

The Significance of the Ideas of Johan Huizinga on Culture and Play and their Contribution to the Qualitative Improvement of Free Time Activities

Takashi Sugiura*

ヨハン・ホイジンガの文化論および遊び論の意義と 余暇活動高次化への貢献

杉 浦 恭

Abstract

【研究の目的と方法】

本稿の目的は、ヨハン・ホイジンガの文化と遊びの概念が、日本人の余暇活動の将来のあり方を考える際に、いかなる示唆を提供してくれるかを検討することにある。研究の方法は、ホイジンガの文化論および遊び論を彼の全著作を丹念に検討しつつ考察するという文献研究をとった。

【各章の論旨】

〔1〕ホイジンガの文化と遊びの概念

ホイジンガは、それぞれの時代概念を、その時代に生きた人々の考え方、感受性（精神の習慣）からとらえた。その結果、「文化は、崇高な夢・理想が遊びを通して表現されたときに形成される」という「歴史的生活理想」のアイデアをつかんだ。

ホイジンガの生きた時代は、ナチズムの影響下、遊びを罪悪視し、労働第一主義を信奉していた時代で、物質的価値や経済的価値を最重要視し、精神的価値や文化的価値を軽視するという時代であった。そのような時代状況に生きた人間は、創造力、判断力を喪失し、遊びを通して文化を創造することを放棄してしまったというのがホイジンガの認識であり、こうした認識からホイジンガは、人間と文化における遊びの重要性を再認識した。

〔2〕日本におけるホイジンガ研究の現状と課題

わが国のホイジンガ研究は大きく(a)ホイジンガを歴史家として研究する立場、(b)文明批判家（とりわけナチズム批判家）として研究する立場、そして、(c)遊びの研究者としての研究する立場の三つに分けることができる。

1930年以前のホイジンガは、歴史の記述的研究者として評価されている。時代の概念を人間の精神の習慣から分析する手法は、当時の歴史学者の間で大きな論議を呼んだ。

* Doctoral Program in Education, University of Tsukuba (筑波大学大学院博士課程教育学研究科)

1930年以降のホイジンガは、文化の規範的研究者として評価される。彼の研究が文明社会の非人間化に対する批判へと傾斜していったからである。

遊びの研究者としてホイジンガは、主に体育学者の間で取り上げられた。遊びとしてのスポーツ、あるいは、スポーツにおける遊びの要素の重要性を現代スポーツとの関係から論じたものが多い。

ホイジンガの文明批判を、余暇文化、レジャーの分野に関係させて研究したものは少ないが、今後のホイジンガ研究にとって重要な視点は、「遊び」論が文化の創造や余暇活動の活性化にどのように結びつくかを考察することである。

〔3〕日本人の余暇活動

（財）余暇開発センターの『国際レジャー調査』（1989）によれば、日本人の余暇活動は、諸外国に比べて娯楽や気晴らしが多く、教養や自己開発的な活動を行っている人は多くない。

〔4〕レジャー活動の動機付けへのホイジンガの概念の貢献

『国際レジャー調査』は、日本人の今後の余暇活動の希望について、自由時間の増加が自己開発的な活動を活性化する可能性が高いことを示している。

調査はまた、自由時間が増えているにも拘わらず、自己開発的な活動の少ないことが問題であることも教えている。その理由は、人々の意識の中に、レジャー活動による自己開発をしようとする強い動機がないことである。本稿で取り上げたホイジンガの文化と遊びの概念は、このような人々の意識を変化させるのに有効である。なぜならば、ホイジンガの遊びの概念は、今日の文脈でとらえるならば、レジャーの概念と関係させて考えることが可能だからである。

ホイジンガの遊び論が示唆する以下の三つのアイデアは、日本人が余暇利用を考え直し、自己開発的なレジャー活動を活発にする方途をさぐる貴重な手がかりとなる。

*人間の精神が労働のみに傾斜した場合、主体性を失い人間性の疎外を感じる。

*人間にとって重要なのは物質的な価値と精神的な価値のバランスを保ち生活することである。

*文化を遊びとして個人が享受することにより、それぞれの創造力、判断力、教養が向上し、それが社会全体の文化レベルの向上にもつながる。

そして、ホイジンガの文化と遊びについての概念を研究することは、現代の日本社会における余暇文化研究に新しい視点を切り開くものである。

【今後の課題】

ホイジンガの文化論および遊び論を、日本人の余暇を有意義なものにする条件づくりのための理論的な下地とし、それをもとにレジャー活動の望ましいあり方を実現することが課題といえる。

Introduction

In this paper I would like to discuss the general ideas of Johan Huizinga (1872-1945) about culture and play and the possibility of their reception in Japanese society, in particular in the field of education.

In Japan Huizinga is only recently being studied, mainly in the field of history. This is the result of the fact that, here, Huizinga is basically considered as a historian. This view in itself is not incorrect as Huizinga produced many works concerning the study of history. Yet, through these studies Huizinga gradually developed ideas about culture and play which ideas are also of interest to the field of education. Especially if one looks at the present situation in Japan, it becomes clear that these concepts are also of importance to the field of lifelong education and leisure studies.

Over the last years Japan has grown into a leading economic power in the world. There is little dispute that this is largely due to the Japanese putting much effort in work, day by day, while emphasizing economic and material values. But then, this excessive emphasis on labour has eventually resulted in the problem of the so-called loss of human nature. This problem refers to the fact that it has become difficult for people to find true satisfaction in their lives. At this point one had to rediscover that a life worth living is not made up of economic values alone. In other words, it is very important to a human being's welfare that he keeps his material and spiritual values in balance. Japan and the Japanese, however, have been leaning too much towards the side of economic and material values. From now on the assignment for Japan should be how to make her people raise their spiritual and cultural level to restore this distorted balance.

People's free time offers the best opportunity

for regaining balance in life. Compared to European countries the number of free days in Japan is still very low, but fortunately their number is gradually increasing. Now the implementation of the necessary lifelong education and leisure studies should get started with.

In the future I intend to continue researching leisure and lifelong education, and I am convinced that Huizinga's concepts concerning culture and play will be of fundamental use serving as a constructive foundation for this research. His emphasis on the importance of culture and play to a human being should be considered as directly connected to the themes of lifelong education and leisure; both Huizinga's ideas about culture and play and the themes of lifelong education and leisure focus on self-realization and self-development of the individual as their objectives.

