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SPARE TIME USE AND PERCEIVED WELL-BEING
AMONG BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN YOUTH

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ABSTRACT. Leisure opportunities for urban black South Africans are limited but there is little evidence which documents the experience of disadvantage or its significance for retarded advancement and depressed quality of life. An exploratory questionnaire study, conducted in 1989 in three metropolitan areas among black township youth (age 15–25 years, predominantly Zulu- and Xhosa-speakers) of both sexes, inquired into spare time habits and activities, participation rates, leisure aspirations, satisfactions, preferences, and barriers. Each subject also kept activity diaries for a specific weekday and a weekend day. Preliminary results from the time budget data are discussed with reference to subjects' overall life satisfaction and outlook on the future. Findings have policy implications for reducing inequalities in a socially divided society.

INTRODUCTION

South Africa is a youthful country; over half its population is under 21 years of age. There is great concern for the development of its future generations as evidenced by research into educational, health, and child welfare issues. The under-privileged situation of black youth with regard to educational and occupational opportunities is well-documented and has given impetus to intervention programmes to redress imbalances. However, the lack of opportunity to use time constructively outside of the work and school situation has received less attention. Leisure as a vehicle for social development has yet to be recognized in South Africa.

South Africa comprises a mix of First and Third World contexts. In less developed contexts investments in education, health, and basic infrastructure needs are considered paramount. Where basic needs are considered the priority issue, provision for leisure tends to be neglected (Bhattacharya, 1975) and leisure research acquires negative connotations. Nevertheless, it is widely accepted that leisure, broadly defined, can play a crucial role in the formation of young people's identity. Kelly (1983) notes that at certain stages in the life cycle, and under certain social conditions leisure may be the one sphere where people can

essentially be themselves and by and large follow dictates of conscience, personal needs, and visions. A case could be made for the importance of studying the leisure of black youth in South Africa, who are growing up in a socially divided society (Burman and Reynolds, 1986) which has curtailed freedom of choice in most spheres of life for its minority groups.

In South Africa, as in other parts of the world, structural unemployment is a social problem which has resulted in a surfeit of meaningless leisure for the increasing numbers of black youth out of school, work seekers, and those whose education has been disrupted because of the political tensions in the country. With rising un- and underemployment figures among South African youth, one can anticipate that larger numbers of black youngsters, of necessity will be forced to further their education and training and personal development outside of the world of work.

Furthermore, the poor quality of schooling for black youth has meant that informal education after hours has become an increasingly important channel of self-development for many adolescents. It is anticipated that leisure, that is, spare-time activities, will assume a more important role in adult education in future.

In South Africa little systematic research has been conducted to date into the leisure needs of youth and the opportunities for satisfying these needs. Indeed, little empirical research into leisure exists other than work undertaken by Butler-Adam (1986), Kies (1982), Magi (1989), Schlemmer (1988), and Wilson (1989). In 1989 a database was compiled to fill the gap and to inform a research and development project aimed to promote leisure options for black urban youth.¹ The survey which fed the database explored township youths' perceptions of leisure constraints and opportunities in relation to personal development needs and subjective quality of life. The survey elicited attitude and time use data. Drawing on the survey findings, this paper describes the leisure context for black township youth and examines leisure satisfactions in relationship to subjective well-being.

For the project at hand, leisure, in its broadest sense, was seen as encompassing recreational, educational, personal development, and social relational activities. When compiling the database a conventional objective definition of leisure as spare time was adopted initially. In the

course of the study, subjective assessments were obtained from youth to balance the picture.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Much effort has been taken to define leisure in objective and subjective terms in order to better understand its bearing on need satisfaction and overall quality of life (Iso-Ahola, 1979). A basic distinction is made between the time and activity approach to the definition of leisure on the one hand, and the subjective or state of mind approach on the other (Francken and Van Raaij, 1981). The former view sees leisure as a particular block of time or a particular set of activities. By contrast, the subjective view holds that almost any human endeavour has the potential to be experienced as leisure. Leisure researchers subscribing to the first view commonly use participation rates and time budgets, those subscribing to the second view apply subjective measures such as interests and satisfactions derived from leisure (Hawes, 1978; London, Crandall and Fitzgibbons, 1979; Beard and Ragheb, 1980). Researchers of the latter persuasion have identified enjoyment and to a lesser degree freedom of choice as essential subjective dimensions of leisure (Iso-Ahola, 1979; Shaw, 1984) which give personal meaning to leisure and also contribute to satisfactions derived from leisure. More recently researchers have advocated and applied a combined approach (Ibrahim, 1981; 1988; Moss and Lawton, 1982; Juster and Courant, 1986; Lawton, Moss and Fulcomer, 1986/87).

A major interest of leisure studies has been to identify and classify the needs which are fulfilled through specific leisure pursuits and clusters of leisure activities (Allen, 1982; Allen and Buchanan, 1982; Crandall, 1979; Tinsley and Kass, 1978). Efforts have been directed to compiling profiles of leisure activities and participants according to actual participation rates, leisure interests, preferences, and needs (Duncan 1978; Chase and Creek, 1979; Kilpatrick and Trew, 1985). Other research has concentrated on internal and external barriers to achieving leisure benefits or satisfactions. Marginal groups such as ethnic minorities (Florian and Har-Evan, 1984) and the unemployed (Biddle, Bank, Anderson, Keats and Keats, 1981; Hendry, Raymond and Stewart, 1984; Shamir, 1986; Reid, 1988) are of particular interest

here. Practical applications derived from this research are aimed at achieving a better match between leisure opportunity structures and persons engaging in leisure. Findings also have applications for the substitution of leisure activities which are inaccessible due to high costs or lack of infrastructure and for counselling users where personal obstacles are a problem. Studies of adolescent leisure form part of the ongoing research effort in these areas (Biddle *et al.*, 1981; Florian and Har-Evan, 1984; Garton and Pratt, 1987; Hendry *et al.*, 1984; Hendry and Marr, 1985; Iso-Ahola and Buttimer, 1981; Smith, 1987).

An implicit or explicit assumption for leisure researchers is that intrinsic or other leisure satisfactions enhance quality of life directly (Hawes, 1978; Beard and Ragheb, 1980; Iso-Ahola and Buttimer, 1981; Buchanon, 1983; Shaw, 1984) or indirectly (Allen and Beattie, 1984), and therefore constitute a dimension of life quality. Quality of life and social indicators researchers subscribing to the additive model of quality of life which views subjective well-being as the sum of a series of domain satisfactions, have regularly included leisure satisfactions in their assessments of contributing factors (Andrews and Withey, 1976).

Social indicators research conducted in South Africa in the mid-eighties revealed that the leisure sphere has an important role to play in improving the quality of life of all South Africans (Møller, Schlemmer, and du Toit, 1987). Personal satisfaction derived from spare time activities was significantly associated with overall feelings of well-being. Satisfaction with the 'fun one can get out of life' was closely aligned with feelings of well-being. Black (African) youth, compared with their age peers, emerged as the most disadvantaged category regarding satisfaction with leisure pursuits and fun in life (Møller *et al.*, 1987: 136–7).

A new trend in quality of life research are attempts to link time use patterns through leisure satisfactions to subjective well-being (Andrews, 1986). Results appear inconclusive so far. Lawton and colleagues (1986/87) studying seniors, who one may assume have more discretion than other adults in organizing their daily time schedules, found a consistent relationship between liking and activity and personal adjustment, a measure of psychological well-being. They concluded that older people generally do what they like doing and furthermore that doing what they like enhances personal adjustment. Nevertheless, personal adjustment appeared to be surprisingly independent of time spent in

any one activity. Activities classed as obligatory were liked or disliked in a way that was unrelated to how much time was spent performing them. Such findings raise the question whether leisure satisfactions contribute toward perceived well-being or whether subjective well-being results from trying to like things one is obliged to do. Juster and Courant (1986) argue that people have preferences over various uses of time and activities generate outputs called 'process benefits' which consist of satisfactions from the activities themselves. In their research, they found no relationship between subjective well-being and these leisure satisfactions weighted by time spent in specific leisure activities. The lack of a relationship was attributed in part to the different meanings attributed to the measure of leisure satisfaction employed in the study.

The research undertaken among black youth in South Africa follows the new trend of combining objective and subjective measures in assessing the impact of leisure satisfactions on quality of life. Only selected preliminary findings from the database are reported here as they relate to leisure satisfactions and subjective well-being.

METHOD

Youth between 16 and 25 years (n : 1200) were selected in three major metropolitan areas using an area-stratified quota sampling design. Three black suburbs were selected in each of three major metropolitan areas in South Africa: Dube, Moroka, and Pimville in Soweto near Johannesburg; Gugulethu, Khayalitsha, and Langa in the Cape Town area; and Clermont, KwaMashu, and Umlazi in the Durban area. To obtain a more diverse sample each of the nine suburbs was divided into approximately ten neighbourhoods. Each neighbourhood supplied approximately one-tenth of the sample drawn in that suburb.

