

How Urban African American Young Adolescents Spend Their Time: Time Budgets for Locations, Activities, and Companionship¹

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The time budgets of a population of youth provide important information about their daily experience and socialization. This study reports data on the time budgets of a sample of 253 urban African American poor to working- and middle-class 5th–8th graders in Chicago. These youth were found to spend less time in school than other postindustrial adolescent populations, but spent no less time doing homework than White suburban U.S. young adolescents. They spent large quantities of time at home and with their families—at rates comparable to rates for young adolescents in a society with collectivist values like India. Unlike with other populations, early adolescence was not associated with major age changes in time allocations. Amount of time in schoolwork did

¹This research was supported by National Institute of Mental Health grant R01 MH53846 awarded to Maryse H. Richards. The authors are extremely grateful to Robin Jarrett for helpful feedback on an early draft of the manuscript.

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not differ by grade, and amount of time with family did not show the decline with age that has been found for European American suburban adolescents.

KEY WORDS: urban youth; time budgets; African American youth; family time; schoolwork; early adolescence.

INTRODUCTION

Time budgets provide a general index of the daily socialization and developmental opportunities experienced by a population of youth. The amounts of time a group spends in different activities indicate their extent of participation in differing contexts, “behavioral settings” (Barker, 1968), or “experiential niches,” and how their finite quantity of daily attention is directed (Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1984). A group that spends a large number of their waking hours in schoolwork is participating in a different set of socialization experiences than a group that spends a large amount of their time in leisure. Likewise, the amount of time a population spends in the presence of different companions—peers, parents, others—is an important indicator of the amount of their daily experience that is structured or influenced by different types of people (Whiting & Edwards, 1988). The fields of developmental and community psychology have recognized the importance of understanding the ecology of children’s lives (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, & Buriel, 1990; Jarrett, 1998), and time allocations provide useful quantification of their degree of participation in different contexts within this ecology.

Such information, however, is lacking for urban African American youth. Although many studies have assessed risk behaviors for this group, we know little about their normative daily experiences, including how they spend their time. Information on their activities and companionship would be helpful in identifying the range of daily contexts that compose their lives. How much of their daily lives do they spend doing schoolwork and in leisure? How much time do they spend with family members versus with peers? One expectation might be that the urban exigencies of underfunded schools, dangerous neighborhoods, and family poverty limit the range of their daily activities. Another might be that the various assets of the African American family, such as the strong ties to extended kin (Billingsley, 1992; Hill, 1971, 1993; Littlejohn-Blake & Darling, 1993), provide enhanced daily opportunities for social interaction.

In this study we examine the daily time budgets of a sample of African American young adolescents in Chicago to provide this type of information about the daily lives of one population of urban youth. The sample includes poor to working- and middle-class youth from eight schools. As is the pattern

for many urban African Americans (Wilson, 1991), these youth live in neighborhoods that are racially homogeneous, and they attend schools that are virtually all African American. Our primary goal in this paper is descriptive: to examine how these youth spend their time and how these patterns vary by grade, sex, and SES. To help interpret these descriptive data, we make cautious comparisons between the time budgets for this population and those from other samples of adolescents in the United States and in other post-industrial societies.

Background Literature

Variations in Time Budgets Across Populations

A major difference among post-industrial populations of youth occurs in the proportions of time they devote to schoolwork versus discretionary leisure activities. In Asian samples of adolescents, schoolwork accounts for 35–45% of waking hours (Lee, 1994; Nishino, 1997; Verma, 1998; Won, 1989), whereas the comparable figures for studies of U.S., predominantly European American, adolescents are in the range of 25–30% (Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1984; Leone & Richards, 1989; Timmer, Eccles, & O'Brien, 1985). By contrast, European American adolescents spend 40–50% of their waking time in leisure activities as compared to 25–30% for Asian youth (Larson & Verma, 1999).

Across these populations, early adolescence is often a period when daily allocations of time change. In Asia, amount of time devoted to schoolwork increases substantially during this age period (Fuligni & Stevenson, 1995; NHK Public Opinion Research Division, 1991, 1996). For U.S. European American young adolescents, the distribution of time between school and leisure does not change with age (Leone & Richards, 1989; Timmer et al., 1985); however, substantial shifts occur in how they spend their leisure time and whom they spend their time with. During early adolescence, European American youth spend diminished time in sports (Kirshnit, Ham, & Richards, 1989; Roberts & Kleiber, 1982), playing games (Larson & Richards, 1989; Timmer et al., 1985), and watching TV (Larson, Kubey, & Colletti, 1989; Timmer et al., 1985) and they spend more time talking especially girls (Raffaelli & Duckett, 1989), and listening to music (Larson et al., 1989; Roe, 1983). For European American youth, there also appears to be a substantial decline in time spent with family across this age period. Larson and Richards (1991) found total amount of family time to fall by close to half between fifth and ninth grade, with the largest declines attributable to time with family groups, extended relatives, and siblings. This family time was replaced by more time alone at home and, for girls, more time with friends. Thus, whereas Asian young

adolescents are shifting more time to schoolwork, European American young adolescents appear to be shifting time away from family and toward solitude and peers.

Contextual Influences on the Time of Urban African American Youth

We might expect the daily time budgets of urban African American young adolescents to partly resemble those of other adolescents in the United States. But their time might also be influenced by factors related to constraints and opportunities of the urban context and to African American subculture—to the norms and values shared among Black Americans and their families.

The urban context may influence adolescents' time in a number of ways. The lesser economic resources of urban schools might affect the amount of school time students spend on-task. The per-pupil expenditure of a school has been found to be inversely related to the percentage of African Americans in the school (Ogbu, 1988). Indeed, the per-pupil expenditure in the Chicago city schools at the time of this study was well below that for Chicago suburban schools (Illinois State Board of Education: Center for policy, planning, and research management, 1997), especially if one considers the greater needs for special services in the Chicago schools (Kozol, 1991). These disparities mean larger class sizes, lower teacher salaries, and fewer special programs, all of which might be expected to translate into less adult support and supervision to ensure that students spend a high proportion of school time on-task. Lower school budgets may also affect the number of hours students spend in school. The school day of the schools in this study went from 9:00 a.m. to 2:45 p.m., only 5.75 hr per day, as compared to 7.00 hr in the Chicago suburban schools that we studied (Larson & Richards, 1989).

The dangers and high crime rates of the urban environment might also restrict the amount of time urban youth spend in public locations. Jarrett (1995, 1997) found many urban African American parents to be very stringent in monitoring and limiting their children's activities away from home, in order to protect them from danger and negative influences. Prior analysis of data from the current study indicated that exposure to danger did not vary by social class within this sample. We found that youth in poor and working-to-middle-class neighborhoods had experienced equivalent rates of witnessing violence (Richards et al., 1999). Thus we might expect that restrictions on youths' time in public would be evident across neighborhoods.

Although these urban exigencies may constrain youths' daily activities, features of African American subculture may be associated with spending time in favorable contexts. Research shows that African Americans place high value on the family and have particularly strong connections to

extended relatives (Billingsley, 1992; Harrison et al., 1990; Littlejohn-Blake & Darling, 1993; Taylor & Roberts, 1995), across social class levels (McAdoo, 1988). African American adolescents are, on average, more parent-oriented than European American adolescents (Giordano, Cernkovich, & DeMaris, 1993), and their families have been described as more child centered (Hill, 1993). Harrison et al. (1990) argue that these strong ties to family and extended family reflect collectivist values (as contrasted to the individualistic values of European American culture). Given these strong family connections, we might expect urban African American youth to spend more time with family members. The church has also been identified as an important element in the lives of many African American families (Billingsley, 1998; Hill, 1993; Jarrett, 1995), hence we might expect more time spent in church-related activities. Conversely, there is evidence that peers may be less important for African American than European American adolescents (Giordano et al., 1993), which might correspond to their spending less time with peers.

