

TOR 2003/32



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COLLECTIVE RHYTHM OR SOCIAL SEGREGATION?

ABOUT TIME STRUCTURES AND SOCIAL CONTACTS OF
PEOPLE WITHDRAWN FROM THE LABOR MARKET

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Collective rhythm or social segregation?

**About time structures and social contacts of people
withdrawn from the labor market**

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1 Introduction

Studies on unemployed people in the twenties and eighties show that paid labor fulfils an important function in the time structuring of individuals and as a social 'Zeitgeber' (Jahoda, 1979). Labor is important, if not essential for the development of a social orientation and a feeling of solidarity with others. Furthermore it was found to be an important source of (abstract) social contacts, it structures the individual and social time and is an indispensable soil for the social tissue of a society.

The daily rhythm of getting up, going to sleep, relaxing and of course paid labor of employed people is mainly regulated by their working hours. Also opening hours of shops and services, broadcasting of radio and television, traffic streams, ... are strongly influenced by the collective rhythm of our labor society. Unemployed people can get detached from this collective rhythm (Elchardus and Glorieux 1989), with integration problems and forms of social isolation as a possible result. Earlier research has shown the influence of the degree of participation in society and integration in social networks on the values of the Flemish people. Participation to civil society contributes significantly to the cultivation of democratic civil values and skills. Indirectly the integration into society and the feeling of well-being are improved by participation. Democratic attitudes and interaction forms are being directly influenced by the level of participation in a society (Elchardus, Huyse et al. 2000) (Stevens and Elchardus 2001) (Vandeweyer, 2002).

A multitude of studies tend to indicate that the not-working population is less embedded in to society compared to their working counterparts, e.g. regarding their live rhythms as well as their social contacts (Glorieux 1992a, 1995, 1996, 1999; Vandeweyer, 2002). Especially the unemployed record negative experiences (Feather 1983, Kroft 1989, Elchardus 1995, Hoff 1998, Russell 1999). Other research focusses on the possibility of alternative social roles and activities as well as the importance of the motivation for reduced participation in the labor market (Fryer 1984, Haworth 1986, Hörning 1995, Schor 1991, 1998a en 1998b, Van Berkel 1999, Vanderweyden 2002).

Not working groups have a lot of free time. One of the questions that will be addressed in this paper is how they use their free time. Although free time is called 'free', there are standard views on how this free time can be used. Retired people are a specific group of the not active population. For retired people it is legitimate to enjoy a quiet old day. Although Dykstra (2000) claims that our society is not investing enough in the creation of meaningful roles which correspond to the possibilities and wishes of the growing group of elderly.

Younger not working people however get stigmatised when doing nothing. Most people of their age are working. They represent the odd one out. However this holds only true for men. One expects a man in the active age

to work. For women it is more common not to work due to an alternative social role they can take up as a housewife. The presence of young children in the household and the wish to take care of them justifies, at least temporary, the not working situation of unemployed women (Schnapper, 1981).

Not working people do not only replace paid labour by other activities. They are less bound by fixed time schedules than working people as well. Labor fulfils an important function in the time structuring of individuals and as a social 'Zeitgeber'. This gives not working people more freedom, not only in deciding what to do with the day, but also to decide on which moment of the day they plan an activity.

The question we want to address in this paper is whether not working people (more specific retired people) get detached from this collective rhythm of our labor society, using the Flemish time budget data from 1999. Do not working people stay longer in bed, do they go shopping in off peak hours, ... or do they keep marching in the collective social rhythm? Do possible deviations from this rhythm lead to social segregation between the not working people and the rest of the population? Ultimately we can imagine a society in which different social groups follow different social rhythms. Although using the same social space, they will be divided in time and space. This will be done by looking at the timing of activities during the week and by comparing the allocation of activities to week or weekend days. The results of this paper show that not working elderly follow in great part the collective rhythm of the labor society. Nevertheless some groups seem to deviate from this rhythm.

2 Data & variables

The data from the Flemish time-use survey TOR1999 are used in this paper. It is the first large-scale timebudget study in Flanders for over thirty years. 1533 Flemish citizens between the ages of 16 and 75 were asked to keep accurate diaries of their activities during one week. The fieldwork took place between the 15th of April and the 30th of October 1999 (interrupted only between the 15th of July and the 1st of September). The study was performed by the researchgroup TOR (Tempus Omnia Revelat) of the Free University of Brussels. Respondents had to report which activity they performed when, where, in whose company, to whom they talked and what their motivation was for performing the activity. In case the activity required traveling, the modes of traveling where also recorded. Apart from this diary, the respondents were also asked to fill out two questionnaires including socio-demographic variables as well as general indicators on time use and cultural participation. Additionally, respondents were asked their opinion on different social issues.

To be able to compare the time use and time structuring of not working people (especially retired people) and working people, we distinguish three

groups: not working people older than 55 years, not working people younger than 56 years and working people younger than 56 years. The age of 55 is taken as cut-off point. The employment rate of people over 55 years in Belgium is 22%. This is the lowest in the European Union (OECD, 2000). In our sample 16% of the people older than 55 are still working. This small group is not described in this paper. The socio-demographic profile of these three groups is shown in table 1.

