

YOUNG PEOPLE AND LEISURE IN A DEPRIVED URBAN AREA

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BSc (Hons)

A thesis submitted to the University of Plymouth

in partial fulfilment of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Applied Social Science

Faculty of Human Sciences

February 1994

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Colin DAWSON

ABSTRACT

This thesis reports on a study of the leisure activities of a group of young people aged eleven to sixteen, growing up in a particularly deprived urban area of Plymouth. The analyses are based on data derived from secondary sources, a questionnaire survey, and semi-structured interviews. The fieldwork was conducted between November 1991, and June 1992.

Much sociological research into the transition to adulthood has concentrated on the years from sixteen to twenty-one as the years when the most important life changes occur. Thus, the transition to adulthood is seen as part of a process of social and cultural reproduction, taking place through the transition from school to work, the transition to an independent residential unit, and the transition to a family of one's own. This thesis, however, suggests that the transition to adulthood begins much earlier than sixteen, and that this can be illustrated through the changing nature of leisure activities between the ages of eleven and sixteen. This thesis, therefore, is an exploration of the ways in which leisure practices change between the ages of eleven and sixteen, and the significance of those changes for the transition to adulthood, as part of a process of social and cultural reproduction.

A distinction is made between home-based activities; out-of-home organised activities; out-of-home unorganised activities; sporting activities; cultural activities; and illegal activities. Here, the evidence suggests that between the ages of eleven and sixteen, there is a general decline in home based activities, and out-of-home organised

activities, and a move towards more unstructured, unorganised activities, followed by a move towards more adult-oriented leisure activities. These data indicate that the transition to adulthood, as part of a process of social and cultural reproduction, is characterised by a number of informal and less structured changes taking place in young people's lives, prior to the age of sixteen. These are at least as important as the structural changes which take place beyond the age of sixteen.

These findings provide case study information on a particular set of leisure experiences, and relate to wider perspectives on the transition to adulthood.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my supervisors, David Dunkerley and Joan Chandler, for their tuition, guidance, and support through the various stages of the project. Thanks also to Lyn Bryant and Tim May for their encouragement and interest throughout the completion of this thesis.

I would also like to thank the Economic and Social Research Council for providing funding, through a three-year Research Studentship Award. Thanks also to the Department of Applied Social Science, University of Plymouth, for providing the resources which facilitated the production of this thesis.

Thanks are also due to the Head Teachers and pupils of the local schools used in the research. In particular, to all the young people who completed questionnaires, and those who talked to me so honestly about their lives.

Special thanks are due to Larry, for his unfailing patience and understanding, also to Rob, and to Elaine, for their support and humour when times were hard. Finally, special thanks are due to my Mother and my family, for their love and support; and to my late Father, for introducing me to the work ethic needed for the completion of this project.

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University of Plymouth
February, 1994.

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

At no time during the registration for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy has the author been registered for any other University award.

The study was financed with the aid of a Research Studentship Award from the Economic and Social Research Council.

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Research Training in the Social Sciences: St Johns College Cambridge,
September, 1992.

British Sociological Association Annual Conference, University of Essex,
April, 1993.

Paper presented entitled:

'Changing, Developing, and Hanging Out: Reflections on Researching Young People
and Leisure'.

Signed..........

Date.....1st February 1994.....

INTRODUCTION

Much of the literature in the Sociology of Youth has focused on the years from 16 to 21, as ones of transition. That is, the transition from education to employment, from household of origin to that of destination, from dependence to independence, from youth to adulthood. (Wallace, 1988). Wallace (1988) argues that the transition to adulthood should be seen as part of a process of social and cultural reproduction which takes place on three levels. Firstly, through the labour market, in the transition from school to work. Secondly, through the housing market, in the transition to an independent residential unit. Thirdly, through the family, in the transition from home of origin to that of destination.

However, alongside these structural transitions, a number of changes take place in young people's lives, concerning their social participation and lifestyles, which are equally important in the transition to adulthood. Many of these changes in the social lives of young people begin to take place much earlier than the age of sixteen, and yet very little sociological research has focused on the social worlds of adolescents. Thus, the field of adolescent leisure, and its relationship with the transition to adulthood is an under-researched area.

Leisure is a central feature of everyday life, contributing to our general well-being and self-perceptions. Popular conceptions of leisure have largely been based on the dichotomous relationship between work and leisure. Thus, the concept of leisure has largely been predicated on adult status, implying a certain amount of choice. This is problematic when applying the concept to adolescents. Further, analyses of leisure

participation have largely been based upon the dichotomy between middle-class and working-class culture. These analyses may no longer be appropriate when applied to the increasing number of deprived people who belong to an 'underclass'.

In recent times, there have been a number of media reports concerning juvenile offending, vandalism, under-age drinking, and drug taking in a particularly deprived urban area of Plymouth. It is an area with high unemployment, high divorce rates, high incidences of lone parent families, high crime rates, and high incidences of high-rise Local Authority flats. It was felt that such a deprived area would provide an interesting location for the study of adolescent leisure.

An interest in all of these inter-related issues prompted a research project to investigate the social situations of young people aged 11 to 16, growing up in a deprived urban area of Plymouth. Within this general aim, are contained a number of more specific aims:

- (1) To consider the utility of the concept of leisure in an analysis of the spare-time activities of a group of particularly deprived adolescents.
- (2) To consider the ways in which social class, culture, and social and economic deprivation affect adolescent leisure.
- (3) To consider the significance of the the changing nature of leisure activities during adolescence for the transition to adulthood.
- (4) To consider the gender differences in adolescent leisure practices, and their significance for the transition to adulthood.

The main theoretical framework in which this research is set, is that of social and cultural reproduction. Theories of cultural reproduction were first put forward within the sociology of education. A number of researchers (Douglas, 1967; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Willis, 1977;) have examined the impact of "cultural inheritance" on educational achievement. That is, the values transmitted by parents to children through the socialization process.

One of the leading cultural reproduction theorists is the French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu. Bourdieu (1977) argues that each class possesses its own recognised set of meanings, or cultural framework, which is passed on through socialization within the family. This cultural framework is indicative of the 'habitus' occupied by different class fractions. The 'habitus' includes the home and the neighbourhood, and this shapes perception, thought, taste, appreciation, and action. It is likely, therefore, that deprived young people's leisure activities are restricted, not only by their lack of economic capital, but also by their lack of cultural capital. The fact that the media bombard young people with desirable images of patterns of consumption and consumer goods, adds to the conflict between these young people's expectations, and their likely achievements.

This thesis begins in Chapter One, with the concept of 'leisure', giving some consideration to the problems involved in defining leisure, especially with regard to adolescents. Traditional definitions of leisure have largely been predicated on adult status, implying considerable choice. Whereas children 'play', and adults have 'leisure', the spare time activities of adolescents are rather more ambiguous. For deprived young people, leisure is more likely to be characterized by constraint rather than choice. This raises further problems of definition, when applying the concept of leisure to a group of deprived adolescents.

Chapter Two goes on to review the relevant recent literature concerning social class and leisure. This raises some interesting issues regarding deprived young people and leisure. For example, do these young people feel disadvantaged at leisure, and if so, what are the reasons for it? Are there adequate leisure facilities available to them? Are their leisure activities restricted merely by a lack of money? Or is it that these deprived young people are socialized into a limited experience of leisure through the process of social and cultural reproduction? Most existing research has failed adequately to consider many of these issues.

Gender differences are integral to any study of young people's leisure. Chapter Three reviews the relevant recent literature concerning gender and adolescent leisure. This chapter addresses a number of important issues, such as the social construction of gender appropriate behaviour; social and cultural reproduction and gender; gender differences in play and games; and the significance of gender differences in adolescent leisure for the transition to adulthood. This chapter also considers the findings of some of the existing empirical research into gender differences in adolescent leisure.

Chapter Four outlines the main conceptual and theoretical concepts which have underpinned the research: firstly, the concept of social and cultural reproduction; and secondly, the concept of youth transitions. This is followed by a summary of the main themes emerging from the review of the literature, which have contributed to the formulation of the research aims and objectives of this project.

Chapter Five considers the wider issues of methodology. The chapter begins with a description of the deprived urban area which provided the research site. This chapter goes on to describe the research methods used in the investigation. It was decided that the study would employ a combination of quantitative and qualitative techniques. The quantitative element of the study involved the administration of a self-

completion questionnaire to the entire population of the local secondary school. This resulted in a reliable and objective data set on young people, and their leisure activities in the research area. The qualitative element of the study involved a number of semi-structured interviews, in order to provide more subjective data to complement the quantitative data.

Chapters Six, Seven, and Eight present the findings of the study. Chapter Six presents the social characteristics of the sample, as given in the survey data, which confirm the deprived nature of these young people. Chapter Seven attempts to develop further the contextual framework for the study, by considering the changes taking place in the self-perceptions, social network, and home-life of this group of deprived adolescents, together with the significance of these changes for the transition to adulthood. This is followed in Chapter Eight with an analysis of the changing nature of the leisure activities and aspirations of these young people, and the significance of these for the transition to adulthood. Finally, in the Conclusion, the findings of the study are discussed in relation to the research objectives which introduced the thesis, and in relation to theoretical debates concerning the links between youth transitions, cultural reproduction, and the changing nature of adolescent leisure.

This thesis attempts to fill a gap in the sociological literature, providing a small, but nevertheless interesting and original contribution to the discipline.

CHAPTER ONE: DEFINITIONS OF LEISURE.

Introduction.

Leisure is an important part of our everyday lives. It occupies a considerable amount of time and money. For a long time, leisure was regarded as those activities which were undertaken in the time left over from work. In contemporary society, this emphasis would appear to be misplaced, since many people are not at work, and the automation of the workplace has given others significantly more free time.

Leisure plays an important part in the development of the self. During childhood and adolescence, people learn to find some activities as enjoyable, such as certain kinds of sport, or particular hobbies. For example, Argyle (1992) points out that research on the socialization of leisure has found that about 50 per cent of adult leisure activities begin in childhood, influenced by the family, the school, and the peer group. Thus, the changing nature of leisure activities during adolescence, can be seen as a significant feature in the transition to adulthood.

However, defining leisure is somewhat problematic, especially among adolescents. The definition of leisure is dependent upon the definitions of a number of inter-related concepts, such as work, play, recreation, relaxation, idleness, fun, free-time, games, sport, entertainment, and so on. We associate all of these things with the term 'leisure', yet their precise definition may change according to their social and historical context. Defining leisure, then, is far from straightforward.

It would seem that, in popular usage, leisure is an umbrella term for a wide variety of behaviour. This would appear to be born out by dictionary definitions of the term. For example, the Concise Oxford Dictionary defines leisure as:

'(Opportunity to do or afforded by) free time, time at one's disposal'.

Other dictionary definitions refer to leisure as freedom from work. For example, Chambers English Dictionary sees leisure as :

'Time free from employment: freedom from occupation'.

Longman's New Universal Dictionary defines leisure as:

'Freedom provided by the cessation of activities; especially time free from work or duties'.

However, perhaps the simplest dictionary definition of leisure is that of Harrop's Easy English Dictionary, which defines leisure simply as:

'Time free to do what you want'.

Nevertheless, all of these Dictionary definitions of leisure appear to be rather

vague. All of these definitions suggest that leisure involves considerable choice; further, that leisure cannot be defined in terms of any *particular* activity. This vagueness creates problems for the operationalization of the concept in research, especially research on deprived 11-16 year olds. For example, what are the indicators of choice? Availability of particular leisure activities? The amount of money available to spend on leisure? Amount of time available for leisure? Availability of transport? Parental encouragement? All of these indicators of choice can also be seen as restrictions on leisure. Therefore, indicators of choice are inextricably linked to indicators of constraint.

Bernard (1982) has carried out a comprehensive review of definitions of leisure. She argues that, not only has leisure meant different things to different people throughout history, but it has meant and does mean different things to different researchers:

'These meanings, and the definitions which form their (researcher's) starting points, are conditioned to a large extent by the disciplinary constraints within which the individual researcher is working'. (Bernard, 1982. p1).

Leisure forms part of many elements of individual and social life, and therefore its definition will depend upon its purpose or function to the individual, and to wider society, in terms of work and time, and as activity. (Bernard, 1982).

Leisure and the Individual.

Leisure has become an increasingly important element in the everyday lives of the individual, and thus definitions of leisure in terms of the individual have become extended and expanded. For example, Dumazedier (1960) defines leisure in terms of a number of occupations in which the individual may indulge of his own free will; such as, either to rest, for self-amusement, to add to personal knowledge or improve one's skills. An individual may undertake these occupations disinterestedly, or to increase his or her voluntary participation in the life of the community. Nevertheless, Dumazedier points out, the individual only engages in such leisure occupations after discharging his professional, family and social duties.

Gist and Fava (1964 p411) also put forward a definition of leisure which focuses on the individual. They define leisure as:

'The time which an individual has free from work or other duties and which may be utilised for purposes of relaxation, diversion, social achievement, or personal development'.

However, they recognise the limitations of their definition. They go on to say:

'Like many other definitions, this one does not clearly demarcate leisure from non leisure, or leisure from activity that is obligatory'.

In a similar manner, Burton (1971 p20) defines recreation as:

'Participation, in its broadest sense, in any pursuits - other than those associated with work and necessary tasks of a personal and social nature - which a person undertakes freely for purposes of relaxation or entertainment for his own personal or social development'.

Other researchers, such as the Rapoport (1975), suggest that the purpose of certain leisure activities will vary with the individual's stage in the family life-cycle, with particular lifestyles, and within different social contexts and role expectations. They saw this approach as facilitating not only an understanding of individual's leisure behaviour, but also of the relevance of leisure to the other major areas of life experience, such as work, education, and the community. Leisure thus performs a variety of functions for the individual, in relation to the nature of work, lifestyle, stage in the family life-cycle, and as an expression of self identity.

However, leisure for purely personal enjoyment has historically been considered wrong. Clarke and Critcher (1985) argue that although the Protestant Ethic is most often associated with work, there is also a Protestant Leisure Ethic:

'Free time - to avoid the descent into the murky waters of idleness and the devil's work - has to be "constructive". It has to be spent wisely. The embrace of leisure's potential is always something less than wholehearted. It lives with the constraint imposed by the fear of freedom and its illicit pleasures'. (Clarke and Critcher, 1985. p5)

The existence of a Protestant Leisure Ethic may in some way be an underlying factor in the 'moral panics' over youth in the last thirty years or so.

Argyle (1992) suggests that there are a number of needs, on the part of the

individual, which seem to be met by leisure:

(1) The use and development of skills. Many leisure activities are experienced as intrinsically enjoyable. Argyle (1992) argues that individuals who are committed to a particular leisure activity are happier, have greater leisure satisfaction, and experience their leisure as more challenging, stressful and absorbing than those who are not.

(2) Social motivation. Much leisure is carried out in the company of other people, and this is a major part of the satisfaction. Many forms of leisure require the involvement of others, such as sports, clubs, dancing, and talking. Argyle (1992) suggests that the company provided by friends generates positive emotions, and provides help and other forms of social support.

(3) Leisure worlds. Some forms of leisure add greatly to an individual's construction and experience of the world. Argyle (1992) gives the example of Scottish country dancing. This is a very social form of leisure. It involves the use and development of skills, and is relaxing in the sense that tensions can be released. However, it is also a complete world of its own, with its own calendar of events, network of relationships, music, repertoire of dances, special costumes and rituals, and creates a great deal of amusement.

(4) Identity. Argyle argues that taking up most forms of leisure adds to the self-image, and the image presented to others. Most leisure requires a particular form of dress, the acquisition of new skills, and membership of a new social group. Argyle argues that it is the more engrossing and less common forms of leisure which do most for individual identity.

(5) Relaxation, and reactions to work. Relaxation and respite from work are still important uses of leisure, and are evident in the high rates of involvement in watching television, or having holidays. For others, leisure activities may be related to the type of work they do. However, Argyle argues that recent studies have shown that reaction from work, and the extension of work only apply to a small section of the population, and that for most people, work and leisure are unrelated.

Leisure, Health, and Well-being.

Historically, it became generally believed that a happy and healthy population was desirable for both economic and military reasons, and this led to the increasing provision of sports and recreational facilities by public authorities. (Roberts, 1970). As leisure became more institutionalised, various organisations such as the Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, The Boys Brigade, and youth clubs became established. These were designed to prepare young people for their role in society by promoting moral values and character building, and to steer them away from immoral and criminal influences. (Bernard, 1982. p7).

The desirability of recreation, in particular of physical activity and sport, is conveyed through the education system, and begins at an early age. This was originally based on the belief that participation in team games fosters certain moral and social values, which relate to wider society. In recent times, sport has been played in schools much more for fun, than compulsion. However, more recently there have been calls for sport to be made more compulsory in schools, through a "core curriculum" of Physical Education, to ensure that all children achieve a desirable level of fitness. Exercise and sport are seen as very good for one's general health, and also

have a positive effect on a person's mood. Exercise and sport involve social activity, and there may be satisfaction in achievement, or self-image gratification through dressing in impressive sporting gear (Argyle, 1992).

The importance of leisure as a source of happiness has come out differently in different studies. Argyle (1992) points out that for many studies, leisure was more important than income or health as a predictor of happiness. However, income and health are also important because of their effect on leisure. Nevertheless, leisure can be beneficial for mental health. Exercise relieves depression, and reduces anxiety, as well as benefiting general health. Social leisure, such as spending time with friends, and belonging to clubs, is a major source of social support. Relaxing forms of leisure, such as watching TV, and holidays, can help to relieve stress (Argyle, 1992).