Existent Data on Time Budgets of Urban African American Youth

Time budget data on these predictions are scarce, although some data have been reported on time use among general samples of African American and lower SES youth. Past research on schoolwork time has focused only on the amount of time African American youth spend doing homework, with no attention to classwork time. Several of these studies have found African American students to report spending less time on homework than European American students (Rigsby, Stull, & Morse-Kelley, 1997; Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992). Ogbu (1994) attributes this finding to the perception among African American students and their parents that, because of racial discrimination, effort in schoolwork will not open adult employment opportunities for them. He argues that they have less "effort optimism": less belief that effort in schoolwork will payoff. Steinberg et al. (1992) have obtained partial support for this explanation by finding an association among African Americans in their sample between the belief that effort has positive consequences and amount of time on homework. These findings, however, are based on single-item assessments of homework time, and such global assessments of time are recognized to be quite imprecise and open to systematic bias (Robinson & Godby, 1997). A more intensive time-diary study of a younger population, ages 3–11, found that homework time was not less among minority and low-income youth (Bianchi & Robinson, 1997), although this and another time-diary study suggested significant but small differences in homework time, especially on weekends, by parents' education level (Timmer et al., 1985). These findings indicate the need for better data that include both classwork and homework time.

We are aware of no study that directly assesses urban youths' amount of time spent in public settings, but data have been gathered on rates of participation in sports, extracurricular activities, and youth community organizations. Studies have found that—although patterns vary from neighborhood to neighborhood—urban and minority youth have lower rates of participation, attributable to limited resources in the communities where they live (Carnegie Foundation, 1992; U.S. Department of Education, 1993). The dangers of outdoor urban spaces may also be a factor that limits urban youths' participation in activities away from home. Thus we would expect this population to show less total time in these activities.

We are also not aware of any study that directly assesses urban youths' time with family or in religious activities. But studies have examined time spent watching TV—a frequent family activity. Research on children's and adolescents' television viewing has consistently found it to be more frequent among lower SES youth (Bianchi & Robinson, 1997; Timmer et al., 1985) and African American youth (Blosser, 1988; Medrich, Roizen, Rubin, & Buckley, 1982). In studies that controlled for SES, African American youth have still shown higher rates of media use (Comstock & Cobbey, 1979; Medrich et al., 1982; Stroman, 1991). A study of urban Chicago youth, matched for SES, found African Americans to watch more TV than White youth across times of the day (Blosser, 1988). These high rates among African American youth appear to be partly attributable to the influence of higher rates among their parents (Comstock & Cobbey, 1979). Medrich et al. (1982), for example, found that urban African American sixth graders reported that their families had the TV on during dinner at a much higher rate than White sixth graders, and this was true across social class categories. High rates of TV viewing might also be attributable to absence of other options for things to do inside the home and safety concerns that restrict activities outside the home.

Prior data on time use, then, does not provide a very comprehensive or adequate assessment of how urban African American youth spend their time. Questions about age, gender, and SES differences have also not been addressed. For example, do these youth show the same drop with age in family time as found for White suburban youth? Does time in public spaces increase with age? Do urban African American girls spend more time than boys doing chores and talking, as has been found with other populations of youth (Goodnow, 1988; Raffaelli & Duckett, 1989)? To the extent that time use patterns are shaped by social class variables, such as income and parents' education, one might expect the time use patterns of middle-class urban African American adolescents to more closely resemble other middle-class youth. But effects of African American subculture and the urban environment may be more salient than SES in shaping these youth's time.

The Current Study

The purpose of this study, then, is to provide a description of how a population of urban African American young adolescents spend their time. We examine where they spend their time, what they spend their time doing, and whom they spend it with. We also evaluate how these quantities vary as a function of age, gender, and SES. Although prior time budget data on urban youth are scarce, the literature just reviewed leads us to expect that they might spend comparatively small portions of time on schoolwork and activities away from home and that they may spend more time in home-based activities and with their families, including with extended family members.

Because our goal is descriptive, we adapt a “Results and Discussion” format for reporting data, so that we can discuss the findings in relation to those from other populations of youth. Some of the comparisons are made to data, from a review of 45 time budget studies of children and adolescents around the world (Larson & Verma, 1999). We also compare time budget figures to data from an earlier study we carried out using the same methodology with a sample of working-to-middle-class, European American fifth to eighth graders from the Chicago suburbs (Larson & Richards, 1989, 1991).

In making these cross-group comparisons, we emphasize the warning of many scholars that the cultural meanings associated with quantitative scores, in this case time budgets, may differ across groups (e.g., Shweder et al., 1997). Similarities in the *quantities* of time in given contexts may well mask differences in the *qualities* of what youth experience in those contexts. It must also be emphasized that our comparisons between urban Black and suburban White youth do not allow determination of whether differences are attributable to ethnicity, social class, family structure, or other contextual and historical factors that shape the lives of youth in the two samples (McLoyd, 1990). We view these as comparisons between communities or social/cultural ecologies and do not believe that “independent” contributions of these factors could be easily disaggregated. Despite these cautions, we believe that estimates of time budgets for a sample and comparisons to other samples can contribute useful *beginning* information for understanding the daily socialization opportunities experienced by a population of youth.

METHODS

Sample

The final sample for this study consisted of 253 fifth to eighth grade African Americans (112 boys and 141 girls) recruited from eight K-8 Chicago

elementary schools. These schools were selected to represent the economic range of schools serving African American neighborhoods in Chicago. The median annual family income in these schools, based on aggregated data reported by parents in the study, ranged from \$12,852 to \$37,892. Three schools were in poor neighborhoods, three in working-class neighborhoods, one in a working-to-middle-class neighborhood, and one was a magnet school that drew children primarily from working- and middle-class neighborhoods. The student composition in five of the neighborhood schools was 100% African American; this figure was 99.8 and 98.4% for the two other neighborhood schools, and was 88.1% for the magnet school. Average sixth-grade class size ranged from 23.5 to 45.0 across the eight schools (Chicago Panel on School Policy, 1995).

The families of the students ranged from poor to working- and middle-class. Average family income as reported by parents, which included all sources of family income from wages to child support to food stamps, ranged from \$2,500 to \$97,500 ($Mdn = 19,950$, $M = 25,467$, $SD = 19,319$). The majority of parents (63%) had graduated from high school and 17% had college degrees. Forty-seven percent of the students lived with their mothers (or mother and other adult relatives), 36% lived with two parents (in 14% of cases this included a stepparent), 3% lived with their fathers, and the remaining 14% lived with grandparents or in other arrangements. Household sizes ranged from 2 to 14 ($mean = 5.2$, $SD = 2.0$).

Students were recruited to obtain a sample stratified by grade and gender. In each school, we first described the study to the fifth to eighth grade students and gave them permission forms to take home to their parents. Then we selected study participants by random stratification from those who returned signed permission forms. Using this procedure we obtained a final sample with approximately equal numbers of students across the fifth through eighth grades (67,62,65,59, respectively). The ages of the students ranged from 10 to 15 ($mean = 11.95$, $SD = 1.23$).

