were designed to measure the individual's experience in his working situation; the second were designed to examine his (or her) orientation to this work.

A) People's Experiences in their work situation

In order to examine in more detail individual experiences in their work situation the questionnaire contained the following questions.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Some people find their work interesting all the time, others find their work most boring. Do you find your work ? | 1. Interesting all the time.
2. Interesting nearly all the time.
3. Interesting some of the time there are dull patches
4. Dull nearly all the time.
5. Completely dull and boring. |
| 2. Some people are free to do their job in their own way and in their own time. In your job do you have ? | 1. Complete freedom
2. Some freedom
3. No freedom |
| 3. Does your work in Corby use ? | 1. All of your abilities
2. Some of your abilities
3. None of your abilities. |
| 4. Can you do your work and keep your mind on other things ? | 1. Yes
2. No. |

Each of the above questions was designed to investigate one of the following critical areas.¹⁵

1. The degree of interest or monotony found at work.
2. The degree of freedom experienced in the work situation.
3. The degree of individual absorption and involvement in the work situation.
4. The degree of limitation experienced in the individual's use of his abilities in the work situation.

All questions were designed to investigate the following hypothesis:

"In modern industrial societies the individual experiences a low degree of ego involvement, autonomy, freedom or interest in his work situation".

Results

The general pattern of response to these four questions suggested that a major degree of personal deprivation was experienced in the work situation. Although work provided the majority of men and women with

-
15. I omitted the common type of question which makes a direct reference to levels of work satisfaction and dissatisfaction. This was because the fact that men and women occupied jobs and may have reflected some general degree of satisfaction vis a vis other jobs, while for reasons of self respect it was often difficult for respondents to openly admit that they disliked doing their work.

some degree of interesting activity it also placed considerable restrictions upon their freedom.

In the case of men workers in manual occupations said they had the most constraining, unabsorbing and uninteresting work. In contrast workers in white collar occupations reported finding their work more interesting and involving. However these differences were less evident in the case of women and both the wives of manual and non-manual workers had an equally low evaluation of their work. The only exception was that the wives of white collar workers said they found their work slightly more interesting.

Interest in work

An examination of table 5/14 below illustrates that 45% of people found their work interesting all or most of the time and a further 46% found it interesting some of the time although it also had dull patches. There were some significant differences in the levels of interest manual and non-manual groups found in their work.¹⁶ A greater number of manual workers and their wives experienced dull and boring work, while a larger number of non-manual workers and their wives reported finding their work interesting all, or most of the time.

Table 5/14 The level of interest found in work; (a comparison of men who worked in manual and non-manual occupations and also of their wives who went to work).

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Men N=189	Wives N = 100	Men N = 39	Wives N = 26	
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Interesting all the time	12	17	21	23	15
2. Interesting nearly all the time	26	32	46	34	30
3. Interesting + dull patches	51	42	33	38	46
4. Dull nearly all of the time or completely dull and boring	11	10	-	6	9
Total	100	100	100	100	100

16. $X^2 = 8.30$; for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 7.81$, $df=3$.

Freedom in work

Most people in the sample reported that they had only a limited amount of freedom in their work and only a minority had complete freedom. An examination of table 5/15 below illustrates that there was no significant difference in this pattern between men and women in manual and non-manual groups,¹⁷ between men who worked in manual or non-manual occupations¹⁸ or between their wives who went to work.¹⁹

Table 5/15. Freedom reported in work. (A comparison of men who worked in manual and non-manual occupations and also of their wives who went to work.)

	Manual		Non-manual		Total N = 354 %
	Men N = 189 %	Wives N = 100 %	Men N = 39 %	Wives N = 26 %	
1. Complete freedom	32	29	36	34	32
2. Some freedom	60	63	61	54	61
3. No freedom	8	8	3	12	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Involvement in work

Although most people in the sample reported their work did not occupy their full attention a significantly higher number of men and women in the non-manual group reported that they were fully involved in their work.²⁰

Table 5/16. Involvement in work. (A comparison of men who worked in manual and non-manual occupations and also of their wives who went to work).

	Manual		Non-manual		Total N = 354 %
	Men N = 189 %	Wives N = 100 %	Men N = 39 %	Wives N = 26 %	
1. Respondents can do their work and keep their mind on other things	57	79	33	65	61
2. Respondents cannot do their work and keep their mind on other things	43	21	67	35	39
Total	100	100	100	100	100

17. $X^2 = 0.29$; for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

18. $X^2 = 1.46$; for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

19. $X^2 = 1.27$; for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

20. $X^2 = 29.93$; for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 7.81$, $df=3$.

An examination of table 5/16 above also illustrates that a significantly greater number of men than women²¹ and a significantly greater number of men working in non-manual occupations²² said their work required their full attention and involvement.

Abilities used at work

Most people in the sample had unabsorbing occupations and only a minority reported that their work demanded all of their abilities. An examination of table 5/17 below illustrates that in most cases work was felt to occupy some, and in a few cases none, of their abilities. There was no significant variation in this pattern between manual and non-manual groups,²³ between men who worked in manual or non-manual occupations²⁴ or between the working wives of manual and non-manual workers.²⁵

Table 5/17. Abilities used in work. (A comparison of men who worked in manual and non-manual occupations and also of their wives who went to work.)

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Men N = 189 %	Wives N = 100 %	Men N = 39 %	Wives N = 26 %	
1. All of abilities	27	17	28	23	27
2. Some of abilities	73	84	72	77	73
Total	100	100	100	100	100

The pattern of answers to the above four questions, which attempted to examine people's experiences in their work situation, suggested some verification for the following hypothesis,

In modern industrial societies the individual experiences a low degree of autonomy and ego involvement in his work.

21. $X^2 = 18.8$; for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

22. $X^2 = 7.89$; for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

23. $X^2 = 6.54$; for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 7.81$, $df=3$.

24. $X^2 = 0$.

25. $X^2 = 0.30$; for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

The evidence did not substantiate the following hypothesis,

In modern industrial societies the work of most people is not of interest to them.

However in spite of this most people in Corby indicated that their work did limit and restrict their freedom, and in most cases it was characterised by a lack of involvement in a situation which did not fully utilise mental energies or abilities.

B) People's Relationships with their work situations

Although the majority of work in Corby is characterised by large amounts of constraining and unabsorbing activity, I suggested earlier that this deprivation is accepted and legitimised because, in modern industrial society, work is not regarded as a central feature of the individual's life interest. Work is evaluated in primarily instrumental terms, as a means to operationalise a series of non-work directed aims and goals.

In order to examine in more detail people's individual relationships to their work in Corby, the following questions were given to both men and women:²⁶

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. Which of the following improvements would you most like to see happen in your own occupation ?</p> | <p>1. Better working conditions
2. A shorter working week
3. An increase in pay
4. Longer holidays
5. More interesting and varied sorts of work.</p> |
|--|--|

In addition, men were asked the following questions:

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>2. Summing up, what would you say is the main reason why you stay in your present job in Corby ?</p> | <p>1. The freedom it gives
2. The security of the job
3. The interest of the work
4. The wage or pay
5. The lack of alternative work.</p> |
|---|---|

Women were asked the following open-ended question:

3. Ladies have lots of reasons for taking up a part time or full-time job. What would you say are the main reasons for your taking a job ?
.....

-
26. Ladies were only asked to answer the section on work if they full or part time jobs.

Most answers to these questions emphasised the instrumental nature of people's (individual) relationships to their work. There were some slight differences between men and women, and between various social groupings, but these differences were rarely significant, and were best understood in terms of a slight variation from a prevailing orientation. The majority of answers to these questions mentioned factors which were extrinsic to the work situation, such as levels of pay, security, a shorter working week and longer holidays. Only a few answers mentioned factors which were intrinsic to work, such as increasing levels of freedom, autonomy and interest in work, or a general improvement in working conditions.

Improvements at work

In the case of the question which asked people to specify the improvements they would most like to see in their own occupation, the most frequently mentioned answer concerned the individual's level of pay (see table 5/18); 34% of men and 47% of women indicated that pay was the only improvement they would like to see in their work, and another 28% of men and 13% of women mentioned pay in combination with other extrinsic factors.

There was little significant difference in the numbers of men in manual or non-manual occupations who mentioned pay.²⁷ There was a more significant difference in the case of women, where the wives of non-manual workers mentioned this factor far more frequently than wives of manual workers.²⁸ Table 5/18 will illustrate this more clearly.

27. $\chi^2 = 0.79$; for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

28. $\chi^2 = 4.24$; for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

Table 5/18 Improvements favoured at work (all men and women in manual and non-manual groups).

<u>Improvement</u>	<u>Manual</u>		<u>Non-manual</u>		<u>Total</u> N = 354 %
	<u>Men</u> N=189 %	<u>Wives</u> N=100 %	<u>Men</u> N=39 %	<u>Wives</u> N=26 %	
1. Better working conditions	9	9	3	8	8
2. Shorter working week	12	15	10	4	12
3. Increase in pay	34	43	31	64	34
4. Longer holidays	3	7	13	4	5
5. More interesting work	5	7	13	4	6
6. Pay increase and shorter week	7	2	5	4	7
7. Pay increase and more holidays	11	7	8	8	10
8. Pay increase and better working conditions	11	4	10	4	11
9. Other answers	8	6	8	-	8
Total	100	100	101	100	101

The most commonly mentioned factor other than pay concerned reducing the amount of time spent at work, either by reducing the working week or by increasing the length of holidays. 17% of the men, and 19.5% of the women mentioned this as the sole improvement they would like to see. A further 19% of men and 9% of women mentioned it in combination with an increase in pay. There was little difference in the numbers of men in manual and non-manual occupations, who mentioned this factor.²⁹ There was also no significant difference in the case of their working wives.³⁰

The numbers of workers who wished to improve their working conditions, was much lower than those who wished to improve their pay, or increase their leisure time. 8% of men and 9% of women specifically mentioned working conditions as a factor to be improved in conjunction with pay. There was little significant difference in the number of men in manual and non-manual occupations who mentioned these factors.³¹ There was

29. $\chi^2=0.48$; for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$

30. $\chi^2 = 0$

31. $\chi^2 = 0.15$; for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

also little significant difference in the case of their working wives.³²

The number of workers who wished to improve the intrinsic interest of their work situation was very low, and only 6% of men and 6.5% of women mentioned this factor. There was little significant difference in the number of men in manual or non-manual occupations who wanted to make their work more interesting.³³ There was also little significant difference in the case of their working wives.³⁴

Men's reasons for remaining in their jobs.

A similar orientation to work characterised the majority of answers to the question, "What would you say is the main reason why you stay in your present job in Corby?" These answers which can be seen in Table 5/19 reflected a great emphasis upon factors which were extrinsic to the work situation.

The most frequently occurring response mentioned the security that the work afforded. 39% of the men mentioned this as the sole reason for staying in their job, a further 6% mentioned it in combination with other answers. The emphasis upon this factor varied significantly with occupation.³⁵ 62% of the non-manual workers mentioned security as the main reason why they stayed in their present job, whereas only 41% of manual workers mentioned this.

32. $X^2 = 0.54$; for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

33. $X^2 = 3.81$; for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.81$, $df=1$.

34. $X^2 = 0.29$; for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.81$, $df=1$

35. $X^2 = 5.3$; for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

Table 5/19 Men's reasons for remaining in their present jobs (manual and non-manual workers).

Reasons	Manual Workers	Non-manual Workers	Total
	N = 189 %	N = 39 %	N = 228 %
1. Freedom	5	5	5
2. Security of the job	36	51	39
3. Interest of the work	5	8	5
4. Wages or pay	16	5	14
5. Lack of alternative work	26	10	23
6. Security and wages	3	3	3
7. Security and interest of work	2	8	3
8. Wages and lack of alternative work	1	3	1
9. Other reasons	6	7	6
Total	100	100	100

In contrast, the numbers of men mentioning wages or pay, was much lower and did not vary significantly with their occupation.³⁶ A large number of men, 24% in fact, showed a completely negative approach to work, and only remained in their jobs because of the lack of any available alternative. There was little significant difference in the numbers of men in manual and non-manual occupations, who held this attitude.³⁷ It is probable in view of the answers to the previous question about improvements in the work situation, that this represented a high level of male dissatisfaction with wages and with the length of the working week. Although family income in Corby was relatively high, desired styles of life could only be achieved through overtime working, shiftworking and by wives returning to the labour market. Hence, a large number of people had the widespread though not necessarily accurate impression, that income and work conditions could be improved if there was a greater available variety of alternative work for men in the community.

A minority of 13% of the men deviated from the general negative or instrumental attitude to work, and indicated that their attachment was

36. $\chi^2 = 1.3$; for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

37. $\chi^2 = 1.72$; for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

of a primarily intrinsic nature. Thus, 5% said that their primary attachment to work was because of the freedom it gave, 5% specified the interest of their work, and a further 3% mentioned the interest their work gave in combination with the security it offered. There was no significant difference in the number of manual and non-manual workers who mentioned these intrinsic factors, and it does not invalidate the conclusion that the primary attachment to work, for men in Corby, was of an instrumental nature.³⁸

Women's Reasons for going to work

A similar instrumental orientation to work, was found amongst those women who went out to work. An examination of Table 5/20 below illustrates that most women in this group did not go to work because of the inherent interest in the work situation, rather they went out to work either because they were lonely and sought company, or because they wanted to increase their family's income.³⁹

Table 5/20 The main reasons given by the wives of manual and non-manual workers of why they went to work.

	<u>Manual</u> N = 100 %	<u>Non-manual</u> N = 26 %	<u>Total</u> N = 126 %
1. Money only	57	46	55
2. Interest only	3	8	4
3. Company/friends	7	15	9
4. Money/company	16	8	14
5. Other reasons	2	4	2
6. Money and other reasons	2	8	3
7. Money and interest	13	11	13

The table above shows that 55% of women who worked mentioned money as their sole reason for going to work, and a further 24% mentioned it in combination with other factors. There was little variation in this

38. $X^2 = 1.72$; for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

39. As we have seen earlier in this chapter, women who went out to work tended to spend more time at work when their children were at school, and the potential demands upon the families incomes were at their greatest.

pattern between manual and non-manual groups in the sample. There was no significant difference in the number of wives of either manual or non-manual workers who gave money as their sole reason for going to work,⁴⁰ or who mentioned it in combination with other factors.⁴¹ However, a number of women said that they went to work for social reasons. Most of these wanted to make friends and to find company, and 8% gave this as their main reason for going to work. A further 14% mentioned it in combination with other factors. There was no significant difference in the numbers of wives of manual and non-manual workers who mentioned social reasons for going to work.⁴² It was probable that in both groups, there were women who felt lonely because their husbands were on shiftwork, or who had few friends because they had only recently settled in Corby. Only a minority of women (4%) deviated from this predominantly instrumental pattern, and said that they went to work for the intrinsic interest of the activity, and only 17% mentioned the interest as a feature in combination with other factors. There was no significant difference in the numbers of women in either manual or non-manual groups who stressed these intrinsic factors, and their small number does not invalidate the conclusion that the prevailing orientation to work in Corby is best understood in instrumental terms.⁴³

Women did not go to work because of inherent interest or attractiveness of the work, but because they were lonely or because they wanted

40. $X^2 = .08$; for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

41. $X^2 = 3.36$; for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

42. $X^2 = 0$

43. $X^2 = 0.45$; for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

to achieve styles of life which were not centred on work or directed at it.

Conclusion

Most men and women who had settled in Corby wished to improve their standard of living and style of life. However, although their previous geographic movement had often been great, their social mobility was low, and their occupational opportunities were mainly confined to a choice of work in a modern, highly productive capital-intensive economy. Most of their work was characterised by a considerable amount of deprivation and a lack of personal absorption and involvement.

Their work was also sharply separated from the remainder of their daily social, family, minor economic and recreational activities. Shiftworking and overtime working was common, and the amounts of time and energy spent in work represented a major factor in delineating the life styles which had developed in the community. It is probable that this situation was legitimised because the expectations of most men and women from their work was low, it was viewed in instrumental terms, as a means of achieving a series of non work directed goals and aims. It was not seen as an activity which was of intrinsic interest, or which formed an integral part of a total personal value system.

CHAPTER 6

FAMILY LIFE IN CORBY

I concluded the last chapter that the pattern of work in Corby corresponded closely to the ideal type, which I developed at the end of chapter 2. Both manual and non-manual groups had work patterns which were fragmented, and their work was divorced in terms of time and place from the remaining spheres of their daily activity. Most men and women had an instrumental attitude towards their work, and used it as a means to achieve a series of leisure oriented aims and goals.

In this chapter I shall examine in some detail, the nature of the value system which legitimised participation in a work situation which was not of inherent interest to the individual, yet paradoxically occupied so much of his time and energy. I shall show that although some elements of an older work-oriented value system remained in Corby, they were no longer of general importance. The dominant value system of both manual and non-manual groups was not work oriented, rather it was family centred, and took the form of a materialistic consumption ethic, which was focused upon the expansion of the families' living standards, and upon the attainment of leisure directed life projects.

I shall suggest that, although it is probable that elements of this type of value system exist in all modern industrial societies, its rise to hegemony in Corby was stimulated by the social fabric of a new community, which had tended to concentrate together, migrant self-reliant men and women, who had often consciously or implicitly, rejected the traditional values and life styles associated with long established communities. The process of migration to Corby had also weakened or broken the structure of the extended family it had often removed the

influence of the older generation, and produced a situation in which the nuclear family unit was socially isolated and vulnerable to the media-communicated norms and values of a prosperous industrial society. I shall illustrate this process in the concluding pages of this chapter by examining the structure of family and neighbourhood life in Corby. I shall suggest that the mobility of the labour force, the employment of women, and the prosperity of the nuclear family, had tended to break down much of the occupational collectivism and close-knit neighbourhood structure, characteristically reported in long established communities. In Corby, the nuclear family unit was a remarkably self sufficient unit, which provided many of the services and functions previously met by kindred, neighbours, or by collective social action.

Section 1. The values of men and women in a new community

It was seen in chapters 1 and 2 that the protestant ethic and its secularised versions, remained important elements in the cultural fabric of British society in the 19th and 20th centuries. The prevailing economic conditions of scarcity, low levels of productivity, and high levels of unemployment provided a sharp sustaining force for the maintenance of its central value system.

However, its values were socially and culturally less relevant to the conditions of full employment, high productivity and prosperity which characterised many sections of mid 20th century society, and a new system of values developed in embryonic form, which was very different from that which had characterised the traditional hegemony. In this system, the central life interest gradually changed from the sphere of work to a series of out of work interests, which focused on the expansion of living standards and leisure interests. This process

of development and change has been most uneven. The traditional work-centred value system still survives amongst elements of the respectable lower middle and working classes. It also survives in long established industrial communities, where socially transmitted norms are strongly maintained. It is weakest in the social situation of a new community, where geographic mobility, social change and prosperity tend to disrupt the social fabric which maintained the hegemony of traditional values. This leaves the individual vulnerable to the media communicated values of a prosperous industrial society.

A) Central Life interests in Corby

In the survey I wanted to examine the following theory:

"The decline of a work centred value system is a characteristic feature of modern industrial society. This decline may be seen in its most critical context in a newly developing community."

As a result the questionnaire contained a section called:

"General Life in Corby".

This section contained six questions each of which examined values in one of the following areas of personal experience.¹

1. The most important things done
2. The most pleasant things done
3. The most interesting things done
4. The main sources of worry
5. The best hopes for one's children
6. The best hopes for the future.

In each question people were asked to choose between and then rank in order of preference the following alternative central life interests.

1. Work
2. Family
3. Leisure, spare time and other interests.

1. This series of questions was a slightly modified version of a series developed by S.R. Parker, and used in his study of the interrelationship of work and leisure. (S.R. Parker 1968). S.R. Parker in turn had based his series of questions upon R. Dubin's Central Life Interest Schedule, (R. Dubin, 1956), which he had modified and reduced.

The answers to each question were then classified according to the interests people gave as their first choice.

The answers to these questions tended to substantiate the theory that a work centred value system is no longer a characteristic feature of modern society. An examination of table 6/1 below illustrates that only a few people gave work directed answers and most people indicated that their central life interests were situated elsewhere. This prevailing attitude was also consistent with the conclusions reached at the end of the last chapter, namely that the primary orientation towards work in Corby is best understood in terms of an instrumental and not an intrinsic relationship.

Table 6/1. The Central life interest of all men and women in the sample in six areas of personal experience.

	Important N = 442 %	Worrying N = 442 %	Pleasant N = 442 %	Children N = 442 %	Interest N = 442 %	Future N = 442 %
1. Family	88	79	85	74	76	88
2. Work	11	10	2	20	10	9
3. Spare time/ Leisure	1	9	12	2	13	2
4. No answer	-	2	1	4	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

The majority of people in the sample gave family directed answers to all six questions. There were some slight though interesting variations in emphasis between different questions. For example, leisure and spare time activities were regarded as important by only 1% of the sample. Work was regarded as the most pleasant activity by only 2%; in contrast 88% of people centred their thoughts for the future not in work or other interests, but upon their family.

I also calculated an overall central life interest score from the answers to each of the above six questions. This was necessary because I wanted to compare different groups within the sample, and at the same

time avoid the complexity involved in comparing their answers to each question. As a result I calculated the overall central life interest score for each group by dividing its total score for all questions by six. The results of this additional analysis again indicated that in most cases (82%) the overall central life interest was decisively centred in the family. Only a minority of people (10%) were work oriented, while the remainder had their central life interest in their leisure, spare time activities or other things.

Table 6/2 The overall central life interest scores of people in the sample (a comparison of men working in manual and non-manual occupations - and their wives).

	Manual		Non-manual		Total N=442 %
	Men N=189 %	Wives N=175 %	Men N=39 %	Wives N=39 %	
1. Family	77	89	77	81	
2. Work	15	5	16	8	
3. Spare time/leisure	7	4	6	8	
4. No answer	1	2	-	3	
Total	100	100	100	100	

An examination of Table 6/2 above illustrates that in the case of men, there was no significant difference in the distribution of central life interest scores amongst either manual or non-manual workers.² There was a more significant difference between men and women.³ This was because women gave fewer work centred answers than their husbands, a result which is consistent with the conclusion reached at the end of the last chapter, that women have even less intrinsic involvement in their work than their husbands.

The overall central life interest of the sample also varied significantly with the life cycle stages of both men⁴ and women.⁵ An

-
2. $\chi^2 = 2.08$; for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.
 3. $\chi^2 = 6.44$; for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$
 4. $\chi^2 = 18.50$; for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.
 5. $\chi^2 = 9.98$; for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

examination of table 6/3 below illustrates that when people had no children they were more likely to find their central life interest in leisure or spare time activities. In contrast most people with young children focused their central life interests upon their families.

Table 6/3 The overall central life interest of people in the sample.
(a comparison of men and women at different stages in their
life cycle).

	<u>Life Cycle Stage</u>					
	No children		Children 0-15		Children over 15	
	Men N=22 %	Wives N=20 %	Men N=157 %	Wives N=149 %	Men N=49 %	Wives N=45 %
1. Family	59	75	80	90	75	85
2. Work	16	9	14	5	16	7
3. Spare time/ Leisure	15	5	6	4	8	7
4. No answer	10	11	-	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

The pattern of answers to the above six questions suggests that only a minority of men and women possessed a value system in which work occupied a central element. In contrast most people in Corby focused their central life interest outside the sphere of work and in most cases it was decisively centred upon family-centred interests and activities.

B) People's aspirations for their families

Although the central life interest of most men and women in Corby was focused upon their families, this attachment can give rise to a variety of aspirations.

I suggested in chapter 2 that in a prosperous, new community, the social fabric which traditionally transferred values from the older to the younger generation is largely absent. The nuclear family unit is often socially isolated and consequently both men and women are more vulnerable to the influence of media communicated values which reflect the normative structure of a highly productive society. As a result, it is possible to discern some of the elements of a new value system in

which a systematic life plan is adopted in order to achieve the following goals; an expanding standard of material prosperity, the accumulation of an extended range of household and consumer durables and the enjoyment of a limited range of expensive leisure pursuits. In this situation it seemed probable that people's family centred aspirations would not be characterised by a preference for an increase in family directed leisure time, or for an increased amount of social intercourse with other families.

In order to examine this view about the nature of people's family centred aspirations in a new community, the questionnaire contained the following item.

"Looking ahead to the next ten years, what improvements in your way of life would you most hope for yourself and your family in Corby ?.....

This was an open ended question where people were not presented with a choice of alternatives, but had to write in their own answers. This probably accounted for the low level of response, the question was not answered by 36% of the manual and 26% of the non-manual group; this left 291 replies which were grouped into the general categories employed in table 6/4 below.⁶

Table 6/4 Improvements most hoped for in people's way of life (a comparison of men and women in manual and non-manual groups.

	<u>Manual</u> N = 233	<u>Non-manual</u> N = 258	<u>Total</u> N = 291
	%	%	%
1. A home of one's own	15	14	14
2. A better standard of living	32	24	30
3. A better paid and secure job	22	7	19
4. More leisure time	9	10	10
5. A wider social life	2	9	3
6. Other answers	20	36	24
Total	100	100	100

6. In this table, and in all subsequent tables in this section I have not distinguished between men and women but between manual and non-manual groups. This classification is based upon the occupation of the head of the household. I have limited myself to this simple distinction because in this section I am mainly concerned with family oriented aims and aspirations and not with differences between men and women.

The majority of answers (63%) reflected an immediate concern with economic security, living standards and material possessions. Of these, 14% hoped to own their own homes, 30% wished to improve their standard of living and 19% hoped to gain more secure and better paid work, which would directly or indirectly improve their families well being. In contrast only a few people (13%) wanted to improve their own or their families general quality and style of life. Of these 3% hoped to improve their social life or activity and another 10% hoped to have more leisure time for family entertainment and recreation.

Some interesting and significant differences also distinguished the hopes and aspirations of manual and non-manual workers and their wives. An examination of table 6/4 above illustrates that a greater proportion of the slightly more prosperous non-manual group hoped to improve their family's quality and style of life. In contrast a larger proportion of the slightly less prosperous manual group hoped to improve their family's material prosperity and security.⁷ It seems probable that if family income continues to rise in Corby and more people achieve their material aims, then their aspirations will also change. More people will wish to widen their social life or increase their leisure time, consequently there will be a greater pressure on public, social and recreational facilities and a minority and mainly non-manual concern with the quality and style of life will become of more general interest.

C) Material life projects in Corby

The pattern of answers to the above question provided support for the view that most family-centred aspirations in Corby could be understood in terms of a consumption ethic in which a systematic life plan

7. $X^2 = 11.09$; for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

was pursued in order to improve living standards and material possessions.

In theory the above plan may be classified into a series of separate if not mutually exclusive stages. In the first stage the aim is to acquire inexpensive articles of clothing, private luxuries and personal but not mechanised transport. In the second stage the aim is to remove many of the traditional constraints associated with the domestic routine and chores, and to make the home an attractive place for a series of family-oriented leisure activities. In the third stage the aims centre around the acquisition of a house of their own. In the fourth stage, aims become more fragmented and centre on the development of a series of expensive individual or family directed activities, such as camping, caravanning and foreign travel. At the same time there is a growing concern with the quality and style of life, and pressure on public and social recreational facilities may increase.

I found in the course of the initial survey that most men and women had completed stage 1 of the above life project and were busily engaged upon stages 2 and 3. As a result their material ambitions were very high and as we have seen, this led men to work long hours or to take up shiftwork, while it led to their wives returning to industrial or commercial work in large numbers.

In order to extend my examination of material aims and aspirations in Corby, the survey contained a series of detailed questions which asked the respondents whether they owned, would like to own in two years, or would like to own in the future, a series of material possessions. These items were not chosen arbitrarily but were intended to be relevant to various stages of the above life project. After a considerable

amount of revision⁸ I included three items which tended to reduce constraint in the domestic routine and also made the home an attractive venue for leisure activities (washing machines, refrigerator, record player). Three items which represented an extension of home centred ambitions and also removed many constraints on personal travel and communication (a home of one's own, a motor vehicle, a telephone), and two items which facilitated more expensive and diversified patterns of individual or family activity (second motor vehicle, caravan). The answers to these questions were then classified into the following categories.

1. People who owned
2. People who did not own but wished to own in the future.
3. People who did not own and did not wish to own.

The distribution of answers in these three different categories is illustrated in table 6/5 below.

Table 6/5 Ownership and aspirations for ownership of material goods.
(A comparison of men and women in manual and non-manual groups).

<u>Material goods</u>	<u>Ownership</u>		<u>Hopes to own</u>		<u>Doesn't own</u>	
	<u>Manual</u>	<u>Non-Manual</u>	<u>Manual</u>	<u>Non-Manual</u>	<u>Manual</u>	<u>Non-Manual</u>
N = 442	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Washing machine	88	87	6	10	7	2
2. Refrigerator	69	77	18	20	13	3
3. Record Player	65	71	8	9	27	20
4. Motor vehicle	57	74	20	13	22	12
5. House	9	27	42	47	48	26
6. Telephones	11	30	22	26	67	44
7. Second car	4	5	9	17	87	78
8. Caravan	4	1	12	13	84	86

An examination of table 6/5 above suggests that most people in Corby had achieved a large amount of material prosperity. People in

-
8. I originally included television as an item for stage 2. However, the pilot survey indicated that possession was so high, 98%, that it was not a useful differentiating factor. I also originally included powered lawnmower at stage 3. However the pilot survey indicated that in some homes the landlord mowed the front garden lawn, as a result many households regarded lawnmowers unnecessary, so again I omitted this item from my questionnaire.

the non-manual group tended to have a greater number of material possessions than those who were in the manual group; but the aspirations of the latter were also high and it seemed probable that a general convergence of material standards was taking place between the two. This process had already occurred in the second stage of the life project and most people in both groups had succeeded in removing many of the traditional constraints associated with their domestic routine and chores. As a result there was no significant difference between the numbers of people in each group who possessed washing machines, refrigerators, record players (or televisions).⁹ There was a greater difference between the two groups at stage 3 of the life project, a significantly higher number of non-manual workers and their wives owned their own houses, motor vehicles and washing machines.¹⁰ However, the number of people in the manual group who aspired to own these goods was also very high and it seemed probable that their levels of ownership will rise and gradually converge with the non-manual workers. In the case of stage 4 of the life project only a few people had acquired additional motor vehicles or caravans (or reported taking foreign

9. Washing Machine,	$X^2 = 0.01$;	for $p < .05$,	$X^2 = 3.84$,	$df=1$.
Refrigerator	$X^2 = 1.68$;	for $p < .05$,	$X^2 = 3.84$,	$df=1$.
Record Player	$X^2 = 1.09$;	for $p < .05$,	$X^2 = 3.84$,	$df=1$.
10. Motor Vehicle	$X^2 = 7.06$;	for $p < .05$,	$X^2 = 3.84$,	$df=1$.
House	$X^2 = 14.34$;	for $p < .05$,	$X^2 = 3.84$,	$df=1$.
Telephone	$X^2 = 18.40$;	for $p < .05$,	$X^2 = 3.84$,	$df=1$.

In the case of home ownership the salaried non-manual workers said they found it easier to negotiate mortgages than the wage earning manual workers. As a result the higher non-manual rates of ownership of private housing may simply reflect the rules of local Building Societies. They may not necessarily reflect a greater income or greater levels of material ambition. However, there was also some evidence to suggest that these rules have been recently revised and as a result manual workers are finding it easier to borrow money to buy their homes. This trend is reflected in the fact that there was very little difference in the number of either young manual or non-manual workers with no children who were buying their own homes.

holidays). However important minorities in both manual and non-manual groups aspired to attain these aims once their other material goals had been achieved.

As a result of this process of convergence intergenerational, life cycle stages contained greater variations in levels of ownership and material aspirations than was found between occupational groups. An examination of tables 6/6 A and B below illustrate that older people, whose children have grown up, owned fewer material goods than many people with no or young children. Most of these older people also had fewer material aspirations than their generally younger counterparts. It seems probable that these differences may be due to the contrasting life experiences of the two groups. Most of the older people in the sample grew up in the 1920's and 1930's and they still retained many of the scarcity oriented values associated with their experiences during these relatively depressed years. In contrast many of the younger people in the sample, who were newly married or with families of young children, had grown up in the more prosperous 1950's and 1960's. They possessed more of the consumption oriented, materialist values associated with life in a modern industrial society.

Table 6/6A Ownership of material goods (a comparison of the life cycle stages of men and women in manual and non-manual groups.)

<u>Goods owned</u>	<u>Life Cycle Stage</u>					
	No children		Children 0 - 15		Children over 15	
	Manual	Non-Manual	Manual	Non-Manual	Manual	Non-Manual
	N= 32	N = 10	N=252	N= 54	N= 80	N = 14
	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Washing machine	53	40	93	96	85	86
2. Refrigerator	56	80	71	74	65	86
3. Record Player	62	62	71	71	49	49
4. Motor vehicle	41	80	60	78	58	57
5. House	19	20	8	28	10	29
6. Telephone	13	10	11	30	10	43
7. Second vehicle	-	10	3	4	7	7
8. Caravan	-	10	2	-	10	-

Table 6/6B. Aspirations for ownership of material goods (a comparison of the life cycle stages of men and women in manual and non-manual groups).

Goods aspired for	Life cycle stage					
	No children		Children 0 - 15		Children over 15	
	Manual	Non-Manual	Manual	non-manual	Manual	Non-manual
	N = 32	N = 10	N=252	N = 54	N= 80	N = 14
1. Washing machine	5	10	5	4	-	-
2. Refrigerators	18	24	20	22	7	14
3. Record player	8	9	10	10	2	2
4. Motor Vehicle	20	13	24	13	7	14
5. House	42	47	51	52	12	21
6. Telephone	22	26	26	25	9	7
7. Second vehicle	9	17	11	22	5	7
8. Caravan	12	13	15	15	6	14

The pattern of ownership amongst the group of mainly young, married men and women with no children is illustrated in table 6/7A below.

Table 6/7A Ownership of material goods (a comparison of men and women with no children in manual and non-manual groups).