TABLE 1: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

		>55 YEARS, NOT WORKING	<=55 YEARS, NOT WORKING	<=55 YEARS, WORKING
MEN	Average Age	65 years	42 years	38 years
	Education level	69% L, 10% H	61% L, 15% H	32% L, 31% H
	Household composition	82% P-K, 13% P+K, 5% S	23% P-K, 35% P+K, 35% LWP	20% P-K, 62% P+K, 13% LWP
	Age youngest child (living with parents)	92% no children	65% no children 29% child > 7 years	40% no children 21% child ≤ 7 years 39% child > 7 years
WOMEN	Average Age	65 years	39 years	37 years
	Education level	72% L, 9% H	43% L, 14% H	27% L, 36% H
	Household composition	64% P-K, 13% P+K, 22% S	18% P-K, 76% P+K, 5% LWP	19% P-K, 67% P+K, 9% LWP
	Age youngest child (living with parents)	91% no children	25% no children 36% child ≤ 7 years 39% child > 7 years	34% no children 22% child ≤ 7 years 44% child > 7 years

L= lower educated, H= higher educated

P-K= Partner, no kids; P+K= partner + kids, S= single; LWP= living with parents

3 Results

3.1 Time Use

Before going into details about the way people structure their time, we take a brief look on the differences in time use between working and not working people. The older not working people are taken as a reference group. In order to provide some clarity, we use a classification into eleven main categories (see annexe 1).

TABLE 2: AVERAGE TIME USE OF MEN DURING TOTAL WEEK

Men	>55 years, not working (n=151)	<=55 years, not working (n=50)	<=55 years, working (n=423)	Average men (n=713)
Average duration per respondent (total week)				
PAID WORK	1:31	4:31*	37:49**	24:48
HOUSEHOLD WORK	20:17	14:30**	11:52**	13:07
CHILD CARE	0:40	1:41**	1:44**	1:19
PERSONAL CARE (incl. eating)	16:51	13:56**	14:02**	14:35
SLEEPING & RESTING	64:09	64:26	56:29**	59:08
EDUCATION & TRAINING	0:45	0:57	1:02	3:24
SOCIAL PARTICIPATION	12:27	8:46**	8:08**	9:06
LEISURE	40:54	45:08	24:29**	30:19
WAITING	0:06	0:21*	0:09	0:11
TRAVELING	5:08	7:37*	8:15**	7:28
REST	5:06	6:02	3:55*	4:30

Pairwise statistical significance of the difference in time use with group of not working 55-plus men: (*) p<0,05, (**) p<0,01.

Older not working men show significant differences in time use with younger working men (table 2). There is not only a work effect, but also an age effect. Not working men (older and younger) show significant differences in time use depending on their age. Not working men (regardless of their age) however seem to sleep and rest more than employed men, spend more time at professional personal care, enjoy more leisure time and rest activities. These are typical activities that one tends to do on a free day (excl. professional personal care). Older not working men - for whom not working is institutionalised in their every day behaviour - spend more time at household work than younger men (regardless of the employment status), take more time for eating and drinking, for dressing and their toilet. An older age goes together with more time spent (\pm 3 hours) on personal care. Retired men engage in participatory activities (social contacts and associational life) for 12h27' a week, or about 4 hours more a week than men below 56 years. About 9h34' are spent on social contacts (more than 2 hours more than younger men) and 2h52' in associational life (about 1h40' more than younger men). Not working not necessarily leads to social isolation. The absence of paid work reduces the chance to frequent and differential social contact with colleagues and clients (Vandeweyer, 2002), but this loss is compensated by a higher degree of social participation in later life. Putnam (in: Elchardus, Huyse, et al, 2000:53) claims that a higher amount of social participation in later life is not due to an age effect but to a cohort effect. Older people have a higher sense of duty and religiosity and will therefore be more involved in volunteer work and associational life. Younger cohorts on the contrary are more hedonistic and individualistic and would therefore show less interest in this sort of engagement.

TABLE 3: AVERAGE TIME USE OF WOMEN DURING TOTAL WEEK

Women	>55 years, not working (n=186)	<=55 years, not working (n=109)	<=55 years, working (n=326)	Average women (n=703)
Average duration per respondent (total week)				
PAID WORK	0:17	2:14**	28:29**	14:20
HOUSEHOLD WORK	33:05	32:18	22:15**	25:14
CHILD CARE	2:15	7:58**	3:38**	3:38
PERSONAL CARE (incl. eating)	16:06	15:10	13:44**	14:45
SLEEPING & RESTING	63:59	60:50*	58:06**	60:36
EDUCATION & TRAINING	0:22	1:17**	0:46*	3:55
SOCIAL PARTICIPATION	12:37	11:27	9:07**	10:28
LEISURE	30:02	24:31**	18:56**	23:20
WAITING	0:03	0:13**	0:11**	0:11
TRAVELING	3:50	6:27**	7:24**	6:14
REST	5:17	5:30	5:19	5:14

Pairwise statistical significance of the difference in time use with group of not working 55-plus women: (*) p<0,05, (**) p<0,01.