These developments serve to illustrate how leisure, defined in terms of society at large, has focused on the health and well being of the population. In this sense, leisure has come to be seen as a form of preventative medicine. This is not simply in terms of physical well being, but also in terms of stress and other psychological disorders. Thus leisure has become ideologically linked to health and welfare, with a resultant increase in participation in Health Clubs, jogging, fun runs, marathons, etc.

Work and Leisure.

The relationship between work and leisure has been fundamental to definitions of leisure. The Protestant Work Ethic is still in evidence today, and those who are unemployed, for whatever reason, are still often seen as having failed in some way. Work is seen as an essential part of the life experience. Leisure, on the other hand, is

seen as a form of escapism from the monotonous routines of the workplace. Thus definitions of leisure have centred around the relationship between work and leisure. For example, Wilensky (1960) proposes 'compensatory' and 'spill-over' hypotheses. According to the 'compensatory' leisure hypothesis, leisure is seen to compensate for the dissatisfactions of work. On the other hand, according to the 'spill-over' hypothesis, leisure is influenced by work attitudes and characteristics, so that the person who does not receive satisfaction in his/her work, is similarly dissatisfied with his/her leisure.

Parker (1971) provides a typology which can be seen as an extension of Wilensky's hypotheses. Parker identifies three patterns in the work-leisure relationship: 'extension', 'opposition', and 'neutrality'. The 'extension' pattern sees leisure activities which are similar in content to one's working activities, with no sharp distinction between what is work and what is leisure. The 'opposition' pattern involves leisure activities which are deliberately different from work, thus providing a sharp distinction between what is work, and what is leisure. Thirdly, the 'neutral' pattern sees leisure as complementary to work. This consists of leisure activities which are generally different from work, but not deliberately so. Thus the difference between work and leisure can be appreciated without necessarily defining one as the absence of the other.

However, as Clarke and Critcher (1985) point out, the association between certain occupational groups and these models of work-leisure relationships is not fixed. Parker makes no claim that certain types of occupations and certain types of work-leisure relationships always go together. Variations will exist, and there may even be situations where leisure affects work. Generally, however, work is seen as the more crucial determinant, because of the more structured nature of work, and its

contribution to life itself. (Clarke and Critcher, 1985, p19).

Deem (1988) suggests that the consequences of social change are often discussed in the sociological literature as if they were inevitable consequences. That is, the automation of the workplace (especially the introduction of computers) brings about less routine working practices, and hence a more leisured society. Deem outlines a number of problems which arise in such discussions of the changes taking place in work and leisure. Drawing on the work of Clarke and Critcher (1985), Deem points out that a reduction in the number of hours worked does not necessarily mean that people will develop more satisfying lifestyles which are oriented more to leisure. Indeed, for the unemployed, and for many adolescents, the opposite may be true, as they have less money available for leisure.

In an article entitled 'Leisure Meanings and Comparisons with Work' (1993), Judith Brook argues that leisure must be considered as part of the broader domain of work and non-work activities. Brook attempts to devise a typology of leisure activities among a sample of managers. Qualitative and quantitative analysis indicated that managers distinguished two types of non-work activities that either extended or contrasted with their experiences of work. Some non-work activities were judged by whether they were creative, challenging, and involved mental activity. These were similar to work activities, while others were more concerned with relationships and personal freedom. Brook found that comparisons between non-work and work suggested that, while work was more stimulating, non-work was more enjoyable, socially oriented, and discretionary. Disliked activities tended to be routine, unstimulating, and stressful.

Argyle (1992) suggests that the Protestant Work Ethic should be replaced by a

'Leisure Ethic'. Nevertheless, while pursuing the goals of freedom, spontaneity, playfulness and relaxation may produce a lot of fun and relaxation, unless part of leisure is felt to be worthwhile and useful, and to be attaining certain standards, there is a danger that life satisfaction will fall (Argyle, 1992, p127).

Leisure and Time.

Other definitions of leisure have incorporated a time element. That is, a distinction between 'work-time' and 'free-time'. Farina (1985) distinguishes between 'work-time' and 'obligated-time'. He sees work-time as time which is required for maintenance or for material improvement of self and dependents. It is time spent in return for money or its equivalent. Obligated-time, however, can be divided into two types. Firstly, sleep and personal maintenance time, for activities such as eating and personal hygiene. Secondly, there is non-work obligatory time, such as mowing the lawn or food shopping. Free-time, for Farina, can be seen to be that time during which one is relatively free for primary role expectations. That is, residual time after we take account of work-time, sleep-time, and time for personal care. Free-time and obligatory-time can be conceived of as the opposite extremes of a continuum, so that time can be seen to be either relatively free, or relatively obligatory. However, Farina asserts that absolutely free time is an ideal which is probably unobtainable. (Farina, 1985. p30).

Dumazedier (1974) also argues that leisure defined as free time must be distinguished from working time. Also, that the activities undertaken must be freely chosen, rather than obligatory. However, Dumazedier also sees the importance of culture in such definitions, arguing that the free time of industrial societies is very

different to the 'empty' time of traditional societies.

Other definitions seek to explain leisure as residual time. For example, Kelly (1975, p186) defines leisure as:

'...activity we decide on for time that is not obligated to work, the maintenance of our households or ourselves, or other required activity'.

Similarly, Brightbill (1960) defines leisure as:

'Time beyond that which is required for 'existence', the things which we must do, biologically to stay alive (that is, eat, sleep, eliminate, medicate, and so on), and 'subsistence', the things we must do to make a living at work, or prepare to make a living as in school, or pay for what we want done if we do not do it ourselves. Leisure is the time which our feelings of compulsion should be minimal. It is 'discretionary' time, the time to be used according to our own judgement or choice'. (Brightbill, 1960. p4).

Meyersohn (1972) points out that not all free time is leisure, although all leisure occurs during free time. Even though changes in the nature and conditions of work may have provided for an increase in free time, this has not necessarily resulted in an increase in leisure. Thus, defining leisure as separate from free time presents problems, as this omits some aspects of leisure.

Meyersohn argues that four distinct meanings can be allotted to the concept of leisure, all of which distinguish between leisure and free time:

(1) leisure as rest, respite, and restoration;

- (2) leisure as entertainment;
- (3) leisure as self realization; and
- (4) leisure as spiritual renewal.

According to the assumptions behind each of these meanings, leisure does not occur during free time unless some kind of subjective meaning and particular quality is experienced. This is in contrast to the conceptualization of leisure as a set of activities commonly considered as 'leisure activities'.

Harre (1990) suggests that there are three 'root' ideas regarding time and leisure. All of these are negative ideas, so that if each of them is taken as a criterion for defining something as leisure, then they work by excluding more positively defined activities. For example, Harre suggests, the simplest and nearest to one of our common uses of the word 'leisure' is that leisure activities should be unhurried, idle, unstructured, or even resting. In this way they are defined as relative to busy, structured, demanding activities, in which time appears as some kind of discipline.

The second 'root' idea which Harre identifies is that leisure activities are those for which we receive no wages. They are unpaid, and therefore stand in contrast to the positively defined 'work', which provides us with the means to earn our living, rather than contrive or construct it.

Harre's third 'root' idea is that of play. That is, one of the best root ideas in the concept of leisure is that leisure activities are, generally speaking, not serious.

Harre sees that the incorporation of a temporal aspect to leisure is problematic. The temporal concept and the idea of a division in time between paid and unpaid are very much tied to industrial modes of production. Thus, Harre argues that the idea

that something can be temporally demarcated as leisure seems to be historically contingent. It is contingent on, and relative to the kind of contemporary culture in which the leisured person lives (Harre, 1990, p188).

Active and Passive Leisure.

Leisure has also been defined in terms of activity. However, definitions of this nature are rare, and tend to be rather vague. For example, Kaplan (1960, p24) argues that anything, or any specific activity can become a basis for leisure. Similarly, Glasser (1975, pp36-52) defines leisure as:

'...any activity other than the time one is absolutely compelled to spend earning one's living or carrying out other inescapable responsibilities like those of housewife and mother'.

However, leisure activities are very wide and diverse, and this makes problematic any definition of leisure as activity of a particular kind. It would be virtually impossible to reach any general agreement on which activities do or do not constitute leisure, as different activities fulfill different needs for different people at different stages of the family life-cycle. (Bernard,1982).

Mobily (1989) conducted a study to assess the validity of popular definitions of recreation and leisure among adolescents. The research was carried out on groups of High School students, using two methods. The first of these is the 'production method', whereby subjects were randomly given response sheets with the words 'leisure' or 'recreation', followed by a blank line. This pattern was repeated over the

entire sheet, providing 38 listings of the stimulus word. Subjects were directed to write down different (unique) words they associated with the stimulus word. A time of 60 seconds was allowed for the task.

The second method employed by Mobily, is referred to as the 'sit and think' method. Subjects were given identical response sheets to those used in the production method. They were then given a stimulus word, and asked to think about the term for 60 seconds. Subjects were then asked to record the seven words that they felt best described the stimulus word.

Mobily found that for this group of adolescents, 'leisure' was mainly defined as pleasure (and other similar terms), and related to particular passive activities, such as sleep, television, relaxation, and reading. Generally, leisure seemed to mean 'leisurely'. Like leisure, 'recreation' was also defined as pleasure (and other related terms), but the specific terms used to define recreation were often active sports, such as baseball, football, swimming, and so on.

Kleiber, Larson, and Csikszentmihaly (1986) undertook a psychological study into the experience of leisure in adolescence. Using a sample of 75 adolescents, some 4,489 self-reports were collected, on various dimensions of leisure experience throughout their daily lives. Kleiber et al argue that their data on the experience of adolescents suggest two categories of leisure. The first, 'relaxed leisure', is typically found in the free time activities of socializing, watching television, reading, and listening to music. It is also found in the maintenance activities of eating and resting. This type of leisure provides pleasure without high personal demands.

In contrast, Kleiber et al suggest that a distinct category of leisure experience

appears to be present in sports and games, and in art and hobbies. Within these activities, freedom and intrinsic motivation are reported simultaneously with high challenge and concentration. Fun is experienced along with the demand for exertion of effort. In other words, these activities appear to combine the subjective experience of childhood play with the requirement of structured attention that is part of many adult activities.

Kleiber et al therefore argue that this second category of adolescent leisure activities is significant for the transition to adulthood. They refer to them as 'transitional activities'. Kleiber et al suggest that most adolescents are generally bored and disinterested in the productive part of their lives. Adolescents have generally not yet learned to find enjoyment in the demands and challenges placed upon them by the adult world - demands whose fulfillment will eventually become critical to their adult lives. Kleiber et al argue that these activities provide a bridge. They offer the experience of freedom and intrinsic motivation within highly structured systems of participation, systems that require discipline, and engage the adolescent in a world of symbols and knowledge outside of the self. Enjoyment found within this category of leisure lays the groundwork for experiencing enjoyment in more obligatory adult activities. Thus, Kleiber et al suggest that the teenager who can learn to experience freedom and intrinsic motivation in these demanding activities may find it easier to experience enjoyment in all areas of his or her life. Therefore, Kleiber et al hypothesise that participation in 'transitional activities' provides an important developmental link in the acquisition of a capacity for enjoyment in serious and demanding adult activities.

Towards a Working Definition.

Roberts (1983) puts forward a more general working definition of leisure, which treats the meanings of leisure as a problem to be explained, rather than passively accepted. He defines leisure as the product of three primary elements: time, activity, and experience.

The first element of leisure, for Roberts, is a type of time. That is:

'...spare or free time, the residue after physically necessary acts such as eating and sleeping, plus work and other social obligations, including household chores, have been discharged'. (Roberts, 1983. p46).

The second element sees leisure as a type of activity, in which play or recreation is an important aspect, separated out from the rest of life by a combination of time, place, and rules. Meanings are contained within the field of play, and have no particular influence on work, political, or family lives.

The third element of Roberts' definition sees leisure as an experience with its own rewards and satisfactions. This is essentially personal. For example, gardening may be work to one person, leisure to another. Hence Roberts argues that:

'...the ...activities and occasions that are experienced as leisure by different people (are) matters to be resolved by research rather than by definition'. (Roberts, 1983. p47).

Conclusion.

In conclusion, then, it is evident that defining leisure is problematic, and that a singular definition is virtually impossible to achieve. This is largely because of the increasing complexity of both work and leisure patterns in contemporary society. In pre-industrial times, there were no great distinctions between work, play, education, and religion. However, with industrialization, and the separation of home and work, these elements became increasingly differentiated. Yet, in the late twentieth century, distinctions between work and leisure have again become increasingly blurred.

The wide-ranging definitions of leisure considered in this chapter contain a number of divergent themes. This renders the use of the concept of leisure, as a heuristic device, to be considerably problematic. This is particularly true when applied to adolescents. As this Chapter has shown, traditional definitions have been based on the dichotomous relationship between work and leisure, and have therefore largely been predicated on adult status. Whereas children 'play', and adults have leisure, the spare time activities of adolescents are rather more ambiguous. No longer a child, but not yet an adult, leaves the adolescent in a transitional phase between these two extremes. Thus, changes in leisure practices during adolescence can be seen as a significant feature of the transition to adulthood.

A further problematic issue, is the definition of leisure as 'free-time' or 'time free to do what you want'. This places considerable emphasis on freedom of choice, which may be characteristic of adult leisure, but is not a significant feature of adolescent leisure. Young people's leisure is largely orchestrated by adults. For example, youth clubs and youth organizations are run by adults; parents are able to exercise considerable controls in dis-allowing certain activities; or by imposing other

constraints, such as disapproval of leisure companions, or constraints on time and money. Thus, for adolescents from a particularly deprived urban area, leisure is likely to be characterized by constraint, rather than choice. In this case, indicators of choice are closely related to indicators of constraint.

Nevertheless, as Bernard (1982) suggests, while definitions of subject matter are essential to research, to become too caught up in ever more elaborate and lengthy definitions, which make fewer and fewer distinctions, can have the effect of diverting attention away from the crucial issues regarding leisure. What is important, therefore, is the centrality of the individual's subjective experience of leisure. The problematization of adolescent leisure therefore lies in the extent to which it is characterized by either choice or constraint, and perceived as such by the young people themselves.

It must be recognised, therefore, that leisure, leisure activities, and leisure experiences, can only be fully understood in terms of the societal conditions within which leisure is experienced and structured (Hayward et al, 1989). The leisure experiences of deprived adolescents are therefore likely to be affected by structural features, such as social class background, and gender, and it is to these issues we now turn.

CHAPTER TWO: YOUNG PEOPLE, SOCIAL CLASS, AND LEISURE.

Introduction.

Adolescence can perhaps be seen as a peak time for leisure needs. It is a time when young people have more free time, and less responsibility, than at any other time in their lives. Yet there are more restrictions, such as lack of money, or lack of transport, together with legal restraints, and certain limitations set by parents. Adolescence is a period when the individual makes a number of adjustments and developments in the transition to adulthood, including developments into sexual activity, and adjustments to working life. These transitions are facilitated and rationalised in young people's leisure, largely through peer group interactions, and the development from childhood play to adult leisure activities. All of these developments are likely to be influenced by the young person's social class background.

Class Differences in Adolescent Leisure.

Studies have shown that social class differences do exert considerable influence on types of leisure participation. (Hendry, 1983). For example, vandalism, soccer hooliganism, and delinquent behaviour generally, are often viewed as working class phenomena. Thus, the lack of organised leisure for young people has, historically, often been seen as a possible threat to social control, and therefore, certain statutory leisure provision can be seen to have a stabilising function in society. However, as a result of leisure time being fairly evenly distributed in society, Britain has been described as

egalitarian, in the sense that there are no distinct cleavages distinguishing the leisure of one class from that of another. (Hendry, 1983).

More recently, the influence of postmodernism within sociology has diverted its attention away from looking at leisure participation based on class. Postmodernism suggests that the leisure patterns of classes have become subsumed in a merger of high and low culture. This is inextricably linked to patterns of consumption. As Jones and Wallace (1992) point out, cultural artifacts can be transformed and used in a different context. For example, Reebok trainers are important for defining status in a number of contexts, only one of which is sport. Thus, postmodern analyses of mass culture have stressed the ways in which young people of all social classes and backgrounds have access to the the same consumer images and artifacts, and are able to use these to create a number of social identities. (Martin, 1983; Lash, 1990). However, analyses such as these tend to assume a general level of affluence which we should not take for granted. (Jones and Wallace, 1992).

The social class background of adolescents is often assessed by such measures as parental occupation and income, or the previous education of parents. A number of British studies have considered the relationship between social class and types of leisure activity of young people. For example, Emmett (1971), and Hendry (1978), considered class differences in the leisure pursuits of those of secondary school age, whilst others, such as Roberts (1983), Scarlett (1975), Roberts and Parsell (1990), and Furlong, Campbell, and Roberts (1990) investigated young people in later adolescence. The general trends from these studies seem to indicate that middle class people play more sports and go to restaurants, and to the theatre and similar entertainments, more often than the working class. Middle class people generally tend to have a greater range of leisure activities than working class people, both in and out of the home. Scarlett (1975) suggests that this may be due to features of the home background. Scarlett's (1975)

research seemed to indicate that the type of leisure pursuits chosen by young people is strongly influenced by the patterns, habits, and values of their general lifestyle and background. Scarlett (1975) suggests that working class children may be less likely to make 'constructive' use of available leisure opportunities than middle class children, since they have less encouragement at home to teach them how to use their leisure. However, Scarlett's conclusions appear to be based on a 'deficit' theory of working class culture, which is based on middle class values.