	Manual N = 32 %	Non-manual N = 10 %
1. Washing machine	53	40
2. Refrigerator	56	80
3. Record Player	62	62
4. Motor vehicle	41	80
5. House	19	20
6. Telephone	13	10
7. Second vehicle	-	10
8. Caravan	-	10

The above table shows that levels of ownership amongst people in manual and non-manual groups were often very similar. A slightly higher number of men and women in the manual group owned telephones and washing machines, in contrast a slightly higher number in the non-manual group owned refrigerators and washing machines.¹¹

The material aspirations of all people at this stage of their life

11. I have not carried out any significant tests on the following tables which deal with material possessions and aspirations at different life cycle stages. This is because the numbers involved are often so small that it is often a question of luck whether a significant difference occurs between two groups.

cycle were also very high. However, an examination of table 6/7B below illustrates that there were some important differences between the material aspirations of people in manual and non-manual groups. This was because a higher proportion of non-manual workers and their wives wanted to own their own homes, telephones and washing machines.

Table 6/7B Aspirations for ownership of material goods (a comparison of men and women with no children in manual and non-manual groups).

	Manual N = 32 %	Non-manual N = 10 %
1. Washing machine	25	60
2. Refrigerator	25	20
3. Record Player	3	3
4. Motor vehicle	22	10
5. House	41	60
6. Telephone	15	60
7. Second vehicle	14	-
8. Caravan	9	-

It is probable that the difference between the aspirations of manual and non-manual groups reflected a realistic appraisal of future levels of family income. As we have seen in chapter 5 (page 116) the income of non-manual families tended to gradually rise at each successive life cycle stage. In contrast the income of manual families tended to follow a more stable pattern, with an eventual decline in the pre-retirement period.

The levels of ownership amongst people with young children under 16 years of age is shown in table 6/8A below.

Table 6/8A Ownership of material goods (a comparison of men and women with children under 16 years in manual and non-manual groups).

	Manual N = 252 %	Non-manual N = 54 %
1. Washing machine	93	96
2. Refrigerator	71	74
3. Record Player	71	71
4. Motor vehicle	60	78
5. House	8	28
6. Telephone	11	30
7. Second vehicle	3	4
8. Caravan	2	-

An examination of the above table suggests that levels of ownership amongst people in manual and non-manual groups were becoming very similar. There was little difference in the proportion of people in each group who owned washing machines, refrigerators, record players or motor vehicles. In contrast a greater number of people in the non-manual group owned their own houses and had telephones. However, an examination of table 6/8B below illustrates that the aspirations of people in the manual group to own these goods was also high, and it seems probable that a general process of converging material standards was taking place between the two groups.

Table 6/8B Aspirations for ownership of material goods (A comparison of men and women with children under 16 years in manual and non-manual groups).

	Manual N = 252 %	Non-manual N = 54 %
1. Washing machine	5	4
2. Refrigerator	20	22
3. Record Player	10	10
4. Motor vehicle	24	13
5. House	52	52
6. Telephone	26	25
7. Second vehicle	11	22
8. Caravan	15	15

The levels of ownership amongst older people, whose children were of post compulsory school age, or who had grown up, is illustrated in table 6/9A below.

Table 6/9A Ownership of material goods (a comparison of men and women with children over 15 years in manual and non-manual groups).

	Manual N = 80 %	Non-manual N = 14 %
1. Washing machine	85	86
2. Refrigerator	65	86
3. Record Player	49	49
4. Motor vehicle	58	57
5. House	10	29
6. Telephone	10	43
7. Second vehicle	7	7
8. Caravan	10	-

The above table shows that as in the case of people with young children, the major difference between manual and non-manual groups, remained one of home ownership and telephone usage. However, the differences between the number of people in each group who owned washing machines, refrigerators, record players or motor vehicles was very slight and the non-manual group contained a higher proportion of caravan owners.

An examination of table 6/9B below illustrates that the level of material ambition in this group was much lower than at the preceding life cycle stages.

Table 6/9B Aspirations for material goods (a comparison of men and women with children over 15 years in manual and non-manual groups).

	Manual N = 80 %	Non-manual N = 14 %
1. Washing machine	-	-
2. Refrigerator	7	14
3. Record player	2	2
4. Motor vehicle	7	14
5. House	12	21
6. Telephone	9	7
7. Second vehicle	5	7
8. Caravan	6	14

The above table shows that most people with grown up children were content to maintain their present material standard of living. In part as we have seen, this may reflect the values of a group which contained many people who grew up in the less prosperous 1920's and 1930's. In part it may also reflect the absence in many homes of young children whose presence often tended to form a focus and stimulus for material ambitions. However it is probable that it also reflected a realistic assessment of the future. Most people in this group were in their late 40's or 50's and many of them were aware of the relative poverty they would face when they retired from work. Although in

many cases reduced family commitments led to a brief period of prosperity in which people could afford to run a car for the first time in their lives. In many other cases people experienced a decline in their material standards of living before they retired. This was because many men suffered from chronic ill health in the latter period of their working lives. They were no longer able to continue working in arduous, if highly paid occupations. As a result they were forced to transfer to lighter if less well paid day work.

The above analysis of material values suggests that inter-generational life cycle stages contained greater variations in levels of ownership and material aspirations, than occurred between either manual or non-manual groups. The material values of most manual workers and their wives were often very similar and in many cases their patterns of ownership were identical. Although a number of differences also distinguished the two groups, the general uniformity of their material aspirations at each life cycle stage, suggested that their material living standards were rapidly converging.

Conclusion to Section 1.

The evidence I have reviewed in this section suggests that, although a few people held fragmentary elements of an older value system in which work held a central place and in which material ambitions were limited, most people in the sample had very different values. The dominant value system, which legitimised the worker's participation in an alienating and fragmented work situation, was family centred and materialistic. It took the form of a series of goals which sought to eliminate many of the constraints associated with domestic routine, personal travel and communication, in order to build an attractive material basis for a variety of individual or family directed

leisure activities. Although it seems probable that elements of this value system exist amongst people in all industrial societies, it is probable that its rapid rise to hegemony in Corby has been complimented by the social fabric and in particular the structure of family life which has developed in the new community.

Section 2. The structure of family life in Corby

In this section I shall examine the structure of family and neighbourhood life in Corby in more detail. I shall suggest that the migratory nature of the labour force, the large number of married women who go to work and the prosperity of the nuclear family unit have all contributed to the hegemony of a family centred, materialistic value system. I shall show that in Corby, the occupational collectivism and close knit kin and neighbourhood structures, characteristically reported in long established communities did not exist. In contrast, the nuclear family formed a remarkably self-sufficient unit, which provided many of the services and functions previously met by kindred, neighbours, or by collective social action.

I suggested earlier in this work, that the growth of a new community, and the migration of its workforce, tended to disrupt established kinship networks, which served in many long established communities to communicate traditional values and goals. In Corby, the town's unusual demographic structure, its cosmopolitan population and its relatively isolated geographic position, all tended to limit the overflow of traditional, scarcity oriented values from older generations or large adjacent communities. These factors also tended to stimulate the growth of a series of materialist and leisure directed goals and aims. However it is possible that I was analysing life styles in Corby at a transitional stage of development. A new and

local community-based kindred system might develop in the future which would largely ossify the newly emerging value system and in turn would serve to transmit it as a new orthodoxy to future generations who are born in the town. This hypothetical process is illustrated in diagram 6/1 below.

Diagram 6/1 The development of value systems in a new community

- Stage 1 An old and long established community, with strongly established kinship networks and traditional and communally transmitted values.
- Stage 2 A new recently established community composed of young migrant workers. In this social situation kinship networks are weak and the system which transmitted values in Stage 1 is largely absent. As a result the nuclear family unit is isolated and vulnerable to the media-communicated values of modern industrial society.
- Stage 3 A new community which has reached a mature and established stage. A strong kinship network has developed and the values of a modern industrial society are commonly accepted and are once again, as in Stage 1, being communally transmitted as an orthodoxy from one generation to another.

The initial survey of time usage, carried out in 1966 and 1967, led me to reject the above cyclical interpretation of the development of kinship networks in a new community.¹² This was because only a few men and women maintained the type of close, intensive relationship with their parents and relatives, which is reported in studies of long established and traditional industrial communities. The following three cases were typical of the small number of families who maintained this informal and intensive pattern of interaction.

Case 16. An older couple who are at the centre of an extended family.

Mr. and Mrs. V. were in their late 60's. Mr. V. still worked as an instrument mechanic at the steelworks, as he said to me "I am a skilled tradesman, and they have a shortage of skilled men in the works, so I can stay on if I want to". The couple came to Corby from South Wales in the early 1930's and their daily lives were enmeshed into the activities of their three children, 9 grandchildren and 4 great grandchildren who lived in the town. Mrs. V. was visited daily by her

12. I suggested in chapter 4, pages 97 and 98 that most people had lived in Corby long enough to have settled down and developed new life styles.

grandchildren who "pop in to see me for a sweet" on their way home from school. Her daughter visited her regularly on Wednesday evening and a nephew called every Tuesday. Her two sons called to see her on Sunday morning and Sunday evening respectively and the old couple also usually spent their Saturday evenings in either the local pub or the Conservative Club, where they were joined by their grown up children and other friends. The little time Mrs. V. had alone was usually spent watching television or knitting for her great-grandchildren, while Mr. V. spent a lot of time helping his two sons to maintain their cars and making models for his grandchildren.

Case 17 An older couple who came to Corby from a village in order to live near their children and grandchildren.

Mr. & Mrs. R. were in their late 50's, and their family was grown up. Mr. R. worked as a fitter's mate in the steelworks and his wife was a full time housewife. The couple had lived all their lives in a picturesque Northamptonshire village but decided to move to Corby 12 years ago. This was because one of their sons had settled in the town, and they came to realise how convenient it would be to live there after the relative isolation of life in a village where the buses only ran once a day. The couple both agreed that facilities in Corby were much better than those in the village, but they missed the social life of their old community. Mrs. R. spent a lot of time visiting her son and daughter in law, and also knitting for her grandchildren. She usually managed to call on them every day in the week and she also did some babysitting at the weekends. In turn everyone visited the grandparents home for tea on Sunday afternoons. Mr. R. was less active in visiting than his wife. However he usually managed to visit his son on Wednesday and Saturday evenings, when they both went out for a drink. He also stayed at home for the family evening together on Sundays.

Case 18 A young women whose life was supported by close contact with other female relatives.

Mr. and Mrs. M. were in their mid 20's, they had three children aged four, five and six years. Mr. M. was an ex-regular soldier and worked as a lorry driver. He worked long hours, including weekends, in order to make his wages up and as a result he was rarely at home before 8 p.m. in the evening. He told me he would have liked to have trained to be a welder, but he felt he could not afford to drop his wages to attend the Government Training Centre. His wife was often alone during the day with her children, but she told me she was rarely unhappy, because she had established a number of close ties with a number of female relatives who lived in the vicinity. She did not get on "too well" with her mother, who only calls in two or three times a week. She found she got on much better with her mother in law, who was a widow and lived nearby. Her mother in law called in every day to help with the children and to have a chat. She also slept in the house at night when she felt lonely in her own home. Mrs. M. also had a sister who was "very close" and who called on Tuesday evenings and on her Wednesday afternoons free from work.

In contrast, most men and women I interviewed, focused most of their activity within the framework of the conjugal family unit. They

maintained more formal and less intimate relationships with other members of their kindred who lived in the vicinity. The following cases were typical of the majority of families who maintained this more independent and distant type of relationship.

Case 19 A couple with a young family, who only see their parents infrequently

Mr. and Mrs. M. were in their mid 30's; Mrs. M. was born in Belfast and came to Corby 10 years ago. Mr. M. was born in Corby although his parents came from Ulster. Mr. M. told me that he liked to spend most of his leisure time at home with his wife and children. He deplored the lack of opportunity for inexpensive family outings in the area. However, he visited the public baths regularly since this was a facility he and his three children could enjoy quite cheaply. Mr. M.'s parents still live in the older part of Corby and he told me he still tried to keep up contact with them. He usually visited them on Friday evenings on his way home from work. Mrs. M. told me she found Corby a very lonely place after the friendliness of her native Ulster. She had no family in the town although she had tried to make friends with her neighbours by offering to look after their children. She said, "this compliment was never returned" so she spent the majority of her time at home engaged in the routine of domestic chores, dressmaking or going out with her husband and children. The only time she saw her relatives was on very occasional visits to or from Ulster.

Case 20 A woman with young children who received little support from relatives who lived in the town

Mrs. N. was in her early 20's, she had one child who was 18 months old, and her husband worked as a continuous weld operator at the local steelworks. Both sets of parents were alive and both lived in Corby. Mrs. N. visited her mother in law on Wednesday mornings and her Mother on Saturdays. She also visited both parents on Sundays. However, she still complained bitterly about being housebond, "he (her husband) goes out tonight drinking with his pals while I've got to stay in with the kid, and I've been stuck in most of the week as it is". There seemed to be four major factors which led to her limited social life and which also restricted her contact with her parents or relatives, to fairly formal, infrequent visits. She lived in a fairly newly established part of Corby, while her parents and in laws lived in the older part of the town. As a result a family visit was often a considerable effort for a young mother and child, with no car, and usually no available husband to help. Her mother went out to work in a local crisp factory and was rarely available for babysitting, while her mother in law had to look after a sick husband and was reluctant to look after her grandchildren as well. Finally, most of Mrs. N.'s relatives had husbands who worked on shifts, this fragmented work pattern added a further dimension to complicate the times at which mutually convenient visits to each other could be arranged.

Case 21 An older couple who visited their married daughter once a week.

Mr. and Mrs. S. were in their late 40's, they came to Corby ten years ago from Scotland and their aged parents still live there. Mrs. S. was a full time housewife and her husband was a maintenance fitter at the local steelworks. The couple had one daughter who was married and lived in nearby Kettering. Mr. and Mrs. S's main leisure interests centred on their home and their out of door activities. They had bought their own bungalow and were busily engaged in improving its amenities. Mrs. S. said, "I think it's fine the way you can have your own house and then set about improving it and getting it how you like it year by year". The couple also owned a modern car and caravan and in the summer they often went away for the whole weekend, they also had holidayed all over the British Isles. They usually managed to visit their daughter and grandchildren once a week, this was usually on Friday evening or Saturday morning, when they called in to see them after their regular weekly shopping expedition to Sainsbury's which was also in Kettering.

Finally, a minority of men and women could not, or had largely abandoned any attempt to maintain any but the most spasmodic relationship with their parents or relatives. In most cases this was because their parents lived so far away from them. As a result their conjugal family often formed an independent and very self sufficient unit. The following two cases were typical of families, who through choice or circumstances, remained relatively isolated from their relatives.

Case 22 A couple with young children whose parents lived in Scotland

Mr. and Mrs. W. were in their late 30's, they had two children aged 9 and 12 years. The couple came to Corby 12 years ago from Scotland where Mr. W. used to work as a fisherman. He is now employed as a painter in the steelworks. The couple told me that they do not like living in Corby, both preferred the peace and beauty of their native fishing town. They only had one distant relative living in the Corby area, a cousin who sometimes visited them on Friday evenings. They only saw their other relative and parents on the rare occasions they visited each other for a holiday. The majority of their interests and activities centred on making their home a comfortable place to live in, but they were also very concerned about the personal development and education of their two children. Mrs. W. also told me she had made friends with one of her neighbours, who often called in to see her on Saturday evenings when Mr. W. went out for his weekly drink.

Case 23 A couple with young children whose parents live in Ireland and Germany respectively.

Mrs. and Mr. K. were in their mid 30's and they had two children aged 4 and 7 years. Mr. K. came to Corby from Ireland 10 years ago and now works as a cranedriver in the steelworks. His parents still live in Ireland but he had one brother who worked in London. He told me he only saw his parents and relatives at holiday time, when they sometimes visited each other. Most of his leisure time was spent at home in the company of his wife and children, resting, watching

television or carrying on his hobby of woodworking. However, he usually went out on Friday nights for a drink at the local Silver Band Club. His wife came from Germany, she also had no relatives living locally and she spent most of her time at home with her children. She said she had not made any close friends in Corby and at the time of the interview she was busily completing a huge pile of Christmas cards to send to her old friends and relatives in Westphalia.

In the main survey which I carried out in 1969, I elaborated my initial inquiry to include a more detailed investigation of family life. This was necessary because I wanted to quantify more precisely the pattern of family interaction in the new community; I wanted to find out how many people had parents or relatives living in Corby or in the surrounding district. I also wanted to measure how frequently people maintained contact with each other.

The results of this investigation revealed that although most men and women had moved to Corby from other (often quite distant) regions, the majority also had other members of their kindred living in the area. However the conclusions I had reached at the end of my initial survey were also verified, this geographic proximity of kin had not brought about a re-emergence of the traditional, close knit family structure.

Three quarters of the sample had parents who were still alive and 49% of these lived in the Corby area. However, an examination of table 6/10 below shows that only a few people visited their parents on the constant daily basis, which was reported in long established communities. The majority of visits to parents tended to be of a more formal nature and took place once or twice a week.

Table 6/10 The frequency with which parents were visited (a comparison of men working in manual and non-manual occupations and also of their wives).

Frequency of visit	Manual		Non-manual		Total N = 325
	Men N=128 %	Wives N = 131 %	Men N=34 %	Wives N=32 %	
1. Twice a day	2	1	3	3	2
2. Once a day	7	17	3	12	11
3. Twice a week	13	25	6	22	18
4. Once a week	21	12	18	12	16
5. Once a month	7	8	50	25	14
6. Once a year	40	31	20	19	32
7. Never	10	6	-	6	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100

The above table also shows that a larger proportion of women maintained closer contact with their parents. It also shows that a greater number of manual workers and their wives had more frequent contact with their parents, than people in the non-manual group.

However, the failure of the extended kinship system to re-establish itself in Corby is seen even more clearly when the answers to the following questions were analysed.

1. Do you have any relatives living in Corby or in the surrounding district? (counting brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles and grown up children as relatives).
2. How many times a year do you visit or are you visited by your relatives?

Although 69% of the sample reported they had relatives living in Corby, or in the surrounding district, an examination of table 6/11 below illustrates that most people did not maintain close patterns of daily interaction.

Table 6/11 The frequency of visits to relatives (a comparison of men working in manual and non-manual occupations and also of their wives).

	Manual		Non-manual		Total N=442
	Men N=189 %	Wives N=175 %	Men N=39 %	Wives N=39 %	
1. Twice a day	2	2	-	-	1
2. Once a day	5	7	3	3	5
3. Twice a week	9	16	13	13	13
4. Once a week	27	29	20	20	27

Table 6/11 (cont)

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Men N=189 %	Wives N=175 %	Men N=39 %	Wives N=39 %	
5. Once a month	21	15	33	33	21
6. Once a year	24	23	26	28	24
7. Never	10	6	2	-	7
8. Other (no relatives)	2	2	3	3	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Only a small number of manual workers and their wives had established the informal, daily contact of "popping in and out" that occurs in close knit kinship groupings. In contrast, most people in both manual and non-manual groups maintained a more formal and less frequent pattern of interaction, and they usually visited their relatives once a week or once a month. However a further substantial minority of men and women (31%) were almost totally isolated from their relatives and maintained a very tenuous and infrequent contact.

The autonomy and independence of the majority of families in a prosperous and modern industrial society is seen most clearly when the answers to the following question were analysed.

"Who would you say apart from your husband, wife and children are the one main group of children you spend most time with ?

An examination of Table 6/12 below shows that the majority of men and women in Corby no longer spent most of their time in the company of their parents or relatives.

Table 6/12 The main group of people most time is spent with (a comparison of men working in manual and non-manual occupations and also of their wives).

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Men N=189 %	Wives N=175 %	Men N=39 %	Wives N=39 %	
1. Parents and relatives	21	39	18	18	27
2. Friends from work and other friends	53	40	54	56	48
3. Nobody in particular or nobody at all	26	21	28	26	25
Total	100	100	100	100	100

A large number of people (48) reported that most of their social contact was made with friends from work or other friends and a further 25% reported that they spent little time in any social contact outside the orbit of their immediate family unit. Only a minority of people reported that they spent most of their time with their parents and relatives, and even in this latter group, the evidence suggested that only a few men and women had established a close, compulsive, time consuming pattern of informal social interaction.

Conclusion

In the past 36 years, Corby had expanded from a small semi-rural village into a large, modern industrial community. A new generation had grown up in the town and most people had relatives of parents living in the area. However the conjugal family remained the characteristic social unit, and close links with members of an extended kindred had failed to develop as a general feature of social life in the new community. The reasons for this development are complex, however, they are best understood in terms of the polarity/extrinsic ideal type I developed at the conclusion of chapter 2.

It is probable that the social and economic conditions found in Corby tend to inhibit the close integration of the conjugal unit into an extensive kinship network. In particular, the prosperity and security of the nuclear family and the financial independence of working wives, both serve to weaken the need to maintain strong emotional and financial links, with an interdependent and mutually supportive kinship network. In Corby, modern housing and a prosperous material standard of living have increased the attractiveness of the home for both men and women. The development of new and richer joint conjugal relationships have often weakened the need for women to find alternative supportive

attachments with the other female members of her family. The very break up of long established traditions, consequent in the process of migration to a new community, has given many people the autonomy and freedom to develop new independent attitudes and patterns of behaviour. People may find that close interaction with their parents and relatives represents a constraining and inhibiting situation. They may prefer to spend their time with friends who also share their values and interests. The autonomy and independence of the conjugal family unit in Corby also had a considerable influence upon the pattern of formal social interaction which had developed in the community. Consequently in the next chapter I shall go on to examine social life in Corby in more detail.

CHAPTER 7

SOCIAL LIFE IN CORBY

I suggested in the previous chapters, that the development of a new community at Corby, tended to concentrate together a self reliant group of men and women. These people often implicitly or consciously rejected the values and life styles associated with old and long established areas and were vulnerable to the media communicated values of a prosperous, industrial society.

I also suggested that in Corby the dominant value system was not work oriented, but was family centred. It took the form of a materialist and consumption ethic, which was focused upon an expansion of living standards and the attainment of a series of family and leisure directed life projects. The nuclear family, which was often prosperous and economically independent, formed a remarkably self sufficient unit which provided many of the services once met by kindred, neighbours or by collective social action.

In this chapter I want to examine the effect of this materialist and family centred value system upon social life in Corby. In particular I shall examine the following hypothesis,

"In modern industrial societies such as Corby, people's links with the formal institutions of their community are weak and most of their social activity is confined to a narrow circle of kin and immediate friends".

Method

In order to examine the above hypothesis I decided to study rates of membership and participation in voluntary organisations and other social institutions in the community. This was because Corby had a large number of clubs, societies, and other organisations which meet regularly or irregularly to pursue common aims and purposes. As a

result a casual observer might easily have concluded that a flourishing and vigorous social life had developed rapidly in the new town. In 1969, the Development Corporation Tenants Handbook included the following groups, although this list did not mention a number of other social institutions in the community, for example, the various local branches of national trade unions.

8 Social and Recreational Clubs	22 Sports Clubs
20 Churches	6 Trades/Business/Professional
10 Political organisations	21 Welfare organisations
9 Retirement organisations	27 Women's organisations
38 Youth groups	60 Cultural groups, amateur societies and other organisations.

In theory, a great number of questions might be included in a study, which attempted to examine membership and rates of participation in all of the institutions which are listed above. However the questionnaire I used in the main survey contained only six items. The first of these asked people whether or not they belonged to any club, society or organisation in Corby. If they did they were asked to specify whether or not they were members, regular attenders or office holders in the following organisations.

1. Religious organisations
2. Social and Recreational Clubs
3. Trade Unions
4. Amateur Societies and Cultural organisations
5. Political organisations.

The choice of the above five types of organisation was not arbitrary, but was based upon the data gathered from the initial field survey I conducted in 1966 and 1967. This investigation suggested that rates of participation in social organisations in Corby were very low. An examination of table 7/1 below illustrates that the most popular social institutions in Corby were Social and Recreational clubs and Religions Institutions. In contrast most adults did not take part in Youth Work,

Welfare Organisations or Sport or Sports clubs,¹ although the number who took part in voluntary institutions and societies was slightly higher. The most popular institutions in the latter category were the Trades Unions, Political organisations, Women's organisations and Amateur Societies and cultural organisations.

Table 7/1 Visits made to formal social institutions in the week prior to the survey; all men and women interviewed in the initial field survey.

	N = 385		Total %
	Visited %	Did not visit %	
1. Welfare and Youth work	2	98	100
2. Sport or social clubs	2	98	100
3. Religious organisations	29	71	100
4. Social and recreational clubs	23	77	100
5. Institutions and Societies	13	87	100

Results of the main survey

The answers to the six items in the questionnaire verified the following hypothesis:

"In a modern industrial society such as Corby, most people's links with the formal social institutions of their community are weak and most of their social activity is confined to a narrow circle of kin and immediate friends".

The level of membership of social organisations was low and for men (including Trade Union membership) was 1.3 and for women was 0.5.²

However, perhaps more relevant than number was the character and nature

1. This was often because no adequate facilities were available. For example the Judo Club in Corby had great difficulty finding adequate premises in which to house its two large mats. After many years without a permanent home, the club eventually found a local headmaster who was willing to co-operate with them in the joint use and storage of their bulky equipment. However, every time they had a meeting they had to take out their mats from a storeroom and spend up to half an hour assembling them before they could start their meetings.
2. Membership of social organisations in Corby was slightly lower than that reported in the Luton study (J. Goldthorpe et al 1967, p.23), where the average number of organisations men belonged to (not counting Trade Unions) worked out at less than 1.5 while for women it was the same as in Corby, 0.5.

of the organisations to which most people belonged. An examination of table 7/2 below reveals that in the majority of cases people belonged to large institutions, which either provided a specialised service or complemented family centred aims and life styles. Only a few people belonged to small, face to face associations which required a great deal of personal involvement, service or responsibility.

Table 7/2 Membership and participation in five types of social organisations; all men and women in the sample.

	Trade Unions	Religious	Social & Recreational	Political	Cultural
	N = 353	N = 442	N = 442	N = 442	N = 442
	%	%	%	%	%
1. No membership	56	78	51	92	98
2. Member only	34	8	25	5	-
3. Regular attender or Office holder	7	14	24	3	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100

The reason why membership varied amongst different organisations in Corby is most complex. However it is probable that it is most easily understood in terms of the aims and needs which people brought to each organisation and also in terms of the level of involvement which is usually required of members.

In the case of trade unions, membership was high amongst men who worked in manual occupations. This was probably because it complemented their instrumental orientation to their jobs and also reflected the realities of their work situation. Similarly a large number of people were members of social and recreational clubs since they placed few demands upon most members and provided a number of services which often complemented family centred activities. The same was true in the case of the majority of religious organisations in Corby. In contrast, membership of political associations, amateur societies, or cultural institutions tended to involve a more specialised and embracing interest,

which could easily run counter to family centred values and family-directed life styles.

The structure of each type of social organisation also tended to augment this differential pattern of membership and participation. Religious organisations, trade unions, and to a lesser extent social and recreational clubs, were large mass institutions with salaried servants, established premises and a complex system of organisation. They aimed to provide a work based, religious or recreational service to their members. The demands they made upon the time and energies of most people were minimal and they did not, except in the case of a minority of active office holders, form a close face to face primary group. In contrast, amateur societies, cultural organisations and, to a lesser extent, political organisations, were composed of small groups of active enthusiasts, who met to pursue common interests, aims or policies. These activities often made considerable demands upon the time and resources of participants. As a result, only a relatively small number of people took part in these groups, since their activities often conflicted with the family centred interests of most people in Corby.

In the remainder of this chapter I shall illustrate this process in more detail by analysing membership of and rates of participation in the five different types of social institutions I examined in the main survey.

Trade Unions

Although Corby had a large number of locally organised branches of national trade unions, an examination of table 7/3 below illustrates that the majority of people who went to work were not trade union members.

Table 7/3 Membership of and participation in trade unions, (a comparison of men working in manual and non-manual occupations and also of their working wives).

	Manual		Non-manual		Total N=353 %
	Men N=189 %	Wives N=100 %	Men N= 39 %	Wives N=25 %	
1. No membership	25	93	70	92	56
2. Membership only	58	6	28	8	34
3. Regular attender	13	-	-	-	7
4. Office holder	4	1	2	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100

In the case of women only 7% belonged to a trade union. In part this was because many of them only worked part time and did not always regard union membership as necessary. However union membership was also low amongst women who worked full time, and it is probable that this reflected a number of other factors. As one woman shop steward told me, the rapid turnover of the female labour force in her factory made it difficult for her to organise or build up a strong union membership, even amongst women who worked full time.

In the case of men, a significantly higher number of trade union members worked in manual occupations.³ In this group, 75% belonged to trade unions and 17% were either regular attenders at union meetings or held a union office. In contrast only 30% of men working in non-manual occupations belonged to unions and only 2% said they regularly attended union meetings or held a union office.

The reasons for this differential pattern of union membership amongst men working in manual or non-manual occupations is complex. It is probable that in part it reflected two very contrasting work situations. As we have seen in chapter 5, men who work in manual occupations, worked longer hours, had less pay and possessed the most instrumental attitudes to their work. Collective trade union membership

3. $\chi^2 = 35.97$; for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

was seen by many manual workers as the only effective means they had available to increase their income, improve their working conditions and shorten the length of their working week. Men, who worked in non-manual occupations often worked shorter hours and had higher levels of pay. Overtime working or collective industrial action was not the only means they had available to increase their income; this might also be effectively achieved by a close personal identification with the aims of their employers and the pursuit of promotion within a graded occupational hierarchy.

The number of manual workers who were trade union members did not vary significantly at each life cycle stage.⁴ However, an examination of table 7/4 below suggests that a larger number of union office holders had young families or were older men whose children had grown up.

Table 7/4 membership of, and participation in trade unions and the life cycle stage of men who worked in manual occupations

	<u>Life Cycle Stage</u>		
	No children N = 17 %	Children 0-15 N = 130 %	Children over 15 N = 42 %
1. No membership	33	26	23
2. Member only	55	57	60
3. Regular attender	12	13	12
4. Office Holder	-	4	5
Total	100	100	100

Many men told me that most of their personal union affairs were conducted at, or immediately following their work. In most cases membership was not seen as an activity which seriously conflicted with a worker's leisure time. Indeed trade union activity usually complemented most people's central life interests, for it usually helped to better their working conditions, levels of pay and thus improved the material well being and standard of living of their families.

4. $\chi^2 = 0.08$, for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

Social and Recreational Clubs

Social and recreational clubs are characteristic features of long established areas. They were also a popular focus of social activity in Corby. Clubs are different from public houses, because their affairs are managed by and solely in the interests of their members. As a result Wilson suggested -

"The character of a club will be what its members make of it, the character of a public house will be what the licensee or his master, the brewer, permits it to be". (G.B. Wilson, 1940, p.134).

I adopted Wilson's distinction in this study, a club was seen as an association of people co-operating for social purposes, it had a common series of aims, a common membership and common buildings, which were freely available to its members. In this way it was seen as differing radically from a public house, for in theory a pub may be seen as a casual institution, whereas a club is preferential

"A club is an association of persons who meet together for social intercourse, with or without drinks. A public house clientele is a fortuitous concourse of persons who meet together to obtain drink, with or without social intercourse" (G.B. Wilson, 1940, p.134).

In 1969, Corby had eight social and recreational clubs. These were run by elected executive committees drawn from the general membership. The clubs were often large, occupied permanent premises and employed a variety of full and part-time staff. They were very popular, 49% of the sample were club members and 24% were regular attenders or office holders. This popularity was largely due to the nature of the clubs, for they were mass organisations which provided inexpensive but comfortable surroundings in which members could meet, talk, play games or drink. They also arranged a variety of auxiliary activities, including outings, dances, sporting events and competitions and bingo sessions.

Historically clubs have been male institutions and this tradition

probably accounts for the fact that a significantly greater number of men than women belonged to them.⁵ An examination of table 7/5 below also reveals that men formed the majority of regular attenders and all of the office holders who were responsible for the general organisation and running of the club.

Table 7/5 Membership and participation in social and recreational clubs.
(a comparison of all men and women in the sample).

	Men N = 228 %	Women N = 214 %	Total N = 442 %
1. No membership	37	66	51
2. Members only	29	21	25
3. Regular attender	27	13	20
4. Office holder	7	-	4
Total	100	100	100

In spite of this the clubs in Corby were no longer exclusively male preserves. An examination of table 7/5 above shows that 34% of women were also club members, and over half of these were regular attenders. Women were playing an increasingly important part in club activities, particularly at the weekends, but they took little part in the formal organisation of club affairs, which remained largely in their husbands hands. It was probable that many women found that the constraints associated with their daily routine of housework, childrearing, and (often) going out to work, seriously restricted their club activities and in general limited their attendances to the weekends. The following cases of Mrs. B and Mrs. C. illustrate this pattern in more detail.

Case 24

Mrs. B. was in her mid 40's, she had one child who was nine years old. Her husband worked shifts as a cold strip roller, and Mrs. B. also had a full time job as a machinist in a local shoe factory. During the week, Mrs. B. spent most of her evenings doing the housework, looking after her family, resting and watching television. However, she told me she usually managed to spend an hour visiting her sister on Wednesdays. Her husband did little to help her in the home, as a result his evenings were less constricted than those of his wife. He usually went out

5. $X^2 = 37.2$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

(shiftwork permitting) on Monday evenings for a drink and a game of darts with his mates at a local pub. On Wednesdays he visited the local Catholic Club to meet his friends again. However at the weekends, when Mrs. B. did not go to work and was less tired, a different pattern emerged. The local social and recreational club became the centre for a number of joint conjugal, recreational activities, and they spent much of Saturday and Sunday evening dancing, playing bingo, drinking and meeting friends in the nearby Catholic Club.

Case 25

Mrs. C. was in her late 50's. She had three children who were grown up and her husband worked as an acetylene welder in the local steelworks. Mrs. C. worked full time as an assistant manageress in a large works canteen. She told me she rarely went out in the week because she felt too tired, she preferred to stay in resting, watching television and getting through her housework. However her husband went out every night (shiftwork permitting) from about 9 p.m. until 11 p.m. He told me he usually visited the local Silver Band Club where he met his friends and had a chat and sometimes a game of dominoes. However, he said he always tried to take his wife out on Friday and Saturday evenings and they usually went to the local Silver Band Club where they met friends, played bingo together and had a drink.

In the case of men, social clubs were more popular with manual workers, 67% of them belonged to clubs and 36% were regular attenders or office holders. In contrast a significantly lower number of men working in non-manual occupations belonged to clubs.⁶ However, an examination of table 7/6 below also illustrates that a larger proportion of the latter group were either regular club attenders or office holders. It seems probable that "white collar" work patterns, which often included close acquaintance with bookkeeping and accounts, encouraged many people in this group to play a major part in the direction of club activities.