Results from an anonymous survey administered to all fifth to eighth grade students in four schools indicated that participants in the study at these schools closely resembled the school populations on most dimensions. Participants in these four schools did not differ significantly from the school population in depression, as measured by an 8-item version of the Children's Depression Inventory (Kovacs, 1985). They were somewhat more likely than nonparticipants to live with two parents (31 vs. 22%). They did not differ in rates of parental employment; however, their mothers had somewhat higher ranking jobs, as rated on Entwisle and Astone's socioeconomic index (Entwisle & Astone, 1994).

Procedures

Following the procedures of the Experience Sampling Method (ESM; Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1987; Larson, 1989), participants in the study carried alarm watches for 1 week and filled out self-report forms on their immediate activity, situation, and subjective state when signaled by the watches at random times. One signal was sent at a random time within each 2-hr period between 7:30 a.m. and 9:30 p.m. for 7 days. During school days, students checked in with research personnel each morning and were given a new booklet for the next 24-hr period. Over the weekend, students were given a booklet with enough forms to last until Monday morning. All students within each school participated during the same week. The participation of the eight different schools was spread over a 2-year period (four schools took part in the fall, one in the winter, and three in the spring) between 1994 and 1996. To minimize the interruption to class activities, within each school, all students were signaled according to the same schedule.

Students were instructed to fill out a self-report form in response to all signals received when they were awake. If they went to bed before 9:30 p.m. or planned to sleep beyond 7:30 a.m., their instructions were to put the watch in another room so it would not disturb them. The 253 students in the final sample includes youth who met the criteria of (a) providing self-reports for at least 15 signals (b) with responses to at least 50% of the signals that they were eligible to receive between their first and last completed report. These criteria allowed us to include a number of students who responded to a high percentage of signals for 3–4 days, but then stopped filling out reports.

Students in the final sample provided ESM reports for the great majority of signals sent to them. In total they completed 8,775 reports, or a median of 36 per person. For the period from each student's first to last report, the median response rate to the signals was 85%. Girls had a somewhat higher median response rate (86%), than boys (82%). The median response rate was somewhat lower for fifth graders (80%) and eighth graders (82%) than for sixth (89%) and seventh graders (85%). Rate of missed reports did not vary by time of day. Past ESM research indicates that missed reports occur across a wide range of activities and for a wide range of reasons, thus do not introduce major biases into the representation of daily situations (Larson, 1989). On the questionnaire, the median student in the study reported waking up at 7:00 a.m. and going to bed at 10:00 p.m., thus our signaling schedule missed a small amount of waking time in the early morning and late evening.

In addition to providing ESM data, each student completed a packet of questionnaires in a supervised session during school hours. A "parent questionnaire" was also sent home to be completed by the parent or guardian

who best knew the child. Each student was given a gift certificate of \$20.00 for their participation. Following completion of the data collection, a newsletter reporting results from the study was distributed to all participants and to school personnel in the eight schools.

Measures

Students were asked to report on the ESM form their location, activity, and companionship at the moment of each signal.

Location

Location at the time of each signal was obtained from responses to the open-ended question: "Just before you were signaled . . . Where were you?" Responses were coded into 86 mutually exclusive categories, with an interrater agreement of 90%. For the analyses in this paper we have collapsed these into three superordinate location categories: school, home, and public. The "public" category includes time in public locations other than school, such as parks, stores, buses, and friends', relatives', and neighbors' homes.

Activity

Activity was obtained from open-ended responses to the question: "What were you doing?" Responses were coded into 139 mutually-exclusive categories. Interrater agreement for this coding was 83%. Following Csikszentmihalyi and Larson (1984), these activities were collapsed into 19 subcategories and 3 superordinate categories: productive, maintenance, and leisure. These categories were inclusive of all self-reports.

Companionship

Companionship at each signal was reported in response to the question "Who were you with?" Participants checked from a list of possible companions, including mother, father, etc. Responses to this item were coded into 14 inclusive sub-categories and 5 inclusive superordinate categories: classmates, family members, alone, friends, and others.

Socioeconomic Status

We use two measures of SES: family income and parents' education. Both were taken from the parent questionnaire, which was obtained for 223

of the families. Family total income was measured following the recommendations of Entwisle and Astone (1994). The questionnaire asked about the income of all family members, in addition to asking for the amount of child support, disability benefits, social security benefits, food stamps, and other sources of income used by the family. These amounts were summed to create a value for total family income. Because the parents or guardians filling out the "parent questionnaire" were typically the most central adult in the students' lives, we used their education level to identify parents' education. In 79% of the cases this was the child's mother, in 5% the child's father, in 8% the child's grandmother, and in 8% a guardian or other family relative.

Analyses

Computation of ESM Time Measures

Because the ESM signals occurred at random times, they provide a representative sample of how each adolescent spent his or her waking hours. It should be noted that, because the ESM samples point in time, as opposed to assessing periods of time as is done in time diary studies, it obtains better assessment of the time a student is directly engaged in a given activity. When respondents report on periods of time they are likely to leave out brief activities like phone calls, daydreaming, and trips to the bathroom that interrupt longer term activities, whereas the ESM has a representative probability of detecting these activities (Larson & Verma, 1999). Thus, for example, ESM assessments of homework time are likely to provide a better measure of actual time on-task doing homework, without other brief activities included.

For the analyses below, we used estimates of time generated for each individual as the unit of analysis. We computed the percentages of self-reports that each person reported being in each sub- and superordinate category of location, activity, and companionship. Analyses were then performed on these percentages. Because the students were signaled for a total of 98 hr across the week, 1% is equivalent to approximately 1 hour per week (or more precisely .98 hr).

These estimates of time by locations, activities, and companions were relatively independent of each other. Estimates of where students spent their time, what they spent their time doing, and whom they spent their time with were not correlated or showed only small correlations (Table I). The one exception was strong correlations among amount of time spent at school, time in productive activities (which is almost entirely schoolwork), and time spent with classmates. Of course, estimates of time *within* different

Table 1. Intercorrelations Between Amounts of Time Spent Across Locations, Activities, and Companionship Categories

	Locations			Activities			Companions			
	School	Home	Public	Productive	Maintenance	Leisure	Classmates	Family	Alone	Friends
Locations										
School										
Home	-.45**									
Public	-.20**	-.78**								
Activities										
Productive	.39**	-.14*	-.12							
Maintenance	-.23**	-.01	.17**	-.25**						
Leisure	-.10	.11	-.05	-.55**	-.67**					
Companions										
Classmates	.44**	-.29**	.01	.33**	-.05	-.21**				
Family	-.20**	.11	.01	.08	.02	-.08	-.13*			
Alone	-.05	.15*	-.13*	-.13*	.01	.08	-.18**	-.64**		
Friends	-.02	-.07	.09	-.20**	-.01	.16**	-.29**	-.36**	-.25**	
Other	.10	-.18**	.13*	.10	.04	-.11	.06	-.02	-.13*	-.21**

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

categories of location, activity, and companionship were often negatively related (because the categories were mutually exclusive). Thus, for example, time spent at home had a strong inverse correlation with time in public locations. As a result of this, the reader should be aware that the associations we report between these estimates and other variables are not independent of each other. For example, our finding that girls spend less time than boys in leisure activities is interrelated with the finding that they spend more time in maintenance activities. Given this interdependence (though often quite small), it was not possible to use a Bonferroni or other adjustment for multiple significance tests. As a substitution, we exercise caution in interpreting findings that above the .01 level.