I The General Ideas of Huizinga concerning Play and Culture

Huizinga had his doubts concerning the general research methods of historical science at his time*1. At the time, historical science had distinguished and constructed the several periods in history mainly on the basis of public documents. Huizinga thought that the conception of the ages of history by relying solely upon detailed official documents provides us only with part of the picture and does not enable us to seize the whole. When one tries to capture history from a scientific point of view, concentrating on official documents as bearers of facts, it becomes difficult to acquire a complete perception of a period. For one, Huizinga pointed out, throughout the Middle Ages the facts in the documents were freely rewritten according to the mood of the feudal lord or even that of his clerk, thus corrupting the supposedly objective value of such documents. Furthermore, Huizinga

objected to the use of official documents only, as they reveal nothing but historical facts while telling us nothing about the emotions or the thoughts of the people that lived in those days nor about their sensibility. Huizinga now considered this neglect of the study of the contemporary way of thinking and sensibility to be historical science's major error as, in his opinion, it was basically just through the study of these that one would be able to grasp the image of a period.

So, Huizinga advocated to uncover the common mentality, sense of value and mental customs, or the so-called mental ideals, in each age as one of the methods to come to a comprehension of that age. This approach eventually resulted in the development of the idea of the historical ideals of life*2. Huizinga's attempt to determine the periods of history while focussing on the mentality of the people in those days as his referential point was an epoch-making event to his fellow historians.

Now, how did Huizinga actually try to grasp the mental ideals of a period? First, he paid attention to the world of arts, for in art the sensibility and the thinking of the people that lived in any particular period find their genuine expression. Huizinga is a historian but he made form and figurative things, in other words the arts, the basis on which to perceive history. Secondly, he reconstructed the mental ideals out of chronicals, memoranda written by the common people and diaries, and all such small records from which the daily emotions and thoughts can be read.

This research first led to the publication of "Over Historische Levensidealen" [lit. About Historical Ideals of Life] in which work Huizinga clarified that history, as subject of science, is not the accumulation of mere knowledge of facts, but "history is the spiritual form in which a culture renders account of her past"*3.

Here, Huizinga does not only present us with the image of each period of history, but it is also in this work that Huizinga first starts to contemplate the "relation between play and culture" and the "role and function of play in culture", which in time will become one of his most important topics.

Now, based on "Over Historische Levensidealen" I would like to explain in what way Huizinga thought about culture and play.

No matter in what age one lived it has always been a human being's dream or ideal to live a life filled with beauty. Depending on the age the concrete contents of these ideals differ, but what they all have in common is that they consist of lofty and universal things. In chivalric life, for example, the ideal consisted of the beauty of self-sacrifice by risking one's life in a fight for the sake of a beloved person. During the Renaissance, people freely enjoyed ancient culture and pursued human integrity and universality in an atmosphere of play. In the Age of Baroque garments became the center of culture as people out of a sense of rivalry competed with one another for being the most beautiful. And during the Age of Romanticism people experienced the extremity of emotions, and its catharsis, through plays of love.

In every set of ideals of life throughout the different ages play has invariably been used as a method to express these ideals. Since it is inherent to ideals that they are difficult to realize and to implement into real life, people through the ages have enjoyed expressing their ideals by means of forms of play. And, finally, by these actions they created culture.

In other words, culture is born in play. Therefore it follows that culture is an indication of the ideals of human beings. When expressed schematically this could be represented by the line ideals -- play -- culture. Looking back on

history, culture has been the symbol that represented the ideals of each age and play has been the process that expressed them as culture. Or put in reverse, if there hadn't been play culture would not have existed.

At the time when Huizinga started thinking about the general ideas of an age from the mental ideals point of view it struck him that in every age of culture there has been play. He discovered in writing his "Over Historische Levensidealen" how important play is to human beings. Therefore, this work might well be considered as the start of the train of thought which led to the birth of "Homo Ludens" which is entirely devoted to the description of the function and the role of play in the various fields of culture.

Let us take a closer look at the ideas of Huizinga concerning the role of play and its social implication, especially as he developed them after the 1930's. After the 1930's Huizinga's research attitude shifted from a descriptive study of culture towards a normative study of culture. This change was, amongst other things, strongly influenced by the advent of Nazism. Huizinga criticized Nazism from his understanding of ethical contents such as love, moral, discipline and duty as conditions of culture*4. He could not accept the Nazi ideas of extolling labour while denying play*5. Huizinga could not reconcile himself with the idea of the Nazi's snatching play from the people, making them devoted to labour only instead. Watching the adherents of Nazism who thought of people as mere working robots and who pursued only material values Huizinga felt the crisis of culture.

By reading various books freely (play) people cultivate their abilities to criticize and to judge. By engaging in productive activities freely (play) people develop creative power. By reading works concerning religion and philosophy freely (play) people acquire morals and ethics.

In other words, people acquire cultivation through play and thus learn the ways of living a life worthy of a human being. However, Nazism eliminated all this. As a result people lost their power to criticize and their power to judge and they were no longer able to be aware of, let alone resist, the inhumane policies of the Nazis. So, people who attach too much importance to material values have their hearts occupied by novelty and scientific techniques and, having lost all ideals, become too serious risking thus the danger of falling prey to inhumanity. For people the balance between material and spiritual values, between economic values and cultural values, is very important. Nazism leaned toward a seriousness close to insanity and had forgotten the importance of play. To Huizinga removing play, the expression of the ideals of a human being, from the life of a human being is equivalent to having that human being giving up his ideals, in which case people will only live as mere living creatures and will completely lose their human nature.

In short, Huizinga strongly criticized materialism. This also became apparent from the critical attitude Huizinga took towards American society and culture. In his "Mensch en Menigte in Amerika" [lit. Man and Mass in America], published in 1918, he stated the following: "In the 19th century America offered the world great technological progress, however it contributed only very little to the intellectual culture, the arts or to literature"*6. As to its reasons, Huizinga thought it was because the development of America had proceeded within the framework of an economy that had as its purpose material wealth only. American society then came to demand of certain acts, materials or studies to have a useful practical value. As a result of this preoccupation with usefulness, according to Huizinga, the hearts of the people are occupied by materialism and convenience, and

the spiritual level declines. And he worried about the influence the system of American system would have on the Netherlands.

Huizinga refers to this danger also with regard to nationalism which influence he equally feared. Nationalism carries the ultimate danger of changing people into infantile obedient masses, as Nazi society so sadly demonstrated. The cultural level declines while culture is standardized. The danger of nationalism also lies in the fact that it eventually allows the law of a country to be changed as to fit the purposes of its ruler(s). The morals and ethics that carry universal validity will be easily transformed under the influence of the value-standards of the nationalistic state to serve the latter's convenience. The pacifist Huizinga felt the danger of nationalism leading to war and increasing numbers of fanatic men as norms and standards and morals would be lost from the hearts of the people.

Because of these kind of phenomena Huizinga came to a renewed appreciation of the importance of play to the human being and society. He also pointed out that play has another constructive function. When people attach importance to actual profits and become too serious, interhuman relations will become highly strained. In the advance of human society towards the right direction through a process of trial and error play plays an important role. Play, then, does not only exist to preserve human nature and to raise the cultivation of the individual, it also serves as the lubricant which makes society function smoothly. One could say, rather cynically, that society in the 1930's provided Huizinga with a magnificent opportunity to prove his ideas concerning play.