Table 7/6 Membership and participation in social and recreational clubs
(A comparison of men working in manual and non-manual
occupations and also of their wives).

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Men N=189 %	Wives N=175 %	Men N=39 %	Wives N = 39 %	
1. No membership	33	66	54	69	51
2. Member only	32	22	18	16	25
3. Regular attender	29	12	15	15	20
4. Office holder	7	-	13	-	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100

6. $\chi^2 = 5.66$, for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

In contrast, in the case of women, there was no significant difference in the number of wives of either manual or non-manual workers who belonged to clubs.⁷ I gained the impression that there was a greater difference in the number of families who reported joint husband and wife club-membership. This pattern was fairly widespread amongst families of non-manual workers and their wives. It was less frequent amongst manual workers, where a number of men such as Mr. Cook and Mr. Grimm saw their club as a primarily male institution and did not encourage their wives to accompany them.

Case 26.

Mr. Cook was in his late 30's. He came to Corby from Glasgow in 1950 and worked as an erector with a local construction firm. He was married and had one daughter who was in her teens and worked in a local clothing factory. His wife also went out to work and was responsible for running a large milkround. The leisure and domestic activities of the couple were very segregated. Mr. Cook told me he never helped his wife with the housework or shopping and he rarely took her out. Mr. Cook worked days and usually did not get home until later in the evening. He told me he was so tired after his work that he usually stayed in during the week, resting and watching television. However, at weekends when he didn't work, he spent most of his time at the local Rangers Supporters Club, where "the mild is very good". He visited his club every Friday, Saturday and Sunday evening and he also called in for a drink on Saturday and Sunday dinnertimes. Mrs. Cook told me she never went out with her husband, instead she spent most of her time at home, doing housework or watching television. However, occasionally at the weekends she went on a shopping trip or she was visited by a sister who lived in the town.

Case 27.

Mr. Grimm was in his late 50's. He had lived in Corby for the last 20 years but originally came from Scotland. He worked in the sintering plant in the local steelworks. He was married and had five children, three of these had grown up and left home but the others still lived with him. His wife also had a part time job and went out to work as an office cleaner. Mr. Grimm was a regular attender at the local Silver Band Club, in the week before I interviewed him, he had visited his club on Wednesday, Saturday and Sunday evenings and also on Saturday dinnertime. His wife did not join him in these activities, she preferred to spend her time at home watching television, doing housework or knitting for her grandchildren. She also liked to visit her married daughters or go shopping with them.

Club membership also remained popular at all life cycle stages.

An examination of table 7/7 below illustrates that the number of people

7. $X^2 = 0.12$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

who went to them did not vary significantly in the case of either men or women.⁸

Table 7/7 Membership and participation in social and recreational clubs (a comparison of all men and women in the sample and their life cycle stage).

	Life cycle stage					
	No Men	Children Women	Children 0-15		Children over 15	
	N=22	N=20	Men N=157	Women N=149	Men N=49	Women N=45
	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Membership	36	75	37	64	37	69
2. Member only	32	10	27	23	35	20
3. Regular attender	23	15	28	13	24	11
4. Office holder	9	-	8	-	4	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

The above table also shows that the number of people who were regular club attenders, or in the case of men, office holders, did not vary as family responsibilities increased or diminished. This was probably because the clubs formed local, attractively furnished and inexpensive community centres, which in many cases were near to people's houses. Club going did not necessarily decline when families had young children, or when the demands upon their income were at their highest. A member might call in at his (or her) club during the week for a drink, game of dominoes, snooker or bingo and a chat with friends. On Friday, Saturday and Sunday evenings the whole family, friends and older children could meet for a dance and social evening together, yet remain in close physical proximity and ease of contact with their home and any young children they had left behind. The following cases illustrate in more detail the importance of the local Silver Band Club in their lives - three families with young children.⁹

8. For men $X^2 = 0$.

For women $X^2 = 0.13$, for p .05, $X^2 = 5.99$, df=2.

9. This club was very popular with families living in the Lodge Park area of Corby. In many cases members houses were within 20 minutes walking time from the club premises.

Case 28.

Mr. and Mrs. H. were in their mid 20's. Mrs. H. was born and brought up in Corby, though she told me "everyone thinks I speak with an irish accent". She was a full time housewife and did not go to work, since she had two infant children to look after. Her husband, who worked as a cranedriver in the steelworks, came from Kettering. He told me he did not like living in Corby since the local council regulations prevented him keeping chickens and pigs in his garden. The leisure activities of the couple were somewhat disorganised by shiftwork; however Mr. H. told me he usually managed to keep his weekends free from work. In the week prior to the interview, the couple went out to play bingo on Wednesday night and on Saturday they spent the evening in the local Silver Band Club. Mr. H. told me he liked going there since it was "not packed out, and I can take the kids along as well if I want to". On the previous Sunday afternoon the couple had visited Mr. H's mother in Kettering, they had left their children with her and gone on to play bingo in a converted cinema. In the evening they had returned to Corby. Mrs. H. called in to see her mother, while her husband called in at his club for a drink and a chat with some of his pals.

Case 29

Mr. and Mrs. W. were in their 40's and had four children who were all at school. Mr. W. told me he was born in Norfolk and now worked as a foreman in the rolling mills at Corby steelworks. His wife also had a job and worked as a part time cleaner in a local school. Mr. W. said he spent most of his leisure time at home, watching television, playing games or doing hobbies with his children. He found "going out with my large family an expensive do, particularly if you went to visit a cinema or a show at the civic centre". However, he thought the local Silver Band Club was a "cheap and convenient form of entertainment". He usually visited the club on Friday evenings from 8.30 p.m. until closing time, while on Saturdays he took his wife and eldest children along as well for a "good night out".

Case 30

Mr. and Mrs. Q. were in their late 40's and had five children, the two eldest of these were at work, but the others were still at school. Mr. Q. worked as a fitter in the local steelworks and his wife also went to work as a part time home help. The couple had lived in the town for the last fourteen years. Mrs. Q. told me she thought life in Corby was a great improvement on the village where she used to live. Her husband was less happy in Corby and said he would really like to go back to his old job in a nearby village, where he worked maintaining the steelworks water supply. A large amount of Mr. Q's leisure time was taken up with club activities, and he was a member of both the Silver Band and the British Legion Clubs. In the week prior to the interview he visited the Band club on Sunday evening and the Legion on Monday and Tuesday evenings and also on Saturday and Sunday dinnertime. On Friday evening he had visited old and sick members of the British Legion before calling in at the club for a meeting to discuss the Legion's welfare work. His wife was less interested in club affairs, but she had visited the local Band club for a game of bingo on the previous Tuesday, while on Saturday night she spent the evening at this club with her husband and eldest children.

Social clubs in Corby were not only the preserve of the young and the active, they were also popular with retired men who often preferred them to pubs, since the use of the facilities was not always conditional upon buying a drink.¹⁰ The following case of Mr. McCormack, a retired steelworker, though not essential to my main analysis, does illustrate the often unrecognised social and community services clubs provided.

Case 31.

Mr. McCormack was 70 years old and had left the steelworks five years ago. He had worked in a variety of odd jobs since his retirement, the last of these was as a gatekeeper at the ground of the local football club. He had been separated from his wife for the past 24 years and lived on his own in an old people's bungalow. He had a close friend who lived across the road and he visited her every day to "have a cup of tea and watch the television". Mr. McCormack was also a keen club member, he told me "there's plenty of clubs in Corby, so there's always plenty to do". He visited the nearby Band Club every evening from about 9 o'clock onwards and he also called in there on Saturday and Sunday dinnertime. He told me he usually met his old mates for a drink and a game of dominoes, though of late he had also joined in the club's bingo sessions.

It appears then, that clubs played an important part in the social activities of many men and women in Corby. The evidence suggested in most cases they were large, mass organisations, which did not (apart from a minority of office holders), involve intensive levels of personal commitment, which would seriously conflict with most people's family-directed aims or goals. The clubs provided a series of attractive and inexpensive services for their members and these often complemented a family's social life and also provided an important but often unrecognised focal point for local community activity.

Religious Organisations

In 1969 there were twenty different churches in Corby. One, the ancient Parish church of St. John was Norman in origin, most of the others had been built in more recent times. Three of these churches were

10. I found in the initial survey that 28% of all retired men had visited clubs in the week prior to my survey, in contrast none of them reported visiting the generally more expensive pubs.

Anglican, three were Roman Catholic and two were Church of Scotland.

The remainder reflected the variety of creeds and beliefs which flourished in the new community and included the following

Baptists	Gospel Hall	Jehovas Witnesses
Congregationalist	Latvian	Lutheran
Full Gospel	Methodist	Mormons.
Salvation Army	Spiritualist	

Most churches in Corby had their own premises, and usually a full or part time minister who was responsible for directing and organising religious, social and recreational activities for his congregation.

The duties of these officials were often extremely heavy as the following case of Mr. T. illustrates:

Case 32

Mr. T. had been a minister of the Baptist Church in Corby for the last six years and before entering the ministry he worked as a brick-layer. At the time of the interview he was busily engaged in organising the construction of his own permanent church premises. He told me that he had no difficulty getting help from "skilled people, who would not otherwise participate in church affairs" and he was hoping that his new church would be "a means whereby people in Corby can have a concrete symbol to bind closer to each other, and in this way form a true community". Mr. T. spent most of his time on church affairs, visiting the sick and aged, attending meetings of church committees and organisations, studying and preparing sermons, and working on the building of his own church. However, he said that he usually planned to leave his Wednesday afternoons free, so that he could work on his allotment, while on Saturday afternoons he liked to spend some time watching local football match. The only evening he spent completely at home with his family was Saturday night, and even then he sometimes left them for a bit to check through his sermons for the next day. His wife was also very active in church affairs though she said "at the moment I am the typical harassed housewife, with three young children all below school age". She was an ex-secretary and she did all her husband's typing and office work, she also helped to organise a play group for young children which was held at the church. She spent a lot of time running the women's fellowship and organising speakers and demonstrations for a joint social gathering with women from the Methodist church.

Although people like Mr. and Mrs. T, worked hard to organise religious activities, regular church attendance was not a feature of the social life of the majority of men and women in Corby. An examination of table 7/8 below illustrates that 85% of men and 71% of women in the sample did not belong to any form of religious organisation.

Table 7/8 Membership and participation in religious organisations (a comparison of all men and women in the sample).

	Men N = 228 %	Women N = 214 %	Total N = 442 %
1. No membership	85	71	78
2. Member only	5	10	8
3. Regular attender	9	16	12
4. Office holder	1	3	2
Total	100	100	100

Nevertheless, the above table also shows that a large minority of the sample (22%) belonged to a religious organisation, and most of these were either regular attenders or office holders. A significantly larger number of women than men belonged to religious organisations,¹¹ and an examination of table 7/8 shows that the majority of regular attenders and office holders in these organisations were women.

This level of religious activity in Corby was lower than that reported in many communities where the majority of men worked in non-manual occupations. At Woodford, Willmott found that 53% of his sample regularly went to church (P. Willmott, 1963, p.140), while at Cumbernauld, Sykes found that 43% of his sample were regular church members and a further 23% were "church adherents" (A.J.M. Sykes, 1967, p.16). However religious activity in Corby was probably higher than in many industrial communities, where the majority of men worked in manual occupations; for example in Dagenham, Willmott found that 82% of his sample never went to church (P. Willmott, 1963, p.140). It seems probable that the level of religious activity in Corby is best compared with a long established, heavy industrial community, such as Coseley, Staffordshire, where Rich reported that an important minority of manual workers and their wives maintained their traditional religious activities, and where 14% of her sample had attended church services in

11. $X^2 = 11.13$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

the week prior to the interview (L. Kuper, 1953, p.330).

In Corby, there was little significant difference in the number of men working in either manual or non-manual occupations, who were members of religious organisations.¹² There was also no significant difference in the case of their wives.¹³ However an examination of table 7/9 below illustrates that a larger proportion of manual workers and their wives were regular church attenders, while all church office holders in the sample were also found in the manual group.

Table 7/9 Membership and participation in religious organisations (a comparison of men working in manual and non-manual occupations and also of their wives).

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Men	Wives	Men	Wives	
	N=189	N=175	N=39	N = 39	N = 442
	%	%	%	%	%
1. No membership	84	69	90	82	78
2. Member only	5	10	5	13	8
3. Regular Attender	10	18	5	5	12
4. Office Holder	1	3	-	-	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100

In the case of women, the number of people who belonged to religious organisations did not vary greatly with each life cycle stage.¹⁴

However, an examination of table 7/10 below also illustrates that formal membership was slightly higher amongst women with young families. It is probable that in this group many mothers viewed membership of a church as a useful, but largely passive attachment, which complemented their children's participation in such activities as the Scouts, Guides, the

12. $X^2 = 0.51$, for p .05, $X^2 = 3.84$, df=1.

13. $X^2 = 1.90$, for p .05, $X^2 = 3.84$, df=1.

14. The X^2 test showed that the number of people who belonged to religious organisations did not differ significantly with the respective life cycle stages of all women in the sample, $X^2 = 3.12$, for p < .05, $X^2 = 5.99$, df=2. However, these results must be treated with some caution because the number in the cell, women with no children who belonged to religious organisations, were very small.

Boys Brigade, Sunday School, and other church run organisations.

Table 7/10 Membership and participation in religious organisations (a comparison of the wives of manual and non-manual workers and their life cycle stages).

	<u>Life cycle stage</u>					
	No children		Children 0-15		Children over 15.	
	Manual	non Manual	Manual	non Manual	Manual	Non Manual
	N=15	N=5	N=122	N = 27	N = 38	N = 7
	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. No membership	80	100	69	89	63	71
2. Members only	-	-	10	11	13	-
3. Regular attender	13	-	20	-	16	29
4. Office holder	7	-	2	-	8	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

The above table also shows that the number of people who were members of, and in the case of the wives of non-manual workers regular attenders at religious organisations, increased gradually as they grew older and their domestic responsibilities diminished.

In the case of men, membership of religious organisations also remained fairly constant at all life cycle stages.¹⁵ An examination of table 7/11 below illustrates that membership amongst men who worked in non-manual occupations was the lowest in the sample. Although, as we have seen, people in this group tended to have more time available at the weekends to attend churches and generally help in organising church based activities, in fact the only men who were actively involved in religious organisations had young children.

15. The X^2 test showed that membership did not differ significantly with the respective life cycle stages of all men in the sample, $X^2 = 0.25$, for $p = .05$, $X^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$. However, these results must be treated with some caution because the number of members in the cell, men with no children, were very small.

Table 7/11 Membership and participation in religious organisations (A comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their respective life cycle stages).

	<u>Life cycle stages</u>					
	Manual N = 17 %	non Manual N= 5 %	Manual N=130 %	non Manual N = 27 %	Manual N = 42 %	non manual N = 7 %
1. No membership	82	100	85	86	78	100
2. Member only	-	-	5	7	7	-
3. Regular attender	18	-	9	7	12	-
4. Office holder	-	-	1	-	2	-
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

The above table also shows that only a few men with young children who worked in manual occupations took part in the activities of religious organisations. This was probably because many men in this group worked overtime and also at the weekend. As a result, they had less time available than their wives, who were left with most of the responsibility for socialising their children in the traditions of the church. However, the number of manual workers who were active in church affairs also gradually increased as they grew older. It seems probable that in many cases this was because they had more time available, once their family responsibilities and hours of work started to decrease in later life.

It is difficult to estimate the nature and strength of religious attachments in Corby. The churches still retained many of the characteristics of coherent social groups. Their communities had an identifiable membership, common norms and traditions and certain common aims and goals, for example, the maintenance of church servants, religious buildings and (in the case of the Roman Catholic Church) a comprehensive primary and secondary educational service. However, it is probable that the close primary group interaction, which was characteristically reported in studies of long established rural or industrial communities, has been weakened in the process of migration to a new industrial

community. Although the church remained a customary element in the lives of many members, most people usually performed only a minimal attendance. The following two cases were typical of many people I interviewed, who confined their religious participation to one obligatory weekly service.

Case 33.

Mr. O.H. was in his early 30's, he was married and had three children aged five, six and seven years. He was born in Eire and had been brought up as a member of the Roman Catholic Church. He had lived in Corby for the past ten years and worked shifts as a tubepacker in the local steelworks. Mr. O. H. retained links with his church, though he was not active in its affairs. He sent his eldest children to the local church run primary school, and he also attended his local parish church every Sunday for mass.

Case 34.

Mr. D. was a primary school teacher. He was in his late 30's and was married with one son aged seven years. He told me he was a member of the Roman Catholic Church, but he did not take part in any church activities, except the obligatory attendance at mass on Sundays.

The churches in Corby only took on the characteristics of a primary group for a small number of people who were actively involved in their affairs. Many people in this group had the time, devotion, or lack of conflicting family constraints, to be full active and integrated into their church community. The following cases of Mrs. G., Mrs. A. and Mrs. C. illustrate the often considerable amounts of time and energy active workers expended in church affairs.

Case 35

Mrs.G. was in her mid 50's, she was married and had one son who was fourteen years old. Her husband worked as a sub-station attendant at the local steelworks. Mrs. G. had no relatives living in the Corby area, however, she told me she was never lonely since she met so many people in her church activities and also in her work as a district nurse. She said it was often a relief for her to look forward to spending the evening quietly in her own home, reading a book or watching television. Mrs. G. was an active member of her local Baptist church, she belonged to the choir and was also a fund raiser. She went out to choir practice every Tuesday evening, while on Sundays she went to morning and evening services. She also spent some of her time during the week delivering "good neighbour envelopes" in her area while she also spent some time looking after an old lady of 82 years of age, who was also a members of her church, but had no relatives and as a result had come to live with her.

Case 36

Mrs. A. was in her late 50's and had one grown up son. Her husband, who was a shiftworker, spent most of his time resting and watching television and rarely went out with his wife. Mrs. A. was very active in the affairs of the local Church of England, though her husband appeared to be less interested. In the week prior to the interview she had spent part of Tuesday evening making sprays, at a British Legion meeting, ready for the forthcoming Remembrance Day services at her church. On Wednesday morning she went to a Mother's Union communion service and in the afternoon she had gone on with friends to the Baptist Church Jumble Sale. On Saturday afternoon she visited the cinema with friends from her church in order to see a religious film called "The Great Story", while on Sundays she attended her parish church for both morning and evening services.

Case 37

Mrs. C. was in her late 50's, she was married with five children. Four of these had grown up and left home, but her youngest son who was thirteen years old still attended school. Her husband worked shifts in the local steelworks as a continuous weld operator. The whole family had moved to Corby thirty years ago from Glasgow. Mrs. C. told me "it's the likes of us that made Corby, we were the pioneers, now they don't want us old ones any more". She still felt very lonely in Corby, although she had lived in the town such a long time. This was probably because she had no other relatives living in the area, she said to me "we have no family in Corby and it makes an awful lot of difference being away from your own people". A large amount of her time was taken up with the affairs of her local Roman Catholic Parish Church. Her youngest son attended the local Roman Catholic Comprehensive School and she often went along with him in the evening to see school activities. She visited her parish church every morning to pray, before going on to do her shopping and she also went to mass on Sundays with her son. She told me she also used to be in the Mother's Club, but had to give it up because her husband's shift-work prevented her going to meetings regularly. However she still helped to run a tote, which was raising money for the church and she usually spent part of Tuesday afternoon visiting and organising this activity.

As we have seen, it is probable that the level of religious activity in Corby was higher than that found in many other modern industrial communities, where the majority of men were employed in manual work. Although this situation in part reflected the fact that church membership often complemented many of the child-centred interests of young couples and also provided a focus for many people who were old and lonely, it also reflected the pattern of immigration into the new community of Corby.

Many people in the sample had previously lived in small, long-

established, rural or urban communities, where organised religion was a customary element in the cultural fabric of their society. For example most members of the Latvian and Lutheran churches came to Corby from small rural communities in Eastern Europe. Many members of the Full Gospel and Gospel Hall churches used to live in small, isolated industrial or mining communities, while many of the members of the Roman Catholic Church were brought up in the communities of rural, Catholic Ireland or the industrial lowlands of Scotland. Many immigrant groups, particularly those from strongly religious areas, had sought to recreate their old traditions and institutions in the new community. In many ways this process met their psychological and social need to establish traditional points of reference, within which people with similar religious cultures could meet and interact with each other. In the case of the Roman Catholic church, this movement was so elaborate and strongly supported that a distinctive Catholic subculture had developed in Corby. This subculture rotated around a variety of interlocking institutions, which included the Roman Catholic Parish Churches, Roman Catholic Voluntary Welfare Organisations, Roman Catholic Social and Recreational Clubs, and Roman Catholic Primary and Secondary Schools. As a result of this development, the newly arrived Catholic family often benefited from finding familiar and friendly landmarks to support its initial settlement in Corby. These institutions often provided people with support for a very long time and in many cases acted as a substitute kinship organisation, which aided adjustment and settlement in what was often seen as a strange and somewhat unusual community. The following two cases illustrate this process in more detail, they show how an Irish Catholic family may rapidly adjust to its new life in Corby, while in contrast a Protestant from Northern Ireland may find it more difficult to adjust

to life in Corby because many of her once familiar landmarks and institutions did not exist.

Case 38

Mr. and Mrs. M. were in their 30's, both were born in Eire and brought up as members of the Roman Catholic Church. Mr. M. now worked as a pallet tyser operator and his wife worked as a part time nurse in the local maternity unit. The couple were buying their own home on a mortgage and they also ran a car. Mr. M's brother lived across the road and Mrs. M's sister lived in Northampton. The couple had three children, two of these attended the local Roman Catholic Secondary and Primary Schools and the other was still an infant. Mr. M. was a member of his local church choir and regularly attended choir practice on Tuesday evenings while the whole family attended church for mass on Sundays. The couple usually spent Saturday evening in the local Roman Catholic Social and Recreational Club where they could join in a dance, meet their friends and have a drink. While they were out their eldest boy of fourteen stayed at home to look after the younger children.

Case 39

Mrs. P. was in her 30's, she was brought up in Ulster where she was a member of the Baptist church; she came to live in Corby ten years ago following her marriage to a local man. She told me that she found the town was a very lonely place to live in and her main leisure activities, watching television, dressmaking and going swimming with her children involved her in little social interaction with other members of the community. Although she was not a newcomer in the town, she said that she had never been visited by a member of any church, with the exception of the local Roman Catholic Priest, who wanted to know if there were any Catholics living in the house. She particularly missed "the warmth and community of the local church in Ulster" she found the local Baptist church in Corby "standoffish they are not nice and friendly like they are back home". As a result she no longer went to church services or social functions, though she did continue to send her children to the Baptist church Sunday School.

The evidence suggests then, that the strength of the elaborate, institutional, organisation of religious activity in Corby was due to the efforts of a small number of workers. The relatively high levels of general, obligatory participation often reflected the perpetuation of customs and traditions which had their origin in very distant rural or small industrial communities. Religious activity in Corby did not conflict with, rather it tended to complement most people's family centred life styles, particularly when their children were growing up. The churches retained their strength in the community because until

recently, the major steel making industry in the town was recruiting fresh workers from distant regions, where religious traditions were often very strong. It remains to be seen whether the second and third generation of children born in Corby will retain their parents traditional allegiance to the church, or whether they will cease to participate regularly in religious activities and adopt the patterns of the secular majority.

Amateur Societies and cultural organisations

Corby has a number of cultural organisations and amateur societies. The local Urban District Council has encouraged the development of "The Arts" by means of lecture grants and financial support for a programme of sponsored activities, which culminates in the annual Arts Festival held in July.

In 1969, there were 25 cultural organisations and amateur societies in the town,¹⁶ these catered for a variety of tastes and included the following different spheres of interest.

Table 7/12 Cultural organisations and amateur societies in Corby.

<u>Sphere of interest</u>	<u>Number of societies</u>
1. Music and Choral	9
2. Regional and cultural (e.g. St. Andrew's Soc.)	4
3. Archaeological or historical	2
4. Natural history	1
5. Art	1
6. Traditional dance	1
7. Drama	3
8. Civic (e.g. Corby Beautiful Soc.)	2
9. Educational (e.g. W.E.A.)	1
10. Scientific	1

The number of people engaged in the activities of cultural organisations and amateur Societies in Corby was very small (9 cases out of 442).

16. This number refers to those societies which were mentioned in the Development Corporation's Tenants Handbook. It is probable that a number of newly formed organisations had been omitted from this list, which also forms the basis for Table 7/12.

An examination of table 7/13 below illustrates that most of these people were either non-manual workers or their wives.

Table 7/13 Membership and participation in cultural organisations and amateur societies in Corby (a comparison of men and women in manual and non-manual groups).

	Manual N=364 %	Non-manual N = 78 %	Total N=442 %
1. No membership	99.0	94.0	98.0
2. Member only	-	3.0	.5
3. Member and regular attender	0.5	1.0	.5
4. Member and office holder	0.5	2.0	1.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

An examination of the above table also reveals that these societies were very different from the large, mass organisations such as Trade Unions, Social and Recreational clubs or Religious organisations. This was because most of them were composed of small, face to face groups of activists. A large proportion of members attended their societies regularly and the number of people who had accepted the responsibilities associated with holding an office was very high (50%).

Most people, who were members of these societies tended to fall into the following groups. They were either young and single, or newly married with (as yet) no children, or they were older people, with grown up families, who had no children or relatives living in the area. In many cases, people belonged to a number of societies and as a result of this overlapping membership, a small number of "activists" often shared the major offices and responsibilities in several different bodies. The following cases were fairly typical of the types of people who held office, or were general members of amateur societies and cultural organisations in Corby.

Case 40

Mr. B.M.L. was a bachelor in his mid 20's. He was employed as an assistant librarian at the County Technical Library. He was an enthusiastic amateur historian and belonged to the Naval Records Society and was also secretary of the local Corby Historical Society. Mr. B.M.L. usually spent two evenings a week on historical society affairs, arranging meetings, corresponding with other members, and attending committee and general meetings. He was also a member of the local liberal party, although he told me that he had recently been forced to give up the secretary's office because of the heavy administrative commitments of the Historical Society.

Case 41

Mr. A. was employed as a research scientist and his wife taught in a primary school. Both were in their mid 20's and (as yet) had no children. Mr. A. was a keen camponologist and also a voluntary youthworker. He told me that he usually tried to spend most Wednesday evenings helping out at a local youth club, while on Fridays he regularly went bellringing with a group which met in a nearby village church. He also played darts for a village team on Thursdays, while on most Saturday evenings he took his wife out for a drink and a meal at a country pub.

Case 42.

Mrs. W. was in her early 60's, she was married and her husband worked as a chauffeur at the local steelworks. The couple moved to Corby from South Wales in the 1930's but they had no other relatives living in the area. Mrs. W. told me that when her husband retires they hope to move to Ross on Wye, where her only daughter taught in a Grammar school. Mrs. W. was a very active women and violently disapproved of the way her husband spent most of his evenings, watching television or resting. She said that at her age and time of life "one has either the choice of keeping yourself going or sitting down and letting yourself go". She was very proud of the fact that she had taken the first choice, and was actively involved in the affairs of her Parish Church, Mother's Union, Townswomen's Guild Choir and Drama Group, and the Women's Club, which met at the nearby Occupation House. In the week prior to the interview, she spent Monday evening attending a bingo session and meeting at the Women's Club; Wednesday afternoon rehearsing a play with her Drama Group; Wednesday and Thursday evenings at choir practice and she also went to morning service at the Anglican Church on Sunday. When she was at home, she said she usually spent lots of time "mending and patching to save money" and if she did watch the television, she also tried to do some knitting at the same time in preparation for a forthcoming sale of work in her church.

Case 43.

Mr. and Mrs. B. were in their late 60's and retired. Mr. B. told me that when he was a boy he always wanted to be a schoolteacher, but he was forced to leave school at fourteen years of age, in order to look after his family, so he "finally ended up in a good white collar job as an office manager at the Lancashire Steel Company". The couple had three children, two sons worked as mining engineers in South Africa and a daughter who worked as a schoolteacher, lived locally. Mr. B. was keenly interested in science and regularly attended meetings of the local Scientific Society, which were held in the local Technical College. Although the couple had lived in Corby for over thirty years,

they actively maintained their Scottish interests. They were members of the St. Andrew's Society and they attended most of its meetings and dances. They also went on Sundays to worship at the nearby Church of Scotland.

It appears then, that the high degree of commitment, activity and specialised knowledge which was required for membership of many of these societies, placed considerable demands upon most participants time and energies. Most people did not belong to amateur societies or cultural organisations, and it seems probable that in most cases this was because these activities conflicted with, and were not complementary to, the family commitments or family directed life styles of most men and women in Corby.

Political organisations

Corby has four major political organisations, namely the Communist, Conservative, Labour and Liberal parties. The larger two organisations, the Labour and the Conservative parties have their headquarters in the local Conservative and the Trades and Labour Club respectively. The smaller Communist and Liberal parties are organised from private houses.

Political activity in Corby was not a mass movement. An examination of table 7/14 below illustrates that only 8% of the sample reported belonging to a political organisation, and only 3% were regular attenders or office holders.¹⁷

Table 7/14 Membership and participation in political organisations (a comparison of men who worked in manual and non-manual occupations, and also of their wives).

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Men N=189 %	Wives N=175 %	Men N=39 %	Wives N=39 %	
1. Non membership	91	95	88	92	92
2. Member only	5	5	10	5	5
3. Member and regular attender	1	1	-	3	1
4. Member and office holder	3	-	2	-	2
Total	100	101	100	100	100

17. It is probable that these figures inflate the number of people who are members of the politically active wing of their local party. This is because some people were only members of Social and Recreational Clubs which bore a parties name.

The above table also shows that there was little significant difference in the number of men and women,¹⁸ or in the number of manual and non-manual workers and their wives,¹⁹ who belonged to political organisations. However there was a greater difference in the case of each life cycle stage. An examination of table 7/15 below illustrates that the group without children contained a smaller proportion of people who belonged to political organisations, in contrast a much larger number of people with grown up children and declining family commitments, belonged to and were also active in this type of organisation.

Table 7/15 Membership and participation in political organisations (a comparison of the life cycle stage of all men and women in the sample).

	<u>Life cycle stage</u>		
	No children N = 42 %	Children 0-15 N = 306 %	Children over 15 N = 94 %
1. No membership	98	95	81
2. Member only	2	3	14
3. Member and regular attender	-	1	2
4. Member and office holder	-	1	2
Total	100	100	100

Although the above table suggests that the political parties in Corby tend to be dominated by older people with grown up families, this does not necessarily reflect a lack of interest in politics amongst the young. It is probable that many young men and women who were interested in politics found that their activities were seriously restricted by their long hours of work and heavy family commitments. The following case of Mr. B. illustrates the situation of one young married man who experienced this dilemma.

18. $X^2 = 1.57$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

19. $X^2 = 2.73$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

Case 44

Mr. B. was in his early 40's and came to Corby from Scotland with his parents 29 years ago. He was married and had five children who were all at school. His wife also went out to work as a part-time school meals assistant. Mr. B. told me that he usually worked a seven day week in his job as an erector welder with the local construction company. He said that he was forced to do this "since it is hard to keep a family on the wages we earn, it's only the overtime that makes the job worthwhile". Much of his leisure time was spent at home, decorating, looking after his car or talking and playing with his children. He rarely went out except to visit his sister and father who also lived in Corby. He spent a lot of his time reading, "not rubbish, but good stuff about international relations and political economy". At the time of the interview he was studying the history of the Scottish Miners and was also about to start a book on the conflict in Vietnam. Mr. B. was also a member of the local Labour Party, though he admitted that he was not as actively involved as he used to be. In part he felt this was because of his family commitments, but he also stressed his growing disillusionment with a party which he felt "was drifting away from socialism and losing contact with its own grass roots".

In contrast, older people who frequently worked fewer hours and had less pressing family commitments, often had more time to spend on the considerable amount of work which local party activity involved, as the following case of Mr. and Mrs. T. well illustrates.

Case 45

Mr. and Mrs. T. were in their mid 50's; they lived in a privately owned house and ran a modern motor vehicle. Mr. T. worked a five day week, from 9 a.m. until 5 p.m., as a chartered surveyor with the town's Development Corporation and his wife was a full time housewife. The couple had lived in Corby for the past eighteen years, they had one son, who was reading mathematics at London University. Both of them were active members of the Conservative party and Mrs. T. was also the local membership secretary. At the time of the interview they were planning their party's strategy for the forthcoming local election and as a result they had attended committee meetings at the Conservative Club on the previous Monday and Wednesday evenings. They had stayed on at the club after the end of these meetings in order to have a chat with their other conservative friends. The couple also spent the latter half of Friday evening at the Conservative Club and Mrs. T. had also been to a meeting for the Ladies Section on the previous Wednesday afternoon. Both were very critical of the Development Corporation in Corby since they thought it was pursuing a policy of distributing privately owned housing in small clusters throughout Corby. They felt this was unfair since their party was weakened and could not build up a stronghold in one, mainly privately owned area.

Conclusion to chapter 7.

I have shown in this chapter that leisure life styles in Corby were not characterised by intensive levels of activity in the formal

social institutions of the community. This situation was well summarised by Mr. Kane, a 56 year old welder, who said to me

"Corby has returned to the stone age, they get into their caves at night, put the boulders up at the door and wont come out till it's time for work".

As we have seen in previous chapters, the aims and goals of most men and women in Corby were family centred and took the form of a materialist ethic, which was focused on increasing the family's standard of living and attaining a series of leisure directed life projects. The orbit of wife, home and children was the centre of most people's emotional investment and involvement; it formed their central life interest and legitimised the long hours of work which they often spent in fragmented, frustrating and unrewarding work situations. The majority of people in Corby spent their leisure time at home, and it was not thought necessary or essential to maintain extensive contacts with the institutions of a wider community. This general attitude was well summarised by Mr. Lane, who said to me,

"We always believe in keeping ourselves to ourselves. We are not ones for joining, or taking part in things. If my next door neighbour doesn't trouble me, that's all right, but if he interferes with me, then there's hell to pay".

The only exception to this general trend, was found in the case of the relatively large number of people who belonged to Trade Unions, Religious organisations and Social and Recreational clubs. However, as we have seen, the latter bodies were mainly mass institutions with their own premises and paid servants. They provided a service which usually complemented and rarely conflicted with most people's family directed aims and activities, and most members only spent a relatively small amount of their leisure time visiting or taking part in these institutions.