The Family and Leisure.

Within these general class patterns, there may be more subtle 'intra-family' variables (Hendry, 1973). A significant amount of adolescent's leisure time may be spent at home. Little is known about the ways in which the physical structure of the home, such as the amount of garden space (or lack of it), affect the home based leisure pursuits of young people, or indeed, how family motivations, perceptions, and influences affect their leisure interests. (Hendry, 1983). However, the general trend emerging from studies of young people's leisure seems to indicate that 'doing nothing in particular', listening to records, or having friends around, appear to be very popular home based leisure pursuits.

Hendry (1983) suggests that common family interests can interact and operate within the home, in connection with these 'intra-family' variables, and these will affect the family's leisure interests. Thus, the relationship between the family, home background, and young people's leisure raises a number of questions: What is the meaning of leisure to the individual adolescent in relation to the family? How does the family constrain or motivate the adolescent's choice of leisure pursuits? Are family influences of a material kind (such as lack of money) or of a psychological kind (such as disapproval of friends)? How does one define a 'deprived' family in leisure terms? Have previous experiences and

familiar patterns of leisure influenced the adolescent's current leisure behaviour? In what ways do parents act as positive or negative models for young people's leisure interests? Are young people socially and culturally reproduced into particular leisure patterns? Most existing research has failed adequately to consider some or all of these issues.

Emmett (1971) has argued that early socialisation patterns do, in fact, seem to affect leisure interests. However, while the family environment is a crucial influence on young people's lives, there appears to be a general loosening of family connections during adolescence. This is supported by Scarlett's (1975) research, which showed that up to the age of around fourteen years, most youngsters did many things together with their families, and tended to pursue home based leisure pursuits. After this age, they tended to break away from the family unit.

Expenditure on leisure within households increased from £16.82 per week in 1981, to £41.14 per week in 1991. As a percentage of total household expenditure, this accounted for 13.4 percent in 1981, increasing to 15.9 percent in 1987. As far as young people are concerned, the difference in spending power between families is obviously going to advantage young people in higher income households, and increase the leisure options open to them (Social Trends, 23, 1993).

Organised Adolescent Leisure.

In terms of organised youth leisure, the general feeling among older adolescents seems to be that official youth clubs are too tame or organised to appeal to them. This causes many adolescents to reject such leisure settings. (Coleman and Hendry, 1990). Many youth clubs are attached to schools, and therefore tend to be seen as an extension of school. Organised leisure requires supervision, which involves imposing adult and/or

middle-class values, and this often increases their resemblance to school for most people. Thus organised leisure, especially youth clubs, tend to be rejected by those who reject school, and yet are supported by those who accept the values of the school, usually the more academically able, middle class adolescents.

As Jeffs and Smith (1990) point out, the education system, and in particular the school, has long been seen as having a key role in the socialization of young people, and in channelling them into particular roles and occupations. By sorting young people into different specialisms and levels of competence, schools and colleges perform a selective function. They are the central element in the process by which young people are directed towards particular occupations, and in the sort of experience people can expect within the labour market. Their experiences within the school, combined with their home background and peer group interactions, will also affect their leisure time activities. For example, middle class young people are more likely to take advantage of school based recreational facilities. As Roberts (1983) comments, this can be especially so in respect of those activities that involve staying on after school, such as badminton or squash, or to take part in drama, orchestras, chess club, etc. Evidence also suggests that academically successful pupils often fuse school life with leisure, while the educational 'failures', largely working class, see them as completely different spheres. (Roberts, 1983).

Jeffs and Smith (1990) argue that strong cultural factors contribute to shaping young people's disposition to particular forms of leisure. These are deeply embedded within the household and the neighbourhood, and are reflected in young people's expectations about work; their role within the household; and their relationship with friends, relatives, and neighbours. Both working class and middle class children can be influenced in this way, and may often be expressed through tastes in music, dress, entertainment, and so on. Thus, particular leisure cultures can emerge in neighbourhoods

and are liable to have a class dimension. This is understandable, as housing types and estates are frequently divided along class lines. This provides for particular leisure networks to develop, which express and sustain particular assumptions and interests.

Hultsman (1993) undertook some research to examine the perceived constraints to leisure participation among a group of early adolescents. Hultsman was particularly concerned with the influence of parents, significant other adults, and peers on early adolescents decision not to join organised activities, or to cease participation in such activities. Some 80.5 per cent of Hultsman's sample indicated that there was at least one organised activity in which they were interested, but had not joined. Perceived parental influence was the main reason given by 76.1 per cent of the sample, for not joining a particular organised activity. Thus parents can impose considerable restrictions on young people's leisure. However, while the child may perceive the parent's decision to refuse to allow participation in an activity as negative, there are many positive reasons why such a decision is taken. These include:

- (1) feeling the child is already participating in enough activities;
- (2) problems of transportation;
- (3) the family income cannot support involvement in the activity;
- (4) the activity takes place in the evening, making the child tired in school the next day.

However, Hultsman argues that parental influence decreases as one enters later adolescence. The effects of various social agents, parents, significant other adults such as teachers and youth workers, and the peer group, tend to intertwine as the child matures, with no singular influence being dominant in later adolescence.

Youth Work and Social Class.

Jeffs and Smith (1990) argue that youth provision is often perceived as having middle-class management, lower middle-class workers, and a working-class membership. However, the reality is somewhat different.

Jeffs and Smith illustrate this point with reference to research undertaken by the Department of Education and Science (1983), which found that participation in the scouts and guides had a clear middle-class bias. Some 50 per cent of those sampled with middle-class and white collar backgrounds had belonged to such organisations compared to 33 per cent of those from skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled backgrounds.

The DES research also shows that the use of youth clubs was largely determined by age, sex, race, and class. Some 67 per cent of those from skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled backgrounds had never attended a youth club, compared to 57 per cent of those from middle-class backgrounds. This pattern was further reflected in those currently using a youth club, some 34 per cent of those from middle-class backgrounds, compared to 23 per cent of those from working-class backgrounds.

Participation in youth clubs was also shown to decrease with age. Among the 14-16 year olds, some 38 per cent were currently attending a youth club, compared to only 19 per cent of the over-16s. Boys were more likely to attend a youth club than girls, with 32 per cent of boys compared to 26 per cent of girls, regularly attending a youth club.

The DES data shows that there is also a clear class difference where the youth club takes place. Although some areas have purpose built youth centres, the majority of youth clubs meet in local schools, community centres, and church halls. Middle-class

young people are more likely to attend a club in a school or church hall, whereas working class young people are more likely to attend a club in a community centre.

Class differences are also evident in the frequency of attendance at youth clubs. Working-class young people are more likely to be frequent attenders at youth clubs. Jeffs and Smith (1990) suggest that these figures raise a number of points regarding the differential use of organised youth leisure organisations. Generally, they show the importance of the culture of the household and the neighbourhood. Also, they illustrate the importance of the material position of young people and their households. Youth clubs are likely to be cheaper, and more geographically accessible, and are therefore more likely to be attended by working-class young people. Working-class young people are also more likely to attend youth clubs, given the relatively restricted availability of leisure facilities within lower-income homes, and their relative overcrowding. (Jeffs and Smith, 1990).

Commercial Leisure Provision.

Clarke and Critcher (1985) have argued that a number of changes have taken place in leisure provision, particularly in the development of mass leisure industries. Leisure is becoming increasingly specialised, with highly differentiated forms of leisure being vigorously marketed. Evidence of this can be seen in the growth of theme pubs, the range of sporting clubs and facilities, and the massive expansion in home based leisure provision. Young people, in particular, have become special targets for commercial leisure. Representations in the media, together with the quality of experience when compared to statutory and voluntary youth provision, have made commercial leisure particularly attractive to young people. (Jeffs & Smith, 1990).

Television and Video as Leisure.

Watching television is a major form of leisure for young people, and there are significant class differences in the amount of time spent watching T.V.. Murdock and Phelps (1973) found that 40 percent of younger teenagers from lower working class households said that they watched four or more hours of television on an average weekday evening. 25 percent of upper class teenagers spend four or more hours a day watching T.V., and the figure for middle class teenagers was 25 percent.

More recent figures show that the average number of hours per week spent watching television by those in the 4-15 age group increased from 16.10 in 1984, to 20.35 in 1986, then declined slightly to 18.27 in 1989. Generally, television viewing has declined steadily since 1985. In 1989 the average weekly time spent watching T.V., for all age groups was 24.44 hours per person, yet the elderly were the largest consumers, with those over 65 years watching T.V. on average, 36.29 hours a week (Social Trends, 21, 1991).

Since 1979, video has developed from a specialized form of communications technology, to a mass domestic market. During the period 1983 to 1990, the proportion of households in Great Britain with a video cassette recorder increased substantially, from 18 to 72 percent. (Social Trends, 23, 1993). Data from the General Household Survey for 1990, showed that the availability of VCRs' varied widely by socio-economic group. For example, 86 percent of managers' and employers households had the use of a VCR compared to 74 percent of households headed by a semi-skilled worker, and only 70 percent of those headed by an unskilled manual worker. The G.H.S. data for 1990 also showed that only 36 percent of those households containing economically inactive heads of the household had the use of a VCR. (OPCS, 1993).

Smoking and Drinking Alcohol.

There are also social class differences in terms of social habits, such as smoking and drinking. Figures for cigarette smoking show that unskilled male manual workers are three times more likely to be smokers than are professionals (OPCS, 1993). Similar figures for females show that 36 percent of the unskilled manual smoked, compared to 16 percent of professionals. Figures from Social Trends show that in 1990, just under 60 percent of children between the ages of 11 and 16 in England had never smoked. However, 15 percent of boys and 17 percent of girls were regular or occasional smokers. This has declined somewhat since 1984, when 22 percent of boys, and 22 percent of girls were regular or occasional smokers.

Average weekly consumption of alcohol by adults increased among women by 14 percent between 1978 and 1987, yet consumption by men fell by 4 percent. The most marked increase in consumption of alcohol was among divorced or separated males, whose consumption increased by 50 percent since 1978. Consumption by married men fell by 6 percent, while consumption by married women increased by 13 percent. The heaviest drinkers among males in 1987, were the divorced or separated, whereas in 1978 it had been single men. Single females drank more than their married, widowed, or divorced counterparts in both years (Social Trends, 20, 1990). In terms of social class differences, unskilled male manual workers are more likely to be heavy drinkers than are professionals. The corresponding figures for females, however, are remarkably similar. (OPCS, 1990).

Hammer and Vaglum (1990) suggest that the use of alcohol and drugs is a significant feature of the transition to adulthood. Hammer and Vaglum undertook a longitudinal study of 2000 young adults, aged 19 to 22, in Norway. They argue that the consumption of alcohol varies according to changes in the life situation. They found that

the highest consumption of alcohol, and cannabis use, was found among both men and women during the transitional phase between adolescence and young adulthood. There was a higher alcohol consumption among those who had left their parental home. However, alcohol consumption was lower among those who had established an adult social role with a partner. This effect was more important than occupation, income, or age. Hammer and Vaglum also argue that the transition from adolescence to young adulthood implies a high risk of unemployment, since this period involves leaving school and establishing a work role. They found that unemployment was positively related to the consumption of alcohol, and use of cannabis among young men; while among women there was a negative relationship, which was found to be insignificant. Nevertheless, Hammer and Vaglum present an interesting analysis of the use of alcohol and drugs, which is related to the structural changes taking place in the transition from adolescence to adulthood. Such structural changes include events such as leaving home, the establishment of a stable relationship, and even a family, and the establishment of a working career.

Foxcroft and Lowe (1991) undertook some research into adolescent drinking behaviour and family socialization factors. They claim that adolescent alcohol consumption can be seen as part of the socialization process from child to adult. This behaviour is most apparent in the adolescent years, when physical and psychological development, and age related status, mean that adolescents try to behave more like adults. Also, parents and other adults treat adolescents transitionally more like adults. Given that drinking alcohol is a widespread and normal part of adult life, then it is likely that adolescent drinking will increase from abstinence to 'adult levels' during this period.

Post-16 Experiences, Social Class, and Leisure.

Furlong, Campbell, and Roberts (1990), used data from the Scottish Young Peoples Surveys, 1987, in order to examine the effects of post-16 experiences and social class on the leisure patterns of young people with an average age of 19 years. They argue that young people's social class and experiences after the age of 16 have an important and lasting effect on their subsequent leisure patterns. However, they neglect to take account of the importance of adolescence as a transitional phase, and it could be argued that young people's social class background and experiences prior to the age of 16 have an equally important and lasting effect on their subsequent leisure patterns.

In order to take account of the different dimensions of young people's leisure activities, Campbell et al measured leisure participation on four levels: frequency of participation in a range of leisure activities (such as sports, and even including attendance of trade-union or political meetings); group membership; the breadth of young people's social networks; and the number of evenings per week they went out. Using this framework, Campbell et al examined the leisure patterns of young people who, in 1987, were students, workers, or unemployed, in order to highlight the relationship between young people's labour market status.

Students tended to have a high level of involvement in playing sport, and generally had the highest level of recreational activity. Students also tended to be more often involved in reading, going to cinemas, theatres, art galleries, museums, churches, and going out for meals. Young people in jobs were most active in two types of leisure activity: betting and watching sport. Young people who were unemployed reported less frequent participation than either students or workers in nearly all activities, except for listening to records, doing jobs around the home, and visiting friends or relatives.

Campbell et al conclude that the experience of post-compulsory education has a lasting positive effect on leisure, and that the experience of unemployment has a lasting negative effect. However, the relationship between social class and the reproduction of social inequality may be an important factor here, and therefore it is important to examine the extent to which young adults' leisure inequalities are the result of class inequalities, which have led to the development of distinctive orientations towards leisure prior to leaving school.

Using a simple dichotomous class model, Campbell et al find that those from middle class families had greater social capital, in that they always had wider social networks, and the highest level of general leisure activity and group membership. They argue that because young people from middle class families are more likely to succeed at school, to avoid unemployment, and to enter jobs with career prospects, they tend to be advantaged in terms of leisure as young adults. However, although Campbell et al acknowledge that social class origins have independent and lasting effects on the leisure patterns of young adults, it seems they have failed to consider adequately whether working class young people themselves feel that they are necessarily disadvantaged in terms of leisure, and if so, what are the reasons for it? For example, are adequate leisure opportunities available within working class localities? Would working class young people want to pursue what are perceived as middle class leisure pursuits? Is it merely lack of money which affects working class leisure activities? Or is it that working class young people are reproduced into limited range leisure activities, through a process of social and cultural reproduction? Although middle class young people may pursue a wider range of leisure activities, it is wrong to see working class leisure activities as necessarily inferior.

In an analysis of data collected as part of the ESRC's 16 to 19 Initiative, Roberts and Parsell (1990) also looked at social class differences in young peoples leisure. The ESRC data showed that teenagers from middle class homes had access to most leisure goods - telephones, bicycles, motor cars, their own rooms, and space to invite friends to stay. However, Roberts and Parsell claim that, working class families differ in cultural as well as economic resources, and have rather different leisure interests; for example, respondents from middle class homes were more likely to attend religious meetings, and to play musical instruments. Those from working class families, on the other hand, were more involved in youth clubs, watching sport, visiting amusement arcades, and smoking cigarettes.

Roberts and Parsell claim that education was amplifying these social class differences, with those from middle class backgrounds tending to be high achievers, while those from working class backgrounds tended to be low achievers. The ESRC data shows that among 15-16 year olds, those with low educational aspirations from working class backgrounds, were the group with the highest involvement in smoking, going to youth clubs, and visiting amusement arcades. Those with high educational aspiration, from middle class homes, were spending their leisure in different ways. They were more likely to play a musical instrument, to go to theatres, concerts, and religious meetings, to practise hobbies, and to play sport.

However, when age is considered as a variable, the more juvenile pastimes tended to be dropped as the young people became more adult. This trend was common across the social classes. Such pastimes included attending religious meetings, youth clubs, sports clubs, watching sport, playing musical instruments, practising hobbies, and going to cinemas and amusement arcades. There tended to be a move towards more expensive forms of recreation such as visiting pubs, drinking alcohol, smoking cigarettes, going to discos, dances, theatres, and concerts.

The ESRC data seemed to show that whatever their social origins and current positions in education or the labour market, the young people's leisure was tending to change with age. However, rather than converging towards common youth then adult lifestyles, Roberts and Parsell claim that the leisure activities of different groups were increasingly diverging. This was partly because income inequalities widened, and partly because the daily routines and long term plans of those with jobs, those in education, and the unemployed were very different. It was also because different groups had access to different ranges of leisure facilities. Roberts and Parsell claim that all these divergent influences were superimposed upon differences created during childhood, through growing-up in different types of family background, and by differing experiences in compulsory education.

Leisure and the 'Underclass'

Before leaving this discussion of young people and leisure, it is important to consider one further dimension of social class. A number of recent commentaries and statements have referred to the notion of an underclass (Macnicol, 1987; Jeffs and Smith, 1990). The underclass is seen as a class distinct from the working class, largely because their unemployed status excludes them from most traditional forms of class analysis. This group is often portrayed as a group of people, presenting particular social problems, and possessing multiple deprivations and social disadvantages. A further dimension of this view is that deprivation and disadvantage is passed on from generation to generation. (Jeffs and Smith, 1990).