There are doubts whether one can apply to present-day society the thoughts of Huizinga as general ideas which have universal validity yet.

I think that particularly in contemporary Japanese society it is possible to adapt these ideas. The studies of Huizinga consist of concepts covering only one side of, or rather a limited period in, the history of European societies and possibly there are people who are convinced that such concepts cannot be made to suit present Japan. Nevertheless, I think the concept of culture and play as developed by Huizinga could most certainly contribute to the study of the means of using free time and leisure activities in present-day Japan as well.

As for the concept of Huizinga, people use play for the realization of their ideals. In realizing those ideals, and thus enjoying a culture of high quality, they acquire the cultivation of the individual. Finally, this cultivation of the individual through the means of play is nothing else than each human being engaging in the process of self-realization and self-development. One could say that this has universal validity. Particularly in contemporary Japan the tendency to put labour values and economic values first has become strong and has caused the problem of human alienation to grow bigger. Seen from this point, the concepts of Huizinga could have a positive effect on this situation in that they stimulate the rehabilitation of human nature through play.

One could think Huizinga's concept of play and the present concept of leisure to overlap. The three characteristics of play which Huizinga described in "Homo Ludens" are in accordance with the concept of leisure as such⁷. His 'play' includes many forms of play as a cultivation of a comparatively high quality, and these lie in the same sphere as leisure. Also, the sanctity of play and play as self-realization are in common with the concept of leisure⁸. Let us take a closer look at the meaning of 'leisure', together with the meanings of 'work' and 'culture', with the latter two based on the general ideas of

Huizinga.

In a broad sense leisure is used to cover all activities carried out in the sphere of free time. Yet, in this paper leisure is more narrowly interpreted as to cover only those activities which contribute positively to self-realization and self-development. Amongst the various forms of play leisure refers to play as a cultivation of a comparatively high quality. Thus a distinction has been made between leisure and 'rest', 'recreation' and 'amusement'.

Labour is defined as the physical and mental exertion for the purpose of receiving a reward (wages) essential to one's livelihood.

Culture, in general, is understood as the result of the mental and corporal activities by which human beings realize their ideals. Cultivation refers to the individual level of culture. Concretely spoken, with the term cultivation in this paper will be meant the 'occupation' with the liberal arts, such as, for example, art, literature, philosophy and sports.

Now, what kind of relationship exists between leisure and labour? One could think of labour as a means, a method of sustaining in one's livelihood, of survival, as opposed to leisure which could be thought of as to consist of activities by which people elevate the level of life to that worthy of a human being. In the modern age we are confronted with the problem of human alienation. Because of the continuing process of specialization and (sub)division of labour, people have become less and less able to understand their part in the whole and their position in society while work itself has become increasingly monotonous. Thus, a situation has come into existence in which a human being has become completely 'partitioned'. As self-realization through labour is increasingly hampered, it has become increasingly important to 'heal' the human being and to restore his completeness as a human being by means of leisure activities.

Labour is necessary for the progress of civilization and for making life more comfortable, yet it is equally necessary for people to recover their humanity in leisure activities.

Huizinga explained the importance of play in opposition to the materialism of American society, but even more in opposition to the nationalistic society of the Nazis. He found that if a human being is too much taken possession of by labour, then the cultivation and the intellectual level of the individual and finally of the nation will decline and culture will stagnate. Therefore, to raise the cultural level of the whole nation it is important that the individual acquires 'culture', cultivation, through leisure activities and that he lives a life as a cultural person in society.

II The State of Huizinga Studies in Japan

Japanese historians have actively studied Huizinga during the period from the 1950's, especially when Huizinga's works first started to appear in Japanese translation, until the 1980's. These studies show different approaches toward Huizinga to have been taken as some thought of Huizinga primarily as a historian, and others took him to be mainly a cultural reviewer, while still others rather studied him as a researcher of play and leisure. When broadly classifying these Japanese studies of Huizinga, it becomes clear that these different approaches appear parallel to the changes in the contents of Huizinga's works.

Until 1930 Huizinga's achievements were mostly descriptive studies of history, and accordingly the scholar Huizinga before 1930 is by and large thought of as an historian. After 1930, however, Huizinga produced more normative studies of culture, which led scholars in Japan to treat Huizinga from this period on as a cultural reviewer or as a researcher of play. The

different viewpoints of scholars in Japan, then, could be said to represent the different stages in Huizinga's personal development from being mainly a historian toward a cultural philosopher.

Huizinga's reputation as a researcher of play, furthermore, was not only recognized by historians, but also by a majority of scholars in the field of physical education studies. In this chapter I would like to introduce the studies of Huizinga in Japan as seen from the viewpoints mentioned above.

1. Huizinga as an historian

The historian Huizinga is thought of as the Burckhardt (1818-1897) of the 20th century. It has been Huizinga who inherited Burckhardt's way of looking at history and it has been Huizinga who adapted his point of view to the modern age*9. Huizinga promoted, just like Burckhardt had done before, the importance of figurative matters and of a sensible feeling for arts as the foundation for the study of history.

In Japan Huizinga achieved fame through his work "Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen" (or "The Waning of the Middle Ages") which was widely discussed among Japanese historians. In this work Huizinga does not give a mere dry description of history, instead he draws a rather vivid picture of the Middle Ages by focussing more on mental factors as will, emotions and mentality of the contemporary people rather than focussing on objective historical materials concerning law, the social system, government, economy and official documents. As for Japanese scholars this particular method of Huizinga was highly attractive and offered an interesting alternative for the reserach methods used so far. Huizinga was much praised by almost every historian in Japan because of these rather new viewpoints from which he looked at

the Middle Ages. Yet, Huizinga looked only in a subjective way at history, wondering in what way he could (and should, to his own conviction) look at the past, rather than contemplating what facts occurred in the past. For this he was also criticized by some historians who doubted the real extent of his contribution to the science of history*10.

One of the questions which became the object of inquiry of a number of Japanese scholars was what made Huizinga take up the method of studying the Middle Ages from the contemporary people's spirit. With regard to this Horikoshi says the following: "Huizinga became aware of the fact that in many respects the way of thinking and the way of feeling of the people of the latter half of the Middle Ages were quite different from that of the modern people. So, Huizinga thought, with this respect in mind it must be possible to create a concept of the Middle Ages from a viewpoint different from the one which had been, until then, so common in historical science for so long. Huizinga, then, wanted to point out to other historians that it is no good to look at the Middle Ages one-sidedly."*11 Actually, Horikoshi says it was the change of thinking and of the sensibility of the people from the Middle Ages to modern times itself that Huizinga really wanted to write about. He was looking for what E. Panofski has termed the 'habitus mentalis' of the people of France and the Netherlands. Horikoshi also points to Huizinga's love for the work of the painter Van Eyck which influenced his desire to write about the Middle Ages as having been a period of beauty*12.