In contrast membership and participation in such active, face to

face groups as Cultural Associations, amateur societies and (to a lesser extent) political parties was not popular. This was because the latter institutions usually required active personal involvement. They placed heavy demands upon most people's time and energy and they seriously conflicted with family centred interests and activities. As a result active participation in them was in general limited to a minority of activists, who often had fewer family commitments, worked shorter hours or who rejected the values and style of life which led to a social situation which is popularly called "The home centred society".

CHAPTER 8

RECREATION IN CORBY

It was seen in the last chapters that most men and women in Corby had work patterns which were alienating and which fragmented their daily lives. Social interaction was often privatised and most people confined their activity to a narrow circle of kin and immediate friends. Their links with voluntary associations and other formal or informal institutions of a wider society were often very fragile and as a result they were vulnerable to the media-communicated values of a prosperous industrial society. The dominant value system in Corby was materialistic and family centred. Most people wanted to achieve a series of goals which focused on the expansion of their living standards, and the attainment of a series of leisure and family centred life projects. They wanted to build their homes into comfortable and well equipped centres for family and individual activities, both social and recreational.

In this chapter I shall complete my analysis of life styles in Corby by examining the main patterns of recreational activity which have developed in the town. I shall show that for most manual and non-manual workers and their wives, recreational time was distinct from work and was used to complement home and family based life styles. Most people spent their time at home in a series of physically passive and family centred activities, such as resting, reading, watching television or listening to the radio. Only a small amount of activity took place outside the home, and in the main (as in the case of visiting the library or motoring), these activities were also physically passive and family centred. Although a few forms of recreation, such as visiting pubs or playing bingo, deviated from this general pattern,

the time spent on them was so marginal that it did not seriously conflict with the prevailing home centred pattern.

I suggested in chapter 2, that for the purpose of this investigation I would define recreation as a residual element in a total life style. It was seen as a period of time in which people were not constrained by the common biological, social or economic restrictions of everyday existence. It was a sphere which was frequently but not always characterised by elements of play, within which men and women created their own temporary sphere of irreality. I also suggested that the form and nature of recreation and in particular of play was not universal, rather it was culturally determined by the society and particular life style within which it took place.

"Whether at any given time in history man plays for fun and self expression, for prestige, for power and glory, for financial gain or political advantage, his motivations are to a large extent culturally determined" (F.S. Frederickson 1969, p.89).

Method

In theory a great number of questions might be included in a study, which attempted to examine recreational activity inside and outside the home. However the questionnaire I used in the main survey contained only ten items. The first five of these were designed to measure people's rates of participation in the following home based activities.

1. Listening to the radio
2. Watching the television
3. Reading books, magazines, newspapers, etc.
4. Doing hobbies or craft activities.¹
5. Resting.²

-
1. In the initial survey I had distinguished between hobbies and crafts and do-it-yourself activities. However most people thought of such do-it-yourself activities as making furniture or decorating the home as a hobby or craft. As a result in the main survey I omitted reference to do-it-yourself activities and used the general category, hobbies and crafts.
 2. I found in the initial survey that most people were aware of the distinction between resting during the course of their daily activities and sleeping during the night, or in the case of shift-workers during the day.

The above five questions were also designed to measure how long people spent during the day on each of these activities. The second five questions were designed to measure rates of participation in the following outdoor activities.

1. Visiting pubs
2. Playing bingo
3. Visiting the library
4. Motoring for pleasure
5. Visiting social and recreational clubs.

The above five questions were also designed to measure how long people spent during the week in each of the above activities.

The choice of the above ten different questions was not made upon an arbitrary basis. It was based upon an analysis of the data I gathered in the initial study. This survey suggested that most home centred recreational time was spent watching television, listening to the radio, reading, resting or doing hobbies and crafts. In contrast only a small amount of recreational time was spent outside the home, and the most popular activities were visiting public houses, social and recreational clubs or the library, or playing bingo or going motoring. Although an examination of Table 8/1 below illustrates that a number of other recreational activities, such as watching sport or going to the cinema, were also popular in Corby, I omitted them in my main questionnaire. This was because they ranked lower, in terms of time and in terms of the number of people taking part in them, than a number of other more important recreational activities such as watching television or playing bingo. As a result, in my questionnaire, I only included five of the most popular home based recreational activities and five of the most popular outdoor recreational activities, from the following table.

Table 8/1 The participation of men and women in recreational activities
 (The results of the initial field survey of 1966-67).

Recreational activities in ranking order of popularity.	Men	Women	Total
	N =196 %	N=189 %	N=385 %
1. Watching television	98	99	98
2. Listening to the radio	14	11	12
3. Reading books, newspapers, magazines, etc.	66	51	60
4. Resting	59	46	52
5. Hobbies and Crafts, e.g. knitting	13	53	33
6. Do-it-Yourself activities	42	17	30
7. Visiting public houses	37	15	26
8. Social and recreational clubs	28	18	23
9. Indoor games, e.g. playing cards	9	13	11
10. Visiting the library	11	9	10
11. Playing bingo	6	14	10
12. Motoring for pleasure	11	8	10
13. Watching sport	16	2	9
14. Walking for pleasure	10	5	7
15. Playing sport	8	3	6
16. Visiting the cinema	5	4	5
17. Visiting betting shops	3	1	2
18. Dancing	5	5	5
19. Visiting the theatre	1	1	1

Results

The pattern of answers to the ten items about recreation, which were included in the questionnaire, corresponded closely to those I obtained in the more detailed initial survey. In Corby recreational behaviour was sharply differentiated from work and was very much home and family directed. An examination of Table 8/2 below illustrates that most people spent a large amount of time listening to the radio, watching television, resting from work or pursuing hobbies and crafts.

Table 8/2 Participation and time spent in five daily recreational activities (a comparison of all men and women in the sample)

Daily activity	Time spent and rate of participation				
	Never %	Under 1 hour %	1 to 3 hours %	4 or more hours %	total N=442 %
1. Television	2	3	60	35	100
2. Radio	18	48	25	9	100
3. Hobbies/Crafts	39	28	28	5	100
4. Resting	29	35	24	12	100
5. Reading	12	62	23	3	100

In contrast, only a small amount of recreational time was spent

outside the home. An examination of table 8/3 below reveals that much of this, as in the case of visiting the library, taking car trips for pleasure or spending an evening in a social club, was also a family activity. Most people only left the orbit of their home and family for very short periods, when they engaged in essentially secondary recreational activities. The most popular of these, playing bingo or visiting pubs, were often characterised by periods of intensive excitement and activity, which formed a violent contrast to the prevailing pattern of home based and family oriented behaviour.

Table 8/3 Participation and time spent in five weekly recreational activities (a comparison of all men and women in the sample)

<u>Weekly activity</u>	<u>Time spent and rate of participation</u>				Total N=442 %
	Never %	Under 1 hour %	1 to 3 hours %	4 or more hours %	
1. Visiting social clubs	51	11	26	12	100
2. Visiting public houses	51	17	22	10	100
3. Visiting libraries	70	25	5	-	100
4. Playing bingo	84	5	9	2	100
5. Motoring for pleasure	39	11	31	19	100

In the remainder of this chapter I shall undertake a more detailed analysis of various aspects of recreational activity in Corby. This will be based upon the ten questions about recreational activity I included in my main survey. It will be divided into three sections. In the first section I shall examine activities which were home based and family directed. In the second section I shall examine activities which remained family directed, but which took place outside the home. In the final section I shall examine activities which were neither home based or family directed.

Section 1 Home based and family directed recreational activities

In Corby most recreational time was occupied by home based activities. The most popular of these were watching television,

listening to the radio, resting, reading and doing hobbies or crafts. In general these activities tended to be free from the common social, biological or economic constraints of everyday life. They provided the opportunity for men and women to create their own temporary sphere of irreality, within the milieu of their home and family.

Watching television

Most people in Corby spent a large amount of their leisure time watching television. In the 1966-67 survey of time usage, this amounted on average to 18 hours a week, or nearly 3 hours a day.³ This calculation refers to primary time usage and it probably seriously underestimates the time television sets were operated in most homes in Corby. In many cases I found television was also used as a continuous visual backcloth, which supplemented many other leisure activities, such as knitting, playing with the children or resting. However, in the remainder of this section, I shall assume for the purpose of analysis, that when the question about television viewing was answered, most people referred to time which was solely occupied with this activity.

The answers to the question I included in the 1969 survey confirmed the popularity of television viewing amongst all groups in the sample. An examination of table 8/4 below illustrates that only 2% of men and 1% of women said that they did not usually spend any time watching television.

3. For a fuller analysis of pattern of time usage and television viewing, which were found in this survey, see table 1/3/22 in Appendix 3 of this work.

Table 8/4 Participation and time spent watching television (a comparison of all men and women in the sample).

<u>Participation and time spent per day</u>	Men N=228 %	Women N=214 %	Total N=442 %
1. Never watches television	2	1	2
2. Watches for under 1 hour	3	3	3
3. Watches for 1 to 3 hours	60	61	60
4. Watches for 4 or more hours	35	35	35
Total	100	100	100

The above table also shows that the amount of time most people spent watching television was also very high, only 3% of men and 3% of women reported watching television for under one hour a day. Most people in the sample watched it for between one and three hours a day and a large minority (35%) reported that their daily viewing took up four or more hours of their available leisure time. There was no significant difference in the number of men or women, who reported watching television for either under 1 hour, 1 to 3 hours or 4 or more hours a day.⁴ There was also no significant difference between the number of people in either the manual or non-manual groups in the sample who followed this pattern.⁵

In the case of men, television was equally popular amongst workers in manual and non-manual occupations. An examination of table 8/5 below reveals that only 2% of manual and 5% of non-manual workers reported that they did not regularly watch television. There was also no significant difference in the number of men in either group who said they watched television for either 1 to 3, or 4 or more hours a day.⁶ Most men spent from 1 to 3 hours in this activity, although 34% of the manual workers and 38% of the non-manual workers spent 4 or more hours a day watching television.

4. $X^2 = 0.19$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 9.49$, $df=4$.

5. $X^2 = 0.46$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 9.49$, $df=4$

6. $X^2 = 0.29$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df= 1$.

Table 8/5 Participation and time spent watching television (a comparison of men working in manual and non-manual occupations and also of their wives).

<u>Participation and time spent per day</u>	Manual		Non-manual		Total N=442 %
	Men N=189	Wives N=39	Men N=175	Wives N=39	
	%	%	%	%	
1. Never watches television	2	1	5	2	2
2. Watches for under 1 hour	3	4	1	-	3
3. Watches for 1 to 3 hours	61	61	56	59	60
4. Watches for 4 or more hours	34	34	38	38	35
Total	100	100	100	100	100

An examination of the above table also shows that a similar pattern of television viewing was reported by women in the sample, and only 1% of the wives of manual workers and 2% of the wives of non-manual workers reported that they did not regularly watch television. There was little significant difference in the number of women in each group who said they watched television for either 1 to 3, or 4 or more hours a day.⁷ Most women spent from 1 to 3 hours in this activity although 34% of the wives of manual workers and 38% of the wives of non-manual workers reported spending four or more hours a day in this activity.

Television viewing was popular amongst people at all stages of their life cycle and an examination of table 8/6 below illustrates that the number of people who spent under 4, or over 4 hours a day watching television did not vary significantly with the life cycle stage of either men⁸ or women.⁹

7. $X^2 = 0.30$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

8. $X^2 = 3.23$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

9. $X^2 = 3.12$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

(In calculations 8 and 9 I have compared the number of people watching television for 4 or more hours a day with the number who either watched for under 1 hour, or from 1 to 3 hours a day).

Table 8/6 Participation and time spent watching television (a comparison of all men and women in the sample and also of their respective life cycle stage).

Participation and time spent per day	Life cycle stage					
	No children		Children 0-15		Children over 15	
	Men N=22 %	Women N=20 %	Men N=157 %	Women N=149 %	Men N=49 %	Women N=45 %
1. Never	14	10	2	-	1	-
2. Under 1 hour	5	5	3	3	2	4
3. 1 to 3 hours	36	50	65	59	55	71
4. 4 or more hours	45	35	30	38	43	25
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

The above table also shows that a slightly larger number of young married men and women without children did not watch television.

This was because a number of newly married non-manual workers and their wives had not, as yet, acquired a television set, and therefore did not have the same opportunity for regular viewing as most households in the sample.

The reason for the general popularity of television viewing amongst all groups of men and women is most complex. However, it is probable that much of its popularity was due to the fact that it was a home based, easily accessible source of entertainment, which was readily integrated into the daily life of the family. It provided a cheap, attractive and convenient alternative to other (older) sources of entertainment such as the cinema, music hall or theatre; whereas the latter often tended to conflict with family directed and home based life styles, television was a potent force in consolidating them.

Listening to the radio

Although television formed the focus of most recreational activity in Corby, an examination of table 8/7 below shows that the radio was also popular and 82% of the sample listened to it regularly. Women were more frequent radio listeners than men, and a significantly

greater number said they listened to their radios on a regular daily basis.¹⁰ This activity was equally popular amongst the wives of manual and non-manual workers and amongst women at all stages in their life cycle.¹¹

Table 8/7 Listening to the radio - time spent and participation (a comparison of all men and women in the sample).

<u>Participation in and Time spent per day</u>	Men N=228 %	Women N=214 %	Total N=442 %
1. Never listens	30	6	18
2. Under 1 hour	51	45	48
3. 1 to 3 hours	16	34	25
4. 4 or more hours	3	15	9
Total	100	100	100

The above table also shows that most people in Corby did not spend a lot of time using their radios and only 34% of the sample reported listening to them for more than one hour a day. Women spent more time listening than men, and a significantly larger number of them reported listening for more than one hour a day.¹² However, there was no significant difference in either the number of women at each life cycle stage,¹³ or in the number of wives of manual or non-manual workers¹⁴ who reported spending 1 hour a day or more listening to the radio. In the case of men, there was also no significant difference in the number of manual or non-manual workers who spent more than one hour a day listening to the radio.¹⁵ There was a more significant difference in

10. $\chi^2 = 39.3$, for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

11. The number of non-radio listeners in the non-manual groups and in the groups of women without children was too small to allow a reliable significance test to be used.

12. $\chi^2 = 23.47$, for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

13. $\chi^2 = 3.70$, for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

14. $\chi^2 = 0.84$, for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

15. $\chi^2 = 0.02$, for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

the number of men at each life cycle stage, who spent more than one hour a day listening to the radio.¹⁶ An examination of table 8/8 below illustrates that the group of married men with families of young children, spent far less time listening to the radio than either older men with grown up children, or younger men without families.

Table 8/8 Time spent and participation in listening to the radio (a comparison of all men and women in the sample and also of their respective life cycle stage).

Participation in and time spent per day	Life cycle stage					
	No children		Children 0-15		Children over 15	
	Men N=22 %	Women N = 20 %	Men N=157 %	Women N=149 %	Men N=49 %	Women N=45 %
1. Under 1 hour	47	30	81	49	65	52
2. Over 1 hour	53	70	19	51	35	48
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

The reason for the continuing popularity of the radio amongst large minority groups in Corby was complex. However, the evidence suggests that the modern, transistorised radio was a flexible source of popular entertainment and information, which complemented other home based and family directed activities such as knitting, sewing, housework and so on. Only a few people, such as Mr. P., the subject of case 46 below, used the radio as a primary source of entertainment in their recreational programme.

Case 46

Mr. P. was 58 years old and came to Corby from Glasgow in 1933. He was married and had five children, four of whom had grown up but one son of 14 was still at school. Mr. P. worked shifts as a furnace operator in the continuous weld mills. He told me that this was a very isolated job and as a result he didn't have much direct contact with people. Mr. P. spent most of his leisure time at home, though he regularly went out for a drink on Saturday and Sunday dinnertime if he was not working. He was very fond of listening to the radio, and in the afternoon and evenings he said he liked to be left alone in "peace and quiet in my sitting room", while his son and wife sat in the lounge talking, reading and watching television.

In contrast, the majority of radio listeners in Corby used their radios as a source of continuous, audible wall paper, which provided

a background for other home based activities. Women, who were generally out at work less than men, spent more time using their radios. Mrs. L. was typical of many housewives I interviewed, who used her radio as a secondary source of recreation.

Case 47.

Mrs. L. was in her mid 20's and married with two very young children. Her husband worked shifts as a slinger in the local steel-works. When I interviewed her during the course of an afternoon, the radio provided a background of music and occasional conversational items to enliven our meeting. She told me that she found the radio programmes most interesting and a great comfort in reducing the liness and boredom she felt when her husband was out at work and she was left alone to look after her children.

In contrast, most men particularly those who worked long hours and had large families, usually spent less time listening to the radio. This was because when they were at home they usually watched television.

Reading

Although television and radio occupied a large amount of recreational time, reading was also a popular activity in Corby and most people (85%) reported looking at a newspaper, magazine or book during the course of the day. However, there were a few people such as Mrs. F. a young married housewife with four children, who said to me

"I don't read anything, not even the newspapers. There's enough advertisements and news on the radio and television these days without me bothering to do anything else".

An examination of table 8/9 below illustrates that reading was equally popular with both sexes, and there was little significant difference in the number of men or women who said they did not read in their leisure time.¹⁷ In the case of men, a great proportion of non-readers worked in manual occupations and a similar pattern was repeated in the case of their wives.¹⁸

17. $X^2 = 0$.

18. The number of non-readers in the comparable non-manual categories was too small to allow any reliable tests of significance to be made.

Table 8/9 Time spent and participation in reading (a comparison of men working in manual and non-manual occupations and also of their wives).

<u>Participation and Time spent per day</u>	Manual		Non-manual		Total N=442 %
	Men N=189	Women N=175	Men N= 39	Women N=39	
	%	%	%	%	
1. Never read	14	13	3	8	12
2. Under 1 hour	56	68	62	67	62
3. 1 to 3 hours	27	17	28	23	23
4. 4 or more hours	3	2	8	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100

The pattern of reading in Corby is best understood in terms of two contrasting types, the casual and the intensive. The casual, which usually lasted for less than one hour a day, usually took the form of a short glance at a newspaper or magazine. The intensive usually lasted for more than an hour and usually took the form of a longer examination of a newspaper, magazine or book. An examination of table 8/10 below suggests that the majority of men and women in the sample were casual readers and only 27% of them followed a more intensive pattern. A significantly greater number of men than women were intensive readers,¹⁹ and the majority of avid readers, who spent more than four hours a day in this activity were also men.

Table 8/10 Daily patterns of reading (a comparison of men and women in the sample, non-readers omitted).

<u>Time spent per day</u>	Men N=201 %	Women N=188 %	Total N=389 %
1. Read under 1 hour	64	77	73
2. Read 1 to 3 hours	31	21	24
3. Read over 4 hours	5	2	3
Total	100	100	100

In the case of men, there was no significant difference in the number of men working in either manual or non-manual occupations, who reported reading for one hour or more each day.²⁰ There was a more

19. $\chi^2 = 6.57$, for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

20. $\chi^2 = 0.02$, for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

significant difference in the number who read for one hour or more a day, at each stage of their life cycle.²¹ An examination of table 8/11 below shows that a larger number of men with grown up children reported reading for one hour or more a day, in contrast a smaller proportion of men with young families and only a few men with no children, spent this amount of time reading.

Table 8/11 Daily patterns of reading (a comparison of all men and women in the sample and also of their respective life cycle stages). (Non-readers omitted).

Time spent per day	Life cycle stage					
	No Children		Children 0-15		Children over 15	
	Men N=18 %	Women N=17 %	Men N=140 %	Women N=133 %	Men N=43 %	Women N=38 %
1. Read under 1 hour	83	71	20	78	60	76
2. Read over 1 hour	17	29	30	22	40	24
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

In the case of women, there was no significant difference in the number of wives of either manual or non-manual workers, who read for one hour a day or more.²² There was also no significant difference in the number of women at each stage of their life cycle, who spent over one hour a day reading.²³

The reasons for this contrasting pattern of activity are complex. However, it seems reasonable to suggest that the casual reading patterns of most men and women complemented their home based life styles and family centred values. They did not isolate the reader from his family and they often consolidated the groups cohesion because they provided a series of reference points for general family discussion. The reading activities of Mr. K., who forms the subject for case 48 below, were typical of the many people in Corby who followed this casual pattern.

21 $\chi^2 = 16.19$, for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

22. $\chi^2 = 0.43$, for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

23. $\chi^2 = 0.7$, for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

Case 48

Mr. K. was in his mid 40's and married with one son, who was two years old. He worked a five day week from 7.45 a.m. until 4.45 p.m. as a cable jointer with the local electricity board. He was a very keen sportsman and played in a local soccer team. He also liked to spend Saturday and Sunday evenings in a nearby pub with his mates and sporting friends. However he told me that he rarely went out in the week since he usually did not have any money left to spend on beer. He also said that he never looked at a book and hadn't been to the library since he was a schoolboy. However, he did take the local evening newspaper and he usually read this with his wife while they were having their tea together. He found the sports news formed the most interesting reading; his wife preferred the woman's page and also liked to read out the small advertisements to him. The couple also read the newspaper together in order to decide what programmes to look at on the television.

In contrast, intensive reading was far less popular. This was probably because it demanded a higher level of concentration and involvement and it also isolated the reader from other members of his family and from his domestic surroundings. As a result it was more frequently found amongst older men such as Mr. L. who were less constrained by the everyday routine of domestic chores and the activities of a young family.

Case 49

Mr. L. was in his late 50's. He was married and had one grown up son, who also lived in Corby. In his younger days Mr. L. had worked as a miner in the South Wales coalfield, but he had moved to Corby in the 1930's and at the time of the interview was working as a charge-hand in the tubeworks section of the steelworks. He was a member of the local library and visited it regularly every week. He usually borrowed novels, but said he also liked reading non-fiction books about the war. His reading patterns altered with each shift he worked, when he was on afternoons, (2 p.m. to 10 p.m.) he usually read in the morning, while he was waiting to go to work. If he was on days (6 a.m. to 2 p.m.) he usually rested and read during the afternoon while when he was on nights (10 p.m. to 6 a.m.) he usually read for an hour after his tea. Mr. L. told me that on his days off he spent less time reading and more time visiting his children, gardening and calling in at the local pub. He also used the opportunity to call in at the library in order to return his old books and choose new ones for the following week's reading.

Resting

Most people in the sample also reported spending part of their day resting. An examination of table 8/12 below illustrates that this was more popular amongst men than women, and a significantly greater number

of men reported spending part of their day in this state of inactivity.²⁴

Table 8/12 Participation and time spent resting (a comparison of all men and women in the sample).

<u>Participation and time spent per day</u>	Men N = 228 %	Women N = 214 %	Total N = 442 %
1. Never rests	24	35	29
2. Rests for under 1 hour	33	37	35
3. Rests for 1 to 3 hours	27	20	24
4. Rests for 4 or more hours	16	8	12
Total	100	100	100

Resting was popular amongst all groups of men and there was little significant difference in the number of men working in either manual and non-manual occupations,²⁵ or at each life cycle stage,²⁶ who reported spending part of their day resting. A similar pattern occurred in the case of women, and there was little significant difference in the number of wives of manual and non-manual workers,²⁷ or in the number of women at each life cycle stage,²⁸ who spent part of their day resting.

In all cases in the sample, resting was a home based activity, which usually took place in the late afternoon or in the early evening. Most people rested in their living rooms and usually took a short sleep in the presence of their husbands, wives or children. Mr. T. who forms the subject of case 50, was typical of many men I met who enjoyed a rest in the first half of the evening.

Case 50

Mr. T. was in his late 40's and worked permanent days as a fitter in the local steelworks. His wife also went out to work and had a job as a part time home help. The couple had five children, two of whom were grown up, but three were still at school. During the week

24. $X^2 = 4.83$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

25. $X^2 = 2.11$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

26. $X^2 = 0.38$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

27. $X^2 = 0.00$.

28. $X^2 = 1.34$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

Case 50 (cont)

Mr. T. worked from 7.30 in the morning until 5 o'clock in the evening. He told me that he usually managed to get home by 5.30 p.m. following which he washed, had his tea and then sat down in his favourite armchair reading the local newspaper and resting until about 7.30 p.m., when he usually "came to" and looked at the television until it was time to get ready for going out to his club. When I first met him, he was on the point of waking up from this evening rest. The television set was on, his children were playing around him and his wife was clearing away the tea. Mr. T. told me that on Saturdays and Sundays when he didn't work, his routine changed greatly. He usually "slept in late and didn't get up till 11 a.m." He then had his breakfast and helped his wife with the housework until it was time to call in at his club for a dinnertime drink. He usually returned at 2 p.m. had his dinner and spent the remainder of the afternoon resting and watching television until it was time for tea and getting ready to take the family out for the evening to the local Silver Band Club.

However a number of people spent more time resting, they often returned to their beds for a short period of sleep in the afternoon or early evening. Mr. J. who is the subject of case 51 below, was typical of this minority.

Case 51

Mr. J. was in his late 50's, he was married and his wife was a full time housewife. The couple had five children, four of whom were grown up, but one boy of 15 was still attending school. Mr. J. had a light day time job as a stocktaker in the steelworks. He used to have a heavier job which involved working shifts but he had been forced to give this up since he had developed chronic bronchitis. Mr. J. told me that he felt perpetually tired and this condition was probably exacerbated by the fact that he regularly worked overtime on Saturday and Sunday mornings, in order to bring his present wages to near their former level. During the week he arrived home at 5.30 p.m., had his tea, read the papers and went to sleep by the fireside. He usually woke up about 8 p.m. and he watched the television for the rest of the evening until it was time for him to have his supper and go to bed. On Saturdays and Sundays, he visited his local pub for a dinnertime drink on his way home from work. He then had his dinner and went back to bed for the afternoon, he usually got up about 6 p.m., had his tea and watched television for the rest of the evening. However, on rare occasions his older sons called in and took their father out with them for a drink.

As we have seen, resting was more popular amongst men than women in Corby. However, men also spent more of their leisure time resting than women, and a significantly greater number of them spent either 1 to 3, or 4 or more hours a day resting.²⁹ In part, this probably

29. $X^2 = 13.05$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

reflected the longer hours men worked and in part the domestic habits of some women who did not like to be idle, but always wanted to "keep their hands busy". There was no significant difference in the number of men in either manual or non-manual occupations, who reported spending over 1 hour a day resting.³⁰ An examination of table 8/13 below also illustrates that there was little significant difference in the number of men at each life cycle stage, who reported spending over 1 hour a day in this general state of inactivity.³¹

Table 8/13 Daily pattern of resting (a comparison of the life cycle stages of all men and women in the sample - non-resters omitted).

Time spent per day	Life cycle stage					
	No children		Children 0-15		Children 15+	
	Men N=18 %	Women N=14 %	Men N=120 %	Women N=94 %	Men N=35 %	Women N=32 %
1. Rests under 1 hour	39	57	39	55	49	59
2. Rests over 1 hour	61	43	61	45	51	41
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

A similar pattern occurred in the case of those women who reported spending part of their day in this state of inactivity. Although this group spent less time resting than men, there was little significant difference in the number of wives of either manual or non-manual workers, who reported spending over 1 hour a day resting.³² There was also little significant difference in the number of women at each life cycle stage, who reported spending this amount of time resting.³³

It appears then that resting was a popular recreational activity in Corby. Most people spent part of every day in a period of physical inactivity and mental withdrawal from the realities of everyday life. Although resting was a home based activity, which usually took place within the ambit of the family, it is probable that its widespread

30. $X^2 = 0.72$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

31. $X^2 = 3.71$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

32. $X^2 = 0.40$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

33. $X^2 = 0.19$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

popularity also reflected the permeation into the sphere of leisure of the physical and psychological constraints of work.

Hobbies and Crafts

Although most home centred activities such as watching television, listening to the radio, reading or resting, tended to be free from the common social, biological or economic constraints of everyday life, the majority of hobbies and crafts which were popular in Corby, were not a pure but rather an intermediary form of recreational activity.³⁴ Only a few of these activities insulated people from the realities of everyday life, most were utilitarian in nature and were intimately enmeshed into the daily domestic routine. Indeed in many cases they were home based, minor economic activities, which supplemented a family's material prosperity and general standard of living. Only a few people pursued hobbies and crafts which were not directly utilitarian and which allowed an escape from the realities of the domestic routine.

Hobbies and crafts were popular amongst most people in the sample and an examination of table 8/14 below illustrates that 61% reported pursuing these activities.

Table 8/14 Participation and time spent doing hobbies and crafts (a comparison of all men and women in the sample).

<u>Participation and time spent per day</u>	Men N=228 %	Women N=214 %	Total N=442 %
1. Never	47	31	39
2. Under 1 hour	25	30	28
3. 1 to 3 hours	24	33	28
4. 4 or more hours	5	6	5
<u>Total</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

³⁴. In the initial survey I distinguished between hobbies and crafts and do it yourself activities. However most people I interviewed seemed to think of such do it yourself activities as maintaining motor vehicles, making furniture, or decorating the home, as hobbies or crafts. As a result in the main survey I omitted reference to do it yourself activities and used the general category, hobbies and crafts.

The above table also shows that hobbies and crafts were more popular amongst women than men and a significantly greater number of women also reported undertaking these activities.³⁵

In the case of women there was no significant difference in the number of wives of manual or non-manual workers,³⁶ or in the numbers at each life cycle stage,³⁷ who pursued hobbies and crafts (see table 8/15 below). The majority of their activities were utilitarian in nature and orbitted around the needs of their home and family. The most popular activities amongst women were knitting, sewing, dressmaking and tailoring; often these activities were shared with watching television or listening to the radio. A large number of women also helped their husbands decorate and make other minor and major improvements in their homes. Mrs. L. was typical of many women I met.

Case 52

Mrs. L. was in her mid 40's and she was married to a fitter who worked in the local steelworks. She had one daughter who was also married and lived in nearby Kettering. Her bungalow was immaculately decorated and had fitted carpets in all its rooms. She told me that she took a great pride in her home, and she pointed out all the improvements, such as the new central heating system, that had been made to it since she had moved in. She said she had decided against going away at Easter, since "we have so many jobs we want to do, and my husband wants to extend his garage and build a workshop". At the time of the interview the kitchen was being redecorated; Mrs. L. did most of the preparatory rubbing down and painting on Monday and Tuesday, when her husband was at work, then on Wednesday evening they both did the paperhanging and made the other final touches.

Table 8/15 Participation and time spent doing hobbies and crafts (a comparison of all men and women in the sample and also of their respective life cycle stages).

Time spent per day	Life cycle stages					
	No Children		Children 0-15		Children 15 +	
	Men N=22	Women N=20	Men N=157	Women N=149	Men N=49	Women N=45
	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Never	55	35	41	32	61	29
2. Under 1 hour	23	15	30	33	12	27
3. Over 1 hour	22	50	29	35	27	44
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
35. $X^2 = 10.43$, for $p < .05$,			$X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.			
36. $X^2 = 0.91$, for $p < .05$,			$X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.			
37. $X^2 = 0.34$, for $p < .05$,			$X^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.			

The majority of men in the sample also pursued hobbies and crafts. Their most popular activities were gardening, looking after their motor vehicle, decorating the house or making furniture. There was little significant difference in the number of men working in either manual or non-manual occupations, who had hobbies or crafts.³⁸ However an examination of table 8/15 above illustrates that there was a larger difference in the case of each life cycle stage. A significantly greater number of men with growing families of children did these activities,³⁹ and it is probable that in these cases, hobbies and crafts often supplemented the family's well being when the demands upon its income were at their greatest.

For most people, hobbies and crafts were a pleasant and inexpensive means of achieving domestic or material goals. In contrast, only a few people pursued hobbies such as collecting, model making, painting, carving or winemaking, which were characterised by their difference from work, domestic routine or materialist goals. These activities corresponded much more closely to a true play form, in which men and women could create and pursue goals and aims which were distinct and separate from the constraints and realities of everyday life. They gave people the means to express many of the qualities of independence, initiative and autonomy, which as we have seen could not usually be used in the work situation. Mr. Y, who forms the subject of case 53 below, was typical of this minority. He was one of the few men I met who had taken up precision model making as a hobby.

38. $\chi^2 = 0.78$, for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

39. $\chi^2 = 6.28$, for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

Case 53.

Mr. Y. was in his late 20's and worked as a (mechanical) fitter in the local steelworks. He was married with two children aged 3 and 7 years, and his wife was a full time housewife. His lounge was dominated by a large and very precise model of a 10,000 ton oil tanker. He told me that he had made all the parts for this model himself, using a lathe and other precision tools. He said he found model making a great relaxation and a "big change from all the heavy stuff at work I have to do". At the time of the interview he was starting to build a new model of a battleship and he said he looked forward to spending the winter months working on this task and listening to his favourite programmes on the radio.

Mr. H. had a similar type of hobby, he was an expert amateur carpenter and cabinet maker.

Case 54.

Mr. H. was in his early 50's and was married with one son, who was doing his 'O' levels at the local Grammar school. He worked as an electrical engineer with the local electricity board and his wife was a full time housewife. The couple had moved to Corby four years ago from a neighbouring village. They had bought a plot of land from the Urban District Council and Mr. H. had then spent most of his leisure time building a large and elegant bungalow. At the time of the interview he had finished completing the structure of his house and was busy making furniture in his workshop which he had built at the rear of his garage. However, he told me he also managed to find time for his other hobby, tape recording, in which his son was much more interested.

Section 2 Recreational activities which took place outside the home but which remain family directed.

Although most recreational activity in Corby was home based and family oriented, a small amount of recreational time was also spent outside the home. Most of this also tended to complement and consolidate family centred life styles, as the following more detailed analysis of two of the most popular of these activities, motoring for pleasure and library visiting, illustrates.

Recreational motoring

It was seen in chapter 6, that possession of a motor vehicle was an important material goal for most men and women in Corby. This was because it removed many traditional constraints upon personal travel and it facilitated the pursuit of an expanded and more diversified

pattern of family or individual activity. The level of motor vehicle ownership in Corby (60%) was higher than the national average (45%) and the evidence I reviewed earlier in this work, suggested that this level will not remain static, but will increase rapidly in the future.

The motor vehicle in Corby was used for a variety of purposes, such as travelling to work, shopping, or taking children to school. It was also used for recreation, and an examination of table 8/16 below illustrates that taking car trips for pleasure was an important weekly activity for many vehicle owners and their relatives.⁴⁰

Table 8/16 Participation and time spent taking car trips for pleasure
(a comparison of all men and women in the sample).