Although the idea of an underclass is an unsubstantiated, and much criticised concept, MacNicol (1987) suggests that there are five elements associated with it:

(1) It is essentially an administrative device used to define certain types of contact with state institutions. Thus it may simply be that those dependent on State benefits are so labelled.

(2) There is a tendency to add the completely separate question of inter-generational transmission in order to give the idea a spurious scientific legitimacy.

(3) There is the identification of certain behaviours as anti-social, and the ignoring of others.

(4) The underclass 'problem' usually relates to debates and concerns regarding resource allocation, particularly at times of economic recession.

(5) The idea tends to be supported by those who wish to constrain the redistributive potential of welfare. In this way it can be seen as part of a broader conservative view. (Its link with New Right thinking on welfare dependency has caused particular concern).

It can be seen, then, that the 'underclass' is a highly contentious concept. As Crompton (1993) points out, the term has been developed not in order to describe an objective phenomenon or set of social relationships but, rather, as a stigmatizing label which effectively 'blames the victims' for their own misfortunes. Thus, Dean (1991) has argued that:

"'Underclass' is a symbolic term with no single meaning, but a great many applications....It represents, not a useful concept, but a potent symbol". (Dean, 1991, p35).

Perhaps because the underclass is defined in terms of its lack of direct structural relationship to the dominant economic system, there has been a tendency to define it with respect to its supposed negative characteristics, rather than its relationship to other classes. Therefore it is the explanation of poverty (that is, whether the causes of poverty

are primarily structural or primarily cultural) that the underclass concept is most contentious. (Crompton, 1993).

Townsend (1987) argues that deprivation is as important a concept as poverty to the analysis of social conditions, but that there is a distinction between the two.

Townsend argues that people can be said to be deprived if:

'...they lack the material standards of diet, clothing, housing, household facilities, working, environmental and locational conditions and facilities which are ordinarily available in their society, and do not participate in or have access to the forms of employment, occupation, education, recreation and family and social activities and relationships which are commonly experienced or accepted.' (Townsend, 1987, p140).

Thus, deprivation refers to the material conditions of existence. Poverty, on the other hand, refers to the resources to obtain the material conditions of existence. If people lack or are denied resources to obtain these conditions of life, and for this reason are unable to fulfil membership of a society, they can be said to be in poverty.

Against this background, Don Dawson (1988) argues that the ways in which a society measures poverty (a salient feature of the underclass) has a considerable impact on the way in which the poor are viewed by people in general, and how the problem of poverty is approached by the state. Dawson argues that the answers to questions concerning the definition of poverty, and the subjective experience of poverty, are in part provided through reference to patterns of leisure behaviour and consumption. Dawson argues that if one were to have very little income, but still able to subsist and participate in the style of life of one's community, then this would certainly not represent poverty. On the other hand, if one's income were merely sufficient to meet the needs of

subsistence, but not to participate in the accepted lifestyle of the community, this would just as certainly be representative of poverty. The poor merely survive, they cannot enjoy the leisure that makes up much of the lifestyle of those with more abundant resources. Therefore, Dawson argues that relative leisure deprivation is an important and concrete aspect of poverty today. This new view of poverty is, of course, secondary to the abject poverty which arises when there are not sufficient resources to meet the needs of subsistence. Nevertheless, to be without access or opportunity for leisure, is to be poor. (Dawson, 1988, p231).

Conclusion.

In conclusion, most existing research suggests that social class differences have a considerable influence on types of leisure activity. However, much of the literature has concentrated on older adolescents, aged 16 and over, and little recent work has been carried out which adequately considers the position of younger adolescents. Existing research tends to suggest that young people's leisure activities are influenced by a combination of factors, including the home background, peer group interactions, and experiences within the education system. Therefore, a number of cultural factors may contribute to the type of leisure activities in which young people engage. Thus, young people's leisure can be seen as part of a process of social and cultural reproduction, emanating from their experiences within the household and neighbourhood, and their relationship with peers, relations, and neighbours.

Much of the existing research tends to portray working class young people's leisure as inferior to that of middle class young people. This reflects the cultural domination of the middle classes. Nevertheless, mass long term unemployment in recent times has led to a significant proportion of the traditional working class to become part

of an 'underclass', deprived both socially and economically. This has had a significant impact on family life. This raises a number of issues which need to be addressed. For example, do deprived young people feel disadvantaged at leisure, and if so, what are the reasons for it? If they do not, does this invalidate the arguments about deprivation? Further, is there an adequate range of leisure opportunities available within such deprived localities? Is it merely a lack of money which affects deprived young people's leisure activities? Or is it that such deprived young people are reproduced into a limited range of leisure activities through the process of social and cultural reproduction? Most existing research has failed adequately to consider many of these issues.

Finally, recent analyses of young people's leisure have focused on consumption. For example, Frith (1978) suggests that young people actively participate in commercial consumption, for example, through the selection and differentiation of particular styles of music. Postmodernism, however, suggests that most people share a common consumer culture through access to the mass media. Thus, young people are bombarded with desirable images, from MacDonaldis to Sega/Nintendo to Nike trainers. According to Lash (1990) mass consumer culture has an homogenizing influence, as cultural consumption becomes generalized. Cultural consumption, rather than class, becomes the differentiating factor, as distinctive identities are developed within it. (Jones and Wallace, 1992).

Postmodernism, however, tends to emphasize styles and images presented in the media, and neglects the role of structural inequalities. Thus, inequalities of access to consumption are not part of the analysis. However, consumer choice is restricted to those who have the money. Therefore, consumption is largely stratified along dimensions of social class. Although class cultures may not be as distinctive as the once were, they still influence young people's consumer styles. (Furlong et al, 1990).

Nevertheless, social class is not the only structural feature affecting leisure choices and consumer styles. Feminists such as McRobbie and Garber (1976) have drawn attention to the influence of gender in structuring consumer markets. The relationship between young people, gender, and leisure, is therefore the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE: YOUNG PEOPLE, GENDER, AND LEISURE.

Introduction.

Gender refers to the characteristics and behaviour associated with being either male or female. Although biology renders males and females physically different, gender roles are, by and large, socially constructed, based on dominant notions of what males or females should be like. Socially constructed gender-appropriate behaviour is instilled in individuals through socialization practices from a very early age. Sex role differentiation begins in childhood, through characteristic patterns of play and games. This continues through formal education processes, and the education system is one of the most important social institutions through which these gender divisions are transmitted and reinforced. (Deem 1978).

Gender, Socialization, and Culture.

Psychologists have often argued that during childhood, boys and girls inhabit separate social worlds, with different rules, and little communication between them. (Maltz & Borker, 1982; Hartup, 1983; Archer, 1989). One explanation for this is that biological dispositions, such as the basic different temperaments in boys and girls, direct their play. According to Archer (1989), this makes boy-boy and girl-girl interactions compatible and rewarding, thereby sustaining the formation of friendship groups based on gender. (Archer, 1989). However, Maccoby (1986) stressed that these biological dispositions to gender segregation in childhood were supplemented

and interacted with the effects of socialization. Studies have shown that children could distinguish between male and female at an early age (Lloyd & Smith, 1985; O'Brien & Huston, 1985), and this knowledge is demonstrated in their choice of gender-stereotyped toys. Archer (1989) claims that this finding supports a socialization explanation, that boys and girls first learn to prefer different activities and play materials, and group segregation follows from associations based on these preferences.

Maltz and Borker (1982) argue that boys and girls each have different cultural styles. Boys tend to play in larger groups, and in more public places, in a rougher manner with more fighting, and with emphasis on physically based status. Girls friendships, on the other hand, tend to be more exclusive, focused on one or more 'best friends', with whom play is intensive and more co-operative. These different cultural styles can be seen as learned social skills, necessary for success in boys and girls groups. However, as Archer (1989) argues, although they can be seen as preparation for some gender interactions in childhood, the different cultural styles are in many ways a handicap for relations between men and women, as they provide potential sources of miscommunication.

Cross gender behaviour is largely acceptable for girls, but is still not acceptable for boys. As Archer (1989) argues, sissies are ostracised, while tomboys are accepted. Masculinity, according to Archer, is like a club, which boys can gain entry to in differing degrees. General requirements are based on toughness, but other specific requirements may be expected by different subcultures, such as allegiance to particular sports, styles of music, or clothes. Boys who do not meet the criteria for masculinity, or who seem to cross the gender boundaries by playing with girls, are often teased, ridiculed, or shunned by other boys. In contrast, girls are able to cross the gender boundaries, especially if they are skilled at boyish activities, such as sports. Archer

(1989) suggests that the lack of tolerance of male cross gender behaviour may reflect power relations between men and women in wider society. To a large extent, males are still seen as dominant, and the position of women is still inferior to that of men.

The Development of Gender Roles.

The structure of gender roles changes with age, and this can lead to inconsistency in gender role requirements over time. This can occur for both boys and girls, but they take different forms. For girls, this is the result of the historical change in the situation of women, such as the inconsistencies between the housewife and the career woman. For boys it is the inconsistencies between the 'action and adventure' role in boyhood, and the more mundane activities of adult men. (Archer, 1989).

Archer (1989) outlines three stages in the development of the male role. Firstly, in early life, a boy learns negative rules, involving the avoidance of femininity, which are harshly enforced before he is even able to understand any reasons for them. In the long term, this may lead to irrational emotional responses to homosexuality, and difficulty in expressing feelings. Secondly, during childhood, and into adolescence, more positive factors are merged with the previously learned negative rules. These are mostly based on the development of physical strength, and success in sports and athletics, which coincide with the boyhood male role associated with action and adventure. The third phase occurs during the mid to late teens, and builds on the other two. It is based on the achievement of a range of activities, relating to intelligence, status, and leadership.

Female role development, it is claimed, is different from that of the male role, with the main differences occurring at puberty. Katz (1979) claims that the female role

tends to follow more rigid lines after puberty. Tomboyish activities become less and less acceptable, and academic achievement and competence in sport becomes less valued. Interest becomes focused on personal appearance, fashion, and relationships with boys.

However, in a study of girls aged 10 to 14, Archer and McDonald (1990) found no evidence that girls' participation in sports declined after puberty, or that sports played prior to puberty were more masculine. Indeed it is possible that sport has become more compatible with femininity, with the increasing number of successful female athletes, and the more general trend towards health and fitness, and its contribution to physical appearance and general well being.

Sally Archer (1992) argues that the development of flexible or rigid gender roles will depend in a large part on the messages provided by significant others. During early childhood, Western culture bombards boys and girls with stereotyped gender role messages. Even parents who are in support of gender-neutral environments reinforce and model some traditional values, beliefs, and goals. Evidence for this can be found in the colour schemes, choice of dress, toys, and activities within the home. Typically, boys are given significantly more opportunities to explore, while girls are restrained in close proximity to parents. Boys are provided with a range of exploratory, active, and manipulative toys, while girls are often given passive and domesticating toys. The media tend to glorify adventurous male behaviour, while placing females in family helper positions.

Archer (1992) argues that these factors provide clear messages of gender appropriate behaviour for males and females, even before the traditional school years have begun. Once in school, teachers tend to perpetuate the gender distinction, by giving more attention to males. Even poor performance is chastised in different ways.

Among males it is seen as a lack of effort, whereas in females it is seen as incompetence. Gender roles are replicated in the teachers; females teach home economics and English, while males teach science and maths.

Puberty culminates in a focus on physical appearance, and physical attractiveness, along with secondary sex characteristics, such as reproductive capacity and athletic prowess. Sex and gender identity strongly converge, and result in a demand for adherence to gender stereotypes if one is to be popular, and win approval from peers and adults (Archer 1992).

An increase in the rigidity of the female role at adolescence can be seen as the result of the historical power imbalance between men and women. In western societies, despite more liberal approaches to marriage and sexuality, the primary value of a girl is still seen as a potential wife and mother. Thus, developmental psychology cannot entirely account for male and female gender roles. Instead, gender roles can be seen as the result of structural features, such as the differing power relations between men and women, and the internalization of gender stereotypes.

Gender Roles and Socialization: A Feminist Critique.

Socialization theory, and role development theory provide powerful arguments against suggestions that gender differences are entirely biologically determined. They provide, at least, a 'social' explanation of the ways in which girls and boys acquire their gender. However, Sylvia Walby (1990) argues that there are a lot of issues which socialization theory and role development theory do not deal with adequately.

Firstly, Walby argues that these theories begin with a very unitary conception of gender differences. They fail to take into account the variety of conceptions of masculinity and femininity which exist within different social classes, ethnic groups, generations, societies, or historical periods.

Secondly, there is some ambiguity as to whether femininity and masculinity are merely polar opposites, whereby each sex is restricted in equal and opposite ways, or whether masculinity represents the oppressor, and femininity represents the oppressed. Walby argues that the fundamental weakness of these approaches is that they fail to recognise the power which is part of the masculine position.

A third problem with these explanations, according to Walby, is that they assume that people are relatively passive in their acquisition of their gender identity. Walby argues that these approaches assume that women have false consciousness, and this is an account of how they acquire it. However, people are more actively involved than this type of theorizing allows for.

A fourth problem is that, although socialization theory and role development theory provide an account of how individuals become masculine or feminine, they provide no explanation of where the content of these notions comes from. Walby argues that this is the major weakness of these approaches. They provide no account of why gender should be dichotomous, nor why masculinities and femininities should have specific contents. For example, why should masculinity contain more elements of aggression than femininity?

Fifthly, these approaches assume that there are particular life-stages (childhood, adolescence) and places (the home, the school) which we can focus on in order to understand gender. However, all aspects of social life involve cultural notions of

gender. Gendered culture is actively constructed in all areas of social life, not just in families, the media, or school (Walby, 1990, p94).

Walby concludes that gendered subjectivity is created everywhere, that there is no special place or time of life in which this occurs. Walby, and others (Daly, 1978; Spender, 1980) argue that this is the result of patriarchal power, which is pervasive in the dominant ideology, and in the discourses which maintain its dominance.

Adolescent Sexuality and Leisure.

One of the most significant features of adolescence is the development of the individual's sexuality and sexual orientation. Roberts (1983) argues that, during adolescence, sexuality is constructed into a powerful force, which divides boys and girls at leisure, patterns their interrelationships, and commits them to broader gender divisions. He argues that boys are more involved in out-of-home recreation, especially sport. Girls, on the other hand, tend to be relatively home centred, although dancing is their favourite out-of-home activity. However, Roberts acknowledges that research into young people's leisure has predominantly focused on male youths, and has largely been carried out by male researchers.

Roberts then poses some questions which research into youth and leisure should confront. Firstly, to what extent do youth and leisure confer the freedom to question, rebel, and discard traditional gender roles and sexual norms? Secondly, are the persistent differences between boys' and girls' leisure products of their different tastes and choices, or the result of unequal opportunities? Thirdly, what quality of life and leisure do adolescent gender roles and sexual practices offer?

Answers to these questions can only be tentative, largely because they are under researched. However, Roberts draws some general conclusions based on available evidence. Firstly, despite the women's movement, and more relaxed attitudes towards sex, sexuality, and sexual orientation, young people today are not at the forefront of any sexual revolution or movement radically to change traditional gender divisions. Any notions of sexual norms and gender roles having changed rapidly and radically, especially with regard to adolescents, are mythical. Young people at leisure are subject to such restraints to conform, that the majority have no alternative but to adopt traditional gender roles and sexual conventions. At the present time, the moral panic over Aids has further constrained any trend towards sexual liberation.

Secondly, Roberts claims that relationships between boys and girls are patriarchal rather than equal, reflecting the broader division of labour by gender. Most boys and girls still leave adolescence having become husbands and wives, mothers and fathers. Despite the growth in lone parent families, and in the number of divorces, marriage remains tremendously popular among young people. Thus, adolescent leisure can be seen as the arena whereby conventional gender identities, sexual preferences, and competences are reproduced rather than rejected.

Gender Differences in Adolescent Leisure.

Research carried out by Hendry (1978) showed that most adolescents engaged in leisure activities designed to cater almost exclusively for adolescents, and these were undertaken within peer groups. These included activities such as dancing, youth clubs, drinking, dating, going 'on the town', and 'hanging around' with friends. Boys often showed an interest in mildly aggressive games, or just 'hanging around' with a

group of friends. Girls tended to follow other pursuits, such as dancing, dating, meeting friends for coffee, or listening to records.

In adolescence, most young people become involved in aspects of pop culture, and this tends to have a great influence on young people's leisure activities. Pop culture can consist of dancing, records, teenage magazines, fashion, television, video, and cinema. Mass produced pop culture has become a multi-million pound industry, preying on the relative affluence of young people since the Second World War. Within pop culture, the adolescent can achieve a transitory loss of self, by going to dances and disco's with groups of peers. Here, there is a high degree of anonymity, adherence to popular styles of dress, and a wide range of possible behaviour. Alcohol and other drugs allow the adolescent to experience commodities which are more usually approved for adults. (Hendry, 1983).

Certain types of music become a central focus for adolescents, and these tend to influence and accompany other leisure pursuits. The creation of pop heroes tends to lead to imitative styles of behaviour, clothes, hairstyles, etc. However, as Hendry (1983) comments, the relationship between the pop industries and their adolescent clients, and the creation of fashions and trends in music, dress, hairstyles, and dance styles, are generally under researched areas.