Another scholar, Satomi, analyzes things in the following way. "In the Middle Ages people were longing for a life filled with beauty. By means of play they could express this dream in the formal ceremonies of life. Huizinga who liked the idea of visualization of history very

much, wanted to put that beauty into words."*13

Horigome states that Huizinga wrote this book to criticize historical science at his time which considered the Middle Ages only as an intermediate period which ended with the final achievement of the Renaissance*14.

Thus, various opinions exist concerning Huizinga's intentions in writing "Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen". As far as the critics of Huizinga's subjective approach are concerned, Huizinga has been able to make himself firmly acknowledged by Japanese historians in general, the sceptic critics included, for his high abilities as an orthodox historical scientist through his work "Het Probleem der Renaissance" [lit. The Problem of the Renaissance]*15. In this work he maintained his objectivity clearly, and his peculiar tone coloured by his rich imagination, which invited criticism with regard to "Herfsttij der Mideleeuwen", cannot be found here.

2. Huizinga as a cultural reviewer

Huizinga after 1930 has been understood in Japan to have been acting mainly as a cultural reviewer. Since 1930 Huizinga has in his research been leaning towards the norm of culture and the ethics of the people. As said before, this change took place under the influence of the advent of the Nazis and their inhumane policies which Huizinga severely criticized. Consequently, in Japan Huizinga is considered to have displayed heroic resistance against Nazism. His "In de Schaduwen van Morgen" [lit. In the Shadows of Tomorrow] is seen as evidence of this resistance.

In general, amongst others by Nishimura, Huizinga's moral foundation is thought in Japan to have its origins in Calvinism and in the doctrine of Erasmus*16. It is from this moral viewpoint that his criticism of the Nazis

is thought to have stemmed. Huizinga objected to pragmatism as he objected to the idea of seeking a truth devoid of ethics. For the same reasons he was also critical of the ideas of Max Weber (1864-1920) and Oswald Spengler (1880-1936), who starting from the presupposition of the unity of episteme and existence created the philosophy of existence in which existence itself is considered to be superior. He also denounced the social theories by Hans Freyer (1887-1969) as well as the political theories by Carl Schmitt (1888-1985). In conclusion, Huizinga feared that these German scientists, and others, whose theories were used to justify and to construct Nazi policies, had finally collapsed under the pressure and the power of the Nazis*17.

But Huizinga as a cultural reviewer did not state about the crisis of culture and humanity in opposition to Nazism alone. He was equally informed by the problems posed by modernization, utilitarianism and materialism in the construction of his views. Yet, virtually none of the Japanese scholars interested in Huizinga's ideas has devoted any attention to Huizinga's points of view concerning these latter problems. Only in one study of Huizinga as a cultural reviewer, published in 1954 by Komatsubara, a reference handling about Huizinga's ideas concerning American society can be found. "Huizinga sees American culture in the affluence of material goods and the mechanization of life, but when he turned his eyes to the life style of the people and their spiritual ceremonies, he noticed the depersonalization inherent to this mechanization and affluence. The complete deliverance of culture to the process of a huge mechanization is then connected to the abandonment of reason"*18.

Huizinga, then, concerned himself with the problems of modernization at large, which include Nazism. "In de Schaduwen van Morgen" as well could be interpreted as to deal with the

problems of modernization and industrialization, while criticizing especially Nazism as an excess of these problems. It would not be too far-fetched to say that Huizinga as a cultural reviewer had already predicted the occurrence of the problem of depersonalization at the start of modernization which would from then on take place on a world-wide scale. It is regrettable that there aren't any studies dealing with Huizinga's ideas on such problems.

3. Huizinga as a researcher of play

What brought Huizinga fame as a researcher of play was his work "Homo Ludens" [lit. Playing Man]. One could say that this work is the compilation of his concepts of play in every age and culture which Huizinga had continued to think about throughout his study of the history of mankind since "Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen".

Amongst the scholars in Japan, there are those who view Huizinga as a researcher of play. I think this to be rather misleading. He started out studying cultural history as a historian and in doing this he came upon the idea of 'play', and upon the related problems of modern civilization. He never intended to become specifically a researcher of play, and I think that he has always remained a cultural historian first.

Having said this, however, the influence of "Homo Ludens" in Japan has been considerable, it became not only a topic of discussion among historical scientists but also among anthropologists and scholars in the field of physical education. In this respect Huizinga could well be considered as to have been the first scholar who did research on play. Certainly no other research on play itself was known before Huizinga appeared on stage. After Huizinga followed the French sociologist Roger Caillois

(1913-1978) with his "Les Jeux et les Hommes", and the equally French philosopher Jacques Henriot (1923-) with "Le Jeu". Yet, in Japan Huizinga's ideas about play are indeed the most famous.

Opinions about Huizinga's intentions in writing "Homo Ludens" differ. For example, according to one opinion "Homo Ludens" was written in an attempt to prove to what extent culture can be explained by the concept or the phenomenon of play. Then again, "Homo Ludens" is also considered as a work of criticism towards Nazism that denies the importance of play to the human being. Others hold that in this work proof is given for the very existence of play throughout whatever decade and in each and every culture as a way for human beings to express their dreams and ideals. And finally, some believe that "Homo Ludens" reveals a critical attitude towards the preoccupation of the world after the 19th century with utilitarianism and rationalism, resulting in a human life which has become too serious.

Such are the various thoughts and opinions, and as Huizinga in "Homo Ludens" deals with all these topics mentioned above, they all seem to be correct. However, what is most criticized in "Homo Ludens" in my opinion is the lost appreciation of the importance of play as the origin of culture as in modernization people lean towards utilitarianism and rationalism. When thought about in the light of modernization, "Homo Ludens" could be said to point out to us, from the essence of human beings, namely play, the crisis of humanity which occurs in a society where economic growth is considered as a matter of the utmost importance. In this sense the message of "Homo Ludens" has not lost any of its validity. At this point it might seem as if "Homo Ludens" does not show any shortcomings; it

does. It does not include any analysis from an economic or political point of view, nor an analysis of the social structure, the lack of either which would nowadays cause a study to lose its credibility. Indeed, Huizinga was strongly motivated by subjective factors, such as personal convictions and experiences, rather than by a more distanced desire for objective analysis. He disliked Marxism as he felt embarrassed by the thought that the lives and the perceptions of the people are influenced by economy and material conditions, and therefore he excluded these ideas from his work¹⁹. His dislike was, no doubt, also rooted in his upbringing in a wealthy environment, and his aristocratic background can be discovered in his research. To give an example, he does not treat any form of play which could be considered as worldly or vulgar²⁰.

Nevertheless, the subjective approach of "Homo Ludens" has not prevented Huizinga's concept of play of becoming the subject of discussion, especially among sports scientists.