Comparisons of Data Between Samples

In the Results and Discussion section we make many comparisons between the time budgets of this sample of urban African American young adolescents and those of other samples. These include a sample of 100 middle-class urban 8th graders in India, studied with the exactly same ESM procedures (Verma, 1998), 80 working- and middle- class 8th and 11th grade Korean students studied with the ESM (Won, 1989), and 1,347 14-year-olds from a range of urban and suburban public schools in Eastern and Western Europe studied with time diaries. We also draw on summary statistics from Larson and Verma's (1999) review of time budget studies. It must be emphasized that while similar in age, none of these samples should be seen as "matched" to the current sample, indeed the idea of comparability across populations is inherently problematic (Alsaker & Flammer, 1999). The median annual income of families in the Indian sample, for example, is much lower, (\$4,200), yet these families were in the top 10–15% of the economic distribution of India (Varma, 1998), indeed a majority of those families had domestic help.

We make the most comparisons to data from our earlier ESM study of European American young adolescents from four working- and middle-class Chicago suburban communities (Larson & Richards, 1989, 1991). The ESM signaling schedule and other procedures used in this study were closely similar to that described here. Whereas the suburban study included ninth graders and some students who participated during the summer, we make comparisons here to only the 328 fifth to eighth grade students from that study, who participated during the school year. In some cases we draw on published data from that sample, but often we have computed new values to insure that equivalent categories of time were being compared. Differences between the samples should be noted. The suburban sample was

similar in age but differed in household composition and parents' education (Appendix). We did not have comparable income data for the suburban sample, but data on parents' employment indicated these youth ranged from working-class to upper-middle-class households (24% included a parent working in a professional or managerial job; only three households did not have at least one employed parent). It is important to note that we found very little difference in time budgets within that sample by SES or by time of year (fall, winter, spring; Larson & Richards, 1989). Of course, differing socio-economic, community, and historical circumstances also exist between the populations represented by the two samples. Therefore differences that appear in time budgets should not be simply attributed to race, social class, or family composition, but rather should be understood to reflect the complex of contextual variables that shape each group's daily lives (McLoyd, 1990). Given these multifaceted differences we felt it inappropriate to compute significance tests to compare the urban and suburban samples, but instead provide standard errors as a gauge of the confidence intervals for specific time estimates.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Location

We began our analyses by examining the amount of time that these urban African American young adolescents spent in the three location categories, because we reasoned that being at school versus at home was often dictated by adults and preceded decisions about activities and companionship. We first computed means and standard deviations for the percentage of time that each adolescent reported being in each of the three location categories. The sample reported being at home for a mean of 50.7% of their reports ($SE = .86$) and at school for 27.8% of their reports ($SE = .54$). For the remaining fraction of their time ($mean = 21.5\%$, $SE = .78$) they were in other public locations. In addition, we evaluated whether the amount of time students spent in each location differed by sex, using t tests, and by grade, family income, and parents' education, computing correlation coefficients. No associations significant at the .05 level were found.

To put these figures into perspective, they can be compared to findings from the small number of other time budget studies that have provided data on adolescents' locations. Compared to middle-class youth in Asia, these percentages reflect much less time in school. In ESM studies, amount of

time spent in school was found to be 52% of waking hours for Korean 8th and 11th graders (Won, 1989) and 36% for Indian middle-class 8th graders (Verma, 1998), reflecting longer school hours including school on Saturday in Asian nations. But the current sample's amount of time in school was also less than that for our sample of U.S. suburban European American 5th–8th graders, who reported being in school for a mean of 37.7% ($SE = .51$) of their self-reports. This difference is attributable to the shorter school day in the Chicago schools (9:00 a.m.–2:45 a.m., as compared to 8:30 a.m.–3:30 p.m. in the suburban schools both in 1985–87 and 1994–96), as well as to more frequent after-school activities at the suburban schools.

Instead of spending time in school, these African American youth reported more time at home. Amount of time at home was 38% for the sample of Korean 8th and 11th grade adolescents (Won, 1989), 47% for middle-class Indian 8th graders (Verma, 1998), and 43.1% ($SE = .65$) for the White suburban U.S. sample, as compared to 50.7% for this African American sample.

What is noteworthy is that, despite having less time in school, these urban youth did not spend markedly more time in public locations than the suburban youth. The amount of time these urban youth spent in public locations (21.5%) was much more than that reported by 8th and 11th graders in Korea (10%; Won, 1989) and 8th graders in India (16%; Verma, 1998). The movement of youth in those cultures is closely restricted by their parents (Verma, 1998; Won, 1989). But amount of time in public was not markedly more than that reported by the suburban White youth (19.1%, $SE = .54$). This lack of difference, despite having more nonschool time, may be attributable to the stringent monitoring and control that Jarrett (1995, 1997) reports among some urban African American parents. Indeed, when we subdivided this public time by subcategories, the urban youth appeared to spend less time than the suburban youth in “outdoor public locations outside the immediate neighborhood” ($mean = 1.1\%$, $SE = .20$, vs. $mean = 1.7\%$, $SE = .17$), and they reported spending more time at a relative's or neighbor's home ($mean = 3.3$, $SE = .30$ vs. $mean = 1.5$, $SE = .20$). They showed little difference in time at a friend's home, at indoor public locations, and in transit.

In conclusion, the Chicago African American young adolescents in this study spent much less time in school than other populations of postindustrial youth, particularly Asian youth. They spent more time at home than samples of Asian youth and suburban Chicago European American young adolescents. And, the time they spent in public locations was greater than that for Asian adolescents but not much different than that for White suburban youth, although they appear to have spent less of this public time in outdoor locations where risks would be highest.

Activities

Our findings on what these young adolescents spent their time doing provide estimates of the quantity of their attention engaged in differing contexts or “experiential niches.” Table II presents the frequency with which these urban African American youth reported engaging in each of the superordinate and subcategories of activity. For comparison we have included similar figures for the sample of suburban European American fifth to eighth graders. Table III presents findings on how these frequencies for the African Americans vary by gender and grade. Because there was only one significant difference related to the SES variables (even using the liberal criterion of $p < .05$), we report it in the text below. We will first discuss the patterns for productive activities, then, for maintenance and leisure activities.

Table II. Amount of Time Urban African American Youth Spent in Different Activities

	Urban African American		Suburban European American	
	Mean %	<i>SE</i>	Mean %	<i>SE</i>
Productive	21.61	.64	28.79	.36
Classwork	14.74	.49	19.92	.42
Homework	4.48	.31	6.23	.30
Extracurricular activities (includes school assemblies)	1.13	.14	1.58	.14
Working for pay (includes babysitting)	.27	.10	.56	.11
Religious activities	.99	.16	.49	.07
Maintenance	24.62	.72	23.58	.51
Eating	4.53	.28	6.19	.25
Transportation (includes walking)	3.76	.26	4.63	.24
Resting	4.46	.27	2.52	.24
Chores and errands	3.99	.27	2.92	.19
Personal maintenance	7.89	.39	7.33	.28
Leisure	53.77	.83	45.77	.63
TV viewing	17.53	.70	13.00	.46
Music listening	.83	.12	1.27	.46
Creative activities	3.34	.26	3.82	.22
Talking	11.12	.72	9.58	.42
Playing	3.97	.34	2.62	.20
Playing games	2.55	.26	1.83	.17
Playing sports (includes exercise, swimming, and other physical activities)	3.73	.31	5.96	.31
Public leisure (includes leisure shopping, attending a movie, outings)	.77	.11	.89	.11
Idling (includes doing nothing, thinking, waiting)	9.94	.59	6.79	.54