Quotas were applied in each metropolitan area controlling for age, gender, occupation, and socio-economic status. Quotas were calculated according to AMPS (All Media Product Survey) data and the 1985 population census. Only one person was interviewed in the same household. Interviewees were usually contacted at home and participated in the survey with parental approval. Further diversification of the sample was achieved by locating some respondents outside of the home near

shops, on street corners, and walking in the streets. This procedure meant that marginal and non-conformist youth, e.g. thugs, and members of street gangs, were eligible to enter the sample.

The sample met all quota requirements within acceptable limits. Youth still at school were slightly overrepresented by 3 percent, housewives and unemployed underrepresented by 3 and 6 percent, respectively.

The survey was conducted by Decision Surveys International (Pty) Ltd., Johannesburg, an established and reputable commercial social research organisation. Decision Survey International's teams of professional interviewers conducted the fieldwork. The members of the field teams were thoroughly briefed for their task by the executive in charge and their performance was monitored closely to ensure uniformity in approach throughout the survey. Questionnaires were checked daily for quality and a minimal 10 percent were back checked.

The survey was conducted over a two month period from the beginning of March 1989 to the end of April 1989. The survey was scheduled for this time of year to avoid as many seasonal variations as possible (Gershuny, 1986). March and April usually feature comparable weather in all three metropolitan areas (Cape Town unlike the other two areas has winter rains), and no major school holidays and days which are observed as political holidays in the black community. Interviewers were instructed to note weather conditions for each diary day. The Easter weekend which fell in the survey period was excluded.

Interviewing Procedure

Respondents were interviewed individually at their homes or a place convenient to them. Standard questionnaire and time budget schedules were employed for the contact and recall interviews, respectively. The schedules were available in English, Zulu, and Xhosa, and respondents were interviewed in their preferred language.

Few persons contacted, less than 1 percent, refused outright to participate in the survey. However, in a small percentage of cases, some 3–4 percent, respondents failed to complete the diaries or show up for the recall interview and were replaced. After completing the post-diary interview, survey participants were presented with a token gift of

appreciation (a coffee mug), which is standard procedure in the case of lengthy interviews.

The Instrument

Questionnaire schedule. The contact interview contained social classification variables selected for their significance for time use and leisure behaviour. Main occupation was defined in terms of the categories attending school, higher education institutes and training courses, full-time and temporary or casual jobs, domestic work and child minding. Socio-economic status was measured using surrogate indicators: income for personal use; assessment of household's standard of living according to a fourfold classification scheme ranging from 'scraping an existence, poor, destitute' to 'wealthy, rich'; and modern household conveniences such as telephone, radiogram, television and private motor car.

Five fixed-response items covered the perception of time: respondents reported on their method of keeping track of time (Saraswathi, 1989), the average spare time available to them on weekdays and weekend days. Further items called for a subjective assessment of the days being too short or long, and of having too much, too little or the right amount of spare time. The last two items were designed to tap perceptions of leisure famine or surfeit (Gershuny, 1986).

Free-response items inquired into subjects' favourite spare time activity, leisure pursuits not engaged in at present to which they aspired, and popular leisure pursuits among their peers. Obstacles to realizing leisure aspirations were identified on a list of seven factors with a residual free option. Respondents were required to state whether they let their family know of their whereabouts when going out. They were also asked to describe in their own words the most pleasant event for young people in their suburb in the past year.

Five closed-ended items were designed to tap leisure prerequisites, preferences and lifestyle: they included self-assessed health, preferences for engaging in few select or many diverse leisure activities and social interactions, respectively; the preferred pace of leisure; and preference for spending holidays in town or country. A projective item required respondents to state whether their friends used substances (Bachman, Johnston, and O'Malley, 1986) or participated in what might be called

'problem behaviour' (Biddle *et al.*, 1981): drinking, smoking, drug-taking, pickpocketing, and hanging-out in groups.

Self reports of participation: respondents were asked if they were members of 13 specified clubs and organisations, if they held office in any of these, and how often they participated in 18 given indoor and outdoor activities including ones presumed to be rare events.

Quality of life indicators included assessment of overall life satisfaction (life as a whole) on a 5-point scale ranging from 'very satisfied' to 'very dissatisfied'; assessment of life as 'rewarding' or 'frustrating', 'exciting' or 'boring', and 'getting better' or 'getting worse' with an intermediate category in each case. These four indicators were replications of items used successfully in earlier nationwide surveys of quality of life in South Africa (Møller, *et al.*, 1987; Møller, 1989).

Towards the end of the interview, respondents were asked to identify the two most serious problems (cf. Manaster, Greer, and Kleiber, 1985; Bachman *et al.*, 1986; Gillies, 1989) facing young black South Africans on a list of seven with a residual free option. A free-response item then called for a description of the worst and best things 'about being a young person in South Africa today'. A final item probing respondents' outlook on the future read: 'Looking ahead five years from now, do you think conditions for black youth in South Africa will be better or worse than they are today?'

Time-use schedule. A recent review (Gershuny, Miles, Jones, Mullings, Thomas, and Wyatt, 1986) of time budget research suggests that the method is fairly robust and variations do achieve similar results. Time budgets have been applied in a variety of settings including developing areas (Szalai, 1972; Dumazedier, 1974; Mihovilovic, 1974; Archarya, 1982; Ibrahim, 1981; Gihring, 1983). A design was chosen for the South African study which would be cost-efficient and easy to operate under local conditions. A 'tomorrow' design with elements of 'recall' was applied which contained both objective and subjective (experiential) assessments of leisure.

Following conventional usage, leisure was operationalised as spare time (Shaw, 1984: 92). Leisure in African society is not necessarily conceived as an antipole to work (Magi, 1989). However, school and wage employment structure the lives of urban Africans and it was

anticipated that the concept of spare time would be readily understood. No problems were encountered with this definition.

At the end of the contact interview, fieldworkers left two diaries with respondents for them to complete on a specified weekday (Monday to Thursday) and a specified weekend day (Friday through Sunday). Respondents were instructed to record in their own words their activities of the day from the time of waking until going to sleep at the end of the day. Interviewers revisited respondents on the day after the second diary day. During the recall interview, the fieldworker went through the events entered into the diaries with the respondent and recorded further information onto the standard time budget schedule. For each event a record was made of starting and finishing time, secondary activities, presence of others, where the activity had taken place, degree of liking, and perceived freedom of choice. Degree of liking was initially introduced as a surrogate measure of meaningfulness and fulfillment following Lawton and colleagues (1986/87) who found that their subjects had difficulties with the latter concepts. The measure is very similar to the 'process benefit' measure applied by Juster and Courant (1986). Subjective evaluations of spare time activities in terms of enjoyment and perceived freedom of choice served as crude validity checks to assess whether spare time coincided with leisure as defined in the literature.

In addition, respondents indicated whether the activities of each diary day had been meaningful to them, and identified the most and least enjoyable activity of each day, respectively, and the one which afforded the greatest sense of freedom. Respondents also stated whether the diary day was typical of that particular day of the week, and if not in which way it was exceptional.

Respondents were instructed not to detail the activities of their main occupation. This meant that interstitial leisure during, say work or school, was not recorded. By contrast, the activities of the un- and underemployed, and in some instances the self-employed, could be recorded in greater detail throughout the day because the distinction between main occupation and spare time was more likely to be blurred in these cases. However, this possible discrepancy in the time-use records of different occupational groups was not considered problematic in view of the considerable interest in how underoccupied

youth, presumed to be faced with an abundance of unwanted leisure, organised their time.

Coding

Ragged-ended activity records were set up for each respondent. Activities were coded in sequential order so that, e.g., the same activity carried out at three times of the day was coded three times. Duration of activities was recorded in minutes. All activities including sleep had to add up to 24 hours from the time the day started for the respondent. As mentioned above, each activity was characterized in terms of secondary activities, persons present, place, degree of liking, and freedom of choice. Gaps in the diary were entered as unaccounted for time. Up to 21 activities were recorded for each respondent. In the few cases where this limit was exceeded, certain activities were grouped together to avoid losing information.

Some few respondents exhibited a tendency to treat primary and secondary activities as sequential rather than parallel events. This posed an editing problem. Where it was physically impossible to undertake the secondary activity at the same time, events were treated as sequential. The respondent's definition of primary activity was accepted at face value (cf. Gershuny *et al.* (1986) for a discussion of the assumed primacy of the first mentioned activity). If respondents engaged in more than one secondary activity, the time spent on the primary activity was halved and two events — identical in all aspects save for the secondary activity parameter — were recorded.

An activity classification system based on the Szalai (1972) and Chapin (1974) method was devised post-hoc. Activities were coded under 105 headings initially; the reduced category list included 14 activity groups. Special care was taken to accommodate time uses peculiar to township life. For example, weddings and funerals were coded as distinct categories in the first instance, because they are known to have political as well as social and religious functions. Other unpublished findings suggest that weddings and funerals, similar to partying in many societies, are the scene of business transactions. The unemployed seek job contacts and favours such as free food, drink, and cigarettes on such occasions.