Huizinga noted that play is the origin of sports and that sports are a very important expression of high-leveled play in present-day culture. However, when sports are leaning towards the doctrine of victory just for victory's sake they will gradually lose the essential element of play. Huizinga saw evidence of this danger in the tying of sports to nationalism in general, and Nazism in particular. Nowadays other problems have emerged as well, such as sports are increasingly being tied to commercialism, or at times exert too much influence on daily life as the result of excessive training and exercise, again making people too conscious of victory and defeat. Almost all of these problems have occurred because of the fact that the basic mental attitude that thinks of sports as play is forgotten. Sports scientists have recognized that in those instances sports have completely

emerged from the category of play as Huizinga defined it.

In reconsidering the essence of sports, as something enjoyable which should never lose its essential element of play, sports scientist have often referred to the concept of play as developed by Huizinga.

III The Free Time Activities of the Japanese

In this chapter I would like to describe the way in which the Japanese use their free time as compared to the way in which in 6 other countries free time is being used. The data are extracted from the International Leisure Investigation carried out in 1989²¹. The 7 countries investigated are: Japan, the U.S.A., Canada, the United Kingdom, France, West-Germany and Australia.

1. The percentage of participation in the major free time activities

In the investigation mentioned above 43 items of activities generally being carried out were selected and enqueteers had the people of the sample mark their activities throughout the period of one year (table I).

In the several investigated countries there are activities which are being carried out to almost the same degree, and there are activities of which the participation percentage shows great differences. As for Japan, what strikes one most is that with regard to activities of the recreation-type the participation percentage of Japan is about the same as that of the other countries of the investigation, but when activities of the leisure-type are concerned the difference in the percentage of participation between Japan and the other countries is considerable.

When searching for items that show the

lowest score in the sample for Japan, a total of 23 items, almost all within the sphere of leisure activities, is found. In particular the items of leisure sports and cultural activities show a low percentage of participation for Japan. The Japanese, then, do not seem to enjoy themselves on the same level as the people of the 6 other countries. They are not even in reach of that level when concerning the items of, for instance, Cycling-Sports Cycling, Watching a Movie, Listening to Classical Music, Listening to Light Music, Social Dancing, Reading, Having a Party at Home, and Traveling Abroad. As for reading, the recent complaints in the newspapers that the Japanese don't read anymore seem to be endorsed by the score of a mere 49% for this item as compared to about 70% for 4 of the other countries (West-Germany 59%, the U.S.A. 65,8%). I expected leisure activities carried out within the family-sphere and out-door type leisure activities to have increased since total free time has increased little by little in Japan. However, Japan shows only a small percentage of participation in Camping, and Having a Party at Home.

There are also items in which Japan participates at the same degree as the other 6 countries, those items being Golf, Tennis, Bowling, Skiing, Horse Racing, Going to an Amusement Park, Domestic Trips, and Playing Music. Except for Playing Music, we see that all of these activities are activities of the recreation-type. It is also interesting to note that Playing Music is in none of the countries an activity carried out by a great number of people (even the highest participation percentage, in West-Germany, measures only 8%) although Listening to Music is a popular activity in all the countries concerned. The difference between this active and passive appreciation of music tells us something about the importance of education, of learning people to actively pursue

cultivation and to use their free time for the pursuit of self-development.

When calculating the total percentage of the participation percentages of the items, we will get an idea of first, the degree of liveliness of free time life in general, and second, in a more indirect way, of the degree of liveliness of leisure life in the different countries. Canada is the 'liveliest' country, second ranked is Australia, followed by the U.S.A., West-Germany, France, and the United Kingdom, in this order. The last place in the sequence is taken by Japan.

2. Working hours and weekly holiday

a. The rate of working people (table II)

Looking at the whole sample, Japan has the highest rate of people working full-time. Compared to the other 6 countries this rate in Japan lies about 10% higher. The lowest of all is France with a mere 39.4%. Looking at the rate for only the male working population Japan is leading with a top rate of 78.9%.

b. Weekly working hours (table III)

Part-time jobs put aside and limited to full-time jobs, we see that the 3 European countries investigated score the lowest rate of total working hours, compared to the other countries. In particular France and West-Germany, where 46% of the working population has an average working week of 35-39 hours. The average working hours per year in these 2 countries are expected soon to reach the 1600, thus further increasing the gap between these countries and Japan with its 2000 working hours per year.

Almost 80% of the people in West-Germany work less than 44 hours a week, as opposed to the approximately 35% of the people in Japan. Furthermore, 43% of the Japanese work 45-54 hours a week, while 21% works even more than 55 hours a week. Such rates endorse the critical

view of Japan as having her citizens work too much, as so often voiced by other countries.

c. Weekly holidays (table IV)

The rate of 20% for the item of 2 days off per week in Japan is by far the lowest. After Canada with the highest rate of 76%, come the U.S.A. with 68%. It is interesting to note that the people from the American continent have more weekly holidays than their European counterparts.

Japan scores highest, 42%, for the item of 1 day off per week, as well as for the non-fixed item of '2-or-1', i.e. every 2 weeks 2 days off (sat. & sun.) and the other 2 weeks only 1 day off (sun.), with 25%.

As for the item of 3 days off France measures highest with 4.8% which shows this item for all of the countries of the sample to be still at a rather low rate.

d. Work and free time (table V)

The investigation also inquired into what people thought of as being important in their lives: work or free time and leisure. Concluding from the results, the French and the Japanese consider work as more important, whereas the British and the West-Germans valued free time and leisure over work. The latter 2 countries show only 15% of the people considering work as more important.

In conclusion, the following could be said about the situation of free time activities in Japan:

* The Japanese do carry out free time activities but only for the purpose of relaxation needed to be able to endure the severe working hours. Very few people in Japan carry out activities that are related to cultivation, or self-development. In other words, Japanese seem to be looking for diversion in order to regain strength and energy for the following day of

work and work-related obligations. Free time in Japan, then is mainly used for recreation, not leisure.

* Compared to the 6 other countries, Japan has the highest rate of working hours. These data do not even include the hours in which employees carry out activities which are not actual part of their jobs but which are still very much obligatory, such as playing golf and company entertainment. Other job-related activities which exist in the shadowy domain between work and free time are performing karaoke or going for a drink with colleagues. Also not taken into account is the (extra) work that people take home with them. Were all these hours to have been included as well, then the total amount of working hours, or rather non-free time, would show to be even higher.

* As expected, the amount of free time hours, being in a reversed relation with working hours, is the lowest in Japan. It may well be that under the given situation the Japanese resignedly accept the usage of their sparse free time only for refreshment and diversion, the amount of free time too limited to allow for the pursuit of leisure. However, recently, the number of companies which provide their employees with long summer- and winter-holidays is increasing. Consequently, the Japanese will have to consider how to use this 'new' free time during these holidays.

* The investigation shows that the Japanese in general consider work to be an essential element in their lives, with 1 out of 3 valuing work over free time and leisure. In this respect, it seems the simple reform of the physical factors, such as the shortening of working hours, alone could not be expected to bring about a change in the use of free time by the Japanese. One would think the consciousness and the mental attitude of Japanese society need to change as well. Here lies an important task for (leisure) education.