Table III. Gender and Grade Differences in Frequency of Urban African American Youths' Activities

	Gender differences			Correlation with grade		
	Mean %		<i>t</i>	<i>r</i>		
	Boys	Girls		All	Boys	Girls
Productive	21.44	21.74	-.23	-.06	-.17	.03
Classwork	15.44	14.18	1.28	-.05	-.07	-.03
Homework	4.19	4.71	-.84	-.09	-.17	-.03
Extracurricular activities	.99	1.24	-.89	.03	-.03	.07
Working for pay	.23	.29	-.32	-.01	-.03	.01
Religious activities	.58	1.31	-2.28*	.08	-.09	.17*
Maintenance	20.74	27.69	-5.01***	.14	.15	.14
Eating	4.71	4.38	.61	-.16**	-.18	-.15
Transportation	2.97	4.37	-2.69**	.15*	.14	.16
Resting	4.07	4.76	-1.26	.12	.05	.18*
Chores and errands	3.07	4.70	-3.05**	.14	.22*	.09
Personal maintenance	5.89	9.46	-4.75***	.10	.13	.08
Leisure	57.81	50.55	4.49***	-.08	.02	-.16
TV viewing	20.03	15.53	3.24***	-.07	.05	-.20*
Music listening	.75	.88	-.54	.09	.03	.14
Creative activities	2.67	3.86	-2.34	-.15*	-.12	-.17*
Talking	9.94	12.05	-1.45	.14*	.09	.17*
Playing	4.96	3.17	2.61*	-.20**	-.16	-.25**
Playing games	3.07	2.13	1.79	-.10	-.03	-.16
Playing sports	5.75	2.11	6.28***	-.00	.05	-.07
Public leisure	.87	.68	.86	.13*	.03	.21*
Idling	9.73	10.10	-.31	-.02	-.03	-.02

p* < .05. *p* < .01. ****p* < .001.

Productive Activities

The amount of time the students spent in productive activities totaled 22%, representing about 21 hr per week, and this quantity did not vary significantly by gender, grade, or SES. School activities accounted for most of this time. Combining classwork and homework, the average amount of time on schoolwork was 19%, which is less than the 25–30% reported for predominantly European American middle-class samples, and much less than the 35–45% that has been found for Asian adolescent populations (Larson & Verma, 1999). The high rates of schoolwork in Asia can be attributed to the high value placed on learning in those societies and their competitive national examination systems (Cummings, 1997; Lee, 1994; Verma, 1998). In comparison to the White suburban sample, we had predicted that the urban sample might spend less school time on-task because of the lesser school resources. But this prediction was not borne out. The percentage of time during school hours that the urban youth reported attending to schoolwork did not differ from the suburban sample (59% for both). Rather their low

net quantity of time on classwork was related to the shorter school day of the Chicago Public Schools.

Homework was a different matter. The figures in Table III suggest that consistent with past research these African American youth spent less time on homework than the White suburban youth. But this conclusion needs to be qualified. Given their longer school day, the suburban youth reported doing homework much more frequently during school, for example, during study halls and other open class time. When one evaluates only homework done outside of school, the rate of homework reported by youth in this sample (*mean* = 4.0%, *SE* = .28) did not differ markedly from the rate reported by the suburban youth (*mean* = 4.1%, *SE* = .25). There were some differences in the context of this homework: the African American youth were somewhat more likely to report doing homework in the presence of an adult family member (47% of reports vs. 38% for the suburban youth), and they reported doing a smaller proportion of their homework on weekends (8 vs. 17%). But the total amount of nonschool time spent on homework did not differ between the two samples. This lack of difference is inconsistent with the suggestion by Ogbu (1994) that African American youth and their parents have less "effort optimism." Outside the supervision provided by the school setting, these youth appeared to spend as much time on homework as White middle-class suburban youth. Compared to youth in other countries, however, neither group spent much time on homework. The amount of time youth in both samples reported doing schoolwork at home averaged to approximately 30 min per day. This is far less than estimates for European and East Asian adolescents, which range from 1 to 3 hr or more per day, depending on school grade (Alsaker & Flammer, 1999; Larson & Verma, 1999).

For the much smaller remaining categories of productive activities, Table II suggests that the African American youth spent somewhat less time in extracurricular activities and working for pay than the suburban youth. The estimate for extracurricular activities, however, included occasions when youth were in school assemblies and these were quite frequent for the African American sample. When these occasions were excluded, leaving only school and nonschool clubs, arts programs, and service work, the differences between the two samples were greater: a difference of 1 to 3 between the two samples (*mean* = .5%, *SE* = .08, for the urban youth vs. *M* = 1.6%, *SE* = .14, for the suburban youth). This difference is consistent with expectations, given the lesser resources for extracurricular and community activities in urban as compared to suburban communities (Carnegie Foundation, 1992).

In contrast, rates of time spent in religious activities was double in the African American sample (Table II). This may be attributable to the

importance of the church to many African American families (Billingsley, 1998), and also to the larger role that black churches play in providing organized activities for youth (Carnegie Foundation, 1992). Girls in the African American sample appeared to report religious activities more frequently than boys, and their rate of participation appeared to increase with grade (Table III). This is consistent with other data indicating that girls and women are more frequent participants in church activities (Billingsley, 1992).

Maintenance Activities

Maintenance activities include activities done for the maintenance of family and self. This category accounted for approximately one quarter of these urban youths' waking hours, with girls and older adolescents reporting more time in maintenance activities (Tables II & III). Personal maintenance was the most frequent subcategory, with girls reporting significantly more time in this activity. Girls also reported more time than boys in transportation and chores. The increase with grade in total time in maintenance activities appeared to be most attributable to an increase in time spent in transportation and doing chores. Amount of time spent in maintenance, including overall and in specific activities, was not significantly related to the SES variables.

In comparing the findings for time on chores to those for other populations, we observe that the rate of chores, 35 minutes per day, was slightly higher than for the suburban European American young adolescents (28 min per day; Duckett, Raffaelli, & Richards, 1989) and substantially more than among Western European 14-year-olds (10–20 min per day; Alsaker & Flammer, 1999) and Asian adolescents (5–25 min per day; Larson & Verma, 1999). The gender difference, with girls reporting more time in chores than boys, has been found for nearly all populations of youth around the world (Goodnow, 1988; Larson & Verma, 1999).

Leisure Activities

Leisure activities include all free-time and discretionary activities. This category accounted for over half of the waking hours of these urban young adolescents, with boys reporting significantly more of their time than girls in leisure activities (Tables II & III). This large quantity of discretionary time exceeds that obtained in time budget studies for any postindustrial population of adolescents studied during the school year (Larson & Verma, 1999).

TV viewing was the most frequent leisure activity, indeed, the most frequent of all activity subcategories. It was reported for 18% of reports, representing an average rate of 2.5 hr of viewing per day. This figure is substantially higher than the rates found from studies of most other groups of postindustrial youth, for whom rates range between 1.0 and 2.0 hr per day (Larson & Verma, 1999), the one exception being several samples of Eastern European 14-year-olds, for whom figures were in the 2.0–2.5 range (Alsaker & Flammer, 1999). But these figures are consistent with prior studies showing TV viewing to be very frequent for African Americans.