Retired women also show significant differences in time use with younger women. Not working women however (regardless of age) share the fact that they perform more household work, are socially more active and spend more time on personal care. Women therefore do not slow down the pace of life when not doing paid labor (as men do), but stay quite busy with about 30 hours of domestic work a week. Paid labor is substituted by household work. Social contacts of not working women take up more than 10 hours a week (1h30' to 2 hours more than working women), while associational life is good for 2 hours a week (1 hour to 1h30' more than working women). Especially for women the fact of not doing any paid labor does not mean that they get socially isolated. Women take up an alternative social role as housewife. Family care involves a great deal of social interaction. Free time however only seems to come with age for women. Only when being retired there is more time for leisure, sleeping and resting, eating & drinking and professional personal care. These results are summarised in table 4.

TABLE 4: DIFFERENCES IN TIME USE BY SEX AND LIFECYCLE

MEN	
NOT-WORKING	⇔ WORKING (≤ 55 years)
↑ Sleeping & Resting ↑ Leisure ↑ Professional Personal Care ↑ Restactivities	
> 55 YEARS (not working)	⇔ ≤ 55 YEARS (working or not)
↑ Household Work ↑ Social Participation ↑ Personal Care ↑ Eating & Drinking ↑ Dressing & Toilet	↓ Paid Work ↓ Traveling ↓ Childcare
WOMEN	
NOT-WORKING	⇔ WORKING (≤ 55 years)
↑ Household Work ↑ Personal Care ↑ Social Participation	
> 55 YEARS (not working)	⇔ ≤ 55 YEARS (working or not)
↑ Leisure ↑ Sleeping & Resting ↑ Eating & Drinking ↑ Professional Personal Care	↓ Paid Work ↓ Traveling ↓ Childcare ↓ Education & training ↓ Waiting

3.2 Timing of activities

Our daily behaviour has a certain structure and periodicity in time, not only determined by biological needs, but even more by the society in which we live. Instead of being governed by the natural rhythms of the sun and seasons, our behaviours are ruled by such cultural temporalities as work schedules, age norms, and by the opening hours of shops (Hall, 1983). The timing of activities is much more collective than we think. Certain activities, called Zeitgebers, determine strongly the daily rhythm. Labor, eating, watching television and sleeping are most characteristic as social Zeitgebers. Anshoff en Wever started their research into Zeitgebers in the sixties. Experiments done in bunkers showed men have an internal regulating mechanism or internal clock which leads biological functions to follow fix cycles, even when environmental influences (or Zeitgebers) are shut out. Without Zeitgebers however, biological rhythms follow a 25 hours cycle instead of a 24 hours cycle. Zeitgebers (as the alteration of day and night) are responsible for the adjustment of the internal clock to a 24 hours rhythm. Also collective activities play a fundamental role. By doing things on the same moment collective rhythms get synchronised. An activity can therefore only be called a strong social Zeitgeber, when it has a structural effect on the behaviour of people (Janssen & Ykema, 1983).

Figure 1 (see annexe 2) contains graphs representing the course of activities on an average weekday. The figure shows the percentage of respondents that participate in each of the ten distinct groups of activities for periods of 10 minutes in a cumulative way. The dominant activities during the different parts of the day become clear. There is a time for sleeping, a time for eating, a time for working and a time for leisure. Nevertheless the structuring of these activities in a weekday varies along age and work situation.

The dominating activity for employed men and women below 56 years in the day time is paid labor. Men engage more in paid labor than women and work longer hours. However when taking into account the household work done by women, employed men and women are busy 'working' from nine to five. Leisure time can only be enjoyed in the evening.

Not working people younger than 56 years show a different activity pattern. Especially not working younger men differ strongly from their employed fellows. Their weekday is much less structured. They sleep longer, have no specific eating times and enjoy a lot of free time during the whole day. Their degree of social participation however is very low. Friends and family of their age are probably working. Household work is done by very few of the not working men younger than 56 years. Not working younger women on the contrary fill their day with household work. Notwithstanding the fact that they enjoy a little more leisure time in the afternoon and in the evening and spend more time at social participation than employed women, their activity pattern on a weekday comes quite close to that of working women. Younger women (employed or not) therefore follow quite the same rhythm, which is the collective rhythm of our labor society. Not working younger men deviate from this collective rhythm and are somewhat socially isolated.