SUBJECTS

By design, the sample was evenly divided between three age groups from 16 to 24 years inclusive, and between young men and women. According to interviewer assessments, some 40 percent belonged to the two higher socio-economic groups of residents. Twenty-three percent had attained a matriculation exemption or further education. Zulus (46%), Xhosas (37%), and Sothos (11%) accounted for 94 percent. Three-quarters were staying with their parents. Four percent reported being married or living together with a partner, a further 65 percent stated they had a steady boyfriend or girlfriend; 31 percent that they were not going steady. The average number of children per respondent was 0.28. 47 percent of subjects were attending school, university, technical colleges or vocational training courses; 18 percent held regular full-time jobs, 4 percent temporary casual jobs; 23 percent were unemployed; 8 percent homemakers or childminders. 45 percent of persons without permanent employment (n : 981) indicated that they were looking for a regular job. 48 percent of the regular employed (n : 219) stated that they were looking for another job than the one which they presently held.

Over 60 percent had lived in the same township all their lives and only 14 percent grew up in the country. Four-fifths of households had radios or hi-fis (88%), two-thirds a television set (67%), over half a telephone (53%), but only one-fifth a private car (21%). Respondents reckoned that on average they had 55 Rand for their personal use in the month before the survey. The vast majority stated they came from households which were making ends meet but had no luxuries (63%) or were living comfortably (25%). Minorities indicated that their household was wealthy (3%) or scraping an existence (9%).

DIARY DAYS

Diary days were fairly equally distributed over the days defined as weekdays and weekend days. Respondents confirmed that the events of the diary days were for the most part typical; weekdays to a greater degree than weekend days. Weekdays and weekend days were spent in the usual manner in 74 and 69 percent of cases, respectively. In further

10 and 9 percent of cases, respectively, respondents stated that they never had typical days; all days were different. In 62 and 53 percent of cases (weekdays versus weekend days) respondents reported that they carried out all their usual activities on the diary day; i.e. they did not engage in any activities which they do not normally pursue. It was observed that there was a rough correspondence of the range and incidence of unusual activities included and usual activities omitted during the survey days. One might therefore presume that the inclusion and exclusion of such events would balance over the sample as a whole.

In the case of weekdays, respondents reported that diary days were normal working days in 94 percent of cases. Less than 3 percent fell on a legal holiday observed by the respondent. Less than 2 percent of subjects reported experiencing personal or family crises on diary days.

Weather conditions were for the most part typical for the time of year: hot and dry or humid, depending upon the area. Cold weather, rain or strong wind occurred on diary days in less than 12 percent of cases.

The data reviewed above give assurance that the time-use survey yielded a fairly typical picture of day to day living for township youth during a period characterized by relative political calm.

RESULTS

This section is divided into two sections. The first part describes the leisure context in terms of perception of time, leisure preferences, participation, and lifestyle. The second section reports on results pertaining to subjective well-being and leisure time use.

The Leisure Context

Perception of time. Clock time is considered a necessary condition for leisure. Over 95 percent of youth in the survey used modern methods of time orientation. Just over 50 percent kept time by their own watch. Only 5 percent stated that they had no desire to keep track of time or that they had a natural feel for it and did not need clocks or watches. An average 7.1 hours was spent in respondents' main occupation. Average spare time ranged from 5.0 hours on weekdays to 7.2 hours

on Saturdays and 7.5 hours on Sundays. 63 percent stated that they found it difficult to fit in all their activities in the average day and three-quarters felt that they had just about the right amount or too little spare time.

Leisure activities. Favourite pastimes included socialising, especially at parties; listening to or playing music; playing sport, mainly soccer; passive recreation including television, cinema, reading, and radio; hobbies and playing cards or draughts.

Leisure aspirations varied widely and included availing oneself of opportunities for personal advancement through education, development of one's talent, travel and novel experiences, various types of sport, and cinema. Some of the firm favourites among the active and passive leisure pastimes reappeared in the list of aspirations. The ten top most popular and prestigious leisure pursuits for township youth included playing soccer, partying, going to discos, drinking with friends, visiting taverns, going to the cinema, to fashion shows or beauty contests, to choir practice, and concerts. Gender differences were apparent, but only slightly altered the rank order of activities. Negligible percentages of respondents cited problem behaviour (such as use of dagga and drugs, hanging around the streets, gambling, stealing cars, and picking pockets) as popular leisure occupations for youth in their areas.

Respondents identified lack of money as the single most important obstacle to realizing their leisure aspirations. Other barriers were the lack of facilities, lack of time, and lack of parental permission.

Highlights in the lives of young people in the respondents' neighbourhoods in the past year appeared to be events which drew larger crowds of participants or spectators. Pop concerts and live shows were named by 24 percent. Between 8 and 2 percent recalled fashion shows and beauty competitions; parties and picnics; and soccer, dance or youth club events as being most pleasant. On a more serious note, small percentages referred to peace and normalization returning to township life after years of political turmoil. Noteworthy is that one-quarter could not recall anything particularly pleasant happening in their township during the past year.

Lifestyle preferences. Over four in five respondents claimed to be fit

and healthy. A distinct preference emerged for a relaxed pace of life and one which focused on a select circle of friends and select leisure activities. Just over half (51%) evidenced preference for this lifestyle. Over half (56%) stated a preference for spending their vacation in town rather than the country. Up to one-third indicated that at least some of their friends drank alcohol (30%), smoked cigarettes (34%) or hung around in groups (34%).² Much smaller percentages reported that some of their friends used dagga or drugs (6%) or picked pockets (1.8%). The reported incidence of problem behaviour among friends was lowest among young women, well below average in the youngest age category in the sample, and significantly above average among the unemployed.

Organisational affiliation and participation rates. Over half (56%), and more young men (62%) than young women (49%), indicated that they were members of clubs and organisations. Sports and youth clubs were the most popular organisations with youth of both sexes. 65 percent of the male members of organisations stated they belonged to a sports club, and 58 percent of young women reported membership in a church youth group. The survey of participation rates revealed the following pattern: in 50 percent of cases television viewing occurs daily, reading newspapers and books for pleasure occurs weekly, reading magazines or comic books fortnightly. Half the sample reported hanging out with friends at least once a week and engaging in physical sport or exercise and watching live sport at least fortnightly. Attending religious services is a weekly event for half of the sample; shopping in town and going to the cinema are monthly events. Quarterly events include youth rallies and visits to amusement parks. Annual events are live shows and concerts, trips to the beach, and visits in the country. Frequenting bars and discos are rare events; the former more so than the latter. Only young men, and less than one-quarter, indicated they had held a casual job in the past year.

Gender distinctions apply: young women, on average, read magazines and books more often than young men. However, young men tend to be the more regular newspaper readers. Men engage more often in active and passive sports. They go out more often to the cinema and

bars and hang around more often with friends. On the other hand, the young women are more frequent churchgoers.

Assessments of needs, problems, and opportunities for young people. Teenage pregnancy, with 65 percent of votes, was identified as the most serious problem for young people from a list of seven, followed at a distance by unemployment (37%) and the lack of educational and training opportunities (31%). Inadequate leisure facilities figured in sixth place.

Negative factors in the lives of young people were reportedly exposure to crime and delinquency, involvement in aspects of political conflict; the lack of job opportunities, poor education; oppression and discrimination through the apartheid system; and alcohol and drugs. Inadequate recreational facilities was mentioned by only three percent.

The single most positive factor in the lives of young people identified in the survey was the improved educational opportunities for young blacks (44% of mentions). Leisure opportunities, defined very broadly, ranked in second place, followed by personal growth factors and positive effects of reform initiatives.

Quality of Life and Leisure Satisfaction

Quality of life indicators. Satisfaction with life as a whole was used as the key dependent variable in this study. Earlier analyses (Møller *et al.*, 1987) demonstrated that the divide between persons perceiving themselves to be 'very satisfied' and 'satisfied' with life, respectively, and all others is most significant. In this study the measure discriminated well; the satisfied subsample ('very satisfied' or 'satisfied' with life as a whole) comprised 51 percent. The life satisfaction variable was positively associated with other global affect variables: feeling that one's life was rewarding (Kendall's Tau = 0.48, $p < 0.001$), exciting (Kendall's Tau = 0.48, $p < 0.001$), and improving (Kendall's Tau = 0.35, $p < 0.001$). However, overall life satisfaction was less closely related to outlook on the future (Kendall's Tau = 0.07, $p < 0.01$). The total sample was split fairly evenly between those who felt conditions in the country in five years' time would improve (44%) or deteriorate (43%)

for young South Africans. The divide in the satisfied subsample was less pronounced (49% vs. 39%) (cf. Table I).