Age, gender, and SES patterns in TV time were distinct for this urban sample. As in studies of other populations (Bianchi & Robinson, 1997; Flammer & Alsaker, 1995; Larson et al., 1989; Timmer et al., 1985), boys in this sample reported significantly more time watching TV than girls, and, whereas girls appeared to follow the pattern for other U.S. youth in showing diminished TV time across this age period, boys did not show a significant grade trend (Table III). Amount of time spent watching TV did not differ significantly by family income or parent education. Comstock and Cobbey (1979) observed that, unlike among European American adults, educated African American adults do not watch markedly fewer hours of TV than less-educated African American adults. The influence of parents' viewing habits may account for the absence of SES differences among these urban youth.

Though TV viewing was more frequent for this population, the situational context of viewing was generally similar to that for the White suburban sample (Larson et al., 1989). We found that 89% of these urban youths' TV viewing occurred at home (TV viewing accounted for 30% of all reports when students were at home). The majority of TV viewing, 58%, occurred in the company of family members and 28% occurred alone. Rates of TV viewing were highest in the evenings after 7:00 p.m.; it accounted for 34% of reports made during that period. It was also high during the hours from 5:00 to 7:00 p.m. on weekdays, accounting for 24% of self-reports during that period, and from 9:00 a.m. to 12:00 p.m. on weekend mornings, when it accounted for 25% of self-reports during that period.

After TV viewing, talking was the most frequent leisure activity, accounting for 11% of time, representing about 1.6 hr per day. This net quantity is not markedly different than the rate for our suburban sample, 10% (Raffaelli & Duckett, 1989). But for these urban youth, time talking was not significantly more frequent for girls than boys (Table III), as it was for the suburban sample (Raffaelli & Duckett, 1989). Similar to the suburban sample, girls in this urban sample showed a grade increase in the total amount of time spent talking, though significant only at the .05 level

(Table III). Rates of talking on the telephone were greater for girls than boys and increased with age. For girls it rose from .6% of time in fifth to sixth grade to 2.2% of time in seventh to eighth grade; for boys it rose from .4 to .9% across the same period. These figures are quite similar to those for the suburban sample (Raffaelli & Duckett, 1989).

While net time spent talking did not differ between the urban and suburban sample, there were differences in whom they talked with. The urban youth reported higher rates of talking to family than the suburban youth. Talking to family accounted for 3.6% of the boys' and girls' reports, as compared to 2.5% for the suburban girls and 1.8% for the suburban boys (Raffaelli & Duckett, 1989). These rates were not related to grade (Fig. 1). The counterpart was that the urban youth, particularly the older girls, appeared to spend less time talking with peers than did the equivalent suburban youth. Figure 2 shows that there was an age trend toward more talk with friends among all groups, although this trend was significant only for the African American boys ($r = .22, p = .017$) and European American boys and girls (Raffaelli & Duckett, 1989). What is striking is that in seventh and eighth grade the African American girls reported much less time talking with friends than did European American girls.

The next most frequent set of leisure subcategories were forms of active leisure: creative activities, playing, playing games, and playing sports (Table II). Rates for these activities were quite similar to those obtained for the suburban sample, with the exception that playing sports was less frequent in this sample than in the suburban sample (Kirshnit et al., 1989) – a pattern that may reflect less access to safe outdoor play areas and indoor

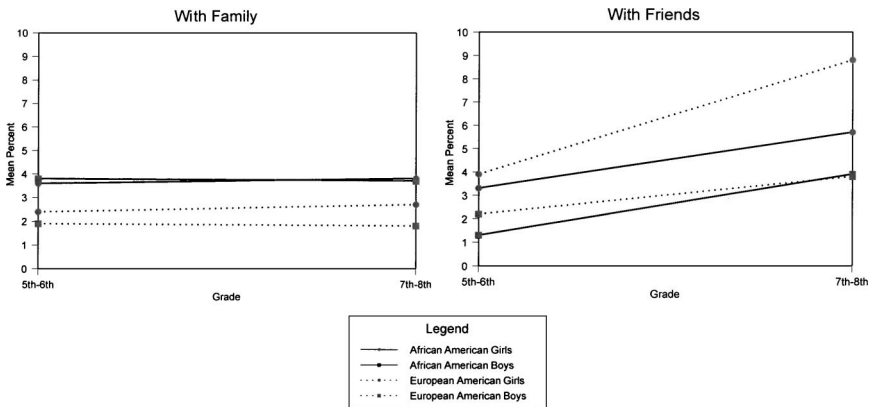


Fig. 1. Amount of time spent talking with family and with friends by grade and gender (The data for European American young adolescents were taken from Raffaelli and Duckett, 1989).

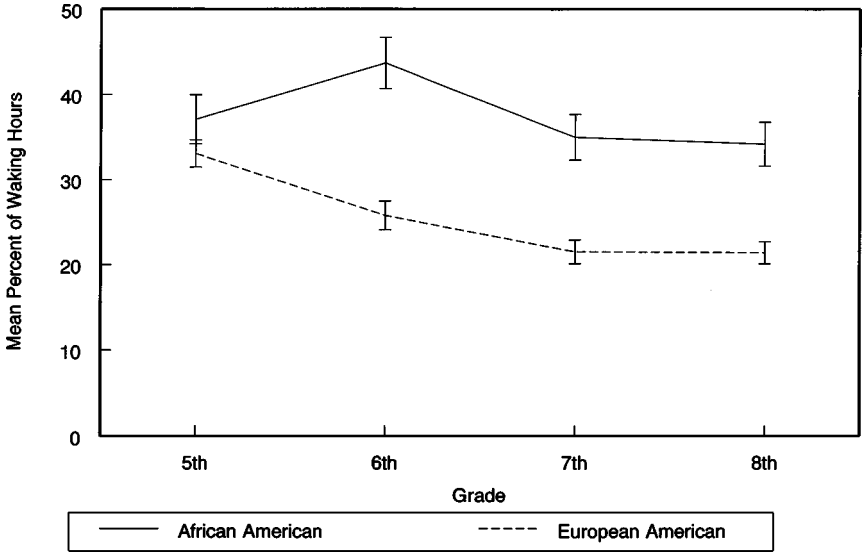


Fig. 2. Amount of time spent with family by grade (Figure displays means and standard errors).

facilities for the urban youth, as well as fewer organized community sports programs (Carnegie Foundation, 1992). The mix of creative activities for this urban sample (1.2% reading, 1.1% making music, .6% art work) also differed somewhat from that for the suburban sample (1.9% reading, .6% making music, .8% art work). For these active leisure activities there were gender and grade differences within the urban sample (Table III). Girls reported more time than boys in creative activities, although this quantity decreased for girls with age, and boys reported more time than girls playing and playing sports. Creative activities was the only category of activities that showed a significant SES difference within the urban sample. Time in creative activities was positively associated with family income ($r = .22, p = .001$) but not with parents' education. Greater income may give families more access to resources that facilitate these activities, such as books, magazines, music classes, and art materials.

The remaining leisure activities included idling, public leisure, and music listening. Idling includes thinking, waiting, and doing nothing. Amount of time spent idling was somewhat greater for this sample than for the suburban sample, with no grade, gender, or SES differences. More of their idling was reported at home (42%, vs. 32% for the suburban sample), which may reflect fewer available activities at home. Music listening was less frequent

for this sample than for the suburban sample (Table II) and for a sample of somewhat older, 8th and 11th grade Korean adolescents, 2.3% (Won, 1989). It should be noted that these figures included only times when music listening was reported as the primary activity and did not include times when it was secondary to other activities.