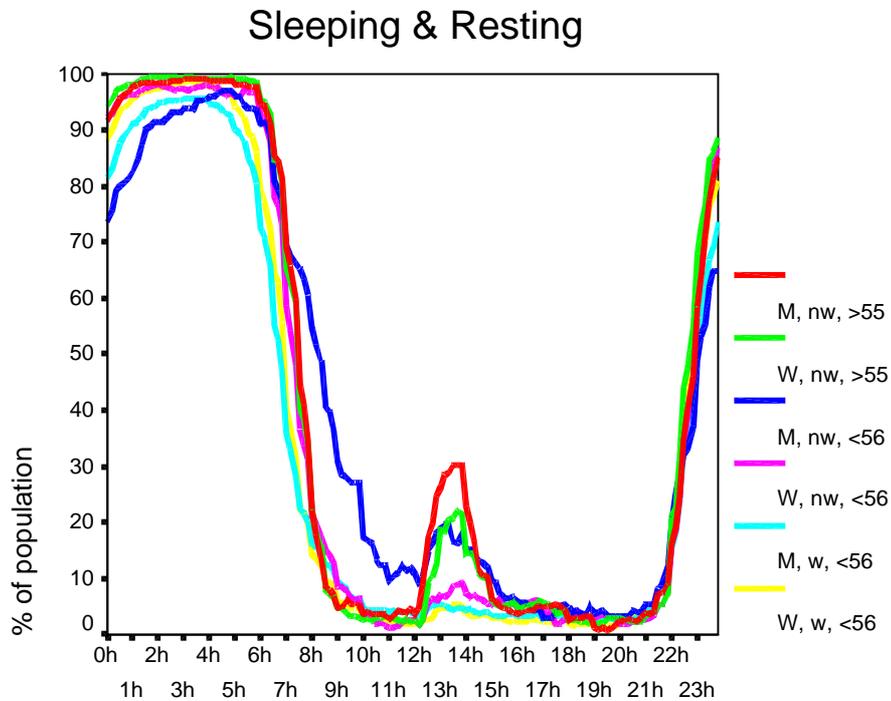
Even not working women older than 55 quite closely follow the rhythm of our labor society. Especially in the morning a lot of household work is done. In the afternoon there is more space for leisure and social participation. This holds true for older not working men too, with the exception that they have more free time in the morning.

Not having a job ultimately does not imply that one follows a different social rhythm than when being employed. For women without a gainful employment, paid labor is replaced by household labor. Work, whether it is paid labor or household work, is situated mainly between nine and five. Other activities have fix time blocks too. The only deviating group are men younger than 56 years without a job.

This even becomes more clear when looking at figure 2-5. Although employed people get up somewhat earlier than not working people on a weekday, there is only one group that seriously deviates from the others, namely the not working men younger than 56 years (figure 2). At eight in the morning, 75% of the not working people above 55 years is awake, while 75% of the working people younger than 56 years is awake at 7h30'.

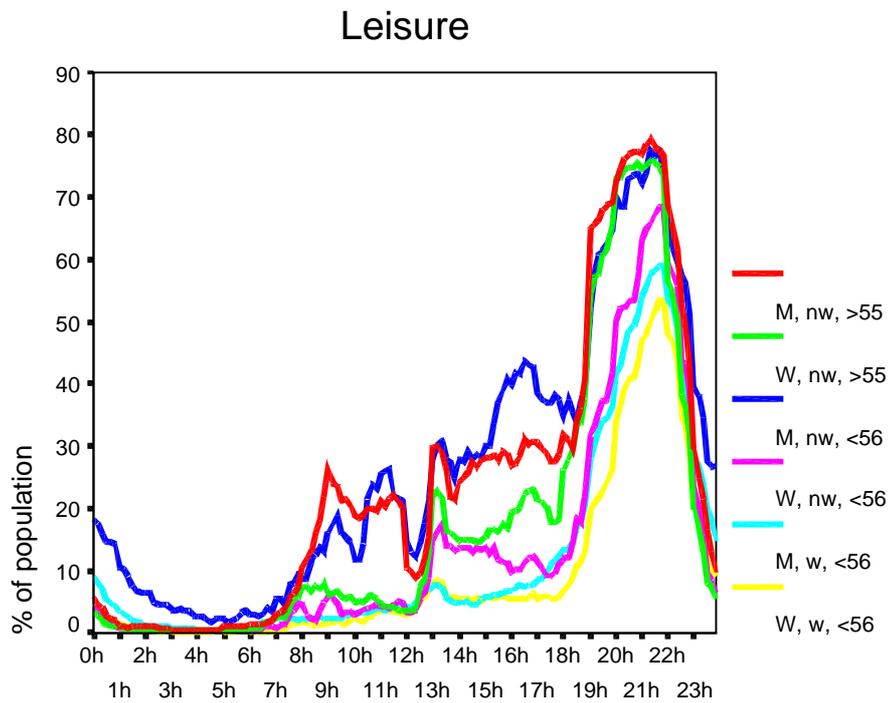
Younger not working men however need till ten before 75% of them is out of bed. In the evening most women go to bed around the same time (at 23 p.m. 75% is asleep), men younger then 56 years go to bed later (especially the not working men younger then 56 years).