<u>Participation and time spent</u> <u>per week</u>	Men N=228	Woman N=214	Total N=442
	%	%	%
1. Never	40	39	39
2. Under 1 hour	10	12	11
3. 1 to 3 hours	30	32	31
4. 4 or more hours	20	17	19
Total	100	100	100

The majority of car trips for pleasure took place in the evening or at the weekend, and as we can see from an examination of table 8/16 above, in most cases they lasted for under 4 hours. They usually took the form of an excursion into the attractive belt of countryside surrounding Corby, or they might include a visit to a neighbouring town. However, 19% of the sample reported spending 4 or more hours a week on car trips for pleasure and these visits often involved a

40. This table shows that 61% of the sample reported taking car trips for pleasure. This percentage was much higher than the mere 10% of people in the initial survey, who reported taking car trips for pleasure in the week prior to the interview. It seems probable that in the main survey a number of respondents either overestimated the extent of their pleasure journeys and included journeys to school, work or shopping, or they attempted to give an average figure. This was because in some cases the car might be used intensively in one week and not at all in a subsequent week of bad weather. (Or if a shiftworker was working nights or if a man was working a lot of overtime).

much longer expedition to a centre outside the East Midlands region.

There was little significant difference in the number of men or women, who reported taking car trips for pleasure,⁴¹ and in general the private car trip was a family outing, in which the car replaced the lounge as the venue for recreational activity. However, an examination of table 8/17 below illustrates that there was a significant difference in the number of people who motored for pleasure, between manual and non-manual groups in the sample.⁴²

Table 8/17 Participation and time spent taking car trips for pleasure
 . (a comparison of men working in manual and non-manual occupations and also of their wives).

Participation and time spent per week	Manual		Non-manual	
	Men	Wives	Men	Wives
	N = 189	N=175	N=39	N=39
	%	%	%	%
1. Never	43	43	23	20
2. Under 1 hour	8	9	15	23
3. 1 to 3 hours	27	30	46	41
4. 4 or more hours	22	18	16	16
Total	100	100	100	100

The above table shows that in the case of men a significantly higher number of workers in non-manual occupations went on car trips,⁴³ and the same pattern was repeated in the case of their wives.⁴⁴ It is probable that the above variation merely reflected the different opportunities the two groups had to make car trips. As was seen in chapter 6, the non-manual group owned a significantly greater number of cars than the non-manual groups.⁴⁵ However the aspirations of people in the latter group for motor vehicle ownership were also very

41. $X^2 = 0.78$, for $X^2 = < .05$, $X^2 = 7.81$, $df=3$.

42. $X^2 = 20.78$, for $X^2 = < .05$, $X^2 = 7.81$, $df=3$.

43. $X^2 = 5.41$, for $X^2 = < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

44. $X^2 = 5.60$, for $X^2 = < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

45. $X^2 = 7.06$, for $X^2 = < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

high, and it seems probable that as these are achieved, the number of people who motor for pleasure in the Corby area, will increase very rapidly.

The number of people who spent under 1 hour, 1 to 3 hours or 4 or more hours a week motoring for pleasure, did not vary significantly between occupational groups.⁴⁶ However, an examination of table 8/18 below illustrates that the amount of time people spent in car trips varied more markedly with each life cycle stage. A significantly greater number of people with grown up children reported spending 4 or more hours a week motoring for pleasure.⁴⁷

Table 8/18 Participation and time spent taking car trips for pleasure
(a comparison of all people who reported taking car trips
for pleasure and also of their respective life cycle stages)

<u>Time spent per week</u>	<u>Life cycle stage</u>		
	No children N = 18 %	children 0-15 N = 190 %	Children over 15 N = 60 %
1. Under 1 hour	39	17	12
2. 1 to 3 hours	39	57	40
4. 4 or more hours	22	26	48
Total	100	100	100

The reason for this differential pattern of activity are complex. It may be due to the fact that in the latter stages of their working life, many men and women were relatively more prosperous than at any preceding stages in their life cycle. This increase in prosperity started when their children grew up, found jobs and left home. It usually finished when men retired from work. In this often short period of declining family commitments, more money was often available to spend on such expensive recreational activities as motoring for pleasure. Less money was consumed in furnishing the home or bringing up children, while less time was constrained by the need to work over-

46. $\chi^2 = 5.45$, for $\chi^2 = < .05$, $\chi^2 = 9.49$, $df=4$.

47. $\chi^2 = 9.02$, for $\chi^2 = < .05$, $\chi^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

time or by the demands which were frequently involved in looking after young children. The following case of Mr. and Mrs. J. was typical of many couples I met who were experiencing this brief, Edwardian summer in their lives.

Case 55.

Mr. and Mrs. J. were in their early 50's and had two grown up children. Their eldest child, a daughter, was married and lived in Northampton. The younger child, a son of 20 years of age, still lived at home but was getting married at Easter. Mr. J. was employed as a welder in the local steelworks and his wife also had a full time job as a machinist in a local clothing factory. Their home, which was rented from the Development Corporation, was comfortably furnished with modern well upholstered furniture and fitted carpets. Their lounge was dominated by a large television set and a modern radiogramme. The couple ran a 3 year old Ford Cortina, which they had purchased second hand last year. Mr. J. was very proud of this vehicle and usually spent one afternoon or morning (shiftwork permitting) cleaning and maintaining it. The couple told me that they liked to use their car to go on excursions into the surrounding countryside. Mrs. J. said she particularly liked to visit the Eyebrook Reservoir, a local beauty spot. However, the car was also used for shopping expeditions to neighbouring towns and Mrs. J. pointed out that it was also a great help when they wanted to visit their daughter in Northampton, since travel on public transport took so long. Their son also borrowed the family car at weekends when his parents were not using it. However, Mr. J. told me that his son was saving up a deposit so that he could buy his own private transport once he was married.

A number of cases in the sample suggested a supplementary, though not necessarily conflicting interpretation; this is based upon the probability that each life cycle group contains a large number of people with very different life histories. Many men and women in the later stages of their life cycle, grew up in the relative scarcity of the 1920's and 1930's when mass motoring was a comparatively new phenomena. In their case a motor car may still represent a novel form of recreation which was intrinsically interesting in its own right. In contrast many men and women, who were in the earlier stages of their life cycle, were brought up in the more affluent 1950's and 1960's when mass motoring was becoming an accepted way of life. In their case a motor car journey may appear less intrinsically interesting and their motor car may be valued more as a convenient form of transportation.

Visiting the Library

In 1969, Corby had two libraries, these both shared the same building, which was situated in the centre of the town. One library was a highly specialised technical and scientific library, which met the specific needs of industry, commerce and the public service. The other was a public library, which met the more general reading needs of adults and children in the community.

Although Corby was relatively well equipped with libraries, an examination of table 8/19 below illustrates that most people did not use them and only 30% of the sample reported visiting libraries on a regular basis. Most library users in the sample also read a great deal in their leisure time and in most cases viewed the public library as a convenient centre from which to borrow and return books.

Table 8/19 Participation and time spent visiting the library (a comparison of all men and women in the sample).

<u>Participation and time spent per week</u>	Men N = 228 %	Women N=214 %	Total N=442 %
1. Never visited	71	69	70
2. Under 1 hour	22	28	25
3. Over 1 hour	7	4	5
Total	100	100	100

The above table also shows that most people who went to the library spent under one hour in their visit. Only a few people such as Mr. V. who forms the subject of case 56, spent more time in the local library browsing through books, studying and writing.

Case 56

Mr. V. was in his early 30's, he was married and had one son who was 7 years old. Mr. V. taught in a local junior school and he also looked after the school football team on Saturday mornings. He told me that he spent a large amount of his leisure time reading and he stressed that as far as television viewing was concerned, he was a most discriminating viewer. He was particularly interested in geography and travel books and he said that on many Saturday afternoons his wife looked after their son, while he went to the local library to choose new books, look up points of interest in the reference section and see if he could discover any new ideas for his lessons.

Library visiting was equally popular amongst both sexes in Corby and there was no significant difference in the number of men and women who reported visiting the library.⁴⁸

However, the number of people who used the public library facilities in Corby varied more significantly between manual and non-manual groups in the sample.⁴⁹ An examination of table 8/20 below illustrates that in the case of men, a significantly greater number of workers in non-manual than manual occupations visited libraries,⁵⁰ and a similar pattern occurred in the case of their wives.⁵¹

Table 8/20 Participation and time spent visiting the library (a comparison of men working in manual and non-manual occupations and also of their wives).

<u>Participation and time spent per week</u>	Manual		Non-manual	
	Men N=189 %	Wives N=175 %	Men N=39 %	Wives N=39 %
1. Never visited	75	73	54	51
2. Visited for under or over 1 hour	25	27	46	49
Total	100	100	100	100

The pattern of library visiting also tended to vary slightly (though not significantly)⁵² with each life cycle stage. An examination of table 8/21 below suggests that men and women tended to be slightly more actively involved in visiting the library when their children were at school. It seems probable that while parents did not always use the local library themselves, they sometimes encouraged or accompanied their children on a library visit.

48. $X^2 = 3.01$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

49. $X^2 = 20.25$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

50. $X^2 = 6.43$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

51. $X^2 = 9.35$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

52. In the following tests of library usage, I compared the number of men and women who used the library with those who did not at each life cycle stage. The results were as follows:

Men $X^2 = 3.63$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

Women $X^2 = 2.17$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

Table 8/21 Participation and time spent visiting the library (a comparison of all men and women in the sample and also of their respective life cycle stages).

<u>Time spent per week</u>	<u>Life cycle stage</u>					
	No children		Children 0-15		Children 15 +	
	Men N=22 %	Women N=20 %	Men N=157 %	Women N=149 %	Men N=49 %	Women N=45 %
1. Never visits	81	65	67	66	80	78
2. Visits for under one hour or over	19	35	33	34	20	22
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

It appears then that the majority of people in the sample failed to use the library, because they rarely needed to borrow books. As we have seen earlier in this chapter, most people in Corby read for relatively short periods and usually preferred to look at newspapers or magazines. In contrast the minority who borrowed books from the library, either spent more of their recreational time reading, or were parents who visited the library as part of a general family activity which was designed to facilitate the general education of their children.

Section 3. Recreational Activity which took place outside the home and which was not family directed.

Although most recreational activity in Corby was either home centred or family directed, a number of important recreational activities also took place outside these spheres, the two most important of these in terms of time and numbers participating, were playing bingo and visiting public houses.

Visiting Pubs in Corby.

In 1969, the urban area of Corby contained 26 public houses,⁵³ many others which were situated in neighbouring villages and towns, were within easy access. The main function of the public house in Corby,

53. The majority of public houses in Corby were modern, spacious buildings, this fact accounted for the relatively low number of public houses per head of population in the town as a whole.

as elsewhere, was to provide a venue for the sale and consumption of alcoholic refreshment. In this respect it differed very little from the popular social and recreational clubs, but as we have seen, public houses unlike social clubs were organised on a casual and not a preferential basis, as a result they were open to all members of the public who could afford to buy a drink.

Visiting pubs was a popular activity in Corby and 70% of the men and 27% of the women in the sample, reported spending some time in a pub in the course of their normal weekly leisure routine. Although this level of attendance was high, an examination of table 8/22 below shows that in the majority of cases pub going remained a marginal activity, which only occupied a small amount of most participants leisure time. Most people who went to pubs spent under 4 hours a week in them, a third spent under 1 hour and only a fifth spent 4 or more hours in them.

Table 8/22 Participation and time spent visiting pubs in Corby (a comparison of all men and women in the sample).

<u>Participation and time spent per week</u>	Men N=228 %	Women N=214 %	Total N=442 %
1. Never visited	30	73	51
2. Under 1 hour	20	12	17
3. 1 to 3 hours	32	13	22
4. 4 or more hours	18	2	10
Total	100	100	100

The above table also shows that pub going in Corby was primarily a male activity and a significantly higher number of men than women reported visiting them.⁵⁴

In the case of men, there was no significant difference in the number of men working in manual or non-manual occupations, who reported

54. $\chi^2 = 78.3$, for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

visiting pubs.⁵⁵ However, an examination of table 8/23 below illustrates that there was a greater difference in the amount of time participants in each group spent in them each week. Manual workers spent more time in pubs than non-manual workers and a significantly greater number of manual workers said they spent over an hour a week visiting pubs.⁵⁶

Table 8/23 Participation and time spent visiting pubs in Corby (a comparison of men working in manual and non manual occupations, and also of their wives).

Time spent per week	Manual		Non-manual	
	Men N=189 %	Wives N=175 %	Men N=39 %	Wives N=39 %
1. Never visited	28	74	44	67
2. Under 1 hour	19	12	28	13
3. 1 to 3 hours	34	12	20	15
4. 4 or more hours	19	2	8	5
Total	100	100	100	100

In spite of the fact that the majority of visitors to pubs were men, women also formed an important group of customers and 27% of them said that they spent part of their leisure time visiting pubs. The above table illustrates that there was no significant difference in the number of wives of manual or non-manual workers who visited pubs.⁵⁷ There was also no significant difference in the amount of time participants in each of these groups spent in them each week.⁵⁸ However, the pattern of pub visiting amongst women varied more significantly with each life cycle stage.⁵⁹ An examination of table 8/24 below, illustrates that participation was at its highest amongst women who had no children, it was lower amongst women with young children and at its lowest amongst women whose children had grown up.

55. $X^2 = 1.98$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

56. $X^2 = 9.94$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 9.49$, $df=4$.

57. $X^2 = 0.98$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

58. $X^2 = 1.21$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 9.49$, $df=4$.

59. $X^2 = 5.99$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

Table 8/24 Participation and time spent visiting pubs in Corby (a comparison of the life cycle stage of all women in the sample).

<u>Time spent per week</u>	<u>Life cycle stage</u>		
	No children N=20 %	Children 0-15 N = 149 %	Children 15 + N = 45 %
1. Never visited	45	74	82
2. Under 1 hour	15	13	11
3. 1 to 3 hours	25	13	7
4. 4 or more hours	15	-	-
Total	100	100	100

The above table also shows that the amount of time women spent in pubs also varied considerably with each life cycle stage.⁶⁰ Married women with no children, who went to pubs, spent the most time in them and in most cases their visits lasted for over an hour and in many cases for more than four hours. In contrast, women with young families or older women with grown up children usually spent far less time in their visits to pubs. Most of them limited themselves to one weekend visit and in many cases this lasted for under an hour.

In the case of men, the number who reported going to pubs also varied significantly with each life cycle stage.⁶¹ An examination of table 8/25 below illustrates that participation was at its highest amongst married men with no children, it was lower amongst men with children and it was at its lowest amongst men whose children had grown up.

Table 8/25 Participation and time spent visiting pubs in Corby (a comparison of the life cycle stages of all men in the sample).

<u>Time spent per week</u>	<u>Life cycle stage</u>		
	No children N=22 %	Children 0-15 N = 157 %	Children 15 + N = 49 %
1. Never visited	23	27	45
2. Under 1 hour	18	22	20
3. 1 to 3 hours	23	35	22
4. 4 or more hours	36	16	13
Total	100	100	100

60. The number of women in the cell, children over 15 years, who went to pubs was too small to enable me to make a reliable test of significance.

61. $\chi^2 = 6.29$, for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

The above table also shows that the amount of time men spent in pubs also varied significantly with each life cycle stage.⁶² Married men with no children who went to pubs, spent the most time in them. Most of their visits lasted for over an hour and in many cases for over four hours. In contrast, men with young families, who went to pubs tended to spend less time in them, while older men with grown up families who went to pubs, spent the least time of all.

It was probable that the popularity of pubs amongst men and women with no children was partly due to the fact that many people in this group were less constrained by the financial or physical demands associated with the presence of young families. It contained many recently married couples such as Mr. and Mrs. V. who were carrying on many of the gregarious outdoor activities they pursued when they were courting.

Case 57

Mr. and Mrs. V. were both in their mid 20's, they had been married for two years, but as yet had no children. Mrs. V. worked full time in a hairdresser's salon and her husband worked as a maintenance fitter at a local engineering factory. The couple owned a modern car and lived in a newly built and expensively furnished house, which they had bought a year ago. Mrs. V. told me that one of her main hobbies was improving her home so that she could get it as comfortable as possible before she gave up work and had a family. The couple regularly went out or entertained friends on Monday and Wednesday evenings. On these occasions they all played cards, following which the men went out for a drink and the women stayed in to have a chat. On Friday evenings Mr. V. went out to meet friends at a pub in a nearby village, while his wife used the opportunity to visit her mother. On Saturdays Mrs. V. was usually working but her husband was at home, as a result he told me he used the opportunity to go out for a dinnertime drink with his pals, following which they usually went on to watch a football match for the afternoon. On Saturday evening, the couple regularly went out with their friends to a country pub, where they had drinks and then went on to have a full scale meal.

In contrast, pubs were less popular amongst couples with young families. People such as Mr. and Mrs. T, had less time, energy or money to spend in this type of recreational activity.

62. $\chi^2 = 10.92$, for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 9.49$, $df=4$.

Case 58

Mr. T. was in his early 40's and his wife was in her late 30's. The couple had three children aged 9, 13 and 15 years. They ran a modern car and rented a house from the Urban District Council. Mr. T. worked as a foreman in the tubeworks and his wife was a part time secretary. Most of their leisure time was spent at home in a series of general, family directed activities such as watching television, reading, listening to music and sharing in the children's hobbies. However, Mr. T. told me that he liked to go out to his local for a drink on Saturday dinnertime, while the couple regularly went out for a meal to a country pub on Saturday night. Mr. T. said it made a nice break from the children and it gave his wife a rest from the cooking.

Pubs were less popular amongst older women with grown up children. This was probably because this group contained many people who grew up in pre war years, when the pub was seen as a total male institution and when it was not thought ladylike for a "respectable" women to enter it.⁶³

It was also probable that many older men in the later stages of their life cycle ceased to attend pubs because their physical energies and waxes had often declined. Many men told me that as they grew older they found it more tiring to go out in the evening to a pub, many others had developed physical conditions such as ulcerated intestines which seriously limited their drinking habits, while many men who had been forced by ill health to give up well paid shiftwork for lighter if less well paid day work, could no longer afford to visit pubs regularly.⁶⁴

Pub going in Corby then was very much a secondary recreational activity which was most popular amongst men. In most cases visits to pubs did not occupy a large amount of the participant's recreational time and they rarely conflicted with the dominance of home centred and family directed life styles.

63 I found this was still very much the case as late as 1962 in the Scottish mining villages I visited North of Edinburgh.

64. As we have seen in the last chapter all the retired men I interviewed preferred to visit Social and Recreational clubs where their use of facilities was not conditional upon the purchase of a drink.

Bingo playing

Bingo playing was the other major outdoor recreational activity I examined in the survey. In 1969, it was played at a number of different centres including the town's only cinema, social and recreational clubs and at an annexe of a local pub. It was also played during the meetings of a number of organisations such as women's clubs. Bingo was not played in the large entertainment complex which formed part of the civic buildings. Many attempts had been made to hire these modern, centrally situated premises for bingo sessions, but these had been consistently opposed by the civic authorities.

Bingo playing is similar to many other forms of gambling in that the outcome is decided by chance and not by personal skill or effort. I found in the initial survey that many people were reluctant to give me information about this subject. In part this was probably because many types of gambling, such as off course betting, had been illegal until quite recently. But it was also probable that many men and women were still influenced by the norms of the protestant ethic and regarded gambling as a form of moral turpitude, which led to the acquisition of wealth by chance and not by toil. Most gambling in Corby was carried out by men during the course of their everyday working and leisure activities. The time most men spent gambling was often very limited, for example in the initial survey only 3% spent more than one hour in betting shops. In contrast, playing bingo took up more time and it was also one of the few ways in which women could share in the gambling activities of their husbands.⁶⁵

Although Bingo was not such a popular outdoor recreational activity as visiting pubs, nevertheless, an examination of table 8/26 below, illustrates that it was a popular minority activity and 16% of the

65. In the social and recreational clubs, fruit machines were also a popular form of gambling amongst women.

sample reported playing this game on a regular basis.

Table 8/26 Participation and time spent playing Bingo (a comparison of men working in manual and non-manual occupations and also of their wives).

<u>Time spent per week</u>	Manual		Non-manual		Total N=442 %
	Men N=189 %	Wives N=175 %	Men N=39 %	Wives N=39 %	
	1. Never plays	88	77	95	
2. Under 1 hour	6	4	5	5	5
3. 1 to 3 hours	5	15	-	8	9
4. 4 or more hours	1	4	-	-	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100

The above table also shows that going out to play bingo was more popular amongst women than men, and a significantly greater number of women reported taking part in this activity.⁶⁶ It was most popular amongst the wives of manual workers and this group contained the largest number of players, who reported spending over one hour a week in this activity.⁶⁷

Playing bingo was equally popular amongst women at all stages of their life cycle, however an examination of table 8/27 below suggests that the group of women without children contained fewer activists.

Table 8/27 Participation and time spent playing bingo (a comparison of the life cycle stages of all men and women in the sample).

<u>Time spent per week</u>	<u>Life cycle stage</u>					
	No Children		Children 0-15		Children 15 +	
	Men N=22 %	Women N=20 %	Men N=157 %	Women N=149 %	Men N=49 %	Women N=45 %
1. Never plays	86	90	88	77	90	82
2. Under 1 hour	14	5	5	5	4	-
3. 1 to 3 hours	-	5	6	14	6	16
4. 4 or more hours	-	-	1	4	-	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

66. $\chi^2 = 9.90$, for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

67. In the case of the wives of manual and non-manual workers, and in the case of women at each stage of the life cycle, I have not attempted to make any tests of significance because of the small numbers in many of the cells I wished to compare.

The time most women spent playing bingo was usually limited to one or two evenings a week. Mrs. W. was typical of many women I met who regularly went out to play bingo on Tuesday evenings.

Case 59

Mrs. W. was in her mid 20's, she was married to a carpenter who worked with a local building firm. The couple had one child, a boy who was 3 years old. Her husband spent much of his leisure time with his friends visiting pubs or playing football. However, he stayed at home most weekdays, because he had usually run out of spending money by Monday morning. Mrs. W. spent most of her time at home doing housework, looking after her child and watching television. She went out every morning to the local shops and she told me that she also liked to visit the large town centre supermarket on Saturday afternoon to do the rest of her shopping and also to have "tea out" in the supermarket's restaurant. She told me that her "big event" in the week was going out on Tuesday evenings to the bingo session held at the local Silver Band Club. She said it was "a chance to get out of the house, have a bit of fun and meet people". Her husband stayed in looking after the child while she went out to these sessions.

In contrast, men spent less time playing bingo than women and in most cases men joined their wives to play in a session, which formed part of the general programme of entertainment in a social club. Only a few men went out with their wives to the longer and more specialised bingo sessions, which were held in the local cinema. Bingo was generally more popular amongst men working in manual occupations and this group contained all of the men who spent more than one hour a week in this activity. However, the number of men who played bingo did not vary greatly with each life cycle stage.

Although women spent more time playing bingo than men, it was probable that men spent more time gambling in other fields. Bingo was an important element in the recreational pattern of many women in Corby, but the time most of them spent playing the game did not seriously conflict with their family commitments or their home centred life styles. However, the general popularity of the game reflected a growing acceptance, that gambling was a legitimate means for them to use to escape from the realities of everyday work and domestic drudgery and

enter for a short time, a world where wealth was acquired by luck and not by long hours of toil.

Conclusion to chapter 8.

Most recreational time in Corby was spent at home where it complemented the privatised and family-directed life styles which had developed in the community. Although a number of activities such as playing sport, bingo or visiting pubs took place outside the home, the number of people who took part in these activities was often small and the time spent upon them was also limited. The reasons for the domination of this home centred, recreational pattern were complex. In part, it reflected the success of many people in achieving the early stages of their material life project. They had well furnished, modern and comfortable homes, which offered an attractive basis for family life and recreational activity. As a result, many people found it more attractive and less expensive, to stay at home rather than to go out. This attitude was summed up by Mr. D. who said,

"An Englishman's home is his castle, and anyway I prefer to stay in and have a beer while I'm watching television. It's more comfortable and the conversation is better than in a Corby pub".

It was also evident that many people's recreational activities were also constrained by physical tiredness following work. As we have seen, many men worked long hours of overtime, and many of their wives had full or part time jobs, in addition to the burdens of their domestic routine. As a result, many men and women were often physically exhausted in the evening, and lacked the energy to go out. As Mrs. G, a housewife with two teenage sons who was working as a machinist in a local clothing factory told me,

"Most days all I feel like doing is coming home, having a little rest, doing a bit of housework, putting my feet up and watching a good television programme".

Many young couples also said that their recreational activities were

limited by the need to be continuously looking after young children, and that there was a lack of any relatives or friends who were willing to act as baby-sitters. In many cases, young women were particularly resentful that their children prevented them going out, while their husbands could still carry on their old habits. Mrs. T. a pretty young housewife with two young children said,

"It's all right for him (her husband), he sees his mates at work and he can still go out for a drink with his pals, but look at me, I'm stuck in these four walls all day and my mother won't help because she's at work all day as well".

Many people told me that they thought it was very expensive to take a family out to the theatre, Civic Centre or cinema. As we have seen the swimming pool was a popular place to visit with some families, because it offered a cheap source of entertainment, but many people would have liked the planners to have provided more cheap family entertainment. For example, Mrs. F., a young housewife with three children liked taking her youngsters to Wicksteeds Park in Kettering. Although this involved a fairly long, and for her expensive bus ride, she found the children loved the animals, railways, boating and games that they could play. She thought the same sort of thing should have been built in Corby, which had far more children than Kettering. As a result of this general lack of cheap family entertainment, many families found it less expensive to stay in the comfort of their modern and well-furnished homes and use the television and radio as their main source of entertainment. However, this predominantly home centred and physically passive pattern of entertainment may not remain a permanent feature of leisure life styles in Corby. As we have seen, most men and women worked long hours because they wanted to remove many of the traditional constraints which have burdened their domestic routines in the past, made their homes unattractive and limited

their personal communication and travel. It seems reasonable to suggest that once this project is achieved, then a material basis will have been established for the development of a more active and diversified pattern of outdoor recreation, in which the motor car will form the catalyst for a more individual and varied life style.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION - LEISURE IN A MODERN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY

In the last four chapters I examined some aspects of the complex interaction of the spheres of work, social, family, recreational and minor economic activity in a prosperous sector of modern industrial society. I suggested that this relationship generated a particular life style amongst all major social groups which is characteristically home centred and privatised and which falls into the polarity extrinsic sector of the model I developed at the end of chapter 2. In this final chapter I shall examine some of the limitations of my research, briefly discuss some of the main factors which have contributed to the growth of polarised and extrinsic life styles in Corby and conclude by briefly speculating about the potential contribution of this type of life style to the development of industrial society.

Section 1. The major limitations of the Corby inquiry.

A) The sociology of leisure is a new and relatively unexplored field and a leisure life style is a complex concept which systematically attempts to integrate many component factors. As a result of this situation a large part of my work has been exploratory and I have adopted a simple and largely descriptive analysis, which has attempted to sketch the main features of leisure life styles in a new industrial community. However, it would be fruitful to develop the model of leisure life styles into a more sophisticated framework which could be used to analyse the activities of a continuum of social or occupational groups. This could easily be achieved by converting the relatively crude measures of behaviour and values used in the above analysis into a series of standardised numerical values. In turn this structure might provide a suitable tool to investigate a number of popular

theories about the relationship between the spheres of work and leisure in modern society; for example, the most boring, repetitive and meaningless work routines are associated with either passive and privatised leisure patterns or with violent and explosive leisure patterns. For example, the most interesting, varied and meaningful work routines are associated with the most active, gregarious and sociable leisure patterns.

B) In this study I have largely confined my attention to one type of leisure activity namely that which takes place daily or at the week end and is carried out by adults. However, there are other important areas which this analysis largely ignores, these are as follows:

1 The leisure life styles of young adults.

I limited my investigation in Corby to a study of the life styles of men and women who were either married or over the age of 21 years. I did not study the leisure life styles of the young and unmarried adults who were either engaged in full or part time educational courses or who worked full time. This was because of two major factors. In the first place I worked at the local Technical College and although I constantly met young students I rarely met young men and women who worked a full five day week and did not attend day release courses. As a result I decided it would be extremely difficult for me to examine the leisure life styles of this group as an objective entity since it was extremely probable that my values would be subconsciously influenced by my daily contact with a small and unrepresentative sample of students. In the second place I assumed that many of the gregarious, socially and physically active leisure life styles of young men and women reflected a temporary stage of relative financial independence and mate seeking. It did not contain many of the constraints commonly

associated with married life. Although the bulk of my work in Corby tended to substantiate this view, in many ways the initial assumption was unwise since although individual patterns of behaviour may change with marriage it is also probable that the "teenage" period of prosperity¹ independence and social activity also coincides with a period when many young people are most isolated from the influence of their families,² and most receptive to the leisure oriented and materialist values found in modern advertising and entertainment. In turn as we have suggested many of these values tend to remain to influence the aims and goals which were pursued in later adult and married life.

2. Holidays in Corby

Holidays are also an important leisure activity in modern society and holiday industries and markets are an expanding sector of growth and employment. I did not examine holidays in any detail in my study of Corby and I have not referred to them in the bulk of the previous analysis. However, the evidence suggested that the holiday was becoming an important factor in the growth of a leisure oriented value system. In Corby, 15% of the men and 13.5% of the women in the sample mentioned that they would like to see an increase in the amount of holiday time available to them and in addition many women informed me that the family holiday expenditure was an important motivating factor in determining their return to the labour force.

-
1. Obviously prosperity is a relative term, in this context I am referring to the reported statements of many young men and women that they live at home and do not contribute to the full economic cost of their maintenance; as a result they have a considerable surplus income to spend on a series of expensive leisure goods.
 2. Many young men told me that they rarely had any extensive contact with their fathers in Corby. This was because the pattern of continuous shiftworking often resulted in their father being either engaged in working, sleeping or resting in the limited periods when the young day-working son was at home.

The questionnaire I used in the main survey contained one item, which asked people what sort of holidays they went on. The answers to this question, which are tabulated in table 9/1, illustrate that most people in the sample took one regular, annual holiday away from Corby. In addition 14% of the sample reported taking a second major holiday away from Corby, and in most cases this was usually spent with relatives who did not live in the Corby area.³

Table 9/1 The pattern of holiday making in Corby (a comparison of all men and women in manual and non-manual groups).

Type of holiday	Manual N=422 %	Non-manual N=95 %	Total N=517 %
1. Boarding houses and hotels	20	30	22
2. Holiday camps	9	7	8
3. Camping or caravanning	22	25	23
4. Visiting one's parents or relatives	32	24	31
5. Other types ⁴	6.	4	6
6. No holiday	10	9	10
Total	99	99	100

The above table also shows that there was little variation in the pattern of holidaymaking between either manual or non-manual groups, with the exception that a significantly greater number of non-manual workers and their wives reported spending their holidays at boarding houses or hotels.⁵

The type of holiday people took, varied more significantly with their level of personal family responsibility. An examination of Table 9/2 below illustrates that a significantly greater number of people without children holidayed in boarding houses or hotels.⁶ In contrast

3. As a result in table 9/1 and 9/2 N=517, since I have calculated this table from the total number of holidays taken.
4. Other holidays included holidays taken abroad, exchange holidays, holidays taken with school parties, holidays which used Corby as a centre for a series of day trips.
5. $X^2 = 4.3$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.85$, $df=1$.
6. $X^2 = 21.32$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

a significantly greater number of people with young children took camping and caravanning holidays.⁷

Table 9/2 The pattern of holiday making in Corby (a comparison of all people in the sample at different stages in their life cycle).

<u>Type of holiday</u>	<u>Life cycle stage</u>		
	No children N=47 %	Children 0-15 N=363 %	Children 15+ N=07 %
1. Boarding houses and hotels	45	17	29
2. Holiday camps	4	10	4
3. Camping or Caravanning	11	23	25
4. Visiting one's parents or relatives	25	33	25
5. Other types	4	5	11
6. No holiday	11	11	6
Total	100	99	100

However, the above table also shows that visiting one's family or relatives formed an equally popular holiday with people at all stages in their life cycle and there was little significant difference in the number of people at each life cycle stage who reported taking this type of holiday.⁸

The evidence suggests then that holidays were also an important leisure activity in Corby. The majority of men and women in the sample were prosperous enough to be able to afford at least one relatively expensive annual visit to a hotel, boarding house, holiday camp or camping and caravan site. Although a minority continued to spend their annual holiday with relatives and family in many cases this was not an opportunity for an inexpensive holiday but rather was the only opportunity in the year to visit often isolated communities in which one had been born and grown up. Although the widespread popularity of holidays in Corby reflects a growing prosperity it is also probable that it reflects the growing importance attached to a purely leisure

7. $X^2 = 16.5$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

8. $X^2 = 2.31$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

oriented activity which allows escape from the polarised and instrumental life styles which are a characteristic feature of daily routine.

3. Leisure and retired men and women

It was seen in chapter 3 that the numbers of retired men and women in the sample were too small to make any reliable analysis of their leisure life styles. However, I carried out a number of successful interviews with this group and although these may have been very unrepresentative they did suggest the following conclusions.

a) The social, family and recreational activity of this group remained home centred and largely physically inactive. The time spent in bed, resting, watching television and reading increased considerably on retirement. The rate of social activity also increases as attendance at day time Darby and Joan type clubs often replaces some of the time which was previously occupied by work. However, it was most difficult to estimate how far this type of participation remains an autonomous social activity and how far it is the result of stimulation by active social and welfare workers.

b) A large proportion of the men and women I interviewed were physically active. Although their social, recreation and family activities were no longer theoretically constrained by the demands of work they were severely limited by a lack of money. For example I rarely met men who reported visiting the local public house, rather they preferred to visit a local social and recreational club where entry is free and they may meet their friends and talk and play games without the imperative need to buy relatively expensive drinks.

c) Although some elderly couples had children living in the Corby area family visiting remained fairly formal and took the form of a once or twice weekly visit. It was only in a time of illness or crisis

when an additional supportive aid was needed that this formal pattern broke down and a closer less formal pattern was temporarily assumed.

C) The desirability of adopting a multidisciplinary approach to the study of leisure life styles.

The previous analysis of leisure life styles in Corby has been limited to an examination of behavioural and normative dimensions. However other dimensions are of equal importance and ideally I would like to see the adoption of an integrated, multidisciplinary approach which would include biological and psychological dimensions of leisure. A biologist might usefully be included in order to investigate the interaction of work and leisure routines upon the reservoirs of physical energy available in each sphere. A psychologist might usefully examine the associated problem of the "spillover" of the tensions and frustrations experienced at work into the realm of leisure.