Companionship

Time budget data for companionship provide a gauge of how often these urban young adolescents' activity and attention is structured or influenced by different types of people. Figures for amount of time spent with different categories of companions are presented in Table IV, again with the comparison data for the suburban sample. Because analyses of these figures by grade, gender, and SES found few differences, we report these analyses in the text below. The pattern for time with classmates in Table IV mirrors the

Table IV. Amount of Time Urban African American Youth Spent With Different Companions

	Urban African American		Suburban European American	
	Mean %	SE	Mean %	SE
Classmates	20.34	.74	30.52	.54
Family members	37.52	1.39	25.40	.79
Mother/father group	9.77	.93	10.75	.54
Mother only	8.20	.89	3.39	.26
(includes mother and siblings)				
Father only	2.01	.41	1.58	.18
(includes father and siblings				
Sibling(s) only	7.42	.69	5.50	.39
Extended relatives (parents and siblings may be present)	10.12	.84	3.44	.32
Alone	20.65	1.37	21.56	.79
Alone, others nearby	14.02	1.14	15.39	.70
All alone	6.63	.62	6.38	.42
Friends	18.24	1.14	19.53	.67
Same-sex friend	3.50	.37	5.00	.29
Same-sex group	3.61	.46	4.67	.27
Mixed-sex group	4.44	.44	6.29	.32
Other-sex friend	2.52	.58	.48	.11
Friend(s) and family member(s)	3.57	.64	3.50	.27
Others	3.85	.42	4.10	.39
(includes teachers, coaches, babysitters)				

patterns we have already discussed for time in school and doing classwork, so we will not discuss it here.

Consistent with expectations, these urban youth reported a large amount of time with family members, and this quantity did not differ significantly by grade, gender, or SES. The total quantity of time spent with family members (38% or 37 hr per week) is the same as that found for a sample of middle-class eighth graders in India, a collectivist and familistic society (Verma, 1998). By comparison, amount of time spent with family in our suburban, U.S. sample was much lower and fell off substantially across this age period (Larson & Richards, 1991). The contrasting age trends for these two samples are plotted in Fig. 2. By eighth grade, the White suburban youth were spending only 21% of their time with their families, whereas these Black urban youth were spending 34%. The high and stable quantity of time these urban youth spend with their families is consistent with the assertion of Harrison et al. (1990) that African American values are more collectivist than those of European Americans.

This substantial volume of family time is attributable to more time spent with nearly every category of family members, but especially to more time with extended relatives (Table IV). In the suburban sample, time with extended relatives declined from 4.3% of time in fifth grade to 2.1% in eighth grade. But, for this urban sample it did not vary significantly from the mean of 10.1% as a function of grade. Part of the reason these urban youth spent more time with extended family was that many of them (46%) lived with extended relatives. Yet, even those urban youth who did not live with extended relatives reported being with them for a mean of 7.7% ($SE = .71$) of their time. These data are consistent with Hatchett and Jackson's finding that African American families frequently live near kin and visit often (Hatchett & Jackson, 1993). They show that for Black adolescents, as for African Americans of other ages, the extended family is an important part of their daily lives. The absence of association between this time and the SES indicators is consistent with McAdoo's finding that the strength of these kin ties are not diminished for middle-class families (McAdoo, 1988).

The amount of time these youth spent with their fathers is also worthy of closer examination. Given that many of the urban youth did not live with their fathers, it is striking that, on average, they reported spending nearly as much time as the suburban youth in "mother/father groups" and that they spent more time with "father only." Both categories include stepfathers, and the rate of living with a stepfather was higher in the urban than the suburban sample (14 vs. 7%). But even when we look at the urban youth who do not live with a father or stepfather, time in mother/father groups was

remarkably large, 8.5% ($SE = 1.17$), as compared to the .5% for youth living with a single mother in the suburban sample (Asmussen & Larson, 1991). Time alone with father, however, was quite small, 1.1% ($SE = .32$), much less than the rate of 3.4% we found for youth in single-mother families in the suburban sample (Asmussen & Larson, 1991). These differences in father interaction may be attributable to differences in the degree of connection that nonresident fathers maintain to children's mothers in the two sociocultural groups. White, middle-class divorced fathers typically do not maintain cordial, visiting relationships with their ex-wife, and their interactions with their children almost always take place away from their ex-wives' residences, often at their own homes (Asmussen & Larson, 1991; Buchanan, Maccoby & Dornbusch, 1996). In contrast, many nonresident African American fathers were never married to and never experienced an acrimonious divorce from the child's mother, and thus they are more likely to maintain cordial relations with her and have freer access to spend time in the child's home in her presence. In fact, it is possible that some of these fathers may have been covert or part-time residents of the household but concealed it because of welfare regulations (Billingsley, 1992; Stack, 1974). These less affluent fathers are also likely to have fewer resources to entertain children in public settings, as is the pattern for some White middle-class nonresident "Disneyland Dads" (Asmussen & Larson, 1991; Furstenberg & Nord, 1985). The greater access that Black nonresident fathers' have to the children's home may well explain the consistent finding that they are more involved in their children's lives than are White nonresident fathers (Danziger & Radin, 1990; Mott, 1994). This and the full set of findings for family time are consistent with a picture of African American families as being more open and having more flexible boundaries (Aschenbrenner, 1975; Jarrett, 1992; Zollar, 1985).

The counterpart of the stability in family time across this age period was that time alone and time with friends did not increase as they were found to in the suburban sample (Larson & Richards, 1991). Amount of time spent alone for this sample was quite similar to that for the suburban sample, but did not increase significantly as a function of age as it did in that sample (although the subcategory of time all-alone did increase significantly, from 5.5 to 9.3%, $r = .15$, $p = .019$). The urban youth reported spending more time in their bedrooms than the suburban youth (13.9 vs. 10.5%); however, bedroom time did not increase with age for this group as it did for the suburban sample (Larson & Richards, 1991). Furthermore, much less of this bedroom time was spent alone (36 vs. 71%), reflecting the likelihood that fewer of these less affluent youth had private bedrooms. The urban youth were also less often alone when in the bathroom (45 vs. 65%). Whereas the

suburban youth seemed to make a deliberate "retreat" into the solitude of their bedrooms with entry into adolescence (Larson, 1997), this pattern was not evident for this sample.

The total amount of time these urban youth spent with friends (approximately 18 hr per week) was not markedly different than that for the suburban sample, although it was twice the quantity of time that Asian samples report spending with friends (Larson & Verma, 1999). Girls in the suburban sample showed a significant age increase in friend time (Larson & Richards, 1991), but for this sample there was only a nonsignificant age increase in time with friends. The urban youth did, however, show a significant increase with grade in amount of time spent in the narrower subcategory of mixed-sex groups of friends, which we also found for the suburban sample (Richards, Crowe, Larson, & Swarr, 1998). This time increased from 3.3% in fifth grade to 6.5% in eighth ($r = .20, p < .001$). The urban youth also showed an increase in amount of time with same-sex groups of friends, which rose from 1.8% in fifth grade to 5.6% in eighth grade ($r = .20, p = .001$).

Analyses of time in these different categories of companionship by sex, grade, and SES found only a handful of additional differences within the urban sample. Girls reported more time with extended relatives than boys (11.6 vs. 8.2%, $t = 2.00, p = .047$), and more time with a single same-sex friend (4.5 vs. 2.2%, $t = 3.05, p = .002$). Grade was associated with a decrease in time spent with a mother/father group ($r = -.12, p = .048$). Amounts of time in the superordinate and subcategories of companionship were not related to either SES variable with one exception: amount of time with mixed-sex groups of friends was positively correlated with family income ($r = .17, p = .008$) and parents' education ($r = .21, p = .002$).