FIGURE 2: WEEKDAY



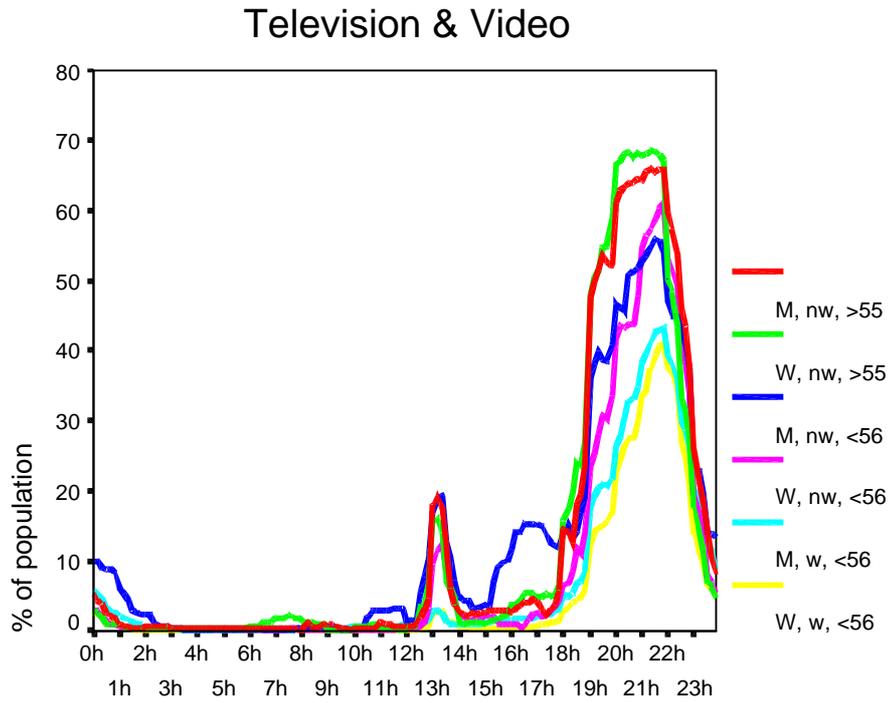
Not working men, especially the ones younger than 56, enjoy a lot of leisure time during the weekdays, particularly in the afternoon (figure 3). Not working women, especially the ones younger than 56, have less time for leisure and follow more closely the leisure rhythm of working women.

FIGURE 3: WEEKDAY



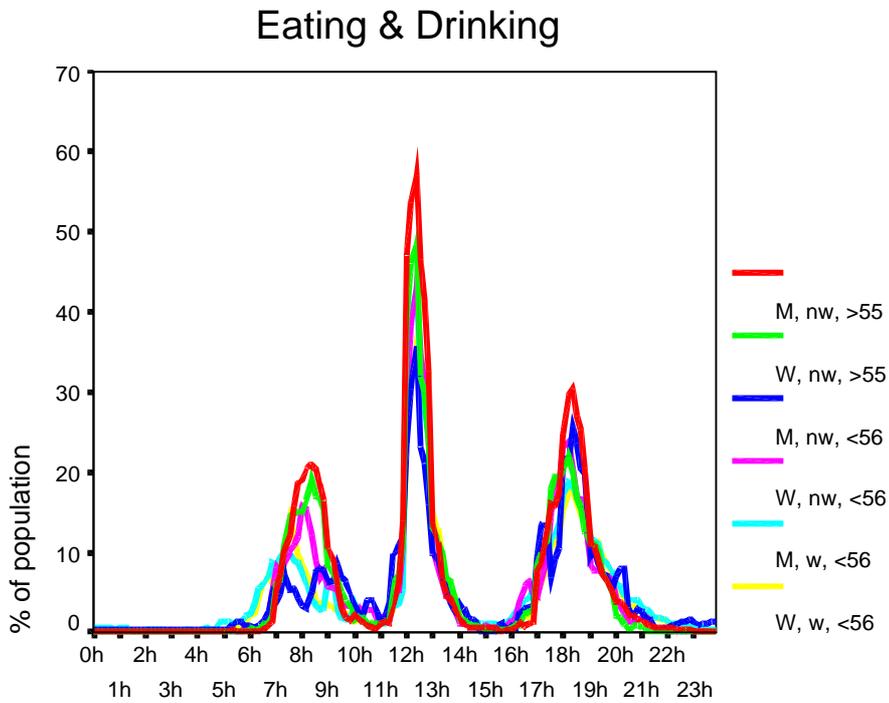
Watching television and video is the dominant leisure activity (figure 4). It takes about 56% of the leisure time on a weekday. Not working people watch more television and start watching earlier than employed people (in particular the elderly). The younger not working men deviate from the collective rhythm due to their watching behaviour in the late afternoon. The peak times for all people however are between 21h20' and 21h50'.

FIGURE 4: WEEKDAY



The activity that is most collective to society however is the eating and drinking time. People take lunch at 12h20' and have dinner around 18h10'. The time for breakfast is less fix, depending on the hour to get up.

FIGURE 5: WEEKDAY



The fact that eating, sleeping times and television watching rhythms are so similar between working and not working people prove that they function as strong Zeitgebers. Moreover figure 1 shows that not working people plan their household activities in the working hours on a weekday and simulate a working day that is synchronised with the dominant rhythm of the working population. Collective timing renders a great predictability to life. It makes it possible to walk through life without a watch: just watch what people around you are doing and you will know the time!