D) The limitations associated with a study of one community.

This study is limited to an analysis of leisure life styles in a new and in many ways untypical community, for in many ways the majority of British industrial communities are very unlike Corby. However many of the characteristic features of Corby provided a prototype locale which lacked the structure, tradition or fabric to perpetuate long established and frequently poverty oriented life styles. It had few links with the culture of long established communities or the values of older generations. It had a history of continuous economic expansion which had produced a comparatively high level of prosperity among its citizens. As a result although Corby was not a representative British industrial community it provided an arena where I could examine a leisure life style which was probably least likely to be dominated by the influences of the past and was most likely to be receptive to

the materialist and media communicated values of modern industrial society. It represented in many ways a critical case study which is more typical of future than of the bulk of contemporary British industrial society.

Section 2. The uniformity of leisure life styles in Corby

The evidence reviewed in the previous chapters suggests that the leisure life styles which have developed in Corby can usefully be analysed in terms of the polarity-extrinsic model I developed at the conclusion to chapter 2. Although a number of important variations remain to distinguish different social categories and life cycle stages, these groups can be more usefully characterised by their growing similarities than by their remaining differences. A number of factors have contributed to this development, however it is probable that the following are of particular importance.

A) The homogenising effect of common daily regular work routines.

Leisure activities and values are of great importance in Corby. However the life styles of all groups are fragmented and compartmentalised by the daily pattern of industrial and commercial work. Although the amount of time spent at work varies with occupation, sex and life cycle stage, work remains the most time consuming daily activity of all groups. It delineates the major time distribution of leisure activities and it gives a common basic structure and uniformity to the life styles of all workers. It is only when work is removed as a regular feature of the daily routine that a significantly different pattern of time distribution and leisure activities are found.

The majority of men and women in Corby accept regular, daily wage work as inevitable and normal feature of their daily lives. The

proportion who aspire to escape from the routine of this type of work was very low and the majority did not have any desire to achieve even a measure of theoretical independence over their working activities and life styles. This general attitude was reflected in the pattern of answers to the following three questions which are tabulated in table 9/3 below.

1. "Have you ever thought of setting up your own business?"
2. "Have you ever taken any steps to set up your own business?"
3. "What sort of business did you think of?"

Only a minority of men and women (17%) reported that they had ever thought of establishing an independent business and a much smaller number (4%), reported that they had taken any steps to achieve these aims and aspirations. A significantly higher number of men than women,⁹ and a significantly higher number of men in non-manual than manual.¹⁰ occupations reported that they had thought of setting up their own business. It is probable that these differences in part reflect the different work patterns of the two sexes, men who spend a greater proportion of their working lives in regular and often monotonous industrial or commercial work may have more opportunity and a greater interest in dreaming of escape than women. The latter who spend less of their time in industrial and commercial work and more in household tasks and chores may have a greater variety of work available to them, they may also be more intimately aware of the limitations associated with the toil of their theoretically autonomous domestic routines.

9. $\chi^2 = 13.5$, for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

10. $\chi^2 = 3.91$, for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

Table 9/3 The pattern of response to the question "have you ever thought of setting up your own business?"

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Male N=189 %	Female N=175 %	Male N= 39 %	Female N= 39 %	
1. Had thought of establishing own business	21	10	36	10	17
2. Had not thought of establishing own business	79	90	64	90	83
Total	100	100	100	100	100

The situation in Corby contrasts markedly with that reported in E. Chinoy's study of American automobile workers (E. Chinoy, 1955), where one of the major dreams of most workers was the projected escape from the constraints of the industrial environment. However in Britain it is probable that the comparatively early and intensive process of industrialisation, and the absence of a large class of peasantry and small shopkeepers has limited the number of realistic alternative references which can be made to men and women in theoretically more autonomous and independent occupations. As a result there were very few people in Corby who mentioned they would like to set up business as a farmer or a small holder, market gardener or independent shopkeeper; the majority of references and aspirations were very practical and either involved an extension of one's own leisure activities¹¹ or an exploitation of personal skills and experiences.¹² However the majority of men and women in Corby had no desire to set up an independent business which, although it may give a relative degree of autonomy and independence, may also involve relatively long hours of work and relatively low returns. The majority of men and women in Corby accept that regular daily work is a constant feature of their daily lives.

The regular weekly wages and a modestly increasing level of family

11. For example setting up one's own boarding house, developing a camping site.

12. For example setting up business as a hairdresser, painter and decorator or jobbing builder.

prosperity is regarded as a more realistic means of achieving a series of leisure oriented values and goals than the hypothetical alternatives associated with self-employment.

B) The homogenising influence of a common and planned environment.

The process of converging life styles among both manual and non-manual groups in Corby is also stimulated by the presence of a number of physical factors which are also probably found in many other developing communities in Britain. In particular the following features seem to be of most importance.

1. Corby is a new and planned community which has developed in the last 35 years. It does not contain any areas which are a decaying legacy of an earlier period of industrial expansion. All social groups in Corby live in modern housing and can use a battery of commonly available service facilities. The great majority of men and women in the sample reported that they liked living in Corby and there was little significant variation in this pattern between manual and non-manual groups.¹³ (See table 9/4).

Table 9/4 The pattern of response to the question "Do you like living in Corby New Town ?"

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Male N=189	Female N=175	Male N=39	Female N=39	
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Like	61	70	56	70	65
2. Indifferent	29	17	31	20	24
3. Don't like	10	13	13	10	11
Total	100	100	100	100	100

2. The urban design of Corby has tended to stimulate the growth of a uniform, home centred and socially privatised life style. The post war decision to separate industrial and residential areas,¹⁴ provide a

13. $X^2 = 2.24$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 5.99$, $df=2$.

14. In the pre war stage of Corby's growth it was at first decided after consultation with the trade unions to build the residential area of Corby in relative close proximity to the large steel works.

series of planned social facilities and build large quasi neighbourhood estates with centrally located service facilities has produced an urban design which tends to inhibit the development of local communal solidarity and gregarious face to face relationships. Corby does not contain the network of small street corner shops and pubs which provide a focus for local social interaction in the older type of urban area. The standardisation of many housing units and the reported difficulty in securing adjacent units of accommodation for either younger children or more elderly relatives has hampered the attempts of many individuals to consolidate the territorial unity of the family. The concentration of planning priorities upon the establishment of prestige services such as libraries, churches, theatres and civic centres has resulted in the neglect of such popular social facilities as local dance and bingo halls, sports and gambling centres. As Mrs. Black a 60 year old lady who worked part time as an office cleaner in the steelworks said to me:

"No I don't like Corby, I came here from the Black Country 30 years ago and it hasn't changed much since then. All they have built is pubs and churches, there's still nowhere to go and nothing to do for the likes of us. The Civic Centre and all the rest of it is for the nobs not for us working people".

3. An examination of table 9/5 below illustrates that manual workers and their wives formed the major groups in each of the three estates I surveyed in Corby. Although there were also a small number of manual workers in each estate it is probable that there were not enough of them to dominate the pattern of services or the social life of a large neighbourhood area. As one surveyor's wife commented to me "Corby lacks a 'West End'; a distinctive area which is occupied predominantly by non-manual residents.¹⁵

15. The pre war decision of Stewarts and Lloyds to develop East Carlton park as a rural estate for its managerial and professional workers contributed greatly to this feature of Corby's development.

Table 9/5 The proportion of manual and non-manual respondents in the three estates I surveyed in Corby.

	Forest Gate N= 136 %	Beanfield West 1. N = 169 %	Lodge Park N = 137 %	Total N = 442 %
1. Manual	89	77	82	82
2. Non-manual	11	23	18	18
Total	100	100	100	100

However, it is probable that the general dispersal of manual and non-manual groups throughout the new community will not remain a permanent feature of social life in Corby. The evidence suggests that a process of differentiation in the pattern of settlement is occurring. The older Forest Gate area, which was completed in the 1930's and has a large number of lower rental houses and only a few private houses contains a significantly higher number of manual workers than was present in the remainder of the sample.¹⁶ The newer Beanfield West area which was completed in the 1960's, has a larger number of privately built houses and generally higher rentals and contains a significantly higher number of non-manual workers than was present in the sample as a whole.¹⁷

C) The homogenising influence of living in a mass consumption society

It is also probable that the growing uniformity of life styles in Corby is also a reflection of the economic structure of modern industrial society in which a large sector of production depends upon the expanding purchasing power of a mass domestic market. The ready availability of work in Corby has led to the concentration in the new community of men and women with high levels of material aspirations. They have often consciously or implicitly rejected the values and life styles found in

16. $\chi^2 = 3.84$, for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

17. $\chi^2 = 9.22$, for $p < .05$, $\chi^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

their former communities and their move to Corby has enabled both manual and non-manual groups to achieve a common series of possessions for individual and family use. However it is also probable that the move to Corby has weakened the individual's links with long established communities and with older members of their family,¹⁸ consequently the social fabric which traditionally transferred values from older to younger generations is largely absent and all groups in Corby are vulnerable to the common values found in mass advertising¹⁹ and in commercially organised entertainment. Both manual and non-manual groups are receptive to the values of an advanced society in which leisure activities are becoming an important element in life styles and in which an expanding mass leisure oriented market is becoming an important factor in maintaining economic stability and growth. It is probable that H. Marcuse was referring to a similar situation in North America when he suggested that leisure time not free time thrives in industrial society

"Since it is unfree to the extent to which it is administered by business and politics" (1968, p.53).

However it is also probable that the general dissemination of new consumption and leisure oriented values is also stimulated by the peculiar cultural tradition of Britain. The former domination of a work centred protestant ethic amongst many respectable sections of the

-
18. P. Laslett, (1965, pp.200-208), suggests that the most interesting discovery S. Rowntree ever made was that that everyone in the working class at some time in their lives had direct and personal experience of people living below the poverty level. As a result Laslett suggests the fear of poverty and insecurity was a deep and vital element in the character of the English working man.
19. E. J. Hobsbawm, (1969, p.321), suggests that modern advertisers are the most efficient mass ideologists since the decline of the churches.

population seriously weakened the British tradition of leisure and led Karl Mannheim to suggest that,

"The average citizen is unable to invent new uses for his leisure" (1945).

and J.L. Hammond to conclude

"That people in England have leisure without the tradition of leisure" (1948, p.19).

Although the development of a new and prosperous community at Corby has largely removed the social fabric or the economic conditions which helped to maintain a work centred value system, the evidence suggests that a different if less systematised series of values is gaining hegemony in Corby. A system in which work, frugality and the diligent development of spiritual aims is replaced by the pursuit of more material and leisure based goals.

Section 3. The future of leisure in industrial society

It is probable that the leisure oriented life styles which have developed in Corby are also found in many other modern industrial communities. The general prosperity of Corby has produced a life style which differs in many ways from that found in long established or less prosperous urban areas. Although it would be misleading to call the style of life I found in Corby bourgeois or middle class, it would be equally unwise to assume that it

". . . is rather the working family of the 1900's or 1920's or 1930's with something of the horror of poverty removed".
(P. Laslett, 1965, p.210).

Rather the evidence suggests that a number of larger changes have occurred.

1. The relative prosperity of modern industrial society, the growth of leisure and the ready availability of employment for both men and women has tended to produce an independent, autonomous and self reliant

conjugal family unit. It has weakened the emotional and financial dependence on neighbours and kin, and stimulated the growth of a home centred and privatised life style, in which leisure activities are highly valued and occupy large amounts of disposable time.

2. Prosperity has also provided the majority of families with the means to acquire a series of household and also leisure oriented goods which have diminished the constraining influence of domestic chores, widened opportunities for travel, and provided an increasingly attractive material background for the development of joint conjugal and home based leisure activities.

3. The social situation and prosperity found in many new communities has also made men and women vulnerable to the media communicated values of modern society which stress the central importance of achieving a series of material, leisure oriented goals which may provide the basis for a more individual life style, which may provide the sense of identity and purpose which is often lacking in the sphere of work.

As a result of these factors it is probable that the prevailing life styles in Corby do not represent a minor modification of an older tradition based on a cycle of poverty and a recognition of the central importance of work. Rather a different system has developed in which leisure based values, activities and consumption patterns motivate and paradoxically compensate the individual for the depravation he suffers in spending a considerable proportion of his daily time in unrewarding and often meaningless work.

It is also probable that the life styles which have developed in new communities such as Corby are also inherently less stable and have the potential for generating greater radical social change than was the

case with life styles found in many traditional and long established urban communities. It is reasonable to speculate that this change could occur in a number of different ways.

1. Industrial depression and social change.

The growth and development of prosperous new communities would be seriously affected by an economic depression of the type and scale which was experienced in the inter war years. It is reasonable to suggest that in Corby such a phenomena would cause relatively acute feelings of relative deprivation which would not be tempered by the presence of large numbers of people who had a personal experience of unemployment, poverty and sickness. It is reasonable to suppose that the younger men and women whose total life experiences had led them to reject traditional, poverty oriented values and assume a series of materialist leisure oriented aims would be most acutely affected.

2. A revolution of rising expectations and the demand for social change

The post war development of the domestic British market, the impact of mass advertising and the mass communications industry has stimulated the growth of values stressing the importance of achieving high and expanding material standards of living. In Corby such values often lead men to work long hours of overtime and encourage women to return to the industrial and commercial labour force in large numbers. It is probable that many men and women in Corby assume that the improvement in their levels of material well being which have occurred in the last 30 years will also increase in the future. It is possible to classify such assumptions and expectations into a series of leisure oriented goals which form separate if not mutually exclusive stages in an individual's life project. In the first stage the aim is to acquire relatively inexpensive articles of clothing, private luxuries and personal transport. In the second stage the aim is to remove many of the

traditional constraints of domestic routine and chores and to make the home an attractive venue for a series of family oriented leisure activities. In the third stage aims centre around the acquisition of a more elaborate private house and a motor vehicle. In the fourth stage the aims become more fragmented and centre on the development of a series of expensive individual and family directed activities such as camping, caravanning and foreign holidays. Although the majority of men and women are engaged in stages 1 and 2 of this life project their material aspirations are also high. It is probable that if they raced ahead of economic growth and the capacity of industry to meet them, levels of individual frustration would increase as would support for more radical alternative social policies.

3. The growth of a mass interest in developing public recreational facilities.

The dominant leisure life style in Corby is a sharp contrast with the pattern reported in many long established industrial communities where recreational patterns are more rigidly role segregated and men spend a large proportion of their time outside their home. The prevalence of home centred and family directed life styles in Corby may be a temporary phenomena which reflects the new found comforts of a modern and prosperous household, the cheapness of much home and family based entertainment and the lack of alternative recreational facilities. The pattern of answers to the question,

"If you had another 2 hours spare time a day, how would you spend it ?"

suggested that the majority of the sample had few aspirations to pursue a different or more active pattern of activity. The majority of answers stressed the importance of spending more time reading, resting doing hobbies or jobs around the home or just being with the family. There was little significant variation in this pattern between men and

women²⁰ or between manual and non-manual groups.²¹ However although the majority of answers reflected generally physically inactive and home centred recreational aspirations, an important minority stressed their potential interest in developing more specialised and outdoor activities such as gardening, camping, walking, playing sport and going to the cinema and theatre. Men were more significantly interested in active outdoor recreational pursuits than women,²² and a significantly higher number of men in manual occupations were more interested in this type of active leisure than those in non-manual occupations.²³

Table 9/6 The pattern of aspirations for spare time in Corby

	Manual		Non-manual		Total N=442 %
	Male N=189 %	Female N=175 %	Male N=39 %	Female N=39 %	
1. Work	2	5	-	3	3
2. Social activity	2	2	3	8	5
3. Home centred/family	47	46	72	67	51
4. Active outdoor	36	19	15	15	25
5. No answer	14	22	10	8	16
Total	101	100	100	101	100

It is probable that if the level of material prosperity in Corby increases and the base for a more independent and individual life style is generally achieved then future life projects in Corby will increasingly concern themselves with the development of a more varied and active pattern of outdoor recreation. John Goldthorpe, et al (1969, p.193) has suggested that this type of aspiration is more likely to be blocked in a society whose institutions are more efficiently geared to producing private affluence and prosperity than to organising equal opportunities for individual growth and fulfilment. It is

20. $X^2 = 1.0$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

21. $X^2 = 2.03$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

22. $X^2 = 10.9$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

23. $X^2 = 5.82$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

interesting to note in this context that even in a relatively modern and planned community such as Corby with many modern recreational facilities²⁴ and easy access to the countryside, that one quarter of the sample stated that their aspirations involved a growth in pressure on publicly provided recreational facilities. It is reasonable to suggest that in many older urban areas the potential demand for improvement in this type of facility is even greater.

Conclusion

In this final chapter I have examined some of the factors which have contributed to the growing uniformity of life styles in Corby. I have suggested that a new type of mass leisure is developing in which work is distinctly separated in terms of location and personnel from the remainder of a home and family centred life; in which leisure activities of different occupational groups and life cycle stages may be more usefully characterised by their similarities than their remaining differences. However it is also possible that this growing uniformity of life styles may provide the objective basis for the growth of a new type of social consciousness which will supersede parochial and traditional subjective concepts of class and status. I have speculated that this leisure life style may also contain elements which will lead to a growing mass demand for more radical social change. It is however equally possible that this leisure style will form the social basis for a political development which will reflect the gradual

24. Including : 1 theatre, 1 public baths, 1 cinema, 1 tenpin bowling rink. Large public open spaces, public parks, sports fields and a public golf course.

change in the social basis of modern industrial societies.

"I seek to trace the novel features under which despotism may appear in the world. The first thing that strikes the observations is an innumerable multitude of men, all equal and alike, incessantly endeavouring to procure the petty and paltry pleasures with which they glut their lives. Each of them living apart, is a stranger to the fate of all the rest; his children and his private friends constitute to him the whole of mankind". (A. De Tacqueville, 1951).

Appendix 1. Section 1 - The introductory letter to the initial field survey

Corby Technical College,
George Street,
Corby.

Social Survey of Corby New Town

Dear Sir and Madam,

The Sociology Department of the University of Keele in collaboration with the Social Studies Department of the Technical College are conducting a Social Survey of Corby New Town. We would be glad of your assistance in this matter.

The object of the Survey is to study the various aspects of community life, work, leisure and family pursuits in the New Town in order that we may gain more knowledge of what living in a New Town means to its citizens.

An interviewer will be calling on you in the next few days and we would be grateful if you could agree to help us in this survey. The information we are seeking is of a simple kind and will not call for any specialised knowledge. This is an independent survey, it has no connection with the Development Corporation, the Government or the Council; and everything you say will of course be treated in the strictest confidence.

Yours faithfully,

A. W. Bacon (Survey Organiser)

Appendix 1. Section 2 - The leisure recording scheduleSECTION A - Time chart of last week's activities

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
9-10							
10-11							
11-12							
2- 3							
3- 4							
4- 5							
6- 7							
7- 8							
8- 9							
9-10							
10-11							
11-12							

Additional Notes

Sunday.....

Monday.....

Tuesday.....

Wednesday.....

Thursday.....

Friday.....

Saturday.....

SECTION B - Additional information

1. Sex
2. How old are you ?
3. How old were you when you left school ?
4. Do you own your own house ?
5. What job do you do ?
6. Do you work shifts ?
7. How long have you lived in Corby ?
8. How do you like living in Corby ? Do you like it : Very much
just like it
indifferent
don't like it
don't like it at all
9. Have you any children ?

10. How many children have you got ?

How old are they ?

11. Do you own a motor car ?

12. Do you have a television in the house ?

13. Have you done any dressmaking or knitting in the last six months ?

14. Have you done any do-it-yourself activity in the last six months ?
like decorating the house or making furniture ?

15. Do you think your life in Corby could be improved by more shops ?

16. Do you think your life in Corby could be improved by more
evening classes ?

17. Do you think your life in Corby could be improved by a modern
sports stadium and sports facilities ?

18. Do you think your life in Corby could be improved by better
public transport provision?

19. Do you think your life in Corby could be improved by better
provision for youth ?

Additional Notes

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

Appendix 2. - Leisure in a New Community: a summary of the main features of the initial survey carried out in 1966-1967.

This summary is based upon the initial survey which I conducted in Corby during the period of October 1966 to April 1967, when I successfully interviewed 385 adults out of a total random sample of 239 households. The interview took the form of a partly guided discussion, in which work and leisure were recalled in the week prior to my visit. The leisure activities were then classified into the 36 major groups (listed in chapter 3, section 1), and coded according to type of activity which dominated each hourly unit of time in seven successive days, between the hours of 9 a.m.-12 noon and 6-11 p.m.¹

The pattern of work in Corby

The study showed that although industrial societies are becoming increasingly preoccupied with the problem of leisure, work and work-allied obligations remained the dominant feature of the daily routine of the majority of men and women.

Work effectively divided the individual's time into two sectors. These two sectors were, the time spent at work and in work-allied obligations, and secondly the time spent outside the constraints of the work situation.

The men in Corby worked, including overtime, an average of 48 hours a week, whilst working women spent an average 29 hours a week at work. Male non-manual workers spent slightly less time at work, an average of only 44 hours a week, compared to their manual counterparts, who spent 48 hours at work per week. Men tended to work longer hours when they were newly married and establishing their homes, or when their children

1. I did not include biological activities such as sleeping, eating or washing, since an earlier pilot survey indicated that these activities usually took place in extended form outside these periods of time. They seldom intruded into, or dominated the periods of time that I investigated. However, if the working day extended outside the above time limits, then I added it to my basic calculations.

were young and the family was dependent on the man's income alone. Men's hours of work declined from this peak as family responsibilities diminished, and as their wives resumed full, or part time occupations.

The Home-centred society

Although Corby remained a society dominated by work, men and women also had a considerable amount of time each day at their disposal, which was not filled with work or work-allied obligations, or by the biological necessities of everyday existence. In the case of men, this disposable time averaged 46 hours, and in the case of women 64 hours per week. The most striking feature about the use of time in Corby, was the amount spent in the ambit of the home. Indeed this was very much a home-centred society, where the majority of leisure time was spent at home, in the conjugal family unit. Men, however, and particularly non-manual workers, tended to spend slightly more time outside the home than women. This time was spent watching sport, walking, or visiting public houses or social clubs.

Table A/2/1 The proportion of leisure time spent in home and non-home oriented activities.

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Men n=167	Women N=162	Men N=29	Women N=27	
Hours of leisure	7,676hrs.	10,495hrs.	1,254hrs.	1,771,hrs.	21,196hrs.
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Home oriented leisure time	77	82	69	79	79
2. Non-home oriented leisure time	23	18	31	21	21
Total	100	100	100	100	100

There was however a bigger difference in the location of leisure activity at different life cycle stages. Young married men and women who did not have the commitments of infant families, spent more of their leisure time outside their homes, visiting friends or other members of their families, motoring for pleasure, going to cinemas, public houses

and so on. These activities seemed to reflect the waning influence of gregarious and effervescent behaviour connected with teenage and pre-marriage leisure cultures. This intrinsically youthful pattern of activity did not however provide viable modes or traditions of extra-mural activity which could be incorporated into the leisure patterns of the remaining life cycle stages; rather the commitment of growing families brought a dramatic reorientation of leisure life styles towards an essentially home-based and domestic pattern of activity, which tended to be characteristic of all the succeeding stages of adult married life. The only dramatic changes in this prevailing pattern came with the onset of retirement, when it is probable that a combination of diminishing income and the physical processes of ageing produced a reduction in the more expensive leisure activities, such as visiting public houses or motoring for pleasure.

The presence of home-centred leisure styles amongst the life cycle stages of all social groups, with the exception of the newly married and aged, was also repeated when I analysed the major component elements which made up a total leisure life style. For the purpose of this more detailed analysis I classified non-working activities according to their primary function, into four major categories, which are listed below:

1. Minor economic activities, for example housework or household maintenance.
2. Social activities and obligations, for example visiting the church.
3. Family duties and obligations, for example visiting parents.
4. Recreational and cultural activities, for example, reading or visiting the cinema.

Minor Economic activities

It was possible upon the basis of this scheme, to divide the weekly recorded pattern of behaviour into time spent at work and in work-allied

obligations, and into time spent in other leisure activities. This analysis is given in Table A/2/2 below, and shows that a considerable amount of non-working time was occupied in activities of a minor economic nature, which were mainly concerned with the daily necessities of existence. In the case of men, these activities occupied on average, 10% of their time, and in the case of women as much as a third of their time. The proportion of time occupied with minor economic activities differed little between the social classes or life cycle stages with the two exceptions, that women with infant children spent more time on household chores and less time out at work, and secondly, that the domestic activity of men increased once they were retired. It is probable that in the latter case this was partly a replacing of one type of activity with another, because retired men have more time available to help with domestic chores. Although the pattern of women's minor economic activity followed a fairly constant routine of housework, domestic maintenance and shopping at all the life cycle stages, men's activity differed considerably. Men tended to be most active in helping with the routine of domestic chores when they had young children, or when they had retired from work. Men were most active in 'do-it-Yourself' maintenance tasks in the home in their earlier adult lives. Often, such tasks as decorating, making furniture or altering the structure of the home provided the focus of a considerable amount of joint conjugal and family co-operation. In contrast, older men spent far more time in gardening or engaging in shopping expeditions with their wives.

Table A/2/2 A classification of the proportion of time spent in working and leisure activities

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Men N=167	Women N=162	Men N=29	Women N=27	
Hours of work & leisure	15,374	12,925	2,487	2,179	32,965
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Work and work obligations	50	19	50	19	35
2. Minor economic activity	10	35	10	34	21
3. Social obligations	5	6	5	9	5
4. Family obligations	2	5	2	4	4
5. Recreational and cultural activity	33	36	33	34	35
Total	100	100	101	100	100

Social Activity

By comparison with the large amounts of time spent in home-based and family-centred minor economic activities, the amount of time spent by both manual and non-manual groups, in social interaction outside the ambit of the home, was very limited indeed. It was possible to discern three distinctive though not always mutually exclusive patterns of social behaviour in Corby. A large amount of social activity consisted of visits to large organisations, such as churches and social and recreational clubs, a more limited amount was in essence an extended interaction of a number of small home-based nuclear family groupings, and took the form of an exchange of visits within a narrow circle of neighbours and friends, while only a small amount of social interaction consisted of participation in local voluntary organisations, institutions and societies. The latter form of interaction required a high degree of individual enthusiasm, involvement and commitment. As a result, although Corby possessed a large number of organisations and societies, these usually consisted of small face to face groups of activists, and their existence did not reflect a high general level of social participation in the institutions of the local community. The proportion of individual time allocated to all types of social activity remained fairly constant at all stages of the life cycle, although there

were some interesting variations in particular forms of social interaction. Participation in sports and membership of the appropriate sports clubs was primarily the domain of the young adult male with few family responsibilities. The numerous small organisations and societies in Corby tended to be more heavily patronised by those who had fewer family commitments, because their children had either grown up or left home. The comparatively high rate of church attendance reflected the presence of an active Roman Catholic minority, for whom weekly attendance at mass, at least in theory, and often in practice was an obligatory part of church membership. Participation in religious activity tended to reach its peak when people had families of young children, and were busily engaged in socialising them into the traditional values and beliefs of the church.

The social and recreational clubs were also a popular institution and participation in them remained constant at all stages of the life cycle, and did not virtually cease at retirement, as in the case of public house visiting. These clubs were local, attractive and inexpensive places of entertainment, which offered facilities not only for men, but often for the whole family group.

Table A/2/3 The degree of participation of men and women in social activity and obligations in Corby

	Manual		Non-manual		Total N=385
	Men N=167	Women N=162	Men N=29	Women N=27	
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Playing sport	7	2	14	7	6
2. Sports clubs	1	2	14	6	2
3. Social and recreational clubs	28	18	31	22	23
4. Youth and welfare work	2	1	3	-	2
5. Church & church societies	20	31	34	44	29
6. Organisations & societies	8	17	17	18	13
7. Visiting friends	26	31	34	59	31
8. Visited by friends	10	31	14	48	22

Despite the popularity of churches, clubs and organisations, social activity in Corby was essentially a marginal sphere, which occupied only

a small amount of time and involved a limited amount of interaction outside the home. This circumscribed pattern was in some measure a reflection of the new found attractiveness of family life in a well planned home and environment. Indeed a considerable amount of social activity in local trade union branches, social clubs and church organisations, was either an extension of this home-based life style, or tended to complement and consolidate it.

A similar pattern of weak, secondary attachments characterised social interaction with parents and relatives. Half of the sample reported that they visited parents relatives or children in the week prior to the survey. However, this visit was usually a formal one extending over two or three hours and usually including a meal. The former close, customary informal daily interaction of kindred which is reported in traditional or long established communities was not found in Corby.² There was little difference in this pattern of visiting between manual or non-manual groups, although women, and particularly the wives of manual workers, were more active than men and spent a higher proportion of their disposable time establishing or maintaining family links. Women were particularly active in family visiting when they had families of young children, or when they were responsible for the welfare of aged parents or other relatives who lived in the area. However, only a small number of the sample lived in the immediate vicinity of their kin, and only a minority of these had recreated a cohesive extended family structure, which has been reported in studies of long established areas. In contrast, the majority of families in Corby tended to maintain formal and far weaker links with their kindred,

2. For example, those reported by :
 (N. Dennis, F.M. Henriques, C. Slaughter, 1956).
 (M. Young, P. Willmott, 1957)
 (R. Hoggart, 1957).
 (J. Klein, 1965).

and exchanged semi-obligatory twice monthly or weekly visits with their parents, children or other relatives.

Recreational and cultural activity within the home

The limited amount of time spent in social or family activities resulted in the respondents having about one third of their disposable time available for cultural and recreational activities. These were characterised frequently but not entirely by elements of play in which the individual could create his own temporary arena of unreality, and retreat from the commitments of daily economic, social and family obligations. The proportion of available time occupied by recreational activities was slightly less for men than for women. However, there was little difference in the proportion available to manual and non-manual groups (see table A/2/2), or to those at successive life cycle stages, with the obvious exception that retired men and women had more unobligated time available to them anyway.

The majority of cultural and recreational activity in Corby was home-based, and was dominated by the mass media; by newspapers, radio, and television. Television viewing formed the major recreational activity, and occupied an average of 18 hours per week. There was little variation in the rate of participation or the amounts of time spent watching television, amongst the different social classes, or life cycle stages, with the exception of a few newly married couples, who did not view television regularly, since they did not possess a set, whilst retired people tended to spend much more time watching television.

The television was also used as a visual backcloth for a number of other activities, such as knitting, or playing with the children. However, since this type of viewing was of a secondary nature, which

did not dominate a period of time completely, it was not included in the above analysis. Consequently, the above estimate of time spent watching television, considerably underestimates the total individual exposure to this medium.

This investigation of leisure was not specifically designed to examine attitudes to particular activities, but even so, the interviews gave the impression that television viewing was popular because it provided a cheap accessible and attractive source of entertainment, which was home-based, and featured programmes that appealed to the whole family group. Television, therefore, acted as a potent force in reducing family tensions, and consolidating the strength unity and cohesion of the nuclear family group.

Table A/2/4 The degree of participation of men and women in home-centred cultural and recreational activities in Corby.

	Manual		Non-manual		Total N=385 %
	Men N=167 %	Women N=162 %	Men N=29 %	Women N=27 %	
1. Listening to radio	14	7	14	14	12
2. Watching television	98	100	96	93	98
3. Hobbies and crafts	13	53	14	59	33
4. Indoor games	12	12	7	18	11
5. Resting	63	49	38	26	52
6. Reading	65	48	86	74	60

By comparison with television, radio occupied a less important place as a primary activity in the recreational pattern of manual and non-manual groups in Corby. However, the radio was still popular, especially amongst women, as a secondary source of entertainment which provided a background to other activities, and in particular the housework. Radio listening retained its importance as a primary source of recreational activity only for a comparatively small number of respondents particularly housebound mothers with young children, and the elderly and retired.

Although television and radio tended to dominate a considerable proportion of the recreational activity of all groups in Corby, reading also remained an important activity. Only a minority of the sample reported reading books or making regular trips to the library though. The majority of the reading done took the form of a casual examination of newspapers and magazines; it did not require a high level of concentration, and did not consequently isolate the individual from other members of his family. Indeed, the daily routine of casual reading often stimulated group interaction, by providing a series of topics and references for the family debate and discussion. The pattern of reading in Corby, tended to vary more with social class and life cycle stage than did many other leisure activities. The non-manual group, contained a far higher proportion of men and women, who reported that they usually spent part of their recreational time reading books, magazines and newspapers than the manual group. Older people reported that they spent more time reading than did any other group.

By comparison with the amount of time spent in physically inactive recreational pursuits, such as listening to the radio, watching television or reading, the amount of participation in more physically active forms of recreation was very limited. Indoor games were not popular except among parents who had young children to entertain or educate. Hobbies and crafts were also a minority male activity, although they were much more popular with women. Only a few men engaged in such non-utilitarian hobbies such as model-making, animal breeding, furniture restoration and various forms of collecting. Men were most active in pursuing these hobbies when they were first married or had families of young children. It is probable that this popularity in part complemented the interests of the children and was in part a spillover from the

husband's own childhood and teenage interests and activities. Men's interests and participation in hobbies declined dramatically in later life, but by comparison, the proportion of women engaging in hobbies was much the higher and the hobby remained a typical female activity at all ages. However, it was often extremely difficult to differentiate such female hobbies as dressmaking, knitting, lampshade making and rug making from either their utilitarian function in contributing to the family's welfare, from the ancient tradition that women's hands must constantly be busy, and that idleness is tantamount to sinfulness.³

Although it is probable that many women occupied themselves with hobbies and crafts in order to escape idleness and inactivity, many men and women also reported that they usually spent part of their time in complete rest and repose, from the constraints of the everyday world. There was a considerable variation in this pattern of inactivity; men spent more time resting than women and male manual workers spent more time resting than any other group. It is probable that these variations reflect in part the longer and often more physically tiring day of manual workers, and in part the greater amount of time spent reading by the non-manual workers. The amount of time spent resting increased gradually with successive life cycle stages, although on retirement there was a very large increase in the amount of time spent resting by both men and women.

Recreational and Cultural activities outside the home

The most popular cultural and recreational activities outside the home included bingo playing, watching sport and visiting public houses; only a minority of people visited the library or went walking or motoring for pleasure. (See table A/2/5 below).