The 51 percent expressing satisfaction with their lives in this survey is relatively high compared to other recent survey results (Møller *et al.*, 1987; Møller, 1989). South Africa, compared with other developed nations, is exceptional in that its black population usually scores well below the mid-mark (Headey and Wearing, 1988). The context of the survey, its focus on pleasurable aspects of life, and the youthfulness of

TABLE I
Quality of life indicators

	Total (<i>n</i> : 1200) %	Satisfied (<i>n</i> : 602) %
Satisfaction with life as a whole		
Very satisfied	10	19
Satisfied	41	81
Ambivalent	16	—
Dissatisfied	26	—
Very dissatisfied	7	—
	100	100
Life at present perceived to be		
Rewarding	50	75
Frustrating	26	7
In between; don't know ^a	24	18
	100	100
Exciting	51	74
Boring	25	8
In between; don't know ^a	24	18
	100	100
Getting better	63	81
Getting worse	21	8
In between; don't know ^a	16	11
	100	100
Future outlook		
Positive	44	49
Negative	43	39
About the same	13	12
	100	100

^a Two response categories collapsed.

the sample as a whole, may have contributed to the higher level of overall satisfaction observed in the youth study.

Subjective evaluation of leisure. The assessment of diary days was generally positive (Table II). Vast majorities considered their round of activities to have been worthwhile on the surveyed days, weekdays in particular. Over 93 percent could identify a most liked activity, but only 35 percent recalled a particularly disliked one. More than 4 in 5 persons recalled an event which afforded them a sense of freedom during the day.

Best liked activities (Table III) included common daily activities, socializing, sport, school work, media, and domestic chores during the week, and church attendance on Sunday. Preferred activities appear to satisfy pure or intrinsic leisure needs such as interest, enjoyment and fun, novelty, and spiritual freedom; and higher order needs for mastery and sense of achievement (Table IV). Instrumental or extrinsic needs also appear to be important: opportunities for education, to keep

TABLE II
Subjective assessment of leisure

Time-use survey	Total (n: 1200) %	Satisfied (n: 602) %
Pursuit of worthwhile activities on diary day ^a		
Weekday	84.1	86.0
Weekend day	78.2	81.1
Recalls a 'best liked' activity (cf. Table III)		
Weekday	93.5	94.0
Weekend day	94.9	95.8
Cannot recall a particularly disliked activity, i.e. liked everything (cf. Table VI)		
Weekday	65.6	66.9
Weekend day	65.3	65.8
Recalls an event which afforded a sense of freedom (cf. Table V)		
Weekday	83.3	83.7
Weekend day	84.9	86.4

^a The item read: "Did you spend the day doing things that were really important or worthwhile to you or did you do anything just to pass the time?"

TABLE III
Best liked activity of diary day

"Of all the things you did yesterday (on the diary day) which thing did you like best?"	Weekday total (<i>n</i> : 1200) %	Weekend total (<i>n</i> : 1200) %
Socialising	13.5	26.3
Active and passive sport	10.8	10.4
Study, homework, school related	16.4	3.7
Television, radio	9.2	9.5
Domestic	6.8	3.8
Church, prayer	1.7	8.3
Listen to, make music	5.4	4.3
Consumer	4.8	4.4
Relaxation, personal care	5.8	3.2
Job related	4.9	3.0
Cinema	1.8	5.1
Creative hobbies	3.6	3.1
Reading	4.1	2.3
Entertainment, outings	1.7	3.4
Civic duties	1.3	1.2
Other	1.7	2.9
Nothing	6.5	5.1
	100	100

TABLE IV
Reason for stating preference for a particular diary day activity

	Weekday total (<i>n</i> : 1200) %	Weekend total (<i>n</i> : 1200) %
Interest, enjoyment, fun	39.7	49.6
Learning experience, educational	18.6	8.3
Rare event, novel experience, new people	7.3	13.3
To keep fit and healthy	7.1	2.8
Sense of achievement, satisfaction	5.3	3.6
Rest and relaxation	5.0	3.2
Spiritual freedom, 'good for the soul'	1.9	4.9
To earn money	3.7	2.3
Social exchange, mutual support	1.9	3.4
To keep busy	1.5	0.8
Other	1.5	2.7
Nothing liked best	6.5	5.1
	100	100

healthy, and earn money, feature prominently in the list of reasons for liking some activities better than others. By comparison, recuperative leisure is of lesser importance.

Similarly, a sense of freedom was achieved through a wide range of activities (Table V). The opportunity to gain knowledge at school instilled a sense of freedom on weekdays. Passing examinations at school called for special feelings of liberation. Turning to spare time activities, respondents made specific mention of leisure which allowed them to demonstrate their independence and adult status, to experience mastery, and breaking away from the daily routine and the geographical confines of the township. Freedom was typically experienced when visiting with friends of the opposite sex, going out, sharing ideas with others, having money to spend, and being out of doors. Creative leisure, compared with its relatively low participation rate, is overrepresented among the freedom-inspiring leisure activities.

TABLE V
Activity which affords greatest sense of freedom

"Which of all the things you did yesterday (on the diary day) gave you the greatest sense of freedom?"	Weekday	Weekend
	(n: 1216) %	(n: 1227) %
Watch television, videos, listen to radio	12.2	11.5
Being with girlfriend, boyfriend	9.0	14.0
Study, homework, school	13.8	4.1
Socialising, social gatherings	6.1	9.5
Entertainment	4.1	9.0
Exercising, sport	7.3	4.6
Rest, relaxation, recuperation	5.6	5.3
Listen to, make music	5.8	5.0
Religious activities	1.9	7.7
Reading	5.8	2.8
Creative hobbies, technical repairs	4.3	4.2
Work related	3.5	1.4
Travel/getting out of township, away from routine	0.5	0.7
Earning money	0.3	0.3
Other unclassified	3.1	4.8
Nothing	16.7	15.1
	100	100

Percentages based on responses.

The above results suggest that daily leisure, both routine and rare events, have the potential to fulfill important personal needs. These results also show the various shades of meaning which are attached to ratings of 'liking' and 'feeling free' which are important for the discussion to follow.

Regarding disliked activities, respondents were not asked to comment on the reasons for disliking certain activities they undertook. However, the list of disliked activities clearly showed that it was not the activity as such, but its meaning, which was of major significance (Table VI). Although the question called for respondents to name a specific activity, a small percentage of respondents recalled only a state of mind experienced on the diary day: feelings of outrage, loneliness, deprivation, neglect, worry, fatigue, inconvenience, unfairness, disappointment or guilt. Negative experiences tended most often to be related to domestic activities and travel. Youth especially complained of

TABLE VI
Least liked activity of diary day

"Of all the things you did yesterday (on the diary day) which thing did you not like at all?"	Weekday total (n: 1200) %	Weekend total (n: 1200) %
Specific activities		
Domestic, childcare	17.9	18.5
Job related, job search	2.8	1.7
Travel, commuting	1.8	1.9
Waking, going to bed early	1.8	1.4
School related	1.6	0.9
Television viewing	0.3	0.7
Hospital visit	0.8	0.2
Church	0.2	0.5
Other experiences		
Negative feelings	0.9	1.8
Constraints on choice	1.2	1.2
Negative social relations	1.1	0.9
Other	4.0	5.0
Nothing disliked, i.e. liked everything	65.6	65.3
	100	100

upset domestic routines: for example having to do more than their fair share of chores, experiencing inconvenience and danger when travelling and going on errands, disappointment when not finding work. Upsets in the daily routine which constrained freedom of choice were also alluded to in the case of not being allowed sufficient time to be with boy or girl friends; and being forced to have meals at set times, visit relatives, or study at home because of school boycotts and the political unrest.

Results which combine quantitative indicators of time use and qualitative measures of leisure are set out in Tables VII through IX. Two indicators of leisureliness were used in the study which are considered critical factors for leisure and serve to define it: degree of liking (enjoyment) and perceived freedom of choice in the pursuit of activities. Table VII shows results for degree of liking and choice over all primary activities recorded during the survey period and the average duration of activities in the different enjoyment and choice categories. Leisureliness appears to be unrelated to the time invested in any single activity unit. However, this does not rule out that individuals repeat activities which are leisurely in the course of typical days in order to accumulate leisure satisfaction.

TABLE VII
Degree of enjoyment and choice over all activities

Weekday and weekend primary activities (<i>n</i> : 31150 activity units)		
	% activity units	Average duration of unit in minutes
Degree of enjoyment		
Like very much	57.6	75.0
Liked	36.2	66.2
Ambivalent	4.1	71.4
Disliked	1.9	76.0
Disliked very much	0.2	63.0
	100	
Degree of choice		
Own free choice	89.1	71.4
Obliged	8.9	71.9
Forced	2.0	82.9
	100	

In Table VIII the events of the diary days are subsumed under 14 major categories in order of enjoyment. The first two columns give participation rates for the total sample and the satisfied subsample and the average duration of activity units in each category. The third and fourth columns list average enjoyment and perceived choice of engaging in the activity.