In recent times there has been some concern over the extent to which young people are using amusement machines. (Fisher, 1992; 1993; Griffiths, 1991). Most surveys which have reported on the incidence of amusement machine play among the general population have concluded that they are most frequently played by male adolescents. Griffiths (1991) points out that little explanation has been offered as to why males play fruit machines more than females, although some suggestions for differences in video game playing have been more forthcoming. One explanation has

been the content of the games. Many of the games contain exclusively masculine images. Males tend to play for competition, and to master the games, whereas females prefer less aggressive and less demanding games than men. Griffiths suggests that this may be explained by social factors, because young women have not been socialized to express aggression in public, and are unlikely to feel comfortable in games of combat or war.

Young Women and Magazines.

Although adolescents get many of their ideas of fashion from pop culture, other sources such as shops, disco's, magazines, and television, are all major sources of influence and inspiration. Some researchers have argued that girls, in particular, are influenced by the content of girls comics and magazines (Sharpe, 1977; Toynbee, 1978; McRobbie, 1980, 1991). Adolescent girls have more magazines to choose from than boys, and these publications tend to reinforce stereotypical gender roles. Boys' magazines focus on sports and hobbies, while girls' magazines deal with romance, fashion, and pop. To illustrate this, Toynbee (1978) showed that comics for pre-adolescent girls concentrate on sports stars, and budding ballerinas, whereas magazines aimed at adolescent girls tend to be devoted entirely to boys - how to entice them, how to get them, and then what to do with them. The girls own ambitions disappear, and they settle instead for getting a boy who does exciting things. Thus, the sexual imperatives of adolescence are related to experiments in behaviour and appearance, within different gendered styles.

McRobbie (1980) carried out an analysis of a girls weekly magazine called 'Jackie'. This was Britain's biggest selling teen magazine from 1964 to 1976. McRobbie claims 'Jackie' could be seen as a system of messages, a signifying system,

and a bearer of a certain ideology which deals with the construction of female femininity. Romance, problems, fashion, beauty, and pop, all mark out the limits of the girl's feminine sphere. 'Jackie' presents 'romantic individualism' as the desirable ethos of the teenage girl. The 'Jackie' girl is alone in her quest for love, only referring to female peers for advice, comfort, and reassurance, when necessary. To achieve self respect, the girl must find a boyfriend as soon as possible, and, in the context of the romantic relationship, she has to be willing to submit to his demands and plans. (McRobbie, 1980).

However, in a later publication, McRobbie (1991) traces girls' teenage magazines through the 1980s. She found that, in contrast to the 'Jackie' style of the 1970s, the emphasis is now on individuality and achievement. Fun and femininity still prevails in these magazines, but is now approached more confidently. They are still full of expectation, but the optimism is focussed on opportunity rather than romantic dependence. Sex has become a good deal more obvious, especially in 'Mizz', and 'Just Seventeen'. It is now assumed that many under sixteen year olds will have sexual relationships, and, partly as a result of Aids, information is much more freely and frankly given out. A new climate now prevails, whereby dependency on boys, and on romance, has given way to a new, more confident, focus on the self. The old idea of the 'best friend' has been replaced by the importance of having friends of both sexes. (McRobbie, 1991).

Empirical evidence of the effects of girls' magazines was provided, in part, by Griffin (1985). Griffin traced the experiences of a group of young women, from leaving school in 1979, through their first two years in the full-time labour market. These experiences were shaped, in part, by assumptions about 'typical girls', not only as they were portrayed in girls magazines, but also in the behaviour of parents, teachers, employers, or their male peers. Leisure activities were centred around the

intensive efforts of getting a boyfriend. Getting a boyfriend was seen as proof of a young woman's 'normal' heterosexuality, and more grown up 'femininity'.

Relationships with boyfriends were supposed to be based on 'true love', but this romantic fantasy did not fit easily into male demands for sex.

Young Women and Leisure.

Many of the young women in Griffin's study spent much of their leisure time in the home, and was focused initially on female friendship groups. However, when a young woman started going out with a fairly regular boyfriend, she gradually lost touch with her girlfriends, often at the young man's insistence. There was no equivalent breakdown of male friendships if a young man began 'going steady' with a girlfriend. 'The lads' continued to see their friends in local pubs and at football matches (Willis, 1977). Often, young women had to tag along with 'the lads' when they saw their boyfriends, as the young men incorporated 'going steady' into their usual leisure activities. The most common leisure facilities were pubs, although school students had to pass as 18-year olds in order to drink there. Knowing that this was illegal, and their vulnerability if they got drunk, many of the girls avoided alcoholic drinks. Other local amenities included swimming pools, ten-pin bowling, youth clubs, disco's, sports halls, and parks. However, most of these were dominated by young men, and had little to offer young women.

Some young women spent money on make-up, although most borrowed their older sister's make-up and clothes for special occasions. They bought and swapped comics and girls' magazines, for reading at home, on the bus, and in lessons, both alone, and in groups of other young women. These varied from the Beano, Bunty, and

other comics, through to teen magazines such as Jackie, Blue Jeans, My Guy, and Photo Love. Some even bought the more expensive Vogue, and Cosmopolitan.

Griffin's (1985) study concluded that young women spent most of their leisure time maintaining female friendship groups, which were threatened by pressures to get a boyfriend, and the prospect of leaving school. On leaving school, most young people kept to separate sex friendship groups.

Henderson (1990) undertook an integrative review of the research on women and leisure. Henderson concluded that the concept of leisure as it has typically been defined does not fit for women, as they often experience leisure in a context different from and unequal to men. Within that context, many women experience a lack of leisure and have defined themselves and their behaviour in terms of their gender roles. The control that men have typically had over the definitions of leisure and the impact over women's socialization toward certain activities, or away from leisure in general, has resulted in the oppression of women in their leisure expression. The oppression of women in society is at least partially embodied in the inequality that exists in women's leisure lives when compared to the leisure lives of men. (Henderson, 1990).

Younger Adolescents and Gender.

Research carried out by Hendry and Percy (1981) found that, by the upper ages of the primary school, a majority of eleven year olds engaged in one or more physically active hobbies. Some 82 per cent of boys engaged in some form of sport, compared with 61 per cent of girls. Football emerged as a solely male sport, and skating was chosen by girls. Swimming, like television and pop music, seemed to hold male and female interest equally, but girls were generally less interested in sport, and

more inclined towards quieter, passive 'feminine pursuits', such as reading and knitting. Hobbies such as woodwork and model making were almost exclusively male pursuits.

Hendry and Percy (1981) found television to be the most highly rated leisure interest among eleven year olds. Boys and girls watched similar amounts of television, but there were gender differences in programme preferences. Boys generally preferred 'action, adventure, and fun'. Girls' preferences showed an interest in action and adventure, but a move away from raucous comedy towards romantic drama and 'soap operas'.

In their perceptions of the opposite sex, girls saw boys of the same age as typically playing football. This, along with playing 'space invaders', was the way most boys saw themselves. Boys saw girls as most likely to play with dolls, whereas none of the girls mentioned this for her own sex. Many of the girls claimed that a typical eleven year old girl would choose to go out with boys, or go to a disco, but equally popular were going out with friends or parents, shopping, swimming, or ice skating.

These children appeared to have sex stereotypes of a conventional nature fixed firmly in their minds, and they were beginning to display some features of these stereotypes themselves. Thus, Hendry and Percy concluded that the general pattern of eleven year old leisure time seems to contain components of both childhood and adolescence.

Post-16 Leisure and Gender.

In an analysis of data collected by the Scottish Young People's Survey (1987), Roberts, Campbell, and Furlong (1990) looked at the gender differences in the leisure activities of 16 to 18 year olds. They found that more males were playing and watching sport, and placing bets, while more of the young women were going out for meals, reading books and magazines, going to cinemas, theatres, concerts, and churches, and visiting friends and relatives. Going to pubs and discos, and listening to records were equally popular between the sexes, while activities such as visiting exhibitions, galleries and museums, attending trade union or political meetings, and doing voluntary work, were equally unpopular.

Male leisure pursuits were dominated by sport and drink. Membership of voluntary organisations was more prevalent amongst males, with some 64 per cent of males belonging to at least one organisation, compared with 43 per cent of females. This was mainly due to the fact that males were more frequently members of sports clubs.

Roberts et al found, like most other researchers, that the sexes were tending to operate in different kinds of leisure networks. Males were more likely to be spending time in same sex and mixed sex groups, whereas the females were more likely to be keeping up family relationships, and their contacts with special same-sexed friends.

In general, female lifestyles were more home-centred, and the males were going out on more evenings a week (an average of 3.7, compared with 3.2 for women). However, female leisure networks tended to be broader, and included more types of companions. Males were going out more frequently, but tended to follow narrower ranges of masculine activities and relationships. Leisure activities for the sample fell

broadly into five main clusters, but their composition was different for males and females. The male's main clusters were:

- i. Sport: playing, watching, and placing bets.
- ii. Other out of home leisure: going to cinemas, theatres, museums, exhibitions, and for meals.
- iii. Home based leisure: listening to tapes and records, reading books, and visiting relatives and friends.
- iv. Domestic work: doing masculine and feminine jobs around the house.
- v. Civic activities: going to churches and religious meetings, and doing voluntary work.

Female's leisure was slightly different, firstly, in that playing and watching sport were not associated with betting, but were part of a much broader out-of-home leisure cluster. However, the most important difference was that, for females, the home based leisure cluster incorporated feminine typical jobs and domestic tasks around the house. The males, on the other hand, when they participated in home based leisure, such as listening to records, were doing nothing more than indulging in pure leisure. Thus, the evidence from the Scottish study seems to support Deem's (1986) assertion, that women frequently have to combine leisure activities with various forms of work. The Scottish study shows how female teenagers are still being prepared for such leisure features.

In an analysis of data collected as part of the ESRC's 16 to 19 Initiative, Roberts and Parsell (1990) also looked at gender differences within young people's leisure. They point out that traditionally, girls were not allowed out as often as boys, because parents were being protective. Evidence from the 16-19 Initiative shows that nowadays, certainly by the age of 17, girls go out for leisure just as often as boys.

However, when they are at home, girls are still more likely than boys to be given chores, but not to an extent which restricts their going out.

It is often claimed that girls tend to mature earlier, and thus enter all types of heterosexual relationships, including getting engaged and married, ahead of boys. Therefore, it would not be unreasonable to expect girls to adopt other adult leisure practices at younger ages. From the ESRC data, girls were more likely to name boyfriends as their main leisure companions, while boys spent their leisure time in groups - especially same-sex groups. All the activities in which males took part, such as youth clubs, sports clubs, watching sport, and visiting amusement arcades, were relatively juvenile leisure pursuits, in which participation declined with age. On the other hand, girls were more involved in activities associated with becoming more adult, such as going to dances and disco's, and smoking cigarettes.

There were no differences between the sexes of access to the use of telephones, record and cassette players, and other household goods. However, boys were more likely to have the use of bicycles, motor bikes, and cars. Girls were spending more than boys on clothes and toiletries, reflecting differing priorities between the sexes in the way they spent money.

Roberts and Parsell (1990) claim that much of young people's leisure consists of just hanging around casually among friends, doing nothing in particular. Adults engage in similar behaviour, but they have homes of their own in which to relax and talk. Finding space to 'hang around' is a major problem for many young people. They cannot afford to go to commercial leisure environments every time they go out. Urban areas have become less hospitable to young people, who have time to spare but little money to spend. Streets are crowded with traffic. City centres are crammed with shoppers and tourists. Many of these environments have become dangerous places,

both in and out of normal trading hours. Hanging about with little to do can tempt young people into trouble, and it places them at high risk of becoming victims of crime. However, as Roberts and Parsell point out, hanging around can be seen to be an important developmental activity. Debating what to do enables peer groups to define and discuss their social position, consumer needs, and life-aspirations, and to hang around, and to be seen to be hanging around, are an important part of this development.

One phenomenon of the late twentieth century has been the incredible growth of commercial leisure. The ESRC data shows that young people see outings for commercial leisure as highlights in their leisure activities. Appearances were considered especially important on these occasions. Many young people felt unable to attend unless they had the appropriate clothes to wear for the particular wine bars, discos, clubs, pop concerts, or sports events. Young people are taught to want to consume, and so they can still feel deprived of real leisure if they are unable to afford all aspects of commercial occasions. It was the preparation costs as much as the amount of money spent at the venue that made commercial leisure more expensive than just hanging around, or playing games.

Alcohol is now part of most of the arenas which cater commercially for teenage leisure in Britain. In the ESRC surveys, 40 per cent of the 15 to 16 year olds were drinking regularly. By the age of 18, when drinking alcohol became legal, 77 per cent were drinking regularly. Also, by age 18 around one in three were also regular smokers. Alcohol and tobacco are readily available from numerous outlets, and both are widely and intensively advertised, so these figures are not surprising. Alcohol and tobacco products are a major part of the adult world that these young people are joining.

Conclusion.

In conclusion, gender appropriate behaviour is largely socially constructed, and instilled in individuals through socialization practices from a very early age. Individuals are socially and culturally reproduced as either males or females. Developmental psychologists, such as Archer (1989), have shown how, through the use of positive and negative rules and sanctions, male and female roles are developed. Gender appropriate behaviour is instilled in young children through their play and games. This continues through adolescent leisure practices, preparing young people for their adult roles. However, feminists such as Walby (1990), Daly (1978), and Spender (1980), have argued that gendered subjectivity is created everywhere, not just the home or the school. They argue that this is the result of patriarchal power, which forms the dominant ideology, and which is supported by patriarchal discourse.

Nevertheless, as Roberts (1983) argues, adolescent leisure is a largely under researched area, and a number of questions need to be addressed. Firstly, to what extent are young people able to question, rebel, and discard traditional gender roles and norms? Secondly, to what extent are the differences between boys and girls leisure products of their individual tastes and choices, or the result of unequal opportunities? Thirdly, what quality of life and leisure do adolescent gender roles and sexual practices offer, especially to disadvantaged and deprived young people? Future research should address these questions in order to enhance our understanding of the development of gender subjectivity, its significance for young people's leisure, and its importance in the transition to adulthood.

The 16-19 Initiative was a very broad piece of research, which yielded a considerable amount of information about young people's lifestyles, and the implications of these for the transition to adulthood. However, one of the serious

flaws of this project lies in the assumption that the transition to adulthood somehow begins at the age of sixteen, or with the transition from school to work. It is during the early years of adolescence that leisure practices begin to change, from childhood 'play' oriented activities, towards more adult oriented leisure activities. There is very little information available on the social lives of 11 to 16 year olds, nor on how and when youth transitions begin.

Much of the existing research on youth transitions has been underpinned by theories of social and cultural reproduction. (Willis, 1977; Wallace, 1987; 1988). The next Chapter, therefore, considers the concept of social and cultural reproduction, in the light of newer 'postmodern' forms of theorizing about young people, together with the concept of youth transitions.

CHAPTER FOUR: CULTURAL REPRODUCTION AND YOUTH TRANSITIONS.

Introduction.

The concept of cultural reproduction was first developed by the French sociologist and cultural theorist, Pierre Bourdieu, in the 1970s. Theories of cultural reproduction, based on the work of Bourdieu, were first put forward within the sociology of education. A number of researchers (Douglas, 1967; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Willis, 1977;) have examined the impact of 'cultural inheritance' on educational achievement; that is, the values transmitted by parents to children through the socialization process. In recent times, the concept of cultural reproduction as a fashionable form of social theorising has declined in favour of post-structuralism, and post-modernism. However, as Jenks (1993) argues, the concept is still a particularly fertile area for social theory:

'The idea of cultural reproduction makes reference to the emergent quality of experience of everyday life - albeit through a spectrum of interpretations. That is to say the concept serves to articulate the dynamic process that makes sensible the utter contingency of, on the one hand, the stasis and determinacy of social structures and, on the other, the innovation and agency inherent in the practice of social action. Cultural reproduction allows us to contemplate the necessity and complementarity of continuity and change in social experience'. (Jenks, 1993, p1).

Jenks (1993) goes on to suggest that cultural reproduction can be used in a variety of analytic ways, to provide insights into a number of cultural formations,

including gender roles, fine art, film, journalism, style, language, and sociology itself. Cultural reproduction, therefore, provides a useful conceptual framework for the study of leisure, and leisure change among deprived adolescents. This thesis attempts to extend Bourdieu's ideas of social and cultural reproduction, to the field of adolescent leisure. First, it is necessary to consider the main aspects of Bourdieu's theoretical framework.

Bourdieu and Cultural Reproduction.

As Jenkins (1983) points out, at the heart of the concept of cultural reproduction lies a philosophical question concerning which model of human action, the passive or the active, is more appropriate for sociological debate. As Jenkins asks:

'How can we explain the persistence of patterned social inequality without falling back upon a deterministic model of social process which allows no room for practice, in the sense of social action?' (Jenkins, 1983, p3).

Bourdieu's work is oriented towards similar problematics. The key concepts and assumptions of Bourdieu's theoretical framework are to be found in 'Outline of a Theory of Practice' (1977). Bourdieu's epistemology largely sets aside many of the traditional oppositions within the social sciences, such as action versus structure, the individual versus society, freedom versus necessity, etc. Instead, Bourdieu's theoretical approach begins with a consideration of a broad dichotomy between 'subjectivism' and 'objectivism' within social science.

Bourdieu sees both subjectivism and objectivism as inadequate intellectual orientations. Whilst it is essential for the social scientist to break with immediate experience of the social world, in trying to understand the social world of others, this break is hindered by the fact that the social scientist is also a participant in social life, and is therefore likely to draw upon experiential knowledge in analysing the social world. Thus, Bourdieu argues that we should:

'...escape from the ritual either/or choice between objectivism and subjectivism in which the social sciences have allowed themselves to be trapped...'. (Bourdieu, 1977, p4).