3.3 Time allocation of activities

The timing of activities on a weekday is quite the same for most people with the exception of not working men younger than 56 years (figure 1 to 5). We get another perception on how people structure their time by looking at the time allocation of activities over the complete week. Employed people will have to postpone certain activities to the weekend due to working hours. Not working people however are free to decide whether they perform an activity on a weekday or in the weekend. Tables 5 and 6 show the percentage of the total week time that is spent on activities on a weekday for men and women. Some activities like personal care and sleeping & resting need to be done everyday. Nevertheless the tables show that employed people get less sleep in the week than in the weekend.

TABLE 5: PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL WEEKTIME SPEND ON ACTIVITIES ON A WEEKDAY

Men	>55 years, not-working	<=55 years, not-working	<=55 years, working	Average Men
% of activity carried out on a weekday				
PAID WORK	92.7	81.4	82.6	81.4
HOUSEHOLD WORK	47.5	52.9	32.0**	38.1
CHILD CARE	78.4	57.9	43.9**	51.5
PERSONAL CARE (incl. eating)	34.9	36.1	33.6	34.0
SLEEPING & RESTING	32.3	33.1	29.5**	30.4
EDUCATION & TRAINING	61.7	55.3	73.2	68.6
SOCIAL PARTICIPATION	40.9	36.8	26.4**	30.5
LEISURE	31.7	31.4	25.6**	27.7
WAITING	60.3	66.9	72.5	68.3
TRAVELING	52.8	41.8	46.1*	47.3
REST	61.1	68.3	66.4	64.1

Pairwise statistical significance of the difference in time use with group of not working 55-plus men: (*) p<0,05, (**) p<0,01.

The allocation of activities during a week is different for working and not working men (table 5). Not working men do not show significant differences in their time allocation. This is an indication that not working men show more similarity in their life rhythm with each other than they do with working men. Working men perform 32% of their household work on a weekday, while this is around 50% for not working men. 44% of the childcare by employed man is done on a weekday. This is closer to an equal distribution of the child care during the week (33% on a weekday, 33% on

Saturday, 33% on Sunday) then the 78% of the child care done by older not working men on a weekday. Retired men are not full time but occasional child carers (see also table 6: the ‘nanny’- effect): grandparents take care of their grandchildren in the week. Not working men carry out around 40% of their social participation in the week, while this is only 26% for employed men. Not working seems to free up some time for social activities on a weekday. Older not working men do 53% of their traveling during the week while this is only 46% for employed men. This is another indication of the fact that older not working men are not socially isolated during the week.

TABLE 6: PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL WEEKTIME SPEND ON ACTIVITIES ON A WEEKDAY

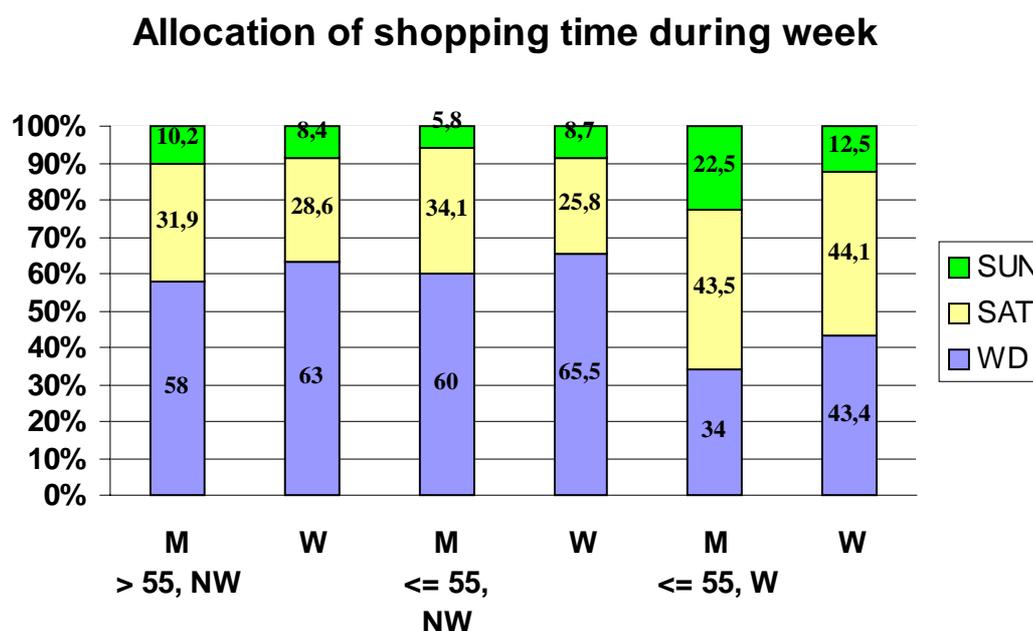
Women	>55 years, not-working	<=55 years, not-working	<=55 years, working	Average Women
% of activity carried out on a weekday				
PAID WORK	79.1	86.7	82.4	80.8
HOUSEHOLD WORK	44.4	47.4	36.7**	40.0
CHILD CARE	72.9	53.3**	41.8**	51.8
PERSONAL CARE (incl. eating)	33.4	34.8	33.7	33.7
SLEEPING & RESTING	31.7	31.0	29.8**	30.6
EDUCATION & TRAINING	74.6	74.7	79.4	75.4
SOCIAL PARTICIPATION	30.9	27.9	26.6	28.1
LEISURE	31.1	28.6*	26.2**	28.1
WAITING	74.8	73.8	76.9	73.7
TRAVELING	50.0	46.9	48.4	49.3
REST	65.1	64.9	67.0	65.3