Table IX gives a list of the 105 activity categories used to record events of the diary days. Participant rates for weekdays and weekends are shown for the total sample and the satisfied subsample as well as average degree of enjoyment and perceived choice among all participants. As participation rates vary widely, the total number of activity units in each category recorded during the entire survey period is

TABLE VIII
Weekday and weekend primary activities by participation rates, average duration, degree of enjoyment and choice

Activity category	Participation ^a		Aver. duration ^b		Enjoyment ^c		Choice ^d	
	T	S	T	S	T	S	T	S
Entertainment	13.6	13.2	172	178	4.74	4.74	97.0	96.2
Sportive leisure	26.1	24.1	99	99	4.72	4.75	96.2	95.9
Passive leisure	107.6	108.8	96	94	4.69	4.70	98.3	98.5
Creative leisure	6.8	7.8	110	100	4.68	4.65	96.4	97.9
Social leisure	88.7	80.1	109	105	4.67	4.70	96.1	97.0
Rest and relaxation	45.7	42.9	73	73	4.62	4.65	97.7	97.7
Participative leisure	19.7	20.0	132	131	4.60	4.66	92.2	92.9
School and related	56.9	66.9	221	225	4.58	4.55	88.6	86.8
Personal care	333.8	338.6	36.7	36.0	4.57	4.59	93.8	94.2
Travel, commuting	291.9	289.7	32	32	4.46	4.48	90.0	90.4
Household	276.5	286.5	59	57	4.22	4.26	75.0	77.0
Work and related	19.6	17.8	452	483	4.21	4.27	77.1	80.9
Night sleep	100.3	100.4	505	503				
Nap, sick sleep	7.1	7.3	113	123				

T Total sample, *n*: 1200

S Satisfied subsample *n*: 602

^a Participation scores were calculated by dividing the number of activity units achieved by 2400 (T) or 1204 (S), respectively. A score of 100 is equivalent to one activity unit per person per diary day.

^b Average duration of activity unit in minutes (truncated).

^c Average degree of enjoyment per activity, 5 = liked very much, 1 = disliked very much.

^d Proportion of cases where activity was undertaken of free choice.

TABLE IX
Primary activities by weekday and weekend participation rates of total sample and satisfied subsample, degree of enjoyment and choice

Activity	Participation rates ^a						Degree of choice (%) ^c					
	Total		Satisfied		N		Enjoyment ^b		Degree of choice (%) ^c		N	
	WD	WE	WD	WE	WD	WE	WD	WE	WD	WE	WD	WE
Work												
101 Regular work	17.8	9.6	18.9	9.5	4.24	4.18	4.22	81	78	80	335	
102 Other income earning activity	2.6	3.3	1.0	3.7	4.39	4.16	4.27	73	73	73	86	
104 Looking for work	2.6	0.7	0.8	—	3.94	4.25	4.00	64	62	64	42	
106 Stealing	0.1	—	—	—	5.00	—	5.00	100	—	100	1	
105 Other job related	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.2	4.20	4.00	4.14	40	50	42	7	
199 Travel to and from/waiting for transport	21.3	11.8	19.8	12.0	4.23	4.32	4.26	80	82	81	1087	
Education and training												
201 School/university full-time	36.1	10.8	42.9	13.0	4.63	4.58	4.62	93	90	92	563	
202 Extra/special education or training	3.0	2.3	3.2	2.2	4.58	4.59	4.59	88	92	90	63	
203 Driving lessons	0.1	0.2	—	0.3	5.00	5.00	5.00	100	100	100	3	
204 Homework and private study	36.2	16.9	41.7	20.1	4.57	4.55	4.56	85	89	86	758	
205 Other	2.4	1.2	3.0	1.3	4.30	4.20	4.27	76	66	73	45	
299 Travel	38.9	13.6	46.3	15.6	4.49	4.52	4.50	91	89	91	1394	
Children												
301 Care of babies/small children	10.2	9.1	10.6	9.3	4.30	4.35	4.32	79	82	80	371	
302 Other child-centered activities	1.1	0.9	0.8	0.5	4.54	4.55	4.54	84	90	87	24	
399 Travel to accompany child	3.8	1.3	3.0	1.3	4.27	4.08	4.22	68	84	72	88	
Domestic work/duties												
401 Food preparation/serving food/setting table	48.5	46.6	51.0	48.2	4.30	4.33	4.32	79	79	79	1746	
402 Washing up/tying up	34.0	31.1	37.9	34.6	4.02	4.03	4.03	66	68	67	984	
403 Indoor cleaning/sweeping/making beds	37.3	40.4	35.7	42.4	4.25	4.24	4.25	69	71	70	1006	
404 Outdoor cleaning	6.3	7.5	5.1	8.3	4.37	4.13	4.24	78	72	75	168	
405 Household laundry	13.5	16.5	13.5	18.3	4.04	4.01	4.02	67	67	67	416	

Table IX (continued)

Activity	Participation rates ^a												Degree of choice (%) ^c					
	Total			Satisfied			Enjoyment ^b			WD			WE			C		
	WD	WE	N	WD	WE	N	WD	WE	N	WD	WE	N	WD	WE	N	WD	WE	N
406	0.7	0.7	1.0	0.5	0.5	4.75	4.63	4.69	100	75	87	16						
407	20.3	22.4	21.4	24.4	24.4	4.21	4.32	4.27	79	83	81	530						
408	15.4	15.2	17.3	15.4	15.4	4.13	4.12	4.12	76	71	74	412						
409	1.8	1.3	1.2	1.2	1.2	3.91	3.75	3.85	78	62	71	39						
410	2.5	1.8	2.3	2.0	2.0	4.32	4.12	4.24	62	52	58	62						
411	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.7	4.00	3.80	3.89	77	50	63	19						
412	7.3	7.7	5.8	6.8	6.8	4.27	4.14	4.20	76	73	74	193						
413	1.4	0.9	1.5	0.5	0.5	4.26	4.25	4.26	84	83	83	31						
414	0.1	—	0.2	—	—	5.00	—	5.00	100	—	100	1						
416	0.4	1.3	0.5	1.3	1.3	3.60	3.93	3.85	40	40	40	20						
417	2.8	3.6	3.2	3.2	3.2	4.38	4.52	4.46	73	81	78	78						
415	5.6	6.5	5.3	6.1	6.1	4.49	4.20	4.34	78	74	76	154						
499	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	4.42	4.51	4.49	100	60	88	17						
Purchasing/access to goods and services																		
501	9.9	15.2	9.6	15.8	15.8	4.38	4.41	4.40	83	82	83	311						
502	1.4	1.8	0.8	1.7	1.7	3.28	4.00	3.68	61	47	53	41						
503	2.1	0.9	1.8	1.1	1.1	3.42	3.64	3.49	34	27	32	37						
504	0.1	0.3	—	—	—	5.00	4.75	4.80	100	100	100	5						
505	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.4	0.4	4.67	4.83	4.75	100	100	100	12						
506	—	0.3	—	0.4	—	—	5.00	5.00	—	100	100	3						
599	16.8	20.3	14.1	20.4	20.4	4.18	4.41	4.31	76	86	82	832						
Personal and private needs																		
601	95.3	92.9	94.4	94.0	94.0	4.51	4.53	4.52	92	92	92	3780						
602	0.5	0.2	0.3	—	—	4.33	2.50	3.88	66	0	50	8						
603	14.7	8.7	15.6	10.0	10.0	4.55	4.67	4.59	95	96	95	296						
604	89.8	88.4	88.9	89.5	89.5	4.61	4.64	4.63	95	95	95	3887						

Table IX (continued)

Activity	Participation rates ^a												Degree of choice (%) ^c						
	Total						Satisfied						Employment ^b			WD WE C			N
	WD	WE	WD	WE	WD	WE	WD	WE	WD	WE	C	WD	WE	C					
605	99.9	99.4	99.8	99.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2409	
606	7.4	6.2	7.3	6.3	4.45	4.42	4.43	4.43	85	83	84	85	83	84	—	—	—	171	
607	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	5.00	4.67	4.83	4.83	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	6	
608	0.3	0.8	0.3	1.2	4.40	4.73	4.63	4.63	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	16	
610	0.3	0.8	0.2	0.5	5.00	4.89	4.92	4.92	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	13	
609	2.1	2.1	2.2	2.3	4.48	4.65	4.57	4.57	88	96	92	88	96	92	88	96	92	51	
699	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	5.00	3.00	3.80	3.80	100	66	80	100	66	80	100	66	80	5	
Participation																			
701	3.3	3.3	3.5	3.5	4.52	4.71	4.61	4.61	88	92	90	88	92	90	90	92	90	83	
702	2.5	19.9	2.7	21.1	4.77	4.62	4.64	4.64	96	94	94	96	94	94	94	94	94	282	
703	—	0.3	—	0.2	—	4.50	4.50	4.50	—	100	100	—	100	100	100	100	100	4	
704	1.0	1.4	—	1.7	5.00	4.25	4.29	4.29	100	80	81	100	80	81	100	80	81	21	
705	1.9	3.7	1.7	2.7	4.61	4.69	4.66	4.66	91	93	92	91	93	92	91	93	92	68	
709	0.2	0.6	—	0.5	3.50	3.86	3.78	3.78	50	57	55	50	57	55	50	57	55	9	
706	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	5.00	4.25	4.57	4.57	66	100	85	66	100	85	66	100	85	7	
799	3.8	21.6	3.7	22.3	4.63	4.51	4.52	4.52	90	93	93	90	93	93	90	93	93	599	
Spectator, entertainment and social leisure																			
801	1.2	5.3	1.2	4.3	4.47	4.68	4.64	4.64	100	96	97	100	96	97	100	96	97	80	
802	0.3	1.7	0.5	1.8	5.00	4.91	4.92	4.92	100	95	96	100	95	96	100	95	96	25	
803	0.3	0.8	0.2	0.3	4.75	4.90	4.86	4.86	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	14	
804	3.1	8.8	2.8	8.6	4.84	4.79	4.80	4.80	97	97	97	97	97	97	97	97	97	143	
805	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.7	5.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	10	
806	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	4.67	4.33	4.50	4.50	100	65	83	100	65	83	100	65	83	6	
807	0.1	—	—	—	5.00	—	5.00	5.00	—	100	—	—	100	—	—	100	—	1	
808	0.8	0.7	0.7	0.5	4.67	4.63	4.65	4.65	100	87	94	100	87	94	100	87	94	17	
809	1.5	3.4	1.0	3.0	4.67	4.70	4.69	4.69	94	97	96	94	97	96	94	97	96	62	