Bourdieu's theory of practice, therefore, attempts to move beyond objectivism, without relapsing into subjectivism. That is, to take account of the need to break with immediate experience, while at the same time taking into account the practical character of social life. (Thompson, 1991).

The 'Habitus'

The central concept of Bourdieu's theoretical scheme, is the notion of 'habitus'. The habitus is a set of 'dispositions' which impel individuals to act and react in certain ways. These dispositions are acquired, firstly, through a gradual process of 'inculcation', particularly during childhood, through the process of socialization. Secondly, the dispositions produced in this way are 'structured', in that they necessarily reflect the social conditions in which they were acquired. For example, an individual from a working-class background will have acquired dispositions which are different from those of an individual from a middle-class background. The habitus will

therefore reflect the social conditions of the background in which the individual was brought up. Thirdly, these dispositions are 'durable', in that they are ingrained in the individual, and endure throughout the life of the individual. Finally, the dispositions are 'generative' and 'transposable', in that they are able to generate and respond to numerous practices and perceptions, in fields other than those in which they were acquired. Through these dispositions, the habitus shapes perception, thought, taste, appreciation, and action.

Bodily Hexis.

A related concept, which Bourdieu outlines, is that of 'bodily hexis'. Bodily hexis refers to the means by which dispositions are ingrained in the body, to such an extent that particular actions, ways of behaving and responding, seem natural. As Bourdieu explains:

'Bodily hexis is political mythology realised, em-bodied, turned into a permanent disposition, a durable manner of standing, speaking, and thereby of feeling and thinking'. (Bourdieu, 1977, pp93-94).

It is in bodily hexis that the personal combines with the social. It is the mediating link between individuals subjective worlds, and the cultural world into which they are born, and which they share with others. The embodiment of the habitus, through bodily hexis, can be seen in the different ways that men and women 'carry themselves'; that is, in their differing postures, their different ways of walking, speaking, eating, laughing, as well as the ways in which men and women display their gender and sexuality. Thus, for Bourdieu, the body is a mnemonic device upon which and in

which the very basics of culture, and the practical classifying principles of the habitus, are ingrained through a socialising or learning process which begins in early childhood. (Jenkins, 1992).

However, the habitus is inculcated as much, if not more, by experience as by explicit teaching. The power of the habitus derives from the thoughtlessness of habit and habituation, rather than consciously learned rules and principles. Socially competent performances are produced by social actors as a matter of routine, rather than by recourse to a body of knowledge. However, when individuals act, they do so in particular social contexts and settings. Thus, particular practices and perceptions can be seen, not merely as the product of the habitus, but as the product of the relation between the habitus, and the specific social context or 'field', within which individuals act. (Thompson, 1991).

The Social Context, or 'Field'.

A field, in Bourdieu's terms, is a social arena within which struggles or manoeuvres take place over specific resources, or stakes, and access to them:

'I define a field as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation in the structure of the distribution of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions....'. (Waquant, 1989, p39).

As Jenkins (1992) explains, fields are defined by the stakes which are at stake, such as cultural goods (life-style), housing, intellectual distinction (education), employment, land, power (politics), social class, prestige, etc. A field can therefore be seen as a structured space of positions, in which the positions and their interrelations are determined by the distribution of different kinds of resources, or 'capital'. These resources, or forms of capital, can be grouped into four main categories:

- (1) Economic capital - material wealth in the form of money, stocks and shares, property, etc.
- (2) Social capital - various kinds of valued relations with significant others.
- (3) Cultural capital - knowledge, skills, and other cultural acquisitions, such as educational qualifications.
- (4) Symbolic capital - Accumulated social prestige or honour.

In an article entitled 'The Forms of Capital' (1986), Bourdieu explains the interconnection between the various forms of capital. Economic capital is immediately and directly convertible into money, and may be institutionalized in the form of property rights. Cultural capital, under certain conditions, may be converted into economic capital. This is most obviously institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications. Social capital is largely made up of social obligations, or 'connections', and is therefore closely linked with symbolic capital. Social capital, under certain conditions, is convertible into economic capital, and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility (Bourdieu, 1986, p243).

The existence and functioning of a field is therefore dependent upon a belief on the part of participants in the legitimacy and value of the capital which is at stake in the field. Thus, one of the most important properties of fields is the way in which they allow one form of capital to be converted into another - for example, in the way that

particular educational qualifications can be converted into lucrative jobs. (Thompson, 1991).

Cultural Reproduction and Symbolic Violence.

The concepts of social and cultural reproduction are integral to Bourdieu's work in the field of education. Bourdieu sees the education system as a complex set of institutions and practices which serve to reproduce symbolically and culturally the relations of power in a given society. Thus, Bourdieu attempts to extend his general theory of practice to construct, on the one hand, a theory of 'symbolic violence', and on the other, a general theory of the social and cultural reproduction of advanced industrial societies.

The theory of symbolic violence is introduced in 'Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture', written with Jean-Claude Passeron, and first published in France in 1970. Symbolic violence, according to Bourdieu, is the imposition of systems of symbolism and meaning (i.e. culture) upon groups or classes in such a way that they are experienced as legitimate. This legitimacy obscures the power relations which allow this imposition to be successful. Culture adds its own force to those power relations, further contributing to their systematic reproduction. This is achieved through what Bourdieu terms a process of 'misrecognition'. Bourdieu defines misrecognition as:

'the process whereby power relations are perceived not for what they objectively are but in a form which renders them legitimate in the eye of the beholder'. (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990, p xxii).

In other words, in everyday life, power is rarely exercised as overt physical force; it is disguised in a symbolic form, which gives it a particular form of legitimacy. Thus, symbolic power is an 'invisible' power, which is 'misrecognised' as such, and thereby recognised as legitimate. The exercise of power through symbolic exchange, therefore, always rests on a foundation of shared belief. Symbolic power requires, as a condition of its success, that those subjected to it believe in the legitimacy of power, and the legitimacy of those who wield it. (Thompson, 1991).

The education system, according to Bourdieu, operates as a system of symbolic violence, which underwrites and maintains the cultural and material domination of one group by another. This is achieved through 'pedagogic action', through which the 'cultural arbitrary' (the legitimate dominant culture of a society) is imposed. This process has its origins in the process of primary socialisation within the family, and is further developed through formal education:

'Because learning is an irreversible process, the habitus acquired within the family forms the basis of the reception and assimilation of the classroom message, and the habitus acquired at school conditions the level of reception and degree of assimilation of the message produced and diffused by the culture industry, and, more generally, of any intellectual or semi-intellectual message'. (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990. pp43-44).

As Jenkins (1982) explains, although the dominant culture is misrecognised as legitimate by subordinate classes, members of these classes stand in a different relationship to it than the dominant groups, as a result of differences in the class habitus of each:

'The habitus of each group is generated by their contrasting positions within the 'objective structures' of society, and the different subjective expectations of the objective probabilities attaching to their respective class locations'. (Jenkins, 1992, p274).

Pedagogic action can therefore be seen to operate through three educational modes:

- (1) Diffuse education - this occurs through interaction with competent members of particular social formations, such as the peer group.
- (2) Family education - primary socialization within the family.
- (3) Institutionalized education - this is more usually the school, but could include age dependent initiation rituals.

Pedagogic action therefore operates through 'pedagogic authority', which is an arbitrary power to act, misrecognised by its practitioners and recipients as legitimate. It is experienced as neutral, or sometimes positively valued, but no pedagogic action is neutral, or culturally free. In other words, pedagogic action is legitimated through the linked ideologies of equality of opportunity, and achievement based on merit alone. Bourdieu argues that, since what is being inculcated through the education system is the dominant cultural arbitrary, educational achievement will naturally be defined in terms of the cultural arbitrary. Therefore, those pupils who have acquired a great amount of 'cultural capital' (familiarity with the cultural arbitrary) through socialisation within the family, will achieve more academically than those who are less familiar with the cultural arbitrary:

'...the disposition to make use of the school and the predispositions to succeed in it depend, as we have seen, on the objective chances of using it and succeeding in it that are attached to the different social classes, these dispositions and predispositions in turn constituting one of the most important factors in the perpetuation of the structure of educational chances as an objectively graspable manifestation of the relationship between the educational system and the structure

of class relations. Even the negative dispositions and predispositions leading to self-elimination, devalorization of the school and its sanctions or resigned expectation of failure or exclusion may be understood as unconscious anticipation of the sanctions the school has in store for the dominated classes'. (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990, pp204-205).

Thus, Bourdieu argues that the habitus of the subordinate class generates an acceptance of the legitimacy of that class position, and this serves to inhibit their demands for access to the higher reaches of the education system.

Cultural Capital and Lifestyle.

The concept of 'cultural capital' is further developed by Bourdieu in 'Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste' (1984). In 'Distinction', Bourdieu investigates the relationship between occupational position, and taste in cultural goods, arguing that taste in cultural goods can be understood as an indicator of social position. He presents an analysis of occupational position in French society, claiming that the tastes, interests, and products associated with particular class fractions are dependent upon their possession of economic and cultural capital. Bourdieu then relates the possession of cultural and economic capital to occupation and lifestyle, claiming that:

- (1) High volumes of economic capital relate to occupations in industrial management, which in turn are related to a 'taste' for things such as business meals, second homes, tennis, and the commercial theatre.
- (2) High volumes of cultural capital relate to occupations in higher education, the professions, and the arts, which in turn are related to a 'taste' for things such as the artistic 'avant garde', fringe theatre, intellectual games, backpacking, and

cycling.

Bourdieu, whilst acknowledging the relative cultural dispossession of the working class, also notes that there is differentiation within the working class. For example, he sees the cultural and political differences between skilled workers and foremen, and office workers, as a 'real frontier'. While the former watch sports and the circus on television, the latter view educational programmes. In general, however, it is in culture, rather than politics, that working class unity and solidarity can be found. (Jenkins, 1992). Bourdieu describes working class culture as:

'...in short, everything that is engendered by the realistic (but not resigned) hedonism and sceptical (but not cynical) materialism which constitute both a form of adaptation to the conditions of existence and a defence against them'. (Bourdieu, 1984, pp394-395).

Thus, the working class habitus can be seen to be both an adaptation to the realities of working class life, and a defence against them.

The concept of class, in Bourdieu's analysis, can therefore be seen to be dependent upon the volume and composition of the mixture of economic and cultural capital. To this he adds the relationship between the habitus and life style. The body and its hexis are important here, particularly in areas such as cuisine, sport, clothes, and non-verbal communication. (Jenkins, 1992). Bourdieu then presents a rather deterministic model of these relationships. (Bourdieu, 1979, p171). This model is summarized quite lucidly by Jenkins (1992, p141):

(a) objective conditions of existence combine with position in the social structure

- to produce
- (b) the habitus, 'a structured and structuring structure', which consists of
- (c) a 'system of schemes generating classifiable practices and works' and
- (d) a 'system of schemes of perception and appreciation' or taste, which between them produce
- (e) 'classifiable practices and works' resulting in
- (f) a lifestyle 'a system of classified and classifying practices, i.e. distinctive signs'.

As Jenkins (1992) points out, Bourdieu's argument in 'Distinction' is very similar to that put forward in 'Reproduction'. That is, that struggles about the meanings of things, especially the social world, are aspects of the class struggle; that the reproduction of the established order is achieved, by symbolic violence, through cultural reproduction.

Cultural Reproduction in the Labour Market.

The concept of cultural reproduction provided the framework for Paul Willis' seminal study, 'Learning to Labour' (1977). Willis set out to investigate how cultural reproduction occurs in the labour market; in other words, to discover how working-class kids get working-class jobs, and working class thoughts, and lifestyles. Willis studied the transition from school to work of a group of working-class 'lads'. Willis found that the lads had a clear understanding of the school's authority, but used this understanding to subvert it, rather than to conform. The school was seen as an alien environment, resulting in strong anti-authoritarianism, and rejection of the prevailing middle-class norms. They derived pleasure from causing disruption to lessons, and challenging the authority of the teachers.

The 'lads' looked forward to going to work. They saw that in many respects it would be similar to school, but at least they would be getting paid for it. Once employed in their blue-collar jobs, they held the same dismissive approach to work, as they did to school. As Willis points out, working in blue-collar workplaces very often involves similar features to those the lads had employed in their counter-school culture - banter, quick wit, and the ability to subvert the demands of their superiors.

Willis argues that working-class kids are not in competition for middle-class jobs, because they simply don't want them. The 'lads', for example, saw office jobs as soft and effeminate. Their working-class backgrounds provided them with an orientation towards manual labour; that is, a rejection of irrelevant bookish learning for knowledge with a practical application. Thus, the rejection of middle-class norms, along with a disrespect for authority, and the high status attached to manual labour, served to reinforce the 'lads' cultural identification as working-class.

'Learning to Labour' provides a romanticised view of a part of working class culture which may now have ended. The late 1980s and early 1990s have witnessed a massive decline in British manufacturing industries, resulting in the loss of thousands of traditional 'blue collar' jobs. This has led, in turn, to widespread long-term unemployment among many working class communities.

Willis' study provides some empirical evidence of the way in which social and cultural reproduction takes place through the transition from school to work. Thus the concepts of social and cultural reproduction imply primarily the reproduction of employment roles. (Wallace, 1987). That is, young people are socially and culturally reproduced as workers. However, this is only one aspect in the transition to adulthood. As Wallace (1987) argues, growing up is not just a question of growing older. It is a question of becoming fully socialised young women and men who are

able to take up particular roles in society. Thus, the transition to adulthood is a complex process, taking place at many different levels.

Youth Transitions.

The concept of youth 'transitions' has become the dominant paradigm for the study of young people since the mid-1980s. However, it has become increasingly problematic, as the traditional route to adult status has become blocked for many young people. Prior to this time the sociology of youth had concerned itself with the diversity of youth cultures and sub-cultures (Mungham & Pearson, 1976; Hall & Jefferson, 1976; Hebdige, 1979; Brake, 1980). Young people came to be seen as a social problem, causing 'moral panics' over issues such as inter-gang rivalry, juvenile delinquency, drug taking, football hooliganism, mugging, and mass youth unemployment. High youth unemployment from the mid-1970s, and the resultant introduction of a number of government 'schemes' led some sociologists to see the period after leaving school as one of 'broken transitions' (Ashton & Maguire, 1986; Ainley, 1988).

Wallace (1988) argues that the years from 16 to 21 mark the major period in the transition to adulthood. Wallace sees this as a period during which a number of structural changes take place in young people's lives. That is, the transition from education to employment, from household of origin to that of destination, from dependence to independence, from youth to adulthood. However, these transitions are not universal. They differ according to race, gender, and social class, and are related to patterns of entry into the labour market (Wallace, 1987). For example, middle class young people are more likely to spend a period of time in further and higher education before entering the labour market. Therefore, these young people's transition is likely

to be protracted. For working class young people, the transition to work, and into a family of their own, takes place earlier, depending upon patterns of training and employment (Wallace, 1988). Thus, Wallace argues that, increasingly, youth transitions are state managed: Youth training serves as an apprenticeship into working-class adulthood, and Higher Education as an apprenticeship into middle-class life. The protracted nature of transitions to work are bound to have implications for leisure patterns, and for the transitions taking place through leisure itself. The lack of economic capital during these transitions prevents many young people from full participation in adult leisure.

Wallace (1988) therefore argues that the transition to adulthood can be seen as part of a process of social and cultural reproduction which takes place on three levels. Firstly, through the labour market, in the transition from school to work. Secondly, through the housing market, in the transition from the parental home to an independent residential unit. Thirdly, through the family, in the transition from family of origin, to a family of one's own. This thesis argues that there is another arena of transition which has largely been neglected in previous accounts of youth transitions: that is the transitions taking place during early adolescence, particularly within the field of leisure.

All previous studies in youth transitions have focused on the years from the age of sixteen onwards. None have investigated the transition from childhood to adolescence, which provides the foundation for the transition to adulthood. The personal and social changes taking place during adolescence are at least as important in the transition to adulthood as the structural changes which Wallace alludes to. The development of the self from adolescent to adult is a gradual process, negotiated through experience and reflection. Leisure activities and peer group interactions are an integral part of this process.

In contrast to Wallace's view that youth transitions are marked by a number of structural changes, the postmodernist debate has focused on the ways in which processes of 'individualisation' and 'destructuring' or 'destandardisation' play an important part in understanding the nature and meanings of contemporary social and economic change. With reference to young people in particular, Chisholm and Du Bois-Reymond (1993) suggest that youth transitions are changing, and arguably losing, their internally structurally differentiated quality. This can be seen in two areas: firstly, the sequencing and timing of the 'rites de passage' between childhood and adulthood; and secondly, the separations and inequalities between the situations and orientations of young people in respect of their class origin, ethnicity, and gender are gradually disappearing.

Chisholm and Du Bois-Reymond (1993) suggest that young people today are growing up in a socially open space, where few things are certain, and many choices are possible, and where it is not clear which options will be possible and impossible - and for whom. This calls into question any notion of ordered or structured change. Thus, they argue, the acquisition of cultural capital has become both an individualized and democratized affair, much less a matter of social origin and group membership. Chisholm and Du Bois-Reymond argue that young people amass resources for transitions through collecting credentials, both in the formal sense, through the education system, and through their wider social participation and lifestyles. They hence write their own biographies, in both public and private spheres of life. The socially standardised lifecourse of the past is gradually changing into a socially individualised life course (Chisholm & Du Bois-Reymond, 1993 p261).