3. This point was made by C.M. Arensberg and S.T. Kimall, 1940.

Table A/2/5 The degree of participation of men and women in non-home centred recreational and cultural activities.

	Manual		Non-manual		Total N=385 %
	Men N=167 %	Women N=162 %	Men N=29 %	Women N=27 %	
1. Walking for pleasure	10	4	7	7	10
2. Motoring for pleasure	11	9	10	4	10
3. Playing bingo	6	14	3	14	10
4. Cinema visiting	5	4	7	4	5
5. Dancing	5	5	-	7	5
6. Library	11	9	14	15	10
7. Theatre	1	1	-	4	1
8. Public house	36	15	46	15	26
9. Betting	2	1	10	-	2
10. watching sport	15	4	7	-	9

The library was used more intensively by non-manual than by manual respondents. However, the generally low rate of participation reflected the quality and pattern of reading characteristic of most men and women in Corby. Although the majority of the sample owned or had access to a motor vehicle, motoring for pleasure remained a minority activity during the mainly winter months when the survey was undertaken.

Cinema and theatre going was also a minority activity, reflecting a specialised interest, and undoubtedly influenced by the lack of a permanent theatre company in the town, and by the competing attractions of television which offered a convenient and alternative source of entertainment, without the costs involved in a family outing to the theatre or cinema.⁴

By comparison with the low rates of cinema and theatre admission in Corby, the public houses remained popular gathering places. There was little difference between the social classes in visiting public houses, but there was however a bigger difference between the sexes. Men were more frequent visitors than women, and the Corby public house remained very much a male dominated institution. Only a minority of

4. Since the completion of the survey an attempt was made to establish a regular theatre company in Corby. This venture was not successful and has since ceased to operate.

men visited public houses regularly on a daily basis, the majority tended to visit them once or twice weekly and usually remained there, on average, from one to two hours. Thus, although the public house did not complement family-centred life styles, it did not provide a serious or conflicting alternative, rather it offered a short period of stimulation and compensation from the constraints of work and family. The pattern of public house visiting tended to vary considerably with life cycle stage. Young married men and women with few family responsibilities made the most visits, and the attendance of the woman declined sharply with the growth of their families, though there was a slight rise once their children had grown up. In contrast, the men's rates of visiting did not decrease so dramatically with the onset of family responsibility, rather there was a general reduction of activity at each successive life cycle stage until regular public house visiting virtually ceased, on retirement.

The search for stimulus and compensation associated with public house visiting is also reflected in the popularity of gambling in Corby. Betting on all forms of sport was very popular with men, although in terms of time consumption it remained a secondary activity, and did not dominate the men's disposable time, except in a few cases of extended visits to betting shops. Many men were reticent to disclose details of their gambling activities, especially when they were interviewed in the company of their wives. It is probable that this secretiveness in part reflects the lingering impact of the protestant ethic, which viewed as suspect, all forms of activity seeking to increase personal wealth by fate or chance, rather than by work.⁵

5. It is also probable that the former illegality of much local and work-based gambling reinforces the reticent attitude of many men.

Bingo was also a popular activity in Corby, and it was the favourite game of chance amongst women, although a number of men accompanied their wives to the game.⁶ There was little difference between the proportion of manual and non-manual women who played bingo, there was a greater difference at each life cycle stage; women were particularly active in the middle years, when their children were no longer infants and when they had often resumed full or part time occupations. However, although bingo was popular in Corby, it remained the activity of the minority, and it usually occupied only a relatively short period of time outside the home, and it did not seriously conflict with the prevailing home-based family-directed life styles of the majority of women.

Conclusion

The results of this initial investigation suggested that manual and non-manual leisure life styles were converging in Corby. The most important differentiating factors were no longer those of status or social class, but were intergenerational and were associated with family responsibilities and with life cycle stage. As a result it was only possible to see a distinct leisure style at the beginning and end of the adult life cycle. The intervening period of activity was increasingly characterised by a growing uniformity in the disposal of non-working time and of the resulting leisure styles.

It is probable that this growing uniformity of leisure styles in Corby, reflected the impact of a combination of factors which were also found in many new expanding and prosperous industrial communities. The high level of material consumption and affluence amongst all social

6. R. Frankenberg in his book *Communities in Britain* (1966) makes the point that bingo is one of the few ways in which women can participate in the gambling activities of men.

groups, and the absence of a large number of old people had largely eliminated references to traditional working class or respectable lower middle class life styles associated with cultures of poverty and scarcity.⁷ It has made all social groups of young people receptive to the uniform values images and life styles which are transmitted by radio, television and the printed word.

However, the trend towards a uniform, socially isolated home-centred leisure style was also encouraged by the physical design of Corby. The structure of the town and its physical layout was based upon a series of quasi-neighbourhood units with centrally situated service areas. The pre-war and post-war generation of town planners often implicitly assumed that neighbourhood units would encourage social interaction and generate a strong community spirit, by replicating the physical structure of a rural village.⁸ However, this idealised concept was not based upon any systematic examination of leisure life styles in industrial society. As a result the planning of many post war estates, overspill developments and new towns has accentuated the trend towards social isolation and a home-centred society; it removed the physical structure which was an essential base for the development of communal solidarity and gregarious face to face relationships. The abandonment of local corner shops and public houses, and the concentration of service facilities in a central area, has eliminated the focus for local interaction. The standardisation of housing units, and the lack of adjacent smaller available units of accommodation has

7. For example the life styles reported by R. Hoggart, 1958
N. Dennis et al. 1956, R. Seabrook, 1967.

8. See in particular the following works which incorporate these assumptions:
C. Perry, 1929, The Neighbourhood Unit
Greater London Plan, 1944
New Towns Report, 1952.
Corby Master Plan, 1952.

often hampered the attempts of many families to consolidate the territorial unity of their kindred; the concentration of planning priorities upon the provision of churches, civic and community centres, libraries, theatres and adult educational premises has often resulted in a relative neglect of the provision of such popular leisure facilities as modern cinemas, dance and bingo halls and local gambling and sporting centres.

In this summary I have examined only two aspects of leisure in a new town. The evidence suggested that a new type of mass leisure was emerging in which work was distinctly separated in terms of personnel and location from the remainder of a home-centred and family-oriented life; in which the leisure styles of the different social classes and adult life cycle stages may be more usefully characterised by their similarities than their remaining differences. It is possible that this growing uniformity of life styles, may provide the objective basis for the growth of a new type of social consciousness, which will supersede parochial and traditional subjective concepts of class and status.⁹ It is equally possible that this leisure style will form the social basis for a political development which will reflect the gradually weakening basis of the social fabric of advanced industrial society.

9. P. Anderson and R. Blackburneds (Towards Socialism, 1965).
J. Goldthorpe et al 1969 (2).

Appendix 3 - An analysis of the results of the initial survey carried out in 1966 and 1967

Introduction

In the following three sections I have included a series of tables which illustrate how leisure time was spent and which leisure activities were the most popular in Corby.

In the first section I examine how much time was spent at work and also in the various social, family, recreational and minor economic activities which fuse together to produce a total leisure life style.

In the second section I examine how much leisure time was spent at home and how much leisure time was spent outside the home.

In the third section I examine rates of participation in a variety of leisure activities; under each table I include a figure which shows the average amount of time participants spent in each one of these activities.

Classification

In all of the following three sections I have compared the leisure activities of men who worked in manual and non-manual occupations. I have also compared the leisure activities of their wives. For the purpose of this analysis I have followed the system of classification used in The Registrar General's Classification of Occupation (1966).

In the first two sections I have also compared the amount of time people at various stages in the life cycle, spend in different types of leisure activities. For the purpose of this analysis, I have used the following system of classification, which is based upon people's differing levels of family responsibility.

The system of classification used in the analysis of life cycle stages.

Stage A. Single men and women who were heads of their household, but were unmarried.

- Stage B. Married men and women with no children.
 Stage C. Married men and women with families in which the youngest child was under five years old.
 Stage D. Married men and women with families in which the youngest child was between five and fifteen years old.
 Stage E. Married men and women with families in which the youngest child was over fifteen years but under twenty years old.
 Stage F. Married men and women whose children are all over twenty years old.
 Stage G. Married men and women who are retired.

Section 1. An analysis of time spent at work and in social, family, recreational and minor economic activity.

For the purpose of this analysis I have adopted the following system of classification.

1. Recreational Activities
 - Listening to the radio
 - Watching television
 - Hobbies and crafts
 - Indoor games
 - Resting
 - Reading
 - Walking/Cycling
 - Motoring/Camping
 - Bingo
 - Cinema
 - Theatre
 - Library
 - Visiting public houses
 - Visiting betting shops
 - Watching sport
2. Minor Economic Activities
 - Shopping
 - Going to evening classes
 - Studying at home
 - Gardening
 - Letter writing
 - Do-it-Yourself
 - Household chores/housework
3. Family Activities
 - Visiting other members of one's family
 - Being visited by members of one's family
4. Social Activities
 - Playing sport
 - Visiting sports clubs
 - Visiting Social and recreational clubs
 - Doing welfare or youth work
 - Attending voluntary organisations and societies
 - Going to church and taking part in other church directed social activities.
 - Visiting friends
 - Being visited by friends
5. Work (Domestic work for women is classified as a household chore or as housework).

Table A/3/1 Hours spent at work, and in all other minor economic recreational, family and social activities (a comparison of all men and women in the sample).

	Men N=17,861 hrs.	Women N=15,104 hrs.	Total N=32,965 hrs.
	%	%	%
1. Work	50	19	35
2. Minor Economic Activity	10	35	21
3. Recreational Activity	33	35	35
4. Social Activity	5	6	5
5. Family Activity	2	5	4
	100	100	100

Table A/3/2 Hours spent at work, and in all other minor economic, recreational, family and social activities (a comparison of men working in manual and non-manual occupations).

	Manual N=15,374hrs. %	Non-manual N=2,487hrs. %	Total N=17,861hrs. %
1. Work	50	50	50
2. Minor Economic Activity	10	10	10
3. Recreational Activity	33	32	33
4. Social Activity	5	6	5
5. Family Activity	2	2	2
Total	100	100	100

Table A/3/3 Hours spent at work, and in all other minor economic, recreational, family and social activities; men who worked in manual occupations and their life cycle stage.

	Life Cycle Stage						
	A N=384 %	B N=1532 %	C N=3516 %	D N=4044 %	E N=1485 %	F N=3859 %	G N=534 %
1. Work	47	51	51	52	51	50	-
2. Minor Economic	11	9	9	8	8	10	22
3. Recreational	36	31	32	33	37	33	62
4. Social	4	6	4	5	3	3	12
5. Family	2	3	3	2	1	4	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table A/3/4 Hours spent at work, and in all other minor economic, recreational, family and social activities; men who worked in non-manual occupations and their life cycle stage.

	Life Cycle Stage						
	A N = 0 %	B N=635 %	C N = 155 %	D N=875 %	E N=358 %	F N=332 %	G N=132 %
1. Work	-	55	58	49	51	49	14
2. Minor Economic	-	4	17	13	10	5	15
3. Recreational	-	33	13	30	33	35	55
4. Social	-	6	3	6	3	11	6
5. Family	-	2	9	2	3	-	10
Total	-	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table A/3/5 Hours spent at work in all other minor economic, recreational family and social activities (a comparison of the wives of men working in manual and non-manual occupations).

	Manual N=12,925, hrs. %	Non-manual N=2,179 hrs. %	Total N=15,104 hrs. %
1. Work	19	19	19
2. Minor Economic Activity	35	34	35
3. Recreational Activity	36	34	35
4. Social Activity	5	9	6
5. Family Activity	5	4	5
Total	100	100	100

Table A/3/6 Hours spent at work and in all other minor economic, recreational, family and social activities. The wives of men who worked in manual occupations and their life cycle stage.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
	N=86	N=1393	N=2988	N=3332	N=1604	N=3047	N = 475
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Work	47	32	5	26	29	15	-
2. Minor Economic	7	25	48	32	31	34	28
3. Recreational	41	28	35	33	34n	39	69
4. Social	5	8	5	6	3	5	2
5. Family	-	7	7	3	3	7	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table A/3/7 Hours spent at work and in all other minor economic, recreational family and social activity. The wives of men who worked in non-manual occupations and their life cycle stage.

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
	N=0	N=165	N=552	N=908	N=152	N=328	N=74
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Work	-	44	12	26	-	9	-
2. Minor Economic	-	22	43	31	43	35	30
3. Recreational	-	20	34	33	40	36	50
4. Social	-	4	7	6	12	17	15
5. Family	-	10	4	4	5	3	4
Total	-	100	100	100	100	100	100

Section 2. An analysis of the time people spent at home and in non-home directed activities.

For the purpose of this analysis I adopted the following system of classification.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. <u>At Home</u>
 Studying at home
 Gardening
 Letter writing
 Do-ti-Yourself activity
 Listening to the radio
 Watching television
 Hobbies and crafts
 Indoor games
 Resting
 Reading
 Visiting friends
 Being visited by friends
 Housework (Women)
 Household chores (Men)</p> | <p>2. <u>Outside the home</u>
 Shopping
 Evening Classes
 Walking and cycling
 Motoring and camping
 Playing bingo
 Visiting the cinema
 Dancing
 Theatres and concerts
 Visiting the library
 Visiting Public Houses
 Visiting betting shops
 Watching sport
 Playing sport
 Visiting Social and Recreational clubs.
 Doing welfare and youth work
 Attending voluntary organisations and societies.
 Going to church and taking part in other church directed activities.
 Visiting friends
 Being visited by friends.</p> |
|--|--|

Table A/3/13 Hours spent in home and in non-home directed activities and the life cycle stages of the wives of men who worked in non-manual occupations

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
	N=0	N=93	N=484	N=668	N=152	N=298	N=76
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1. Home directed	-	64	82	78	83	74	79
2. Non-home directed	-	36	18	22	17	26	21
Total	-	100	100	100	100	100	100

Section 3. An analysis of rates of participation in a variety of different leisure activities

Table A/3/14 Rates of participation in housework, a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Men	Wives	Men	Wives	
	N=167	N=162	N=29	N=27	N=385
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Did housework	36	100	52	100	68
2. Did not do housework	64	-	48	-	32
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent doing housework by each participant = 17.3 hours.

Table A/3/15 Rates of participation in shopping; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives.

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Men	Wives	Men	Wives	
	N=167	N=162	N=29	N=27	N=385
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Went shopping	46	95	52	100	71
2. Did not go shopping	54	5	48	-	29
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent shopping by each participant = 3.75 hours.

Table A/3/16 Rates of participation in evening classes; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives.

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Men	Wives	Men	Wives	
	N=167	N=162	N=29	N=27	N=385
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Went to evening classes	4	3	4	-	3.0
2. Did not go to evening classes	96	97	96	100	97.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent at evening classes by each participant = 3.6 hrs.

Table A/3/17 Rates of participation in studying; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives.

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Men	Wives	Men	Wives	
	N=167	N=162	N=29	N=27	N=385
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Spent time studying	2	1	7	-	2
2. Did not study	98	99	93	100	98
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent studying by each participant = 3.4 hours.

Table A/3/18 Rates of participation in gardening; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives.

	Manual		Non-manual		Total N=385
	Men	Wives	Men	Wives	
	N=167	N=162	N=29	N=27	
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Spent time gardening	29	5	32	9	17
2. Did not garden	71	95	68	91	83
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent gardening by each participant = 4.9 hours.

Table A/3/19 Rates of participation in letter writing; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives.

	Manual		Non-manual		Total N=385
	Men	Wives	Men	Wives	
	N=167	N=162	N=29	N=27	
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Wrote letters	6	16	10	15	11
2. Did not write letters	94	84	90	85	89
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent letter writing by each participant = 1.3 hours.

Table A/3/20 Rates of participation in Do-it-Yourself activities; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives.

	Manual		Non-manual		Total N=385
	Men	Wives	Men	Wives	
	N=167	N=162	N=29	N=27	
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Did, Do-it-Yourself	40	18	55	9	30
2. Didn't, Do-it-Yourself	60	82	45	91	70
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent in do-it-yourself activities by each participant = 4.8 hours.

Table A/3/21 Rates of participation in listening to the radio; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives

	Manual		Non-manual		Total N=385
	Men	Wives	Men	Wives	
	N=167	N=162	N=29	N=27	
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Listened to radio	14	7	14	18	12
2. Didn't listen to radio	86	93	86	82	88
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent listening to the radio by each participant = 3.4 hrs.

Table A/3/22 Rates of participation in watching television; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives.

	Manual		Non-manual		Total N=385
	Men	Wives	Men	Wives	
	N=167	N=162	N=29	N=27	
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Watched television	98	100	96	93	98
2. Didn't watch television	2	-	4	7	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent watching television by each participant = 17.75 hrs.

Table A/3/23 Rates of participation in hobbies and crafts; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives.

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Men N=167	Wives N=162	Men N=29	Wives N=27	
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Did hobbies and crafts	13	53	14	59	33
2. Didn't have hobbies and crafts	87	47	86	41	67
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent doing hobbies and crafts by each participant = 5.2 hrs.

Table A/3/24 Rates of participation in indoor games, a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives.

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Men N=167	Wives N=162	Men N=29	Wives N=27	
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Played indoor games	11	12	7	18	11
2. Didn't play indoor games	89	88	93	82	89
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent in playing indoor games by each participant = 3.23 hours.

Table A/3/25 Rates of participation in resting; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives.

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Men N=167	Wives N=162	Men N=29	Wives N=27	
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Rested	62	49	38	26	52
2. Didn't rest	38	51	62	74	48
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent in resting by each participant = 5.3 hours.

Table A/3/26 Rates of participation in reading; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives.

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Men N=167	Wives N=162	Men N=29	Wives N=27	
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Did read	65	48	86	74	60
2. Didn't read	35	52	14	26	40
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent reading by each participant = 5.15 hours.

Table A/3/27 Rates of participation in walking; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives.

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Men N=167	Wives N=162	Men N=29	Wives N=27	
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Walked	10	4	7	7	7
2. Didn't walk	90	96	93	93	93
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent in walking by each participant = 4 hours.

Table A/3/28 Rates of participation in motoring; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives.

	Manual		Non-manual		Total N=385
	Men N=167	Wives N=162	Men N=29	Wives N=27	
	%	%	%	%	
1. Went motoring	11	9	10	4	10
2. Didn't motor	89	91	90	96	90
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent motoring by each participant = 3 hours.

Table A/3/29 Rates of participation in bingo; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives.

	Manual		Non-manual		Total N=385
	Men N=167	Wives N=162	Men N=29	Wives N=27	
	%	%	%	%	
1. Played bingo	6	14	3	15	10
2. Didn't play bingo	94	86	97	85	90
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent in playing bingo by each participant = 3.7 hours.

Table A/3/30 Rates of participation in visiting the cinema; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives.

	Manual		Non-manual		Total N=385
	Men N=167	Wives N=162	Men N=29	Wives N=27	
	%	%	%	%	
1. Visited cinema	5	4	7	4	5
2. Didn't visit cinema	95	96	93	96	95
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent visiting the cinema by each participant = 3.6 hrs.

Table A/3/31 Rates of participation in dancing; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives.

	Manual		Non-manual		Total N=385
	Men N=167	Wives N=162	Men N=29	Wives N=27	
	%	%	%	%	
1. Went dancing	5	5	-	7	5
2. Didn't dance	95	95	100	93	95
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent in going dancing, by each participant = 4.8 hours.

Table A/3/32 Rates of participation in visiting the library; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives.

	Manual		Non-manual		Total N=385
	Men N=167	Wives N=162	Men N=29	Wives N=27	
	%	%	%	%	
1. Visited library	11	9	14	15	10
2. Didn't visit library	89	91	86	85	90
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent visiting the library by each participant = 1.22 hrs.

Table A/3/33 Rates of participation in visiting public houses; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers

	Manual		Non-manual		Total N=385
	Men	Wives	Men	Wives	
	N=167	N=162	N=29	N=27	
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Visited pubs.	36	15	46	15	26
2. Didn't visit pubs	64	85	54	85	74
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent visiting public houses by each participant = 4.9 hrs.

Table A/3/34 Rates of participation in betting; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives.

	Manual		Non-manual		Total N=385
	Men	Wives	Men	Wives	
	N=167	N=162	N=29	N=27	
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Betted	2	1	10	-	2
2. Didn't bet	98	99	90	100	98
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent in betting by each participant = 2.1 hours.

Table A/3/35 Rates of participation in watching sport; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives.

	Manual		Non-manual		Total N=385
	Men	Wives	Men	Wives	
	N=167	N=162	N=29	N=27	
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Watched sport	15	4	7	-	9
2. Didn't watch sport	85	96	93	100	91
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent in watching sport by each participant = 2.97 hrs.

Table A/3/36 Rates of participation in playing sport; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives.

	Manual		Non-manual		Total N=385
	Men	Wives	Men	Wives	
	N=167	N=162	N=29	N=27	
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Played sport	7	2	14	7	6
2. Didn't play sport	93	98	86	93	94
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent in playing sport by each participant = 3.9 hours.

Table A/3/37 Rates of participation in sports clubs; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives.

	Manual		Non-manual		Total N=385
	Men	Wives	Men	Wives	
	N=167	N=162	N=29	N=27	
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Visited sports clubs	1	2	14	4	2
2. Didn't visit sports clubs	99	98	86	96	98
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent in visiting sports clubs by each participant = 3.8 hrs.

Table A/3/38 Rates of participation in social clubs; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives.

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Men N=167	Women N=162	Men N=29	Women N=27	
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Visited social clubs	28	18	31	22	23
2. Didn't visit social clubs	72	82	69	78	77
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent visiting social clubs by each participant = 5.1 hrs.

Table A/3/39 Rates of participation in welfare and youth work; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Men N=167	Wives N=162	Men N=29	Wives N=27	
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Did welfare and youth work	2	1	3	-	2
2. Didn't do welfare & youth work	98	99	97	100	98
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent in welfare and youth work by each participant = 4 hrs.

Table A/3/40 Rates of participation in theatre going; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives.

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Men N=167	Wives N=162	Men N=29	Wives N=27	
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Visited Theatre	1	1	-	4	1
2. Didn't visit theatre	99	99	100	96	99
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent in theatre going by each participant = 3.25 hrs.

Table A/3/41 Rates of participation in organisations and societies; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Men N=167	Wives N=162	Men N=29	Wives N=27	
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Visited organisations and societies	8	17	17	18	13
2. Didn't visit organisations and societies	92	83	83	82	87
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent in visiting organisations and societies by each participant = 3.4 hours.

Table A/3/42 Rates of participation in church and church-oriented activities; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives.

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Men N=167	Wives N=162	Men N=29	Wives N=27	
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Visited church or church-oriented activities	20	31	34	44	29
2. Didn't visit church or church-oriented activities	80	69	66	56	71

Table A/3/42 (cont)

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Men	Wives	Men	Wives	
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent visiting church or church-oriented activities by each participant = 2.12 hours.

Table A/3/43 Rates of participation in visiting friends; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Men	Wives	Men	Wives	
	N=167	N=162	N=29	N=27	N=385
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Visited friends	26	31	34	59	31
2. Didn't visit friends	74	69	66	41	69
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent in visiting friends by each participant = 3.8 hrs.

Table A/3/44 Rates of participation in being visited by friends; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives.

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Men	Wives	Men	Wives	
	N=167	N=162	N=29	N=27	N=385
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Visited by friends	10	31	14	48	22
2. Not visited by friends	90	69	86	52	78
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent being visited by friends by each participant = 3.4 hrs.

Table A/3/45 Rates of participation in being visited by the family; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Men	Wives	Men	Wives	
	N=167	N=162	N=29	N=27	N=385
1. Visited by family	22	38	17	37	30
2. Not visited by family	78	62	83	63	70
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent in being visited by the family by each participant = 4.04 hours.

Table A/3/46 Rates of participation in visiting the family; a comparison of manual and non-manual workers and their wives.

	Manual		Non-manual		Total
	Men	Wives	Men	Wives	
	N=167	N=162	N=29	N=27	N=385
	%	%	%	%	%
1. Visited the family	40	52	38	52	46
2. Didn't visit the family	60	48	62	48	54
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Average time spent visiting the family by each participant = 4 hours.

Appendix 4. Section 1. Introductory letter for the main survey of 1969

Corby Technical College,
George Street,
Corby.

Social Survey of Corby New Town

Dear Sir and Madam,

The Sociology Department of the University of Keele in collaboration with the Social Studies Department of the Technical College are conducting a Social Survey of Corby New Town. We would be glad of your assistance in this matter.

The object of the Survey is to study the various aspects of community life, work, leisure and family pursuits in the New Town in order that we may gain more knowledge of what living in a New Town means to its citizens.

An interviewer will be calling on you in the next few days and we would be grateful if you could agree to help us in this survey. The information we are seeking is of a simple kind and will not call for any specialised knowledge. This is an independent Survey, it has no connection with the Development Corporation, the Government or the Council; and everything you say will of course be treated in the strictest confidence.

Yours faithfully,

A. W. Bacon (Survey Organiser)

Appendix 4. Section 2. The questionnaire used in the main survey of 1969

University of Keele and Corby Technical College

Strictly Confidential

Survey of Leisure and Work

1969

Thank you for your co-operation in this survey which is being carried out by the Social Studies Department of the above college in co-operation with the Department of Sociology of the University of Keele. This is a completely independent survey and it has no connection with the government, Council or Development Corporation.

It is hoped that the results of this survey will be of use for future generations of architects, town planners and sociologists who will have the job of designing New Towns of the future.

The survey is asking a number of people in Corby their opinions of work, leisure, play and life in general. Your name was chosen purely at random, (rather like taking a name out of a hat) from the electoral list for Corby.

We would like your help in this survey by filling in pages two to eight. Most of the questions can be answered simply by entering a tick in a box which is at the side of the question.

For example Question A. Do you have a Yes No
pet animal ?

This question can be answered simply by placing a tick in either the Yes or the No box.

A few questions have no boxes and these can be most simply answered by writing in the space provided.

For example Question B. What do you think of Public Transport in
Corby ?... *It's... quite... good... for....*
..... *me*.....

The interviewer will leave this form with you and he will call back in the next few days or when it is convenient to collect it. Don't hesitate to ask for his help and advice if there is anything you do not understand.

A. W. Bacon (Survey Organizer)

Corby New Town

Do you like living in Corby New Town ?

- Like very much
- Like
- Indifferent
- Don't like
- Don't like at all

1

How long have you lived in Corby New Town ?

- Under 1 year
- 1 to 2 years
- 3 to 5 years
- 6 to 9 years
- Over 10 years

2

Have you found Corby to be,

- A very friendly town
- A friendly town
- Neither friendly nor unfriendly
- Unfriendly
- Very unfriendly

3

Were you born in Corby ? Yes No

4

If the answer is No, What part of the country did you live in before you moved to Corby ?.....5

If the answer is No, why did you wish to move to Corby ?

- To join my family
- To get a house
- To find work
- Because of the attraction of living in a New Town
- Because of the wish to leave the old area.

6

What was your previous job before you decided to move to Corby ?

7

Looking ahead to the next ten years, what improvements would you most like to see happen in Corby ?.....

8

Family Life in Corby

1. Parents (only answer this question if your parents are still alive)

Do your parents live in Corby or in the surrounding district ? Yes

No

How many times a year do you visit or are you visited by your parents ?

1. Twice a day
2. Once a day
3. Twice a week
4. Once a week
5. Once a month
6. Once a year
7. Never

9

2. Relatives

Do you have any relatives living in Corby or in the surrounding district ?

(Count brothers, sisters, aunts, uncles, and grown up children as relatives).

Yes No

10

How many times a year do you visit or are you visited by your relatives ?

1. Twice a day
2. Once a day
3. Twice a week
4. Once a week
5. Once a month
6. Once a year
7. Never

11

Who would you say apart from your husband, wife and children are the one main group of people you spend most time with

1. My parents
2. Sisters and brothers
3. Other relatives
4. Friends from work
5. Other friends
6. Nobody in particular
7. No one.

12

Present and future patterns of living in Corby

Which of the following goods do you own, hope to own in 2 years time or hope to own in the future.

	Own	Hope to own in 2 years	Hope to own in the future	
A Record player	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	13
A Refrigerator	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	14
A Washing machine	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	15
A Car	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	16
A House of your own	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	17
A Caravan	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	18
A Telephone	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	19
A Second Car	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	20

Looking ahead to the next ten years, what improvements in your way of life would you most hope for yourself and your family in Corby..... 21

Have you ever thought of setting up your own business Yes 22
 No

If the answer is yes, have you ever taken any steps to set up your own business ? Yes 23
 No

If the answer is yes, what sort of business did you think of setting up..... 24

Do you have a regular annual holiday away from Corby (count regular as once a year or more) Yes 25
 No

If the answer is yes, which of the following sorts of holidays do you usually take ?

1. Visiting parents	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Visiting other relatives	<input type="checkbox"/>
3. Staying at Boarding Houses or hotels	<input type="checkbox"/>
4. Visiting a holiday camp	<input type="checkbox"/>
5. Having a camping/caravan holiday.	<input type="checkbox"/>
6. Other sorts of holidays.	<input type="checkbox"/>

26

If other sorts of holidays, please say what sort.....

Leisure and spare time in Corby

Are you a member of any club, society or organisation in Corby ?

Yes
 No

27

If the answer is yes, indicate below the groups you belong to and also show how often you attend.

	Member only	Regular Attender	Office Holder	
Religious organisations (like the church)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	28
Social and Recreational (like the Band Club)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	29
Union organisations (like the A.E.U.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	30
Cultural Organisations (like the history society)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	31
Political organisations (like the Labour party)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	32

How many hours a day do you usually spend on the following ?

	Never	Under 1 Hour	1 to 3 Hours	4 or more Hours	
Shopping	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	33
Radio	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	34
Television	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	35
Reading	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	36
Hobbies and crafts	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	37
Resting	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	38

How many times a week do you usually do the following ?

	Never	Under 1 Hour	1 to 3 Hours	4 or more Hours	
Visiting pubs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	39
Bingo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	40
Cinema	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	41
Car trips for pleasure	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	42
Visiting the Library	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	43
Visiting Social Clubs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	44

If you had an extra two hours spare time a day, how would you like to spend it ?.....

45

.....

General Life in Corby

Most people in Corby have to make a general choice about their family, future, children, etc., Against each of the following questions mark

1. In the box against your first choice
2. In the box against your second choice
3. In the box against your third choice.

The most important things I do in Corby are connected with

My family

My work

Other things

46

When I am usually worried in Corby it is usually about

My family

My job

Other things

47

The most pleasant things I do in Corby are connected with

My work

My spare time

My family and
home life

48

My best hopes for my children would be for them to have

An interesting job

A happy and good family life

A full and varied leisure

49

The most interesting things I do in Corby are connected with

My spare time

My work

My family

50

When I look forward to the future in Corby I mainly think about

My home and family

My job

My other interests

51

Work in Corby - Ladies only

Are you a housewife ? Yes No 52

Do you have 1. A part time job Yes No

2. A full time job Yes No

If you have a part time or a full time job, please answer the following questions about your work in Corby

Do you work shifts Yes No 55

If the answer is yes, how do you feel about shiftwork ?

1. Like very much 56

2. Like

3. Indifferent

4. Don't like

5. Don't like at all

Some people are free to do the job in their own way and at their own rate; in your work do you have

1. Complete freedom 57

2. Some freedom

3. No freedom

Some people find their work interesting all the time, others find their work most boring. Do you find your work

1. Interesting all the time

2. Interesting nearly all the time 58

3. Interesting some of the time there are dull patches

4. Dull nearly all the time

5. Completely dull and boring.

Does your work in Corby use

1. All of your abilities 59

2. Some of your abilities

3. None of your abilities

Can you do your job and keep your mind on other things Yes 60

No

Ladies Work (continued)

Which of the following improvements would you most like to see happen in your own occupations ?

- 1. Better working conditions
- 2. A shorter working week
- 3. An increase in pay
- 4. Longer holidays
- 5. More interesting and varied sorts of work

61

How many hours do you usually put in at your present main job in a week ?

- 1. Under 10 hours
- 2. 11 to 20 hours
- 3. 21 to 29 hours
- 4. 30 to 39 hours
- 5. 40 to 44 hours
- 6. 45 to 49 hours
- 7. 50 to 54 hours
- 8. 55 to 59 hours
- 9. Over 60 hours.

62

Ladies often have lots of reasons for taking up part time or full time jobs. What would you say are your main reasons for taking a job.....

65

.....

Work in Corby - Men only

What is your present job ?..... 53

Would you say your job is

Skilled

Semi-skilled

Unskilled

54

Do you work shifts ?

Yes

No

55

If the answer is Yes, how do you feel about shiftwork ?

1. Like very much

2. Like

3. Indifferent

4. Don't like

5. Don't like at all.

56

Some people are free to do the job in their own way and at their own rate. In your work do you have

1. Complete freedom

2. Some freedom

3. No freedom

57

Some people find their work interesting all the time, others find their work most boring. Do you find your work

1. Interesting all the time

2. Interesting nearly all the time

3. Interesting some of the time there are some dull patches

4. Dull nearly all the time

5. Completely dull and boring.

58

Does your work use

1. All of your abilities

2. Some of your abilities

3. None of your abilities

59

Can you do your job and at the same time keep your mind on other things ?

Yes

No

60

Male Work (continued)

Which of the following improvements would you most like to see happen in your own occupation ?

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Better working conditions | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. A shorter working week | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. An increase in pay | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. Longer holidays | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. More varied and interesting work. | <input type="checkbox"/> |

61

How many hours do you usually put in at your present main job in a week ?

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Under 10 hours | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. 11 to 20 hours | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. 21 to 29 hours | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. 30 to 39 hours | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. 40 to 44 hours | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. 45 to 49 hours | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. 50 to 54 hours | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. 55 to 59 hours | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9. Over 60 hours | <input type="checkbox"/> |

62

In addition to your main employment, do you regularly take on any other paid work in Corby ? Yes No

63

If the answer is yes, roughly how many hours of extra work did you do per week in the last year ?

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. under 2 hours | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. 2 to 6 hours | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. 7 to 11 hours | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. Over 12 hours. | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Summing up, what would you say is the main reason why you stay in your present job in Corby ?

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. The freedom it gives | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. The security of the job | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. The interest of the work | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. The wages or the pay | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. The lack of alternative work. | <input type="checkbox"/> |

64

Personal Details

We would like to ask you a few questions about yourself, so that when we sort the answers to the questions about Corby we can put these answers into different groups. For example these who are married and those who are not.