Table IX (continued)

Activity	Participation rates ^a												Degree of choice (%) ^c						
	Total		Satisfied		Enjoyment ^b		WD		WE		C		WD		WE		C		
	WD	WE	WD	WE	WD	WE	WD	WE	WD	WE	WD	WE	WD	WE	WD	WE	WD	WE	
908 Drama/fashion and beauty shows	0.1	—	—	—	5.00	—	5.00	—	5.00	100	100	—	100	—	100	—	100	—	100
912 Went for a stroll	2.0	3.1	1.2	2.2	4.75	4.68	4.71	4.70	4.75	96	97	97	96	97	96	97	96	97	96
913 Danced at home alone	—	0.2	—	0.2	—	4.00	4.00	—	4.00	—	100	100	—	100	100	—	100	100	—
914 Sang alone at home	0.3	—	0.3	—	4.50	—	4.50	—	4.50	100	—	100	—	100	—	100	—	100	—
911 Other active leisure	0.3	0.9	0.3	0.6	4.67	4.18	4.29	4.67	4.67	100	81	85	85	81	85	85	85	85	85
999 Travel	13.8	11.5	12.6	12.3	4.60	4.62	4.61	4.60	4.62	95	94	94	95	94	95	94	95	94	95
Passive leisure																			
001 Listen to radio	8.6	7.6	7.5	6.6	4.59	4.59	4.59	4.59	4.59	97	98	98	97	98	98	97	98	97	97
002 Watch television/videos	53.5	54.4	56.3	58.5	4.69	4.71	4.70	4.70	4.75	98	99	99	98	98	99	98	98	98	1607
003 Read books/novels	9.1	8.1	9.5	8.1	4.74	4.76	4.75	4.75	4.75	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	224
004 Read newspapers	5.0	4.3	4.3	3.2	4.51	4.60	4.55	4.55	4.55	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	96	116
005 Read magazines/comics/light matter	5.6	4.2	5.0	4.8	4.66	4.60	4.63	4.63	4.63	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	123
006 Listen to music/records/cassettes/taping	8.8	11.8	7.5	11.5	4.70	4.79	4.75	4.75	4.75	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	98	276
007 Private correspondence/diary/take notes	0.2	0.3	—	0.5	4.00	4.67	4.40	4.40	4.40	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	5
008 Relax/think/plan the day/do nothing/rest	34.0	33.0	31.2	32.4	4.61	4.62	4.62	4.62	4.62	98	97	97	97	97	97	97	97	97	1004
009 Diary for survey	0.5	0.3	0.5	0.2	4.71	5.00	4.82	4.82	4.82	57	50	54	54	50	54	54	54	54	11
099 Travel	0.2	0.6	0.3	0.3	4.33	4.80	4.69	4.69	4.69	100	90	90	92	90	92	90	92	92	13

T Total sample, *n*: 1200S Satisfied subsample, *n*: 602

WD weekday, WE weekend day, C weekdays and weekend days combined, N Number activities undertaken in a particular activity category on all days.

^a Participation rates: percentage of sample, subsample involved in activity on weekday or weekend day.^b Degree of enjoyment: average enjoyment score over all activities in the category pursued on weekdays, weekend days or all days, 5 = liked very much, 1 = disliked very much.^c Degree of choice: percentage activities in the category which were undertaken of free choice on weekdays, weekend days or all days.

shown far right. Visual inspection of Table IX reveals that respondents liked most of the events of the day. Average ratings for activities were between 'like' and 'like very much'. Substantial majorities, between 70 and 100 percent on average, engaged in the activities of the diary day of their own free will.

DISCUSSION

The tables on time use contain a fair amount of detail and for space reasons only select observed trends will be highlighted in the discussion below.

Leisurelines

Starting point for the discussion is the observation that black youth appear to be by and large satisfied with the manner in which they spend their time. If one were to apply perceived enjoyment and choice to distinguish leisure from non-leisure the dividing line is very thin given the high average scores on these two measures. If leisureliness is taken as the criterion, job and school-related activities, household duties including childcare, and some travel are perceived as nonleisure. The cut-off point is clearly between work, school, and household duties (comprising domestic chores and child care) on the one hand and all other events of typical days. Nonetheless, it is remarkable how high the level of enjoyment and freedom of choice is even for these spheres. School and homework rate as more discretionary activities than working in a regular job, which suggests that education is considered a privilege to a certain degree. This comes as no surprise in the South African context where youth use education as leverage to achieve political gains.

Of all the activities subsumed under the heading of work, looking for work is considered least enjoyable, and also involuntary in about 40 percent of cases. Noteworthy is that income earning activities *outside* of regular jobs, which include informal sector work, are considered somewhat more satisfying than work *in* regular jobs.

Generally speaking, enjoyment and freedom of choice go hand in hand. This is particularly evident in the case of childcare and domestic work activities such as fetching water, making the fire, and effecting

household repairs and repairs to clothes. Differences between weekdays and weekends are apparent. Youth appear to perceive more choice in the matter of household duties during the week — possibly because they are more likely to have other legitimate occupations on weekdays than over weekends when they generally have more spare time. However, there are exceptions. Preparing one's things to go out is a case in point. What is considered an odious task on a routine day may be transformed into an enjoyable task over weekends in anticipation of a special outing.

In the household activity category we find the highest number of relatively disliked activities of the day. Particular dislikes include washing up (average liking score of 4.03), household laundry (4.02), fetching water (3.85), household repairs (3.89), domestic errands (3.85), looking after small children (4.32), administrative chores such as paying accounts (3.68), and visits to the clinic or hospital (3.49).

In other activity spheres, medical care at home or away from home as well as sick visits are not enjoyed very much. Technical hobbies are pursued by very few and generally disliked. This suggests that technical repairs and hobbies are seen as similar activities both involving little enjoyment and choice. In view of the predicted future manpower needs of South Africa in the technical field these findings are worrying.

The discrete activity categories which have the greatest appeal are typically the rare events which add spice to life. They are clustered under the heading of spectator entertainment and feature events such as visits to night clubs or discos; concerts, plays or theatre; and entertainment centres, respectively. The few persons who reported engaging in activities as diverse as kissing and sex, smoking, and taking driving lessons, found these pursuits personally satisfying. For the researcher it was gratifying to learn that in the case of the few respondents who were exacting enough to record the event, the majority felt obliged to keep the diary for the survey, but nevertheless enjoyed the task once they put their minds to it.

In approximate order of leisureliness (enjoyment and choice), youth see entertainment, active leisure and sports, passive leisure, creative leisure, social leisure, and rest and relaxation as fulfilling their needs. Personal care is akin to passive leisure in terms of its leisureliness.

To sum up, if the leisureliness of daily events is given by the satisfac-

tion and freedom of choice which they afford, then the findings confirm that spare time activities are generally considered more leisurely than main occupational pursuits.

Participation. In terms of participation, the most common leisure outlets are passive and social leisure. Television viewing and socializing are cases in point. The importance of socializing may be underrated in Tables VIII and IX because only primary events are reviewed. It is possible that the satisfactions normally attributed to primary activities are determined to some extent by secondary activities (Buchanon, 1983). In this study, socializing emerged as one of the most important secondary activities. 46 percent of all secondary activities were social leisure, and 18 percent of all primary activities were pursued in combination with social leisure. In two-thirds of cases, activities were undertaken in the presence of other people and not alone, which suggests opportunities for social interaction are incorporated into most leisure events.

Active leisure, mainly sports, figured as the third most important leisure outlet. The qualitative significance of creative leisure, which involves only some 7 percent of youth, deserves special attention. It will be remembered that creativity was associated with feelings of freedom (cf. Table V). Creative leisure is dominated by singing and choir activities (cf. Table IX). Music, and to a lesser degree, dancing, figure prominently in leisure preferences and aspirations. Listening to music or singing while one worked were so common that a special category was created for the latter: 'Singing at home alone'. This suggests that youth have the capacity to regulate leisureliness to their advantage. It is possible that the high levels of leisure satisfaction are partly the result of youth attempting to make their least liked tasks, such as housework, as enjoyable as possible by musical accompaniment and social interaction.