Pairwise statistical significance of the difference in time use with group of not working 55-plus women: (*) p<0,05, (**) p<0,01.

An indication for the fact that younger not working women follow closely the rhythm of the employed women can be found in table 6. A large amount of the household work and childcare of younger not working women is done on weekdays and replaces as such the paid working day of employed women. The women below 56 years (regardless of work situation) share the fact that they have less time for leisure in the week.

The state of not being employed does not necessarily leads to a division in time and space. Although not working people can freely allocate their activities to the different days of the week, the collective rhythms are mainly followed. One can wonder why someone would like to go shopping in the weekend when everybody else is doing his shopping. Why is it that elderly adventure themselves in the crowded shopping center in the weekend when everything has to go twice as quick? Figure 6 shows that older people without a job indeed do most of their shopping during the week. But still around 30% of the shopping is done on a Saturday. This could be explained by different factors: elderly want to be surrounded by other people and need the social interaction, elderly need assistance from (working) others to accompany them shopping, some shops could be closed during the week (very unlikely in Belgium) or other practical reasons for shopping on Saturday.

FIGURE 6



However it makes clear that even if people have the freedom of deviating from the collective rhythm, it is difficult to just ignore it and not be subjected by it. Taking part in life seems to go hand in hand with taking part in collective rhythms.

4 Conclusion & discussion

In this paper we compared the time use, time structuring and allocation of activities over the week of working and not working people. Therefore we distinguished 3 groups: working people under 56 years, not working people under 56 years and not working people above 55 years. Although a lot of theories suggest that not working is a tread to social integration and can lead to detachment of collective rhythms, this was not proved in this paper, at least not for the complete inactive population. Especially not working women stay tuned with the collective rhythm of our labor society. They are ascertained of having a legitimated time use by taking up an alternative social role as a housewife. Older not working people do not need this alternative role to have a legitimisation for their time use. It is generally accepted that they enjoy a quiet old day. Not working men younger then 56 years however get stigmatised when not working. Most of the theories on social isolation of not working people are therefore valid for the unemployed men. This paper shows that younger not working men do have a deviant time use and time structuring and allocation of activities over the week. In that, they follow quite closely the social rhythm of older people instead of their working fellows of the same age. The difference with retired men is that younger not working men have much less social contacts. This is completely different for women. Employed and not employed women younger then 56

years have a quite similar social rhythm. Paid labor is replaced by household work for not working women, but still done in the 'working hours'. A working day and working rhythm is simulated. As for the older people we see that they follow the pace of the labor society by close. Household work is planned on working hours, sleeping, eating, television rhythms are synchronised with the rest of the population. Although retired people have the freedom to deviate from the collective rhythm, they seem to follow it by close. We can therefore conclude that retired people are not divided in time and social space of others. On the contrary elderly engage more in social participation than employed people do.

Points of discussion:

- definition of social contact: previous research does show that older people, unemployed people and housewives have less social interaction partners than working people do (Vandeweyer, 2002). This is not contradictory to our findings. However in this paper social participation is defined as social contacts (party, eating cake & drinking, visiting people, talk, phone, unpaid help to friends) and associational life (activities for organisations, voluntary activities, civil duties, religious activities). The fact that older people spend more time at these activities does not mean that they have more social contact or interaction as such. It means that the activities under this denominator (especially visits and voluntary work) are more popular with older people than with young people. Young people tend to have their social contacts while doing other activities (going to the movies, sports, work, ...).
- demographic features: the fact that younger not working women follow closely the rhythm of our labor society and the fact that younger not working men do not, could be partly explained by their demographic features (see table 1). 94% of the not working younger women have a (working or not) partner, 76% of them have children which can explain why they follow the labor rhythm (men have to go to work, children have to get ready for school). Only 58% of the younger not working men have a partner and 65% is childless. Moreover 35% is still living with their parents. One should also bear in mind that we only have a sample of 50 not working younger men. A bigger sample is necessary to validate these results.