However, as Chisholm and Du Bois-Reymond acknowledge, the relationship between individualisation processes on the one hand and structured social inequalities

on the other is both theoretically and empirically unclear at the present time. Nevertheless, they acknowledge that not only formal qualifications, but also some forms of leisure activity, such as sport and music are becoming part of the accreditation that individuals build up to enhance job prospects. Increasingly, employers expect to see sporting or cultural achievements as evidence of the 'rounded', 'balanced' person. Thus, leisure activities are increasingly becoming an aspect of the institutional cultural capital.

In theoretical terms, this is because the essence of capital, in Bourdieu's terms, is that one form of capital can be transformed into other forms of capital; hence the cultural capital of leisure time activity, if of the appropriate kind, may be transformed into economic capital by improving the job prospects of some young people. Nevertheless, Chisholm and Du Bois-Reymond's assertion of the ability of young people to 'write their own biographies' would appear to be rather contentious, given the marginal status of many young people. As Jones and Wallace (1992) argue, choice is stratified in every sphere of young people's lives. Thus, opportunities are mainly available only to those with the financial or cultural capital to make use of them. It is unlikely that the leisure activities of a group of deprived adolescents would contain sufficient cultural capital to be utilized as currency within particular job markets. The study of youth transitions therefore needs to focus less on the structural changes taking place in later adolescence, and focus more on the wider social participation and lifestyles of younger adolescents, and the effects of cultural reproduction on leisure practices.

Conclusion.

Despite the optimistic view that young people are growing up in a socially open space, with wider cultural fragmentation, where many choices are possible, it is evident that many young people are marginalized, and therefore to some extent structured, by their low socio-economic status. It is important, therefore, to recognise the structural inequalities which create opportunities and constraints among adolescents. However, there is some doubt about whether we can still talk about 'working class culture' at the present time, when so many traditional working class communities have broken down. Nevertheless, many of these traditional working class areas are populated by people who are long-term unemployed, with few prospects of finding work. These economic criteria are likely to have implications for young people's cultural inheritance. The fact that the media bombard young people with desirable images of patterns and consumer goods, adds to the conflict between these young people's expectations, and their likely achievements. Thus, young people from deprived backgrounds are more likely to be restricted, not only in their structural transitions, but also in their wider social lives, through their lack of cultural capital. The cultural capital acquired through their leisure activities is unlikely to have currency within their potential job markets. However, the activities they do participate in might accrue social capital, or even symbolic capital, within the peer group.

As Haywood et al (1989) suggest, the work of Pierre Bourdieu provides an improvement on conventional leisure research which describes, but does not explain, the distribution of leisure activity amongst the population. Bourdieu's work goes beyond explanations couched solely in terms of either structural constraints, or in terms of individual freedom. Thus, Haywood et al (1989) summarize the key elements of Bourdieu's contribution to an understanding of leisure as follows:

- (1) Through early experiences, individuals acquire particular and different dispositions which translate into perceptions, tastes, and preferences.
- (2) Dispositions are transposable; that is, they operate in all forms of leisure activity and consumerism.
- (3) Individuals vary in their perception of leisure activities, and the meanings with which such activities are invested.
- (4) Different activities and styles require different types of cultural competences.
- (5) The significance of particular leisure activities, spaces and styles, arise from their distribution amongst social groups.
- (6) Leisure choice arises from this distributional significance. Tastes and choices are social breaks.
- (7) Leisure choices are an endless, on-going game, in which tastes are significant in terms of their relationship and distinction from other tastes.

Throughout the late 1980s, the concept of youth 'transitions' has provided the dominant framework for the study of young people. yet all previous studies in youth transitions have concentrated on the years from sixteen onwards. Further, these studies have focused on the structural changes taking place in young people's lives, following the transition from school to work. It is the central contention of this thesis that the transition to adulthood begins much earlier than sixteen, through the changing nature of leisure activities during adolescence.

SUMMARY OF EMERGENT THEMES.

Introduction.

The first four Chapters of this thesis have focused on an in-depth review of existing literature, which might inform a study of deprived young people and leisure. A number of important issues are raised in this literature review, and it would now be useful to summarize here the main points arising from the existing literature.

The Problematic Nature of Leisure.

This thesis begins with some detailed consideration of the problem of defining and conceptualizing leisure. A number of dimensions have been identified, within which leisure has been defined. These included, firstly, leisure and the individual, and the ways in which leisure contributes to a person's health and welfare, and development of self-identity. Secondly, are those definitions of leisure which are centered around work, and those which are centered around the dichotomy between obligated time and free-time. Thirdly are those conceptions of leisure as either active, or passive, focusing on constructive versus frivolous use of time. All of these themes in the definition of leisure raise a number of issues when applied to 11-16 year-olds.

Firstly, definitions of leisure based upon the dichotomous relationship between work and leisure are particularly problematic when applied to adolescents. Such definitions are largely predicated on adult status. Young adolescents, by and large, do not go to work, although they are obligated to attend school. Nevertheless, whereas children are able to 'play', and adults are able to take part in a diversity of leisure activities, the spare time activities of adolescents are much more difficult to conceptualize. Being neither a child nor an adult, leaves the adolescent in a transitory phase between these two extremes. It may be, therefore, that changes in leisure practices during adolescence are a significant and important feature of the transition to adulthood.

Secondly, notions of leisure as 'free-time', or as 'active' or 'passive', all place considerable emphasis on freedom of choice. The extent to which adolescents have choice in their leisure pursuits is questionable. Much of children's leisure is orchestrated by adults. This involves a number of obligations, such as attending school, doing homework, helping with housework, child-minding, and so on. Further, youth clubs and youth organizations are run for young people by adults, who largely dictate the activities which will take place. Parents are able to impose other constraints, such as time limits, transport or money restrictions, and the disapproval and restriction of leisure companions. Adolescent leisure can therefore, in many ways, be seen to be characterized by constraint rather than choice.

All of these issues render the operationalization of leisure among adolescents considerably problematic. Nevertheless, as Bernard (1982) suggests, the most important feature of research into leisure is the individual's subjective experience of

leisure. Therefore, the aim of research into adolescent leisure should be to discover what constitutes leisure for those adolescents, together with an assessment of the extent to which it is characterized by freedom of choice or constraint, and is perceived as such by the young people themselves.

Social Class and Leisure.

In recent times, analyses of young people's leisure have focused on the ways in which young people actively participate in commercial consumption. (Frith, 1978; Jones & Wallace, 1992). This reflects the postmodernist view, that most people share a consumer culture through access to the mass media. The media constantly bombards young people with desirable styles and images, and this, according to Lash (1990), results in cultural consumption becoming generalized. Distinctive identities are developed from this bombardment of styles and images, and it is these, rather than social class, which become the differentiating feature in young people's lives.

However, this optimistic view of freedom of expression is not supported by existing research. Most existing research suggests that social class differences have a considerable influence on types of leisure activity. Existing research tends to suggest that young people's leisure activities are influenced by a number of factors, including the home background, peer group interactions, and experiences within the education system. These can be seen to be cultural features. Therefore, leisure can be seen as part of a process of social and cultural reproduction, emanating from experiences within the home, the locality, and the school, together with relationships with

relatives, peers, and neighbours.

Although social class differences may not be as distinctive as they once were, consumer choice is still restricted to those who have the money. This raises a number of questions which a study of deprived young people should address. For example, do deprived young people feel disadvantaged at leisure, and if so, what are the reasons for it? If they do not, does this then invalidate the arguments about deprivation? Further, is there an adequate range of leisure opportunities within deprived areas? Are deprived young people's leisure activities merely restricted by lack of money? Or is it that such deprived young people are socialized into a limited range of leisure activities through a process of social and cultural reproduction.

Most existing research has failed adequately to consider many of these issues. Further, much of the existing research has concentrated on older adolescents, aged sixteen and over, and little recent work has been carried out which adequately considers the position of younger adolescents, especially those growing up in a deprived urban area.

Gender and Leisure.

Gender is largely socially constructed. Gender-appropriate behaviour is instilled in individuals through the process of social and cultural reproduction, beginning in early childhood. Gender-appropriate behaviour is instilled in young children through their play and games. This is continued through formal education processes; the

education system is one of the most important social institutions through which gender divisions are transmitted and reinforced. Nevertheless, some feminists (Daly, 1978; Spender, 1980; Walby, 1990) have argued that gendered subjectivity is created and reinforced everywhere, not just in the home or school. They argue that gendered subjectivity is the result of patriarchal power, which forms the dominant ideology, and which is supported and reinforced through patriarchal discourse.

This raises a number of important questions concerning the leisure activities of deprived young people. Firstly, to what extent are gender differences being challenged? Secondly, to what extent are the differences between boys' and girls' leisure products of their own individual tastes and choices, or the result of unequal opportunities? Thirdly, is the quality of life, and leisure, different for males and females - especially among deprived young people?

Again, much of the existing research into young people's lifestyles has focused on the years immediately after the age of sixteen. There is little information available on the social lives of 11 to 16 year-olds, nor on gender differences in adolescent leisure practices. Research is needed to redress this situation.

Cultural Reproduction and Youth Transitions.

The concept of youth 'transitions' has become the dominant paradigm for the study of young people since the mid-1980s. Research into youth transitions, such as the ESRC's '16 to 19 Initiative', and work by Wallace (1987; 1988) has shown that a

number of structural changes take place in young people's lives between the ages of 16 and 21. These include the transition from education to employment (or training scheme, or unemployment); the transition to a home of one's own; from dependence to independence, and therefore, from youth to adult. However, it is suggested here that there is another arena through which transition takes place, which has largely been neglected in all previous accounts of youth transitions; that is, the changes taking place within the field of adolescent leisure. These changes are likely to begin much earlier than sixteen.

Much of the existing research into youth transitions has been underpinned by theories of social and cultural reproduction (Willis, 1977; Wallace, 1987; 1988). For example, Wallace (1988) argues that the transition to adulthood can be seen as part of a process of social and cultural reproduction, which takes place through the labour market, the housing market, and through the family.

Theories of social and cultural reproduction have developed from the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1977). Bourdieu argues that each class possesses its own cultural framework which is passed on through socialization within the family. This cultural framework is characteristic of the 'habitus' which different classes occupy. The habitus includes the home, the neighbourhood, and the social conditions in which the individual is brought up. These in turn shape the individual's perception, thought, taste, appreciation, and action, especially within the fields of culture, lifestyle, and leisure.

The acquisition of cultural capital is not merely displayed through the

acquisition of educational qualifications and certificates. Some forms of leisure activity, such as sport and music are increasingly seen by employers as desirable attributes of potential employees. In Bourdieu's terms, the cultural capital of leisure time activities, if of the appropriate kind, can be transformed into economic capital by improving the job prospects of some young people. It is unlikely that the cultural capital acquired through the leisure activities of deprived young people would have currency within their potential job markets.

More recently, postmodernist arguments have suggested that young people today are growing up in a socially open space, with wider cultural fragmentation, where few things are certain, and many choices are possible. (Chisholm and DuBois-Reymond, 1993). This argument suggests that young people are free to 'write their own biographies'. However, these ideas would appear to be rather contentious, given the marginal status of many young people. As Jones and Wallace (1992) argue, opportunities and choices are mainly available only to those with the financial or cultural capital to make use of them. Therefore, the structural features of the 'habitus' within which young people are growing up, is bound to affect their leisure opportunities. It is important, therefore, to recognise the structural inequalities which create opportunities and constraints among adolescents.

Conclusion.

A number of important issues have been raised in this review of the existing literature concerning young people and leisure. The central theme to emerge is that

there is a general lack of research into adolescents and leisure. Further, there is virtually none which considers the significance of the changing nature of leisure activities during adolescence for the transition to adulthood.

Consideration of a number of these issues has prompted and inspired a research project into the leisure activities of a group of young people growing up in a particularly deprived urban area of Plymouth. This research project now becomes the central theme of this thesis, and it is the Methodolgy of this project to which we now turn.

CHAPTER FIVE: METHODOLOGY.

Introduction.

The general aim of this research is to undertake a sociological study of young people, aged eleven to sixteen, growing up in a particularly deprived urban area of Plymouth. The deprived area of Plymouth in which this study is set, was chosen for a number of reasons. Firstly, the researcher had lived in the area for three years prior to the commencement of the study, in a small flat which overlooked the local secondary school. Although the antics of these young people appeared at times rather boistrous, there was no reason to suggest that these young people were as delinquent as local media reports suggested. Secondly, the area is situated in the shadow of the industrial landscape of the Royal Naval Dockyard, and has a very run down appearance, which in itself gives an impression of deprivation. Nevertheless, evidence to support the contention that this is, in fact, a deprived area can be found in the high unemployment figures, high incidences of lone parent families, high crime rates, and high incidences of Local Authority accommodation, in the form of high-rise flats. It was felt that such a deprived area would provide an appropriate and interesting location for the study of leisure and leisure change during adolescence.

Within the general aim of this research are contained a number of more specific aims, which are derived from some of the major themes discussed in the preceding Chapters.

Aims and Objectives.

- (1) To examine these young people's subjective experience of leisure, and the extent to which it can be seen to be characterized by either choice or constraint. This gives rise to a more philosophical debate concerning the adequacy of the concept of 'leisure' in describing the spare-time activities of adolescents.
- (2) To consider the ways in which social class, culture, and social and economic deprivation affect adolescent leisure.
- (3) To consider the significance of the changing nature of leisure activities during adolescence for the transition to adulthood, as part of a process of social and cultural reproduction.
- (4) To consider the gender differences in adolescent leisure practices, and their significance for the transition to adulthood.

The Research Site.

The research was carried out in a particularly deprived area of Plymouth. The City of Plymouth is the largest in the far South West, with a population of around a quarter of a million. Plymouth is built around one of the worlds finest natural harbours, yet, as Chalkley et al (1991) point out, the sea does not simply mark the city's edge, it is central to its livelihood and personality. Plymouth's maritime setting affects every aspect of the life of the city: climate, culture, education, the economy, work, and leisure. (Chalkley et al, 1991). In particular, Plymouth's role as home to the Royal Navy, has considerably shaped the culture of the City. One aspect of this has

been the development of Union Street into what might be called Plymouth's answer to Soho. Union Street is characterised by a number of pubs, bars, night clubs, 'strip-joints', and tattoo parlours. The surrounding streets are home to a number of prostitutes. Although these facilities grew largely around the needs of the shorebound sailor, the neon lights of Union Street are equally alluring to the young people born and bred in the City.

The area of Plymouth in which this research is set was once a thriving and prosperous town in its own right, growing up around the Royal Naval Dockyard, which was the major source of employment. With the increasing expansion of Plymouth City, particularly since the second world war, the area has now become an inner city area.

This particular area of Plymouth is now one of the most disadvantaged areas of the City, with a considerable number of social and economic problems. In fact, it is reported to be one of the most deprived urban areas in Europe. It is an area with a high proportion of lone parent families. Local Base Statistics, derived from the 1991 Census, show that 8.6 per cent of households in the area are lone parent households. (OPCS, 1991). This compares with national figures at that time of 5.0 per cent. (Social Trends 21, 1991). There are also high levels of unemployment in the area, and high crime rates. Child abuse in the area is alleged to be three times the national average.

Over 75 per cent of the householders in this area live in Council or Housing Association accommodation, while only 5 per cent are owner occupiers. There is also a high proportion of flats in the area - 84 per cent compared to only 8 per cent in Plymouth as a whole. (Plymouth City Council, January 1990). However, largely as a

result of the rebuilding which took place after the Second World War, the age of the dwellings in the area is generally younger than the Plymouth or UK average.

Employment in the Plymouth area has been dominated by the Naval Dockyards. In 1947, 21,000 workers were employed in the Dockyard. Since the privatisation of the Dockyard, in the mid-1980s, the workforce has been cut dramatically. Employment in the Dockyard was reduced to 11,000 by the end of 1987, and a further 3,400 jobs were cut between 1987 and 1990. Further redundancies were announced in the summer of 1990, reducing the workforce to around 4,500. (Bishop, 1991). This has caused widespread unemployment locally, particularly within the research site, which remains at high levels. Unemployment figures from the 1991 Census show that male unemployment in the area at that time stood at 26.9 per cent, and female unemployment stood at 18.1 per cent. (OPCS, 1991). With the high incidences of lone parents (usually lone mothers), and given the unemployment situation generally, large numbers of people in the area are likely to be dependent upon state benefits. Thus, rather than belonging to a traditional working class community, a large proportion of the population of the research site belong to an 'underclass', which is deprived, both socially and economically.

Plymouth has managed to maintain the Grammar School system, and the 11+ exam for those parents who wish their child to take it, while further developing the Comprehensive system into a number of Community Colleges. However, this deprived area of Plymouth is served by one very run down Secondary Modern School, and it is this school which the majority of eleven to sixteen year-olds, who live in the area, attend. A small number of the young people in the area attend Comprehensive Schools outside of the area, and this threat from other schools had caused the uncertainty of the future of the Secondary School within the area. However, the future of the school was finally secured in September 1993, when the

school merged with a smaller school from a similarly deprived area of Plymouth, to form a new Comprehensive School on the site of the larger of these two schools.

In terms of leisure and recreation, there are substantial areas of open space and playing fields within the area, including two large parks, a smaller recreation ground, and a playing field, and yet the housing areas themselves lack large areas of open space, recreation grounds, and play areas. There are a number of private clubs, including a Bingo Hall, a Snooker Club, and various Services Clubs, but generally there is a shortage of public indoor sports and recreational facilities, especially for adolescents. Other facilities, such as the open air swimming pools, are run down, and increasingly becoming vandalised. In fact, it was announced in February 1993, that one such open air pool would not open in the summer of 1993, because of high repair and running costs.