IV The Contribution of Huizinga's Concepts to the Motivation of the Pursuit of Leisure Activities in Japan

To the question whether one performed any kind of sports or hobby activities regularly 47% of the Japanese answered "yes, I do" (table VI). These are considerable low figures compared to other countries. In other words, still 53% of the Japanese do not enjoy any sports nor hobby activities. What could be its cause?

One of the causes apparently lies in the long working hours and the rather small amount of free time. Another cause lies with the mental attitude or the consciousness of the Japanese which is often surmised as weak when concerning the enjoyment of culture in an individual way or when concerning activities which could contribute to self-development. The facts demonstrate that the Japanese indeed mostly engage in activities which lie within the sphere of recreation. Yet, it is also important to note that the Japanese are not totally unaware of the possibility of using free time for more leisure-oriented activities. The answer to the question "What would you do if you had more free time?" varied from "going on a trip" to "perform a hobby", "learn a common culture"²², or "going to see a movie, concert or a museum". Thinking about doing something and actually doing it, however, are two different things. The increase in people actually performing self-development related activities lags behind the increase, however little, in the amount of free time. Consequently, the creation of a favourable climate for engaging in leisure activities is not determined by the shortening of working hours alone.

Now, the assignment would be to create an environment in which people will carry out

leisure activities. In order to this, both a physical, or 'hard-ware', environment, providing the equipment and the facilities, as well as a so-called 'soft-ware' environment, providing planning and guidance concerning leisure activities are necessary. And this is precisely what the design of lifelong education stands for.

The first time the term "lifelong education" was heard was during the 1965 International Conference of UNESCO, in Paris. The advocate of the time was Paul Lengrand who proposed the idea of "lifelong integrated education". The term "integrated" implies an integration in time and space. Integration in time means the continuous securance of opportunities of learning that one will encounter throughout one's life, from birth to death. Integration in space means the securance of learning opportunities not only at school, but at various places like, for example, within the family or any other community. This concept soon spread throughout the world and it also exerted influence on the thinking about leisure in Japan in general, and on the development of the administrative policy concerning the stimulation of leisure activities by the Japanese Ministry of Education in particular.

The process of the development of the administrative policy of lifelong education in Japan can be roughly divided in the following stages:

1965 - 1974	the decade of ideals and arguments
1975 - 1980	the beginning of planning
1981 - 1985	the testing of concrete plans
1986 - 1990	enactment of legislation & the completion of the system.

The fundamental guidelines that accompanied this process were:

1. To set as goals the improvement of life, the improvement of professional capacity, and the enrichment of the individual, next to having every person engage out of his own free will in activities which would contribute these.
2. To choose and to carry out throughout life

means and methods fitting the individual as much as possible.

3. To carry out lifelong education not only through activities organized by school or society, but also, amongst others, through activities engaged in on an individual basis, such as free-time sports, cultural activities, hobbies, or volunteer activities.

Thus, lifelong education offers and supports the learning opportunities of the individual throughout all his life in order to enable him to live a human, enriched life. In other words, lifelong education is equivalent to the realization of leisure. So far we have been looking at the development of longlife education in terms of the national administrative policy. However, to what extent has the lifelong education service in Japan already been realized?

At the level of the prefecture, the structure and organization of lifelong education is realized for 90% and also the service of spreading information is being taken care off to a reasonable degree. On the other hand, when looking at the community level, this includes neighborhoods in the cities, towns and villages, one cannot say the service having been realized to a satisfying degree.

Ofcourse, the opportunities for lifelong education are not only limited to the programs offered by the administration. There are also many programs offered by private enterprises, the so-called "cultural centers". If one includes in addition to these centers the public lectures offered to the public by higher-level educational centers, then in all there exist quite many chances to receive lifelong education.

However, the figures of an investigation on lifelong education carried out by the Ministry of Education in 1985* 23 show only a relatively small number of people, namely 23% of the whole Japanese population, to take part in any

kind of lifelong education program. Yet, in an investigation carried out by the Prime-Minister's Office* 24 in 1992, 64.5% of the Japanese answered in the affirmative to the question whether they had heard of the term lifelong education. The question "Do you think you would like to try out lifelong education?" was answered with a "yes" by 65.9% of the people. So, two out of three Japanese are interested in lifelong education, but not even one out of three actually takes part in such a program.

Why, then, do the Japanese still not actually engage in lifelong education although the necessary environment seems already to have been created? This, I think, is a problem of motivation. There does not seem to exist a strong motivation in the hearts of the people to develop oneself by means of leisure activities. People think of continuing their cultivation, but do still not seem to reach the stage of undertaking some positive action. It could be said that at the side of the administration the significance of lifelong education, leisure and play, is recognized, while at the side of the public people are still not much aware of its significance.

So, the task we are now confronted with is to discover how to make people aware and how we can motivate them. Here, I think Huizinga's concept of culture and play would be very useful. With Huizinga we may agree that the balance between material and spiritual values is very important to a human being. Furthermore, the history of mankind has taught us that whenever people were leaning too much towards doctrines that consider work as the most important thing in life culture declined. Consequently, as stated before, people should raise their enjoyment in culture in play, their individual creative power and their power to judge. The merit of this at the individual level will be that people will be able to live a life worth living as humans. At the level of the society as a whole

there will be the advantage of a rise in the cultural level of the nation. Under the labour conditions of the present industrial structure it is hard to lead an enjoyable life. Therefore it is necessary to rehabilitate humanity in leisure. If this is not to happen, people will loose their independence and are in danger of becoming robots in a materialistic society.

In which places and at which opportunities would it be best to reform the consciousness of the people and to motivate them?

As a possible solution leisure seminars could be thought of. These are seminars to be held periodically, using the public facilities of the local community. Here, one could, first, explain the significance of cultivation by introducing Huizinga's ideas and, then, invite people to participate in a discussion afterwards. During this latter half it would be best if people could also actually experience a leisure program. Under guidance of professional instructors people should be enabled to try painting, singing or doing some sports for some hours. It is very important that the instructors are capable people who can easily make the participant discover his potential and bring out his ability and who can motivate each and every person. Furthermore, it would be best if in every program the instructors could make the participants in each individual case become aware of the change in his inner feelings before and after the activities, and, if possible, of their progress. This would necessitate the education of counselors and instructors so that they are able to give such guidance.

Conclusion

Japan, until now, has attached much importance to economic and material values, while making little of cultural and spiritual values. From now on it has become imperative to ensure the balance between these two sets of values. Therefore, more weight should be attached to cultural and spiritual values, and free time should be used much more for the purpose of cultivation. As to the connection between society's spiritual and cultural values and the individual's cultivation, it is through elevating the level of the latter that the former will rise in level as well. As it has become increasingly difficult in modern society for the individual to find opportunities for self-realization and self-development through his work, leisure has become the obvious means through which the individual can recover his humanity thus raising the cultural level of society as a whole.