Have you any children Yes No 66

If the answer is yes indicate below the number and age of your children

1. <u>5 years or under</u>	2. <u>5 to 15 years</u>	3. <u>15 to 20 years</u>	
None <input type="checkbox"/>	None <input type="checkbox"/>	None <input type="checkbox"/>	67
1 child <input type="checkbox"/>	1 child <input type="checkbox"/>	1 child <input type="checkbox"/>	68
2 children <input type="checkbox"/>	2 children <input type="checkbox"/>	2 children <input type="checkbox"/>	
3 children <input type="checkbox"/>	3 children <input type="checkbox"/>	3 children <input type="checkbox"/>	69
4 children <input type="checkbox"/>	4 children <input type="checkbox"/>	4 children <input type="checkbox"/>	
5 or more children <input type="checkbox"/>	5 or more children <input type="checkbox"/>	5 or more children <input type="checkbox"/>	

How old were you when you left school or college ? 70

1. Under 15
2. 16 to 18
3. Over 19.

Please tick the box against the figure which roughly represents your total joint family income. 71

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Under £10 <input type="checkbox"/> | £21 to £24 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| £11 to £14 <input type="checkbox"/> | £25 to £29 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| £15 to £17 <input type="checkbox"/> | £30 to £34 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| £18 to £20 <input type="checkbox"/> | £35 to £40 <input type="checkbox"/> |
| | Over £41 <input type="checkbox"/> |

What is your age group ?

1. 20 to 29 72
2. 30 to 39
3. 40 to 49
4. 50 to 59 73
5. 60 to 64
6. Over 65 74

75

76

77

78

79

Appendix 5. A comparison of some representative factors which were common to the initial survey of 1966/67 and the main survey of 1969.

In the following analysis I have compared a number of representative factors which were common to the surveys I conducted in 1966/67 and 1969. This comparison does not attempt to be exhaustive because the data from an intensive interview, which was designed to record people's previous weekly activities, and the data from a frequency type questionnaire, which were filled in by the respondents themselves, was naturally very different.

As a result, I have only compared such items as age, material possessions, occupation, sex and life cycle stage, which are directly comparable. I have omitted to compare data, which refers to either attitudes or patterns of behaviour, this is because this data from the two surveys was not so directly comparable. However, in spite of this, much of the evidence I review in chapters 6, 7 and 8 suggests that the patterns of work, social and recreational activity in the two surveys was in fact very similar.

The following comparison illustrates that in many ways the two samples produced data which was very similar, for example there was little significant difference in the number of men and women I interviewed in each survey. There was also little significant difference between the two surveys in the number of men who reported working in either manual or non-manual occupations or in the number of their wives who went to work. There was also little significant difference between the two surveys in the number of people who were owner occupiers of their own house or who reported running motor vehicles.

In contrast, there was a more significant difference between the two surveys, in the number of people in different age groups and life

cycle stages. This was because of the following reason, when I compared the results of the initial 1966/67 survey with the 1966 Sample Census Report for Corby, I found that my sample underestimated the number of young adults in Corby and overestimated the number of older people in the town, (see Table A/5/3 below). As a result, I attempted to correct this imbalance and in the 1969 survey, I supplemented the original two wards I examined in the original survey, with a third newly built area. This strategy resolved the above difficulty and as a result the age distribution in the 1969 sample was similar to that reported in the 1966 Sample Census. It was, however, naturally significantly different from the survey I conducted during 1966 and 1967.

Table A/5/1 The proportion of men working in manual and non-manual occupations (a comparison of the initial and the main survey)

<u>Type of occupation</u>	<u>1966/67 Survey</u>	<u>1969 Survey</u>
	N=196	N=228
	%	%
1. Manual	85	83
2 Non-manual	15	17
Total	100	100

The above table illustrates that there was no significant difference between the two surveys in the number of men who reported working in either manual or non-manual occupations.¹

Table A/5/2 The proportion of men and women in the sample (a comparison of the initial and the main survey).

Sex	<u>1966/67 Survey</u>	<u>1969 Survey</u>
	N=385	N=442
	%	%
1. Men	51	52
2. Women	49	48
Total	100	100

The above table illustrates that there was no significant difference between the two surveys in the number of men or women who were successfully interviewed.²

-
1. $X^2 = 0.16$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.
 2. $X^2 = 0.04$, for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

Table A/5/3 The proportion of women who went to work (a comparison of the initial survey and the main survey).

<u>Type of work</u>	<u>1966/67 survey</u> N=189	<u>1969 Survey</u> N=214
	%	%
1. Housewife full time	52	58
2. Housewife with a full or part time job	48	42
Total	100	100

The above table illustrates that there was no significant difference between the two surveys in the number of women who were either housewives, or who went out to work in full or part time jobs.³

Table A/5/4 The proportion of people who owned their own houses (a comparison of the initial and the main survey).

	<u>1966/67 survey</u> N=385	<u>1969 survey</u> N=442
	%	%
1. People who were owner occupiers	17	13
2. People who rented their houses	83	87
Total	100	100

The above table illustrates that there was no significant difference between the two surveys in the number of people who reported they were either owner occupier or renting their homes.⁴

Table A/5/5 The proportion of people who owned motor vehicles (a comparison of the initial and main survey).

	<u>1966/67 survey</u> N=385	<u>1969 survey</u> N=442
	%	%
1. People who didn't own cars	43	40
2. People who owned cars	57	60
Total	100	100

The above table illustrates that there was no significant difference between the two surveys in the number of people who reported they owned a motor vehicle.⁵

3. $X^2 = 1.70$; for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

4. $X^2 = 2.20$; for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

5. $X^2 = 0.61$; for $p < .05$, $X^2 = 3.84$, $df=1$.

Table A/5/6 The proportion of people in different age groups (a comparison of the initial and main survey and also of the 1966 sample census).

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>1966 Sample Census</u>	<u>1966/67 Survey</u>	<u>1969 Survey</u>
	N=14,08 %	N=385 %	N=470 %
1. 17-20	-	-	-
2. 21-29	26	14	21
3. 30-39	25	24	32
4. 40-49	22	23	25
5. 50-59	16	26	14
6. 60-64	5	6	5
7. 65 +	5	6	2
Total	100	100	100

The above table illustrates that there was a significant difference between the two surveys in the number of people in each of the above age groups.⁶ The initial survey contained a higher proportion of people in the age group 50-59 years and also of retired men and women. In contrast the main survey contained a higher proportion of people in the age group 20-29 and 30-39, it contained a lower proportion of older and retired people.

Table A/5/7 The proportion of people at different stages of their life cycle (a comparison of the initial and the main survey).

<u>Life cycle stage</u>	<u>1966/67 Survey</u>	<u>1969 Survey</u>
	N=368 %	N=442 %
1. No children	11	10
2. Children 0-15 years	53	67
3. Children over 15 years	36	23
Total	100	100

The above table illustrates that there was a significant difference between the two surveys in the number of people at each life cycle stage.⁷ The main survey had a larger proportion of people with young families, in contrast the initial survey contained a larger proportion of people with grown up families. It is probable that these differences are closely associated with the different age distributions in each sample.

6. $X^2=24.69$; for $p < .05$, $X^2= 12.59$, $df=6$.

7. $X^2= 15.19$; for $p < .05$, $X^2= 5.99$, $df=2$. (In this calculation and in Table A/5/7 above, I have omitted the retired group. This was because I did not include this group in the main analysis and I wanted to see if there was a significant difference between the two samples if this group was omitted).

Appendix 6. Method used to select the sample in the 1966/67 and 1969 surveys.

It was seen in chapter 2 that in modern industrial societies, a large amount of leisure time is spent at home, and that much of this time is spent in either joint conjugal, or family directed activities. Because of this, I wanted to interview a sample of husbands together with their wives, and if possible, I wanted to interview couples together in their homes and to discuss with them their previous weeks' activities.

In order to draw up a sample for this purpose, I could not use normal procedure and draw a random selection of men and women from a general frame such as the electoral register. This was because this procedure would produce a sample composed of individuals whereas I required a sample composed of couples. Therefore I decided to adopt the following procedure.

1. I selected people at random from the current electoral register.
2. I interviewed the male or female head of household, together with the individual's spouse if he/she existed. I defined a separate household as a different address on the electoral register.
3. If the person I selected at random was not the head of the household or the spouse either, (but say the eldest son or perhaps a lodger), then I proceeded to substitute in place of them, the actual head of the household and spouse.

This method had some obvious weaknesses, as it tended to produce only a quasi random sample in that it over-represented households in which large numbers of adults lived and it under-represented households in which only couples or single people lived. However, as housing in Corby was readily available, few families needed to share houses and as

a result, I decided that this strategy would not lead to an unrepresentative sample. This decision was substantiated by my fieldwork experience, in which I found that very few houses did have large numbers of adults living in them, and that most were only occupied by a husband and wife, although a number were occupied by single people, and therefore these may be under-represented in the sample.

However, this approach also had a number of advantages. The joint approach to husband and wife often reduced the number of refusals, particularly amongst men, who were often cajoled by their wives to take part in a general discussion with me. It also reduced my costs because it was cheaper in terms of time and travel expenses to call on one household instead of two. As a result the sample size was bigger and the refusal rate was lower than it would have been, had I decided to draw a strictly random sample, whilst one of the major points of my research, that is, conducting a joint interview, would also have been frustrated.

These two factors probably contributed to the representative nature of the sample information, when I compared it with the known facts about Corby, which were reported in the 1961 Census, and in the 1966 Sample Census (see chapter 3).

Initial Survey 1966/67

I fixed the sample size for the first survey at 480 persons or approximately 240 households. This seemed to me to be the optimum number of houses which I could reasonably be expected to call at and conduct what promised to be a fairly intensive series of interviews.¹ For reasons already explained in chapter 3, I decided to concentrate my initial investigation upon Lodge Park and Forest Gate wards of the town.

1. I calculated that I would be able to contact ten households per week for 24 weeks.

In 1966 the number of adults upon the electoral register for these wards was 5,809. Since the unit of choice for selection of the sample was to be the individual name upon the electoral register, together with the name of the spouse if he/she existed, then the desired sampling fraction for a quasi random sample of this nature was $\frac{5809}{240} = 24$. I then chose the random number 7 from the Table of Random Numbers and drew names from the register using the following sequence, 7 31 55. This gave me a grand total of 239 households, 125 in Forest Gate, and 114 in Lodge Park. The response rates for these two wards were as follows,

	No. of Households	% Success	% Refusal	% Non-contact
Forest Gate	125	76	12	12
Lodge Park	114	88	4	8
Total	239	82	8	10

Main Survey 1969

I found the above method of drawing a sample so simple, and the result so representative, when compared with the report of the 1966 Sample Census, that I decided to employ it again in the main survey which I conducted in 1969. In this case, although a study of husband and wife was not strictly necessary, I found the joint approach facilitated the completion of a long and complex questionnaire. It also cut my personal costs, and allowed me to attempt a larger survey than would otherwise have been possible.

In 1969, the number of people on the electoral registers for the Lodge Park, Forest Gate and Beanfield West 1 wards was 8,560. In view of the need to facilitate a reliable in-sample comparison of different groups, and because of the relatively small amount of fieldwork which this survey demanded, I decided to increase the number

in my sample to 680 persons or approximately 340 households.² As a result the desired sampling fraction for a quasi random sample of this nature was fixed at $\frac{8560}{340} = 25$.

I then chose the random number 9 from the Table of Random Numbers, and drew the names from the register in the following sequence, 9 33 58. This gave me a grand total of 338 households, 120 in Beanfield West 1, 106 in Lodge Park, and 112 in the Forst Gate area. The response rate for these three wards was as follows,

	No. of Households	% Success	%Refusal	% Non-contact
Beanfield West	120	75	20	5
Lodge Park	106	73	25	2
Forest Gate	112	79	27	3
Total	338	73	24	3

2. As I pointed out in chapter 3, the initial survey was too small to always facilitate an adequate in-sample comparison of different occupational and life cycle groups.

Appendix 7. An analysis of the main types of occupation of men in the 1969 survey.

The following analysis is based upon the General Register Office, Classification of Occupation, 1966. It contains two sections. The first of these examines men who worked in non-manual occupations. The second examined men who worked in manual occupations. In each section I give the number of men engaged in each type of occupation and also their social class.

Section 1. Men working in non-manual occupations

<u>Type of Occupation</u>	<u>Social Class</u>	<u>Number in the sample</u>
1. Technologist	1	2
2. Engineer (professional)	1	2
3. Chemist	1	1
4. Technical and related workers	2	8
5. Teachers	2	4
6. Manager (Food shop)	2	1
7. Clerical workers	3	12
8 Draughtsmen	3	5
9. Policemen	3	2
10. Security Man (Foreman)	3	1
11. Club Steward	3	1

Section 2. Men working in manual occupations

<u>Type of Occupation</u>	<u>Social Class</u>	<u>Number in the sample</u>
1. Butcher (Manager)	2	1
2. Maintenance Fitters, Engineers, Millwrights	3	24
3. Rolling, tube mill operators, Metal drawers	3	14
4. Crane and hoist operators and slingers	3	14
5. Drivers, locomotives and goods vehicles	3	14
6. Furnace men-metal	3	7
7. Steel erectors and riggers	3	7
8. Bricklayers and tile setters	3	7
9. Gas and electric welders, cutters, braziers	3	10
10. Drivers, stationary engines	3	3
11. Carpenters and joiners	3	4
12 Motor mechanics and auto engineers	3	2
13. Sheetmetal workers	3	2
14. Moulders and coremakers	3	1
15. Metal plate workers and riveters	3	1
16. Electrical and electronic fitters	3	1
17. Cable jointers	3	1
18. Plumber	3	1
19. Painter and decorator	3	1
20. Tailor	3	1
21. Other, more vaguely described, e.g. traffic foreman, engineering contractor, service supervisor	3	3

Section 2 (cont)

Type of occupation	<u>Social Class</u>	<u>Number in the sample</u>
22. Inspectors (metal and electrical goods)	4	7
23. Other metal processing workers	4	14
24. Warehousemen, storekeepers	4	10
25. Gardeners, groundsmen	4	3
26. Packers, labellers, and related workers	4	2
27. Surface workers, mines and quarries	4	3
28. Fettleers, metal dressers	4	2
29. Machine tool operators	4	2
30. Building and contracting labourers	5	6
31. Labourers in engineering and allied trades	5	20
32. Labourers other (less adequately described)	5	1

Appendix 8Bibliography

- Abrams M. The Teenage Consumer, London Press Exchange, 1959
- Abrams M. Social Aspects of Leisure, Sociological Review, 1963.
- Anderson N. The Urban Community, London, Routledge, 1960.
- Anderson N Work and Leisure, London, Routledge, 1961.
- Anderson, P Components of the National Culture, in A. Cockburn and R. Blackburn (eds.) Student Power, Penguin Books, 1969
- Arensberg C.M. and Kimball, S.T. Family and Community in Ireland, Peter Smith, London, 1940.
- Arensberg C.M. Work and the Changing American Scene, in C.M. Arensberg et al. (eds.), Research in Industrial Human Relations, New York Harper, 1957.
- Bagrit, L The Age of Automation, London, Weidenfeld, 1964.
- Banks O. The Attitudes of Steelworkers to Technical Change, Liverpool University Press.
- Beard C.A. The Rise of American Civilisation, New York, Macmillan Co., 1927.
- Bell, D The End of Ideology, New York Free Press, Paperback edition, 1965.
- Belson W.A. The Impact of Television: Methods and Findings in program research, Crosby Lockwood, 1967.
- Beresford M New Towns of the Middle Ages, Lutterworth Press, 1967
- Berger B.M. The Sociology of Leisure: Some Suggestions in E.O. Smigel (Ed). Work and Leisure. A Contemporary Social Problem. New Haven, Connecticut College and University Press, 1963.
- Blauner R Alienation and Freedom, the Factory Worker and His Industry, University of Chicago Press, 1964.
- Bourdieu P Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction. Paper presented to the symposium of the British Sociological Association, Durham, April, 1970.
- Boston, R What Leisure ? New Society, 25th December, 1968.
- Brightbill, C.K. & Meyer H.D. Community Recreation, A Guide to its Organisation New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964.
- Bromley D.B. The Psychology of Human Ageing, Penguin Books, 1969
- Burns C.D. Modern Civilisation on Trial, Allen and Unwin, 1931.
- Burns C.D. Leisure in the Modern World, London, Allen and Unwin 1932.
- Burns T A Meaning in Everyday life, New Society 25th May, 1967
- Caillois R Man, Play and Games, London, Thames, 1962.
- Cauter T and Downham J.S. The Communication of Ideas, Readers Digest Association 1954.

- Chinoy, E. Automobile Workers and the American Dream, New York Doubleday, 1955.
- Cohen, J. The Ideas of Work and Play, British Journal of Sociology, December, 1953.
- Cotgrove, S. The Relations between Work and Non-work among Technicians, Sociological Review, July, 1965.
- Cullen, P. Whither Industrial Recreation Now ? Sport and Recreation, October 1966 and January, 1967.
- Crozier, M. Le Monde des employes de bureau, Le Suil, Paris, 1965
- Culingworth, B. The Needs of New Communities, H.M.S.O. 1967
- Dennis, N.
Henriques, F.M. & Slaughter, C. Coal in our Life, Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, 1957.
- Dichter, E. Bulletins to business. In the Organisation Man, W.H. Whyte, Penguin Books, 1960.
- Dobriner, W.M. Class in Suburbia, Prentice Hall, 1963.
- Drucker, P.F. The Age of Discontinuity, Guidelines to a Changing Society, Heinemann, 1969.
- Dubin, R. Industrial Workers Worlds: A study of the "Central Life Interests of Industrial Workers", in E.O. Smigel (ed.), Work and Leisure. A contemporary social problem, New Haven, Connecticut, College and University Press, 1963.
- Dubin, R. Theory Building, New York, The Free Press, 1969
- Dumazadier, J. Current Problems of the Sociology of Leisure, International social science journal, Volum xii, No.4, 1960.
- Dumazedier, J. Towards a Society of Leisure, New York Free Press, 1967
- Dunning, E. and Elias, M. The Quest for Excitement in Unexciting Societies, Paper presented to the B.S.A. Conference, London, April, 1967.
- Durand, C. The Worker and the Occupational System, in Workers Attitudes to Technical Change, O.C.D.E. Paris, 1965.
- Durant, R. Watling, A Social Survey, P.S. King & Son, London, 1939
- Ellul, J. The Technological Society, London, Cape, 1965.
- Engels, F. The Condition of the Working Class in England, Panther Book edition, 1969.
- Faunce, W.A. Automation and Leisure in H.B. Jacobson and J.S. Roucek (eds.), Automation and Society, New York, Phil. Libr. 1959.
- Foote, N.F. Methods for Study of Meaning in use of time, in R.W. Kleemeier (ed.), Ageing and Leisure, New York, Oxford University Press, 1961.
- Frankenberg, R.J. Village on the Border, London, Cohen and West, 1957
- Frankenberg, R.J. Communities in Britain; Social Life in Town and Country, Penguin Books, 1965.
- Franklin, B. Autobiography, London, J.M. Dent, 1908
- Friedmann, G. The Anatomy of Work, London, Heinemann, 1961.

- Gabor, D. Inventing the Future, Secker and Warburg, 1963.
- Galbraith, J.K. The Affluent Society, Penguin Books, 1962.
- Galbraith, J.K. The New Industrial State, London, Hamish Hamilton, 1967
- Gerstl, J.E. Leisure, Taste and Occupational Milieu, in E.O. Smigel (Ed.), Work and Leisure, a contemporary social problem, College and University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1963.
- Giddens, A. Notes on the Concept of Play and Leisure, Sociological Review, March, 1964.
- Glass R. (ed.) The Social Background of a Plan, A study of Middlesbrough, London, Routledge, 1948.
- Goldthorpe, J.H. The Affluent Worker and the Thesis of Embourgeoisement
Lockwood, D. Bechofer F. and Platt J. Sociology, Vol. 1, No.1, January, 1967.
- Goldthorpe, J.H. The Affluent Worker; Industrial Attitudes and Behaviour, Cambridge, 1968.
Lockwood, D. Bechofer F., Platt J.
- Goldthorpe, J.H. The Affluent Worker; Political Attitudes and Behaviour
Lockwood, D. Cambridge, 1968.
Bechofer, F. Platt J.
- Goldthorpe, J.H. The Affluent Worker in the Class Structure, Cambridge, 1969.
Lockwood, D. Bechofer, F. Platt J.
- Grazia, S. de., Of Time, Work and Leisure, New York, Twentieth Century Fund, 1962.
- Greenberg, C. Work and Leisure under Industrialism, in E. Larrabee and R. Meyersohn, (Eds.), Mass Leisure, Glencoe Illinois, The Free Press, 1958.
- Gross, E. A Functional Approach to Leisure Analysis, in E.O. Smigel (Ed.) Work and Leisure, a contemporary Social problem, College and University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1963.
- Hammond, J.L.O. The Growth of Common Enjoyment, London, Oxford University Press, 1948.
- Heckscher, A. The Public Happiness, London, Hutchinson, 1963.
- Henle, P. Recent Growth of Paid Leisure for U.S. Workers, in E.O. Smigel, (Ed.) Work and Leisure, a contemporary social problem, College and University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1963.
- Hesse, R. Leisure and Recreation, The Introduction to the Report of the World Congress on Leisure and Recreation, Hamburg, 1936.
- Hill, C. Puritanism and Revolution, London, Secker and Warburg, 1958.
- Hill, C. The Century of Revolution, Edinburgh, Thomas Nelson, 1961
- Hobsbawm, E.J. The Age of Revolution, Europe 1789-1848, London Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962.

- Hobsbawm, E.J. and Harrison, B.H. Work and Leisure in Industrial Society, Past and Present, April, 1965.
- Hobsbawm, E.J. Industry and Empire, Penguin Books, 1969
- Hollander, P. Leisure as an American and Soviet Value, Social Problems, Fall, 1966.
- Hughes, E.C. Men and their Work, Glencoe, Free Press, 1958.
- Hutchinson, E. Learning and Leisure in Middle and Later Life, the Pre-Retirement Association, 1970.
- Hoggart, R. The Uses of Literacy; Aspects of Working Class Life, Chatto and Windus, 1957.
- Jackson, B. Working Class Community; Some General Notions raised by a Series of Studies in Northern England, Routledge, 1968.
- Kahn, H. and Wiener, A.J. The Year 2,000. A Framework for speculation on the next thirty-three years, London, Collier-Macmillan, 1968.
- Kaplan, M. Leisure in America, A Social inquiry, New York, John Willey, 1960.
- Keynes, J.M. Economic Possibilities for our Grandchildren, (1930) reprinted in J.M. Keynes, Essays in Persuasion, New York, W.W. Norton, 1963.
- Keynes, J.M. The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money Macmillan, London, 1962.
- Kitto, H.D. The Greeks, Penguin Books, 1957
- Kleemeier, R.W.(ED) Ageing and Leisure, a research perspective into the meaningful use of time, New York, Oxford University Press, 1961.
- Klein, J. Samples from English Culture, 2 vols, Routledge, 1965
- Krausz, E. Sociology in Britain, A Survey of Research, London, B.T. Batsford, 1969.
- Kreps, J.M. Lifetime Allocation of Work and Leisure, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1968.
- Kuper, L. (Ed.) Living in Towns, Selected Research papers in Urban Sociology of the Faculty of Commerce and Social Science University of Birmingham, London, The Cresset Press, 1953.
- Lafargue, P. The Right to be Lazy, being a refutation of the Right to Work of 1848, in Mass Leisure, E. Larrabee and R Meyersohn (Eds.) Glencoe, Free Press, 1958.
- Lafant, M.F. Sociology of Leisure and Ideology, Bulletin for Sociology of Leisure, Education and Culture, No.1 March, 1969.
- Laslett, P. The World we have lost, London, Methuen, 1965.
- Laslett, P. The Sovereignty of the Family, The Listener, April 7th 1960.
- Le Gros Clark, F. Growing Old in a Mechanised World, The Human Problem of a Technical Revolution. Nuffield Foundation, 1960.

- Le Gros Clark, F. Work, Age and Leisure: Causes and Consequences of the Shortened Working Life, Michael Joseph, 1966.
- Lockwooe, D. The Blackcoated Worker, a Study in Class Consciousness London, Allen and Unwin, 1958.
- Lowe, J. Adult Education in England and Wales, a Critical Survey, London, Michael Joseph, 1970.
- Loy, W.L. and Kenyon, G.S.(eds.) Sport, Culture and Society, a reader on the Sociology of Sport, London, Macmillan, 1969.
- Lundberg, G.A. et. al. Leisure - A Suburban Study; New York, Columbia University Press, 1934.
- Lynd, G.A. Middletown; New York, Harcourt Bruce and Co. 1929
- Margerison, T.A. Hopes and Fears for the Age of Leisure, Political Quarterly, January, 1967.
- Mannheim, K. Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction, Routledge, 1940.
- Mannheim, K. Diagnosis of our Time, Routledge, 1943.
- Marcuse, H. One Dimensional Man, the Ideology of Industrial Society, London, Sphere Books, 1968.
- Marwick, A. Britain in the Century of Total War. London, Bodley Head, 1968.
- Marx, K. and Engels, F. German Ideology, London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1970
- Mead, M. The Pattern of Leisure in Contemporary American Culture, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Volume 313, September, 1957.
- Meyersohn, R. and Larrabee, E. (ed.) Mass Leisure, Glencoe, Illinois, The Free Press, 1958.
- Mills, C.W. White Collar, New York, Oxford University Press, 1951
- Mogey, J.M. Family and Neighbourhood: two studies in Oxford, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1956.
- Monkton, H.A. A History of the English Public House, Bodley Head, 1969.
- Morris, W. News from Nowhere, in William Morris: Selected Writings and Designs (ed. Asa Briggs), Penguin Books, 1963.
- Neulch, O. A New Definition of Work and Leisure Under Advanced Technology, in J. Stieber, (Ed.) Employment Problems of Automation and Advanced Technology, New York, Macmillan, 1966.
- Neulch, O. Automation and Leisure, Science Journal, January 1968
- Newsom, J.(Chairman) Half our Future, a Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England), London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1963.
- Nicholson, J.M. New Communities in Britain. National Council for Social Services, London, 1961.
- O'Connor, C., The Leisure Wasters, New York, Barnes, 1966.

- Orlans, H. Stevenage, A Sociological Study of a New Town, Routledge, 1952.
- Orzack, L.H., Work as a Central Life Interest of Professionals, Social Problems, Fall, 1959.
- Osborn, F. and Whittick, A. The New Towns, Leonard Hill, 1963.
- Parker, S.R. Type of Work, Friendship Patterns and Leisure, Human Relations, August, 1964.
- Parker, S.R., Work and Non-Work in Three Occupations, Sociological Review, March, 1965.
- Parker, S.R. Work and Leisure, in Parker S.R. et al. The Sociology of Industry, London, Allen and Unwin, 1967.
- Parker, S.R. Work and Leisure, Ph.D. Thesis, University of London 1968.
- Parker, S.R., Theory and Practice of The Work - Leisure Relationship, Bulletin for Sociology of Leisure, Education and Culture, No.2, December 1969.
- Pieper, JQ Leisure the Basis of Culture, London, Faber, 1952.
- Pimlott, J.A.R. The Englishman's Holiday - A Social History, Faber and Faber, 1947.
- Pimlott, J.A.R. Recreations, Studio Vista, 1968
- Plowden, B. (Chairman) Children and their Primary Schools, a Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education, (England) 2 vols, London, H.M.S.O. 1967.
- Rex, J. Key Problems of Sociological Theory, London Routledge, 1961.
- Rex, J. Which Path for Sociology ? New Society, October 6th 1966.
- Rich, D. Spare Time in the Black Country, in Living in Towns edited by L. Kuper, London, the Crescent Press, 1953.
- Riesman, D. The Lonely Crowd, New York, Doubleday, 1953.
- Riesman, D. Individualism Reconsidered and Other Essays, Glencoe Illinois, The Free Press, 1954.
- Riesman, D. Abundance for What ? London, Chatto and Windus, 1964.
- Riesman, D. and Blomberg, W. Work and Leisure, Fusion or Polarity ? in Arensberg C.M. et al (eds.). Research in Industrial Human Relations, New York, Harper, 1957.
- Rochling H Recreation and Economics in Report of World Congress on Leisure and Recreation, Hamburg, 1936.
- Rodgers, B. Pilot National Recreation Survey, Report Number 1. British Travel Association - University of Keele, July, 1967.
- Rodgers, B. Pilot National Recreation Survey, Report Number 2. British Travel Association - University of Keele, 1969.
- Rodgers, B. Leisure and Recreation, Urban Studies, November, 1969.

- Rowntree, B.E. and English Life and Leisure, New York, Longmans, Green Lovers, G.R. and Co., 1951.
- Russel, B. In Praise of Idleness and Other Essays, London, Allen and Unwin, 1935.
- Samuel, N. Prediction and Comparison in the Sociology of Leisure. Paper presented to the B.S.A. Conference London, April, 1967.
- Samuel, N. Planning for Leisure, Paper presented to European Seminar on the Leisure of Workers in Modern Industrial Societies, Semmering, Austria, November, 1967.
- Samuel, N. and Dumazedier, J. Industrial Societies and Leisure-Time, Bulletin for Sociology of Leisure, Education and Culture, No.1, March, 1969.
- Scopes, F. The Development of Corby Works, Stewarts and Lloyds Ltd., 1968.
- Scheuch, E.K. The Leisure of Workers in Modern Industrial Societies Introductory remarks by the Director of this Seminar, Semmering, Austria, 1967.
- Seabrook, J. The Unprivileged, Longmans, 1967.
- Seeley, J.R. et al. Crestwood Heights, New York, BasicBooks, 1956.
- Sillitoe, K.K. Planning for Leisure, An Enquiry undertaken on behalf of the Department of Education and Science, London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1969.
- Simey, T.S. (Ed.) The Dockworker. An analysis of conditions of employment in the Port of Manchester, Liverpool University Press, 1954.
- Smigel, E.O.(Ed.) Work and Leisure, a Contemporary Social Problem, College and University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1963.
- Smiles, S. Self Help, London, John Murray, 1877
- Soddy, K. Men in Middle Life, London, Tavistock, 1967
- Soule, G. The Economics of Leisure, the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Volume 313, September, 1957.
- Stacey, M. Tradition and Change, a Study of Banbury, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1960.
- Steiner, J.F. Americans at Play; Recent Trends in Recreation and Leisure Time, New York, Mcgraw Hill Book Co. 1933.
- Stephenson, W. The Play Theory of Mass Communication, Chicago, University Press, 1967.
- Sykes, A.J.M.(Ed.) Cumbernauld, a Household Survey and Report; Occasional Paper No.1 Department of Sociology, University of Strathclyde.
- Tawney, R.H. Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, Penguin Books, 1938
- Taylor, F.M. An Inquiry into Leisure Interests of the People of Reading; Ph.D. Thesis, University of Reading, 1956.

- Thomas, K. Work and Leisure in Pre-Industrial Society, Past and Present, December, 1964.
- Thomas, K. Religion and the Decline of Magic, London, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971.
- Thomas, R. London's New Towns, a Study of self contained and balanced communities, PEP Broadsheet 510, April, 1969.
- Thomas, R. Aycliffe to Cumbernauld, a study of seven new towns in their regions, PEP Broadsheet 516, December, 1969.
- Thompson, E.P. The making of the English Working Class, Penguin Books, 1970.
- De Tocqueville, Democracy in America, Volume 2, Alfred A. Knopf, 1951.
- Touraine, A. Sociologie de l'action, Le Seuil, Paris, 1966.
- Touraine, A. and Associates Workers attitudes to technical change, O.E.C.D. Paris, 1965.
- Tremlett, G. The First Century, London Working Men's Clubs and Institutes Union Ltd., 1962.
- Tropp, A. The Study of Leisure in Great Britain, paper presented at the Fourth World Congress of Sociology, Section on Leisure Stressa, Italy, September, 1959.
- Tunstall, J. The Fishermen, London, MacGibbon and Kee, 1962.
- Veblens, T. The Theory of the Leisure Class, an Economic Study of Institutions, New York, Mentor Books, 1953.
- Venables, E. The Young Worker at College, a Study of a Local Tech. London, Faber and Faber, 1967
- Vereker, C. and Mays, J.B. Urban Redevelopment and Social Change, Liverpool University Press, 1961.
- Weber, M. The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, London, Allen and Unwin, ninth impression, 1968.
- Whyte, W.H. The Organisation Man. Penguin Books, 1960.
- Wilensky, H.L. Work, Careers and Social Integration, International Social Science Journal, vol. 12 pp543-74, 1960, reprinted in T. Burns (Ed.) Industrial Man, Selected Readings, Penguin Books, 1969.
- Wilensky, H.L. The Uneven Distribution of Leisure: The Impact of Economic Growth on "Free Time", Social Problems, Vol. 9, No.1 Summer, 1961.
- Wilensky, H.L. Mass Society and Mass Culture: Interdependence or Independence ? American Sociological Review, April, 1964.
- Wilmott, P. The Evolution of a Community: A Study of Dagenham after Forty Years, London, Routledge, 1960.
- Wilmott P. and Young, M. Family and Class in a London Suburb, London, Routledge, 1960.
- Wolfstein, M. The Emergence of Fun Morality, Journal of Social Issues, 7, 4, 1951, and reprinted in Mass Leisure, edited by E. Larrabee and R. Meyersohn, Glencoe, Illinois, Free Press, 1958.

- Young, M. and Wilmott, P. Family and Kinship in East London, London, Penguin Books, 1962.
- Zeisel, J.S. The Workweek in American Industry 1850-1956, Monthly Labour Review, Volume 81, Number 1, January 1958, reprinted in Mass Leisure, edited by E. Larrabee and R. Meyersohn, Glencoe, Illinois, Free Press, 1958.
- Zweig, F. The Worker in an Affluent Society, Family Life and Industry, London, Heinemann, 1961.

Other Publications

- B.B.C. The People's Activities, 1965.
- General Register Office Census 1961, Northamptonshire.
- " " " Census, 1961, Occupation, Industry, Socio Economic Groups, Northamptonshire.
- " " " Sample Census 1966, Northamptonshire.
- " " " Economic Activity, County Leaflet, Northamptonshire
- " " " Classification of Occupations, 1966.