Relative Deprivation in Leisure

Black youth in South Africa are generally satisfied with their leisure, although they experience constraints in fulfilling their aspirations. The most exciting events are rare ones. It is possibly their rarity which

makes them particularly attractive; a surfeit would make this rare type of leisure mundane. However, some would argue that township youth are so isolated from the mainstream of South African society that their opportunity to experience the full range of leisure is very limited (Wilson, 1989). They are too busy catching up with the necessities of life to indulge in non-essential leisure. The range of personal leisure preferences and popular pastimes and aspirations evidenced in this survey tend to be supportive of this conjecture. Others would argue that the youths express satisfactions which are shallow, a sign of resignation in the face of the obstacles which they face as a disadvantaged minority in a socially divided society.

The problems which youth face testify to this. Much of their leisure may be compensatory to make up for the neglect in areas of life which afford channels for advancement. There is evidence that instrumental leisure plays an important role. Best events of the day included educational and money-making activities. In some quarters there appeared to be renewed faith that education provides a passport to freedom in a complete turnabout from the popular liberation before education ideology of the mid-1980's. Weekdays which will include more instrumental leisure, such as homework, were considered more worthwhile than weekend days. This may be typical of developing contexts where pure leisure as recuperation or entertainment is the prerogative for the privileged few (Gihring, 1983). Noteworthy is that over one-quarter could not recall a positive event for youth in their township the year preceding the survey. Approximately 15 percent could not name a positive aspect of being a young person in South Africa.

The current political tension in South Africa may also detract from meaningful leisure which is fulfilling for youth in the ways they themselves desire. Superficially seen, black youth in South Africa lead very normal lives, they spend approximately one third of their time sleeping, working in jobs or learning at school, and on leisure activities including obligatory domestic duties. However, even the superficial indicators produced through the time budgets show up the impact of political instability and violence on leisure options for black youth. Apart from the anxiety and moral dilemmas which these cause, the violence constrains freedom of choice and ties up leisure time which could be put to other use. Crime and delinquency were spontaneously cited as the

single most serious disadvantage for black youth in South Africa. Riots, school boycotts, being forced to become involved in the political conflict were some of the key issues which worried respondents. Minorities cited the end to strikes and boycotts, the resolution of gang warfare, or the decision to join a particular political organisation as the most pleasant events of the year in their township. Being back at school after the school boycotts was one of the best liked events of the diary day for a small group. Other respondents stated they resented being involved in school strikes or having to study at home because of township unrest. Participating in the political debate was one of the most popular leisure pursuits in some of the surveyed areas. These are isolated cases but the very fact that they showed up in the results is noteworthy.

A case study might be made of a specific indicator of political tension which affects leisure patterns among township youth: funeral attendance. In the current political climate in South Africa it may be assumed that most of the funerals attended by youth were held for persons who were victims of violence rather than persons who had died of illness and natural causes. Funerals are ambivalent in terms of the leisureliness they afford. It appears that attending funerals is considered a moral obligation rather than a free choice; and the event is accompanied by mixed feelings and cannot be considered particularly enjoyable (cf. Table IX). Funerals were rated on par with the least liked events of the day. Most funerals occurred on Saturdays. There is evidence that suggests that funerals are atypical leisure pursuits. Going to church, pre-funeral prayers, and funerals services (a single coding category) was reportedly the second most common atypical event over weekends mentioned by 70 percent of persons who participated in funerals. However, consider also that 17 young persons attended funerals on a Saturday. This is a higher number of persons than those who attended Saturday school (16 persons), a live sports event (14), a youth rally or youth club meeting (13), a discotheque (10), and a wedding (3). During the two diary days, the 1200 black youth in the survey spent a total of 243 hours on extra education and live sports events, respectively, 150 hours at youth club meetings and rallies, 91 hours at discotheques, and 24 hours at weddings, compared with 69 hours at funerals. Since the survey period, violence has escalated, so

that disruption of normal leisure patterns may have deepened rather than receded.

Leisure Satisfaction and Quality of Life

We now turn to the question of whether leisure satisfaction makes a direct contribution to perceived well-being. It will be remembered that the literature is undecided on this point. Following Lawton's and his colleagues' lead, one might propose that the greater the absolute or relative amount of time invested in activities which satisfy, the higher one's level of subjective well-being. A preliminary analysis compared the leisure satisfactions achieved by select survey categories whose life satisfaction scores differed significantly. Weighted average enjoyment scores were calculated for the sample as a whole, the satisfied subsample and three survey categories which scored well below average on satisfaction with life as a whole: housewives and childminders (n : 89, 47.7% satisfied, mean satisfaction score 3.22), unemployed youth (n : 277, 31%, 2.71), and persons reporting a surplus of spare time (n : 249, 36.9%, 2.85). Included in the calculations were nine groups of activities outside the main occupational spheres covering entertainment; active and sportive, passive, creative, and social leisure; rest and relaxation; participative leisure; personal care; and household chores. Enjoyment derived from these activities was weighted according to the proportion of time spent in each activity category relative to total time spent on all nine. The sample average was a weighted enjoyment score of 4.519 (Table X). The satisfied subsample achieved an above-average score of 4.541. Persons with a surplus of spare time scored lower than the sample average, namely 4.506. Housewives scored lowest of all the groups in the comparison. Their low score of 4.360 was due mainly to the fact that they spent 42 percent of the time under review on household activities which they liked far less than other youth. Surprisingly, the unemployed, who emerged as disadvantaged in terms of other survey evidence not reviewed here, scored 4.523, slightly above the sample average. This may be due to the fact that one of their major dislikes in life, workseeking, was not included in the analysis. An alternative explanation is that the unemployed seek to derive as much enjoyment as possible from leisure activities other than workseeking

TABLE X
Average enjoyment and choice in leisure activities weighted by time spent in them

Activity type ^d	Proportion of time spent ^a	Average enjoyment score ^b	Average % own choice ^c
Leisure			
Entertainment	3.4	4.74	97.0
Sport	3.7	4.72	96.2
Passive leisure	14.7	4.69	98.3
Creative leisure	1.1	4.68	96.4
Social leisure	13.9	4.67	96.1
Rest and relaxation	4.8	4.60	97.7
Participative leisure	3.7	4.60	92.2
Personal care	17.5	4.57	93.8
Travel ^e	13.7	4.46	90.0
Household	23.5	4.22	75.0
	100		
Weighted average		4.519	90.19
Nonleisure^f			
Work		4.21	77.1
School		4.58	88.6

^a Weekdays and weekends.

^b Average degree of enjoyment per activity type, 5 = liked very much, 1 = disliked very much.

^c Proportion of cases where activities were undertaken of free choice.

^d Collapsed activity categories:

Activity type	Activity code (see Table IX for details)
Entertainment	801, 803–807, 818, 819.
Sportive leisure	901, 911–912.
Passive leisure	001–007, 009.
Creative leisure	902–908.
Social leisure	802, 809–817, 820–823.
Rest and relaxation	607–610, 008, 913, 914.
Participative leisure	701–709.
Personal care	503, 504, 601–604.
Travel	099, 199, . . . , 999.
Household	301, 302, 401, . . . 417, 501, 502, 505, 506.
Work	101–106.
School	201–205, 808.

^e Includes travel to and from school and work.

^f Includes work and school-related activities outside of main occupation as well as main occupation.

and are successful in this respect. Other unpublished research has shown that unemployed black youth subscribe to a 'busy ethic' (Ekerdt, 1986), which may involve undertaking household chores to gain social

recognition and financial support from other members of the family. The busy ethic boosts morale and generates the funds to continue the search for work.

The results of this preliminary analysis appeared promising but inconclusive and were therefore followed up with a more exacting test. Regression analyses were applied to explore whether leisure satisfactions made an independent contribution to perceived well-being in addition to other factors which might have a bearing on life quality. Other bivariate analyses not shown for space reasons revealed that the satisfied subsample differed markedly from the total sample in terms of social background characteristics: females, younger persons, and persons at school and in jobs, and persons enjoying a higher standard of living were overrepresented among the satisfied. On the other hand, the satisfied category exhibited leisure participation rates, leisure preferences, aspirations, and lifestyles which were no different from those of the total sample. Nonetheless, the leisure profile of the satisfied subsample (cf. Tables II, VIII), although remarkably similar to that of the total sample, showed a positive bias, which might be attributed to social background factors. Regression analyses provided an excellent opportunity to control for such factors.

Stepwise multivariate regression analysis was applied with overall life satisfaction as the dependent variable. The set of 32 predictor variables was divided into three approximately equal-sized groups: regional and ethnic factors (10 variables) and the social classification variables age and gender; socio-economic variables (9); and leisure constraints and satisfaction indicators (11). The variable outlook on the future was added to the above array.

Table XI shows that leisure factors feature prominently in the regression solution. Leisure satisfactions, social background factors, and outlook on the future, jointly account for some 17 percent of the variance in overall life satisfaction. Feeling fit and healthy, feeling positive about one's leisure time and activities, make independent contributions to perceived well-being. Noteworthy is that leisure satisfaction (weighted average enjoyment score) on weekdays figures in the regression solution.