For the fundamental general ideas on how to raise the level of the individual's self-realization and self-development, and consequently of the cultural values in society, I have based myself upon the general ideas of Johan Huizinga about culture and play. Huizinga noted that it is important that people acquire creative power and the power to judge, and that they raise the level of culture. Following the same line of thought, it is important to motivate people to engage in creative leisure activities.

Fortunately, in Japan a system of lifelong education has been gradually realized, and the people have become interested in the way in which to spend their free time. Yet, the number of people who actually use their free time for the purpose of self-development are few. People who use their free time for amusement only will become people who lack in creativity with all its adverse consequences. From now on, then, it becomes important to teach every individual about ideals of life and self-development.

- * 1 Huizinga, Johan: "De Taak der Cultuurgeschiedenis", Verzamelde Werken, Vllp.35-94, Tjeenk Willink, Haarlem, 1950
- * 2 Huizinga, Johan: "Over Historische Levensidealen", Verzamelde Werken, IV, p.411-432, Tjeenk Willink, Haarlem, 1949
- * 3 Huizinga, Johan: "Over een Definitie van het Begrip Geschiedenis", Verzamelde Werken, VII, p.102, Tjeenk Willink, Haarlem, 1950
- * 4 Huizinga, Johan: "In de Schaduwen van Morgen", Verzamelde Werken, VII, Tjeenk Willink, Haarlem, 1950
- * 5 Here play includes things as learning freely, reading, and literary activities in the broad sense.
- * 6 Huizinga, Johan: "Mensch en Menigte in America", Verzamelde Werken, V, Tjeenk Willink, Haarlem, 1950
- * 7 Huizinga, Johan: "Homo Ludens", Verzamelde Werken, V, p.28-55, Tjeenk Willink, 1950
- * 8 Huizinga quotes the words of Plato and notes the sanctity of play.
- * 9 Takahashi Hideo: "Kaisetsu Homo Ludens", p.468, Chuko Bunko, Tokyo, 1973
- * 10 Shimada Yuziro: "Huizinga ni Kansuru Ni, San no Kosatsu", Shigaku Zasshi, no.10, 1940
- * 11 Horikoshi Koichi: "Chusei Nachurarisumu no Mondai", Shigaku Zasshi, no.3,4, 1964
- * 12 Horikoshi Koichi: "Chusei no Aki Kaisetsu", Chuko Bunko, Tokyo, 1976
- * 13 Satomi Motoichiro: "Mittsu no Huizinga rom". Rekishigaku Kenkyu, no.398, 1973
- * 14 Horigome Yozo: "Hoizinga no Hito to Sakuhin", Rekishigaku Kenkyu, 1975
- * 15 Satomi Motoichiro: "Hoizinga no Runesansu Gainen ni tsuite", Tokai Shigaku, no.3, p.1-6, 1967
- * 16 Nishimura Sadaji: "Kaiso no Hoizinga", Shigaku Zasshi, no.4, 1954
- * 17 Horigome Yozo: "Rekishi to Genzai", p.244, Chuko Soshō, Tokyo, 1975
- * 18 Komatsubara Kentaro: "Bunkashika Yohan Hoizinga no Shogai to Shiso", Seiyō Shigaku, no.2, 1954
- * 19 Horigome Yozo: "Homo Rudensu no Tetsugaku", p.86-95, Chuokoron, Tokyo, 1982
- * 20 Niwa Noriaki: J. Hoizinha no "Homo Ludens" ni okeru Yugi no Gainen, in "Yugi to Undo Bunka", p.13-40, Dowa Shoin, Tokyo, 1979
- * 21 Yoka Kaihatsu Center Japan, 1989. Object of investigation are males and females from 18 years and older. The sample of each country consists of 1000 people. Sex distinction and differences of age are equatixed.
- * 22 Common culture includes, amongst other things, tea ceremony, flower arranging, Japanese chess etc.
- * 23 As published in "Wagakuni no Bunkyo Seisaku", which report was issued in 1988, p.62
- * 24 the so-called "Shogaigakushu ni kansuru Seron Chosa", issued in the same year.

1 Table I. The percentage of participation in free time activities (%)

	Japan	U.S.A.	Canada	United Kingdom	France	West Germany	Australia
Jogging	16.3	25.8	23.1	16.6	25.6	20.3	24.0
Training	8.2	22.2	18.7	14.4	6.1	8.1	14.7
Aerobics	3.1	14.6	16.8	10.2	3.0	19.9	15.4
(Sports) Cycling	7.4	24.2	39.5	20.0	35.3	44.6	24.6
Soccer	2.1	3.8	6.1	10.1	7.4	11.9	5.7
Swimming	21.0	40.0	50.4	46.4	31.8	51.4	41.2
Golf	16.1	11.2	21.1	10.7	1.5	2.0	15.3
Tennis	11.1	8.9	12.0	10.1	12.3	8.3	20.6
Skiing	9.8	8.8	21.0	4.3	12.0	10.2	8.1
Fishing	14.7	32.5	33.8	9.9	15.2	3.4	28.9
Mountain Climbing	8.1	6.8	4.7	16.6	4.2	7.6	5.5
Surfing/Wind Surfing	1.0	2.5	3.1	3.7	3.8	4.1	10.0
Scuba/Skin Diving	1.8	3.0	2.9	1.5	2.1	4.0	5.6
Bowling	22.3	25.4	21.1	11.0	15.3	19.8	16.0
Ice-Skating	4.7	6.3	27.2	7.6	3.5	4.8	4.2
Horse Riding	0.4	8.3	9.6	4.9	4.8	3.4	8.4
Yacht/Motorboat Sailing	1.5	12.0	16.7	5.0	5.6	3.3	12.5
Hang Gliding	0.1	1.1	0.9	0.9	0.2	0.8	1.1
Cinema	25.5	50.9	53.1	39.7	40.8	36.5	49.1
Theater	12.9	22.3	27.3	23.1	14.1	24.7	24.2
Concert	16.1	35.1	35.2	27.5	14.3	26.4	33.6
Listening to Classical Music	13.1	31.1	36.9	25.8	35.6	24.7	30.8
Listening to Light Music	25.1	49.0	63.3	43.1	63.3	55.6	59.3
Social Dancing	4.2	9.3	12.0	5.9	20.7	33.2	6.5
Handicraft/Knitting	19.9	22.7	26.7	23.1	44.0	29.4	27.8
Playing Music	6.2	4.6	3.6	2.9	1.0	8.1	5.6
Reading	48.7	65.8	72.2	70.2	72.5	59.1	69.0
Photograph (Photo/Video)	19.2	29.0	41.5	30.8	27.7	25.0	39.4
Singing a Song	3.5	12.3	10.5	5.7	2.8	5.6	9.1
Museum	18.6	24.6	29.5	23.3	25.1	15.0	29.3
Lottery	25.4	24.7	50.3	5.2	15.8	29.7	41.4
Horse Racing	6.0	6.9	7.3	6.6	4.7	2.1	11.5
Dine Out	41.7	60.8	72.6	57.4	54.1	54.6	56.4
Home Party	8.3	30.4	42.7	20.9	41.2	34.8	37.6
Amusement park	26.0	30.8	34.0	25.9	21.5	19.2	24.3
Go for a Drive	46.4	62.7	73.3	47.7	60.2	58.6	62.5
Camping	7.0	23.5	34.0	13.6	18.7	9.8	27.8
Domestic Trip	40.2	30.0	46.0	31.3	33.8	40.4	38.7
Travel Abroad	6.8	11.3	23.5	34.1	22.6	32.4	13.5
Volunteer Activities	4.1	21.4	30.0	13.5	18.8	12.1	19.5
Bird Watching	0.7	8.8	12.2	4.4	12.9	6.3	6.9
Hiking	11.5	18.0	32.3	11.3	27.3	36.7	16.6
Ocean Cruise	2.1	2.4	5.1	2.1	3.7	1.8	4.7