In general, we were struck by the lack of differences in companionship that were related to grade, sex, and particularly to SES for these urban youth. Although data from a larger sample might allow detection of smaller differences related to these variables, this general uniformity suggests that common characteristics of the sample are salient. Among these, a particularly salient factor may be the strong kinship ties of the African American family. We believe this contributes to the large amount of time these adolescents spent with their families, even as they became older and even when families had more income.

CONCLUSION: IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIALIZATION

The findings of this study suggest several major ways in which the daily time budgets for this sample of urban Chicago African American young

adolescents may be distinct from those of other populations, with implications for their socialization and development. First, these youth spent less time in schoolwork than any other postindustrial population of youth that has been studied. Their lesser school time in comparison to a sample of White suburban Chicago young adolescents, however, was not attributable to less schoolwork done at home, as has been found in other studies using less rigorous measurement of homework time. This suggests that these youth and their parents should not be blamed for having lower motivation or less "effort optimism." Rather their smaller quantity of time spent on schoolwork was attributable to shorter schooldays.

These lower amounts of time spent in school and doing schoolwork can be expected to reduce these youths' opportunities for academic development. Research shows that the amount of time an individual devotes to schoolwork is related to his or her individual achievement (Fulgini & Stevenson, 1995; Leone & Richards, 1989; Wahlberg & Frederick, 1982) and the total amount of time a population devotes to schoolwork is related to the long-term economic well-being of that population (Sweetland, 1996). Less time in school means this population spends less time learning. On a positive note, since the time of the study, the Chicago schools have lengthened the hours of the schooldays. Yet if the pattern we found in 1994–96 generalizes to other urban African American populations, it may contribute to their lower achievement test scores and lower rates of admission to college relative to other groups (Ogbu, 1994).

In contrast, the large amount of time these urban African American Chicago youth spent with family members may be a developmental asset. Although spending less time in school, these youth did not spend more time in public places or with peers than middle class, White suburban youth. Rather they spent more time with their families, including extended relatives – at rates comparable to rates for young adolescents in a collectivist society like India. Elsewhere, we have questioned whether European American young adolescents' marked drop with age in time with family does not come at an unfortunate developmental juncture when change and stress are high and the support of family contact might be especially beneficial (Larson & Richards, 1991). The urban African American youth in this study did not show this drop. They reported spending more time with their mothers and much more time with extended relatives than did the suburban youth. Time spent with fathers was substantial, even when it was reported that fathers did not live in the home. Harrison et al. (1990) report that African American subculture puts more stress on socialization for interdependence than on autonomy, and that is reflected in these findings. Their high rate of contact with extended relatives, in particular, may provide a rich web

of connection, support, and mentoring with caring adults that contributes to positive social development (Martin & Martin, 1978; Taylor & Roberts, 1995).

The developmental significance of this large quantity of family time, of course, depends on the nature of the interactions that take place, and these undoubtedly vary from family to family. Our findings show that, in general, these youth spent more time talking with their families than our sample of suburban youth, especially the suburban boys. Girls in this sample also reported a larger amount of time in religious activities, much of which occurred with family members, and religious participation has a well-demonstrated positive association with psychological well-being (Brega & Coleman, 1999). These and other common activities with family, such as eating, chores, personal maintenance, and games, provide opportunities for positive family interactions. We are more hesitant to say that about the large amount of time spent watching TV, the majority of which occurs with the family. These youth reported spending more time viewing TV than other postindustrial populations of youth. It accounted for 30% of their time at home, with rates higher for boys. An immense research literature on the effects of TV viewing on children and adolescents indicates high rates of viewing to be associated with slower acquisition of reading skills (Williams, 1986), obesity (Strasburger, 1995), desensitization to violence, and greater aggressive behavior (Geen, 1994; Rubinstein, 1983; Strasburger, 1995). Stroman (1991) concludes that, although television may make some positive contributions to the socialization of African American children, this large quantity of TV time is likely to be a developmental disadvantage for many.

In concluding, we should note the limitations of our data and the uses we have made of them. First, we would stress that the patterns found here represent only one population of urban African American young adolescents. We do not know how well these findings for Chicago youth would apply to youth in other urban communities, where historical circumstances, community and school variables, and many other factors may differ. Findings may certainly not be generalizable to populations of differing ethnic groups or to middle- and upper-class suburban African Americans. In a related vein, we repeat our caution that the differences discussed here with the suburban and other samples of youth should not be too blithely attributed to SES or ethnicity, but rather are likely to reflect a complex of historic, community, situational, and cultural factors. Indeed the absence of SES differences within this sample and within the suburban sample (Larson & Richards, 1989) suggest that SES alone is not a major influence over how these youth spend their time. Comparison to Mexican American, Puerto Rican, and European American

youth living in similar urban settings would provide valuable information about the comparative influence of SES, culture, and community variables on adolescents' time budgets.

Second, we emphasize that estimates of the quantity of time spent in different contexts is incomplete: what is happening in these contexts and the quality of experience is essential to consider. The developmental value of time in class depends on the nature of instruction; the developmental cost of TV viewing depends on what is viewed. Third, we have focused on overall patterns for this population of urban youth, giving little attention to individual differences beyond those related to grade, sex, and SES. Yet, individuals varied greatly, in fact the amount of variance between individuals appeared to be greater for this than the suburban sample in amount of time spent watching TV, with family, with friends, and in public locations, among other things. Some youth spent large amounts of time in what we have called "risky contexts" (Richards et al., 1999), whereas others spent much more time at home, at church, and doing homework. Jarrett (1997) finds that despite the limited resources of urban areas some parents are able to locate and use the limited good resources that do exist and this may contribute to individual differences in time budgets. An important question for future research is how individual, family, and community variables influence the time use of these youth, thus affecting their exposure to the developmental opportunities and hazards of these various contexts.

A last limitation to note is that we have not included summer in our assessment of time, a deficit common to nearly all time budget studies (Crouter & Larson, 1998). Entwisle and Alexander (1992) have found a comparative "summer setback" in academic achievement for economically disadvantaged urban youth, which may be related to the opportunities and constraints on how they spend their time over the summer (e.g., less access to summer camps, special classes, and literacy experiences in the home). Further research that examines summer time budgets, as well as those addressing the other limitations we have noted, is warranted.

In sum, we emphasize that these findings are a beginning and not an end to understanding the normative daily experiences of urban African American young adolescents. This profile of daily time use informs us about general parameters of these youths' daily lives; it is suggestive of daily developmental constraints and opportunities. Fuller understanding of the significance of this profile requires replication of these findings with other populations and further knowledge of what happens during these different segments of time.

**APPENDIX: COMPARISON OF THE URBAN SAMPLE TO THE
SUBURBAN SAMPLE**

	Urban African American (The current study)	Suburban European American
Study features		
Method used	ESM	ESM
Period of ESM sampling	7:30 a.m.–9:30 p.m.	7:30 a.m.–9:30 p.m.
Year of study	1994–1996	1985–1987
Sample size	253	328
Response rate to ESM (median number of reports per person)	36	39
Sample Features		
Grade level of students	5th–8th	5th–8th
Age		
Mean	11.95	11.77
Range	10–15	9–15
Household composition (percent)		
One parent	47	14
Ever-married parents	22	79
Remarried parents	14	7
Other	14	0
Household size (mean number of persons)	5.2	5.1
Parents' education (percent)		
Graduated from high school	81	90
Graduated from college	17	27

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