TABLE XI
Stepwise multiple regression analysis of predictors of overall life satisfaction and four combined satisfaction types

	Beta	T
Predictors* of overall life satisfaction (<i>n</i> : 1200)		
High socio-economic status (self-assessed)	0.206	7.42***
Employed	-0.142	-5.04***
Lower age	-0.109	-4.10***
Feels fit and healthy	0.098	3.71***
Zulu speaker	0.083	2.88**
Money is not a dominant leisure constraint	-0.077	-2.87**
Female	-0.099	-3.72***
Optimistic	0.072	2.71**
No experience of leisure surplus or days dragging	-0.076	-2.79**
Television in household	0.060	2.16*
Umlazi resident	0.060	2.12*
Higher leisure satisfaction (weekdays)	0.053	2.00*
Adjusted <i>R</i> square = 0.1709		
<i>F</i> = 21.59, <i>p</i> < 0.0001		
Predictors* of 'satisfied/optimistic' type (<i>n</i> : 369)		
Higher socio-economic status (self-assessed)	0.142	5.05***
Involved in school or work activities on weekdays	0.132	4.65***
Feels fit and healthy	0.102	3.65***
Pimville non-resident	-0.088	-3.12**
Clermont non-resident	-0.070	-2.47*
Dube non-resident	-0.074	-2.60**
Money is not a dominant leisure constraint	0.063	-2.21*
Adjusted <i>R</i> square = 0.0728		
<i>F</i> = 14.45, <i>p</i> < 0.0		
Predictors* of 'satisfied/pessimistic' type (<i>n</i> : 233)		
Employed	-0.105	-3.66***
Lower socio-economic status (interviewer assessment)	-0.091	-3.22**
Female	-0.089	-3.16**
Pimville resident	0.077	2.72**
Lower age	-0.070	-2.47*
Zulu speaker	0.055	1.96*
Adjusted <i>R</i> square = 0.0426		
<i>F</i> = 9.89, <i>p</i> < 0.0001		
Predictors* of 'dissatisfied/optimistic' type (<i>n</i> : 239)		
Male	0.117	4.16***
Langa non-resident	-0.143	-4.80***
Not a Zulu-speaker	-0.107	-3.56***
Not involved in school or paid work activities on weekdays	-0.090	-3.12**

Table XI (continued)

	Beta	T
Does not feel fit and healthy	-0.086	-3.05**
Money is a leisure constraint	0.059	2.07*
Higher leisure satisfaction (weekend)	0.059	2.06*
Adjusted R square = 0.0544		
F = 10.85, $p < 0.0001$		
Predictors* of 'dissatisfied pessimistic' type (n: 359)		
Lower socio-economic status (self-assessed)	-0.137	-4.71***
Unemployed	0.123	4.40***
No television in household	-0.107	-3.51***
Lower leisure satisfaction (weekend)	-0.085	-3.07**
Higher age	0.070	2.52*
Langa resident	0.075	2.65**
No club membership	-0.063	-2.23*
No telephone in household	-0.058	-1.96*
Adjusted R square = 0.0908		
F = 15.96, $p < 0.0001$		

*, **, *** $p < 0.05$, $p < 0.01$, $p < 0.001$.

* Descriptive labels indicate the emphasis which is positively associated with overall life satisfaction and the four types.

Outlook on the Future and Quality of Life

There are a number of flaws in the above analysis. Firstly, the match between objective and subjective definitions of leisure is only an approximate one. Moreover, a tautological problem arises if experience of enjoyment and freedom are taken as determinants of leisure (Ellis and Witt, 1984; Roadburg, 1983; Shaw, 1984; Witt, 1984). Theoretically activities not meeting the enjoyment and freedom of choice criteria might be considered nonleisure and therefore should not enter into the discussion. On the other hand, a similar problem is encountered if degree of liking (enjoyment score) is taken as a satisfaction measure in its own right, that is, as an indicator of need fulfillment in leisure. Some researchers (Lawton *et al.*, 1986/87: 185) argue that overall life satisfaction measures and assessments of leisure satisfaction are related and therefore susceptible to response style bias. According

to this point of view, leisure satisfactions would be correlates rather than constituent elements of subjective well-being (Michalos, 1982).

Secondly, the interpretation of overall life satisfaction and leisure satisfactions are not unambiguous. Therefore, some researchers concede that leisure satisfactions may be unreliable indicators for developing leisure policy guidelines (Francken and Van Raaij, 1981). Leisure satisfaction measures tend to tap intrinsic as well as extrinsic benefits. Even very carefully worded cues may not avoid this confusion (Juster and Courant, 1986). On the other hand, it may not be desirable to distinguish between the two to further our knowledge of what constitutes meaningful leisure. The mix of qualitatively distinct satisfactions might be seen as an important characteristic of leisure which seeks a variety of rewards. For example, in this study the relatively high scores of leisureliness assigned to school work but not to housework suggest that youth perceive future benefits from investments in the former but not the latter. This may be a reflection of the dominant value of education and educational pursuits in leisure which was confirmed throughout the survey. Gihring (1983) writing on leisure in Nigeria notes that instrumental leisure preferences may be characteristic of developing contexts.

Similarly, at the global level, satisfaction with life as a whole may represent true satisfaction, but might also be the result of a change in reference standards of comparison, in particular the lowering of expectations. Quality of life researchers, aware of this problem, have sought to disentangle the various types of life satisfactions by examining the structure underlying subjective well-being. Various combinations of global measures have been suggested to differentiate types (Chamberlain, 1988). For this study, satisfaction with life as a whole was combined with outlook on the future following Francken and Van Raaij (1981). Given the political instability in the research context, this combination was considered an appropriate and sensitive one. Juster and Courant (1986) argue that conventional global measures of subjective well-being, such as satisfaction with life as a whole, represent state measures which have accumulated from past inputs, called process benefits, which would include leisure benefits. Combining a retrospective measure with a prospective measure of anticipated ability to assimilate process benefits in future may be judicious given the youth-

fulness of the subjects and the fact that they have grown up in underprivileged circumstances. The variable 'outlook on the future' could be seen as an indicator of belief in the reversal of current relative deprivation in the case of the dissatisfied subsample.

In this study, a distinction was made between four categories representing the various combinations between overall life satisfaction and outlook on the future: the genuinely satisfied (satisfied optimists) and dissatisfied (dissatisfied pessimists), the satisfied pessimists, and the dissatisfied optimists. This typology was regressed on the same array of social background and leisure factors described above. The results in Table XI show that economic privilege is strongly associated with both life satisfaction and optimism. Regional disparities between types are also evident. There are signs that maturity may be associated with growing dissatisfaction among the pessimistic. Being fit appears to protect from pessimism while promoting subjective well-being. Men have a tendency to express 'constructive dissatisfaction' (Francken and Van Raaij, 1981), women 'resigned satisfaction'.³

The genuinely dissatisfied type best illustrates the significance of leisure benefits. Over half the characteristics which make up the profile of the genuine dissatisfied type have potential impact on leisure patterns. The profile of the genuinely dissatisfied features dissatisfaction with weekend leisure, isolation from social support groups, and limited access to television and telephone. Typically, the dissatisfied pessimists experience social disadvantages such as poverty and unemployment, which depress quality of life, especially with increasing maturity. Taken together, these results suggest that compared to their peers, the genuinely dissatisfied experience leisure deprivation which compounds their socio-economic disadvantages. Of particular importance for the present analysis is that when the effects of overall life satisfaction are controlled, leisure satisfactions gain significance in determining optimism. One of the discriminating factors dividing the genuinely dissatisfied from the optimistic dissatisfied is the ability of the latter to derive enjoyment from their weekend leisure activities.

In conclusion. Time use data opens up a window on lifestyles. In the present study, the window was opened on relatively calm days, devoid of the turbulence, violence, and disruption which has upset the daily

lives of township youth in the second half of the 1980's. The time use data therefore reflects a situation which might be suitably indicative of a period of stability and normalisation to which optimistic South Africans look forward in future. Insofar, the results provide useful guidelines for planning for the time when South African society can address leisure issues which have been overlooked during the apartheid era and will need to be addressed in the transitional period. The results from the time use study among township youth tentatively suggest that leisure might be one of the crucial factors which contribute to quality of life and give black youth confidence in coping with the future.

NOTES

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² Hanging around in groups was intended to refer to street gangs, the notorious thugs which terrorise entire township neighbourhoods. However, it is possible that some respondents understood the item as hanging-out, which, as in other countries, is a popular and socially acceptable pastime in South Africa. However, during the state of emergency, which was in effect throughout South Africa during the survey period, gatherings of any kind were suppressed. The emergency regulations may have inhibited youth from meeting casually as well as more formally out of doors.

³ It may be telling that a preliminary regression analysis with the 'satisfied pessimistic' type as the dependent variable featured the housewife occupational category in the solution. In addition to the variables described above the predictor array included three affect variables.

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