② Table II. The percentage of working people (%)

	Full time	Part time	No work	N.A.
Japan	[54.6]	[10.8]	[29.0]	[5.5]
men	78.9	3.6	12.2	5.3
women	30.7	18.0	45.5	5.7
U.S.A.	[45.3]	[11.2]	[41.4]	[2.1]
men	56.7	7.7	33.8	1.8
women	33.5	14.8	49.2	2.4
Canada	[47.3]	[13.7]	[39.0]	[-]
men	59.0	9.6	31.4	-
women	35.6	17.8	46.7	-
United Kingdom	[42.1]	[14.4]	[43.6]	[-]
men	63.4	6.9	29.8	-
women	22.3	21.3	56.4	-
France	[39.7]	[7.3]	[52.8]	[0.2]
men	53.5	2.8	43.5	0.2
women	29.2	10.8	59.9	0.2
West Germany	[45.4]	[10.2]	[43.8]	[0.6]
men	63.9	3.3	31.8	1.0
women	28.8	16.5	54.6	0.2
Australia	[43.9]	[13.4]	[42.8]	(-)
men	61.1	6.4	32.5	-
women	26.5	20.4	53.1	-

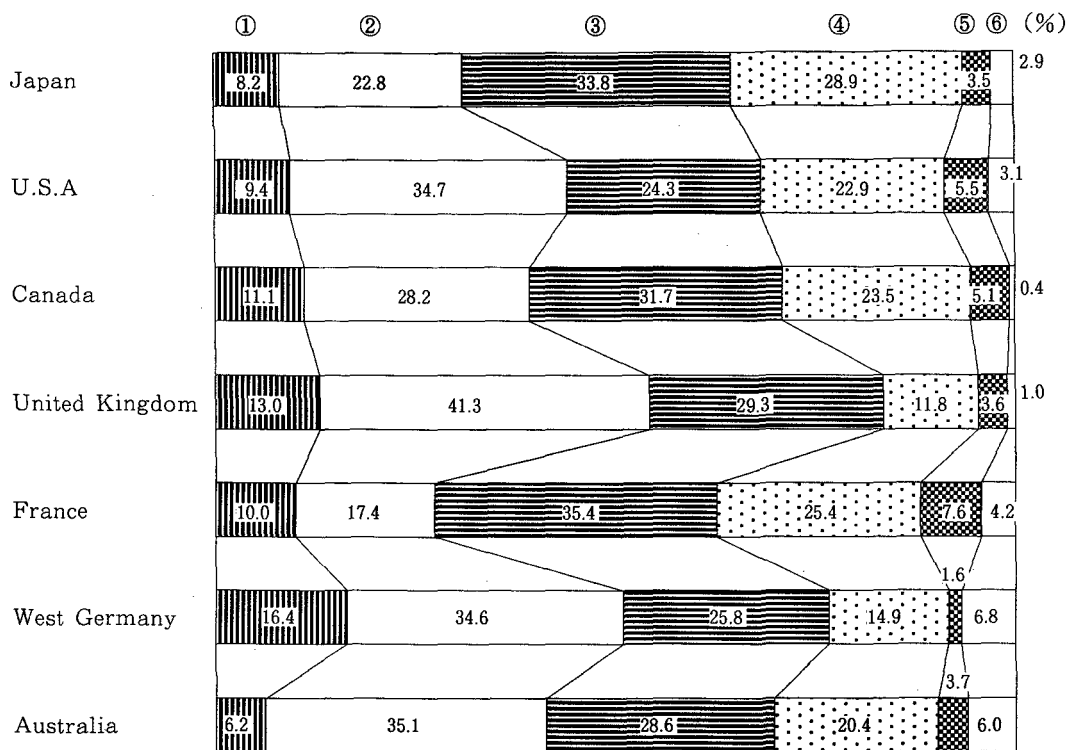
③ Table III. The percentage of weekly working hours among full-time employees (%)

	Untill 29 hrs	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	more than 55 hrs
Japan	2.6	2.2	7.7	22.8	26.3	16.7	21.2
U.S.A.	1.3	4.4	8.0	42.7	11.1	12.6	18.8
Canada	1.2	6.1	27.9	35.4	10.1	7.9	11.1
United Kingdom	0.7	3.0	33.6	23.7	11.6	9.5	16.9
France	2.3	4.0	46.2	18.2	9.3	4.0	15.2
West Germany	0.9	1.9	46.4	33.6	6.0	6.6	4.5
Australia	2.4	2.6	28.1	28.1	13.4	8.9	16.6

④ Table IV. The percentage weekdays off among full-time employees (%)

	3 Days off	2 Days off	2 or 1 Day(s) off	1 Day off	Changing	No Days off
Japan	1.2	19.7	24.8	41.7	4.2	7.3
U.S.A.	3.1	68.4	3.1	16.8	0.4	6.0
Canada	3.0	76.1	2.4	9.9	5.7	2.8
United Kingdom	2.3	59.6	2.3	20.0	7.4	7.4
France	4.8	60.9	5.1	19.4	2.8	6.8
West Germany	1.9	62.8	8.3	1.5	6.8	11.9
Australia	2.2	45.5	7.1	17.4	4.0	22.7

5 TableV. Relations between work and free time (%)



- 1 - Appreciate a life in spare time more than in work. Free time Side
- 2 - To finish off work properly and enjoy free time as much as possible. Free time Side
- 3 - To put effort in dividing work and free time equally. Free time and Work Side
- 4 - Enjoy free time sometimes but work is more important. Work Side
- 5 - Put all one's effort to appreciate work in life Work Side
- 6 - No answer.

6 TableVI. Sports and Hobbies that are always carried out (%)