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Annexe 1: activity coding

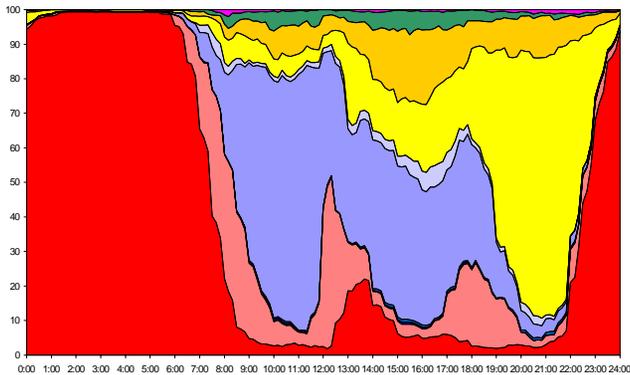
TABLE: DIVISION OF ACTIVITIES IN 11 MAIN CATEGORIES

	Examples (not exhaustive)
1. Paid work	Formal work, time spent at work without working, activities related to unemployment and looking for a job
2. Household work	Housework, odd jobs, shopping, visiting/using services
3. Childcare and educating children	Physical care, reading, playing, talking, supervision, ... of and with children
4. Personal care	Eating and drinking, wash and dress, receiving professional care: visiting doctor, visiting hairdresser, ...
5. Sleeping and resting	Sleeping, relaxing, sun bathing, making love...
6. Education and training	School, homework, courses, professional training courses, breaks concerning education, ...
7. Social participation	Participation, civic duties, organisations, volunteer work, meetings, parties, social contacts, ...
8. Leisure	Hobbies, games, sports, recreation, outdoors, entertainment and cultural events, tv & video, listening to music, reading, new media, ...
9. Waiting	
10. Traveling	All sorts of traveling
11. Rest	Care for and unpaid help of other family members, keeping diary, undefined time

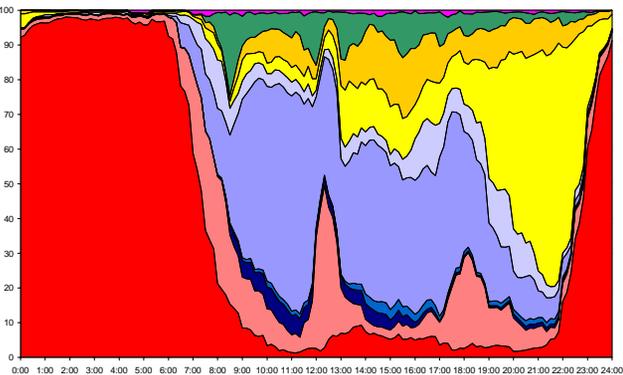
Annexe 2: distribution of activities on a weekday

WEEKDAY

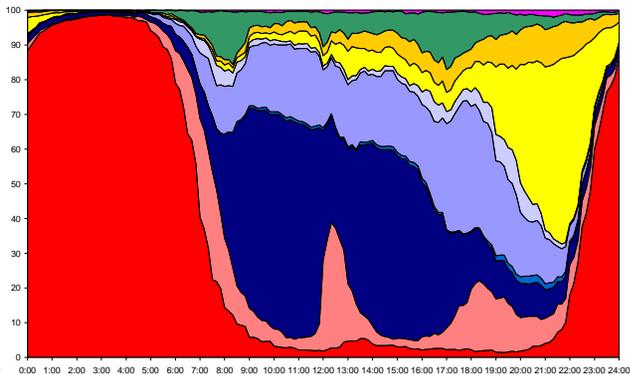
women > 55y, nw



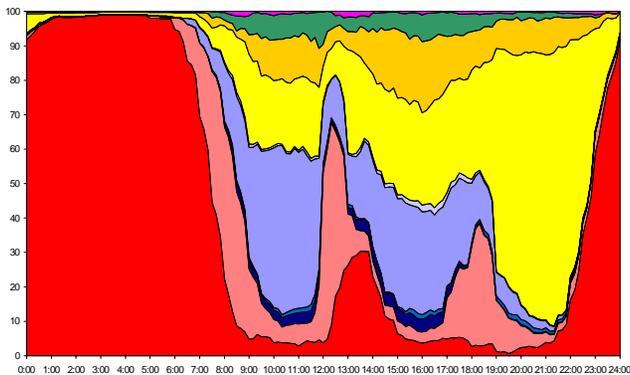
women <= 55y, nw



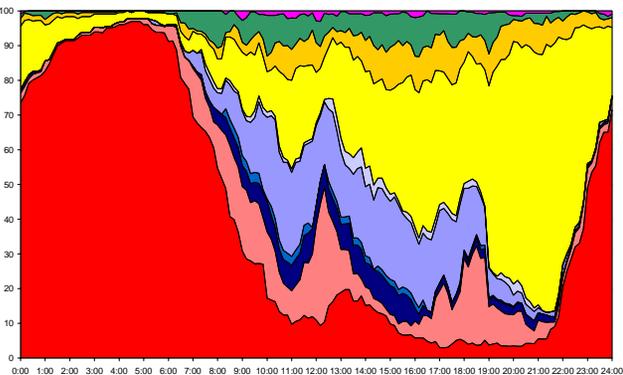
women <= 55y, w



men > 55y, nw



men <= 55y, nw



men <= 55y, w