This particular area of Plymouth, therefore, suffers from a wide range of social and economic problems. The area gives a general run down appearance, partly due to the lack of investment in the area, partly due to problems of litter and vandalism, and partly due to the incidence of vacant or under utilized sites and buildings. The area often features prominently in local news coverage, with reports of hooliganism, vandalism, theft, and burglary, supposedly by young people living in the area. This particular area of Plymouth, therefore, provides the location for this study of young people and leisure in a deprived urban area.

Choosing the Method.

Methodologically, the study began with some preliminary group interviews, which were carried out with children of colleagues, and their friends. There may well

have been some middle class bias here, but the main purpose of these interviews was merely to provide some indication of the sorts of things that young people do, or would like to do, in their spare time. Also, to provide some ideas of the issues which the research should address, and possible ways of addressing these issues.

However, choosing the method turned out not to be such a major dilemma, as certain options were simply not available. For example, the use of participant observation was precluded, largely by the age of the researcher. The researcher was certainly not able to pass as a teenager, and join in street based activities. Also, to adopt the role of a youth worker did not appear fruitful, as not all young people engaged in such organised activities. Similarly, the idea of approaching young people on street corners, or in the parks, appeared rather risky, if not un-ethical. Therefore it was decided to enlist the help of the local school, in the collection of quantitative data, by means of a questionnaire survey. In this way, it was hoped to survey the majority of the young people living in the research site, in order to provide a broad picture of general leisure trends, and variations in responses, across the age range. It was also hoped that the survey would provide a reliable and objective data set on young people and their leisure activities in the research area.

It was decided, however, to use a combination of both quantitative and qualitative methods in the research. Hitherto, sociology has become embroiled in a rather acrimonious and sterile debate, in which quantitative methods have been seen as 'polar opposites' to qualitative methods. This division is underpinned by the epistemological debate between positivism and interpretivism. However, as Bryman (1988) argues, the obvious way forward is likely to be a fusion of the two approaches, so that their respective strengths might be utilised. To this end, it was decided that qualitative data, in the form of semi-structured interviews, would also be collected, in

order to provide more subjective data, which would complement and illustrate the quantitative data.

Negotiating Access.

It was decided to enlist the help of the Secondary School in the research area in the administration of a self-completion questionnaire, to the entire school population. It was hoped that this would enable the research to include the majority of the young people living in the area. A smaller school, in a similarly deprived area of Plymouth, was used to pilot the questionnaire on children from similarly deprived backgrounds.

Now, schools operate 'in loco parentis', and therefore have a legal obligation to safeguard the welfare and well-being of the young people left in their charge. Headteachers are not, therefore, particularly keen to have researchers disrupting the smooth running of their schools. This meant that a considerable amount of tact and diplomacy were necessary in negotiating access.

Meetings were arranged with the Headteacher of the secondary school within the research site, to discuss the nature of the research. Generally, the Head teacher was quite receptive to the idea of the research, but was also concerned about how much disruption would be caused to the school. The National Curriculum was already imposing considerable constraints upon the timetable, and the Head was concerned that a prolonged piece of research might cause some of the pupils to get behind with their work. There was concern also, that there may be opposition from the teaching staff, if there was too much disruption to lessons.

A further issue was the nature of the content of the questionnaire. The Head was not prepared to allow any questions concerning child sexual abuse, and also intimated that he would prefer the entire subject of sex and sexuality to be avoided. In many ways, this was unfortunate, because the development of sexual awareness during adolescence may be an important part of adolescent leisure, and a significant feature in the transition to adulthood. However, the focus of the study was adolescent leisure more generally, and in particular, the leisure activities of young people growing up in this deprived area of Plymouth. It was felt, therefore, that in order to gain access to this group of young people, that no attempt would be made to collect data on such issues, unless it was readily volunteered by the participants.

Nevertheless, with those provisos, the research was agreed in principle, subject to more detailed explanations of how the research would be conducted, and providing there were no major objections from the teaching staff. It was agreed that regular contact would be made, and that there would be consultation on drafts of the questionnaire. The Headteacher of the school was also invited to lunch with the researcher and the Professor of Applied Sociology, to further confirm that the research was 'official', and endorsed by the University.

The Questionnaire.

The questionnaire was designed to provide a snapshot view of the social characteristics of these socially deprived young people, and their leisure activities. Thus, the questionnaire was designed in sections, focusing on issues such as young people's social network, restrictions on their leisure, the amount of money they have, their expenditure, participation in sports, home-based leisure, participation in organised leisure, out-of-home unorganised activities, their aspirations in terms of

leisure, and their home situation. These categories were chosen after consulting questionnaires used by other researchers of young people and/or leisure, such as those used in the '16 to 19 Initiative'. It was felt that the majority of young people's leisure activities could be conceptualized within these categories. The aim was that this survey data should show general leisure trends, and variations in responses, across the age range.

The questionnaire was designed with mainly closed questions, which were precoded, as it was felt that this structured approach would be easier for these deprived young people to understand. The few open questions were directed towards the things these young people would like to do, but were unable to, and possible reasons for this. Also, anything that they did in their leisure time, which had not been covered in the questionnaire. Two further questions were included, which it was hoped would provide some measure of the internal validity and the reliability of the questionnaire. The first of these was an open question, seeking their views on the questionnaire. In the second, respondents were asked if they would be prepared to be interviewed by the researcher, at a later date. If so, they were asked to provide their name and year group. They were under no obligation whatsoever to give their name, and the utmost confidentiality was assured.

The main problem in the design of the questionnaire was wording the questions and instructions in language which could be clearly understood by all young people within the age and ability range. For example, as with most social research, every effort was made to ensure complete confidentiality. However, 'confidential' is not a word that most young people would easily understand. It was therefore substituted by the word 'secret', so that the meaning would be more readily understood. For reasons such as this, the questionnaire was moderated before piloting, by inviting children of colleagues to comment upon the first few drafts. However, these children come from

middle class backgrounds, and are likely to be far more articulate than the research sample. Nevertheless, there were bound to be some more able young people in the research sample, who could complete the questionnaire in a few minutes, and may disturb or disrupt those who took a little longer. To this end, it was decided to attach a page of puzzles to the back of the questionnaire, to give those who finished early something to occupy their time. A few minor amendments were necessary after piloting, for reasons of clarification. A copy of the questionnaire is contained Appendix A.

The Pilot Study.

The pilot study was carried out at a small secondary school, in a very deprived urban area, with similar characteristics to the main research site, with the co-operation of the Headteacher, and the Head of English. The school was built around 100 years ago, for 290 people. However, over the last five years the school population has fallen to 100, with only 16 pupils entering the first year in September 1991. The school is in a poor state of repair, and at the time of the pilot study, its future was uncertain.

The pupils at this school, like those at the larger school, used for the main survey, are likely to have a number of social difficulties. Two thirds of the pupils are deemed to be low achievers when they start, and some have a very low reading age, which could be a problem for the study. Also, the school has the additional problem of being somewhat of a 'dumping ground' for problem children excluded from schools elsewhere in the city. However, the staff are extremely committed to the children, and, knowing they will never be academic 'high-fliers', encourage them to be aware of the community at large, and the positive ways in which they can contribute to it. This is

encouraged through the curriculum, whereby pupils work with the elderly, and play groups.

For the pilot survey, a sample of two males and two females from each year were selected from the school registers. As none of the children was known to the researcher, names were simply selected at random by the researcher. This gave a total of 20 respondents for the pilot survey. However, there was no compulsion if pupils did not wish to take part. The main purpose of the pilot study was to ensure that pupils across the ability range could understand and fill in the questionnaire correctly.

Years 7 to 10 were surveyed on 20th November, 1991. However, year 11 pupils were out of school at that time, on work experience placements with local employers, and so they were surveyed separately, on 2nd December, 1991.

The sample of respondents were assembled in a classroom with the Head of English, and the researcher. It was important that the utmost confidentiality should be assured, and that the pupils should be encouraged to answer the questionnaire truthfully, with no fear of reprisal. However, it was decided that the teacher should remain in the room during the survey, but not take part in any way. If a pupil had a problem, then they were to raise their hand for the researcher to go and assist them. It was decided that the teacher should remain in the room for three main reasons. Firstly, the obvious reason of maintaining order. Although the survey was not to be seen as school work, it was felt that pupils might try to be disruptive if the researcher was left alone with them. Secondly, it was felt that pupils might be distrustful of a stranger, and it was considered important to avoid any unnecessary anxiety to the pupils, and any disruption to the school. Thirdly, there is a legal requirement for teachers and practitioners with children to be positively police vetted, a process that the researcher had not been subjected to.

The questionnaire was administered under exam conditions, although it was made clear that it was not a test in any way. Pupils were seated apart and requested not to talk during the survey. They were given an hour to complete the questionnaire, but many of them completed it in about thirty minutes. As expected, it was the poorer readers who took longer, and required most help, but everyone managed to complete it within the hour.

Generally, the pilot survey was quite successful, with no major problems. A few amendments to the questionnaire were made after piloting, but these were mainly for reasons of clarification. For example, in some instances it was necessary to emphasise the instruction part of the question, by underlining it, or putting it in bold type. Also, a number of questions asked how often the respondent engaged in particular activities. One of the response categories provided was 'Never or Seldom'. However, a number of the respondents didn't know the meaning of the word 'seldom', and so this was changed to 'Hardly Ever'.

In part two of the questionnaire are personal questions about the respondent, and the pilot highlighted a number of differences in their family backgrounds. For example, the pilot questionnaire did not include any reference to step parents, a factor which some respondents were naturally rather indignant about. Thus a question was inserted to ask whether the respondent had a step parent, and the response categories for the question on who they lived with, was extended to include step parents.

The pilot study showed that the problem of language use was a two way process. A few words needed to be changed for reasons of clarification and understanding on the part of the participants. However, there were a few open questions which required the respondents to write their answer, rather than ticking a

pre-coded box. In some cases this caused some misunderstanding on the part of the researcher. For example, the questionnaire asked respondents what their father's job was. One respondent had written, in rather shaky handwriting, what appeared to be the word 'bargos'. The researcher spent some time considering any occupation within the local economy which might correspond in some way. However, it was only in thinking about how this word might be pronounced within a South Devon dialect, that it was worked out that this young person was trying to say that his father 'burgles'! A further example of this occurred in a question asking about the sorts of things these young people spent their money on. One respondent had written 'pans and pansos'. Again, with recourse to the South Devon dialect, it was established that this meant 'pens and pencils'. This serves to illustrate some potential problems in the use of language in research, and that the problem of understanding can be a two way process.

The pilot study proved to be a useful and worthwhile exercise, both in testing the questionnaire, and the process of administration. In general terms, the questionnaire was well received by the respondents, and most of them appeared to have answered carefully and honestly. It was concluded that the questionnaire was a useful measurement instrument, and fulfilled the purpose for which it was intended, with only minor revisions.

The Questionnaire Survey.

The main questionnaire survey for the study took place at the larger school in the area, on 29th January, 1992. Unfortunately, the school attendance had suffered from a virulent strain of the 'flu' virus, as well as a few truancies, resulting in a number

of absences. Nevertheless, the survey population amounted to 173, from a possible school population of 230, thus providing a respectable response rate of 75.2 per cent.

Owing to the success of the process of administration adopted for the pilot study, it was decided to follow a similar process in administering the questionnaire for the main survey. That is, the sample of respondents were assembled in form groups, in their classroom, with the researcher and their form tutor present. As with the pilot, respondents were asked to raise their hand if they had a problem, for the researcher, rather than the teacher, to assist them.

However, it was decided that for the main study, that the entire population of the school would complete the questionnaire at the same time, and under the same conditions, in their form groups. This course was taken for a number of reasons. Firstly, the first hour on a Wednesday afternoon turned out to be a 'form period' for much of the school. So choosing this time meant that there would be only minimal disruption to lessons, and to the school more generally. Secondly, if the entire school population were surveyed at the same time, under exam conditions, then this would reduce the possibility of 'contamination'; that is, if the questionnaire was administered to different classes at different times, there was a possibility that its contents would be discussed, and that this might affect the responses of those yet to be surveyed. Thirdly, the process of survey data collection would be completed in one go, in just one hour, saving considerable time and effort on the part of the researcher.

However, this method of data collection necessitated a team of researchers, rather than the lone researcher. Thus, a team of colleagues was assembled, comprising the researcher, a Professor (who was visibly shaken by the experience!), a Principal Lecturer, fellow Research Students and Research Assistants, Administrative staff, and

responsible undergraduate students. This allowed for one researcher for each of the thirteen form groups.

As with the pilot study, there were very few problems with the administration of the survey. The confidential nature of the research was stressed, and it was emphasised that in no way was it a test; that there were no right or wrong answers, only the truth. It was also stressed that none of their teachers would see it, and that only the researcher would see what they had written. None of the respondents refused to participate, although one was convinced that the researcher was a police officer, and only agreed to participate when the researcher produced his Student Union card.

The questionnaire was largely precoded, and so the process of coding was relatively straight forward. The data were entered onto the University of Plymouth's Prime computer, and set up for statistical analysis using SPSSX.

The Interviews.

The third dimension of the methodology involved the collection of qualitative data, in the form of semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews were chosen because they allow the interviewer to ask specific questions, but is free to probe beyond them if necessary (Ackroyd and Hughes, 1992). It was felt that this flexibility was necessary, in order to maintain the focus of the research, and because the amount of time available for the interviews was relatively short.

The interview sample consisted of one male and one female from each of the five year groups. Respondents were asked in the questionnaire if they would agree to

be interviewed, and if so, to give their name and form group. Table 1 shows the response rate by age group and gender.

	Age Group						ALL
	11/12		13/14		15/16		
	M	% F	M	% F	M	% F	
Yes	52.5	68.3	44.1	53.1	48.6	25.8	47.4
No	47.6	31.6	55.9	46.9	51.4	74.2	52.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(n =	21	19	34	32	35	32	173)

Table 1: CONSENT TO INTERVIEW.

Some 47.4 per cent of the sample volunteered to be interviewed. This was considered to be a very high response rate, which indicates the positive terms in which the research was viewed by the respondents. Fifteen names were selected at random from the lists, and a letter was sent to the parents of those selected, asking for parental consent to the interviews. This provided a sample of ten interviewees, one male and one female from each year group, with some spare in case of absence.

The interviews began in May, 1992, in order to provide more subjective data, to complement and illustrate the quantitative data. The qualitative stage of the research had to commence in May, as year eleven pupils are only in school for a couple of weeks of the summer term. After this, they have only to attend when sitting GCSE examinations. Also, because of the falling numbers on the school roll, the future of the school at that time seemed very uncertain. Therefore, it was felt necessary to complete the interviews before the end of the school year in July. To this end, years 10 and 11 were interviewed on 29th April 1992; years 7 and 8 on 6th May 1992; and year 9 on 13th May 1992.

The interview schedule was designed to have a similar structure to the questionnaire, in order to facilitate analysis. Each interview lasted for approximately thirty minutes. The interviews were held in a small office, next to the school secretary's office. The secretary arranged for each of the interviewees to be collected from their class, and brought to be interviewed whenever the researcher was ready for them.

The interviews of these young people, aged eleven to sixteen, were conducted by a mature researcher, within the context of a school. Here, two major problems could have had a significant effect on the quality of the data collected. Firstly, the age of the researcher, and the research 'role' adopted. These all had to be overcome in a very short time, if the interview was to be successful. Age was something the researcher could do nothing about. Relating to young people had never been a problem before, so there was no reason why it should be a problem now. It was decided that the best approach was to be as natural as possible. Respondents were told that the interviewer was a researcher from the University, but it was also stressed that the researcher was not a teacher. The researcher therefore deliberately dressed more casually than most teachers would, to emphasise this fact.

The second possible problem, was that the interviews were taking place at a school. This was really unavoidable. The interviews could have taken place at the University, but this would have been more problematic for the interviewees. They could probably have taken place in their homes, but it was doubtful that parents would have consented to this. So it had to be the school. It was important that the interviews were not seen as school work, but it was also important that the interviews were conducted in familiar surroundings, so that the interviewees would feel as relaxed as possible.

There were no major problems with the interviews. All except one of the interviewees agreed to the interviews being tape recorded. Despite the presence of the tape recorder, the interviews proceeded in a reasonably relaxed manner. The taped interviews were transcribed for data analysis, and the one non-taped interview was written up as field notes.

It was hoped that this qualitative data would give more meaning to the quantitative data, and provide some understanding of these adolescents' perceptions of their leisure activities, and their social situation more generally. The combination of quantitative and qualitative methods, it was felt, would allow the study to progress beyond the descriptive, to a more analytical level.

Reflections on the Methodology.

The data collection process was considered to have gone well. The research had been carefully planned and conducted, and a considerable amount of data had been collected on which to base the doctoral thesis. However, on subsequent reflection, a number of ethical issues are raised in conducting research on young people, especially within the context of the school. Whereas in the USA, research on young people is governed by federal law, in Britain we have only general guidelines on ethical practice, such as those issued by the British Sociological Association. The aim of such guidelines is not, however, to provide a prescription for action, but rather to encourage an awareness of the ethical issues which may arise in the research process, and also to encourage ethical behaviour.

In the Plymouth study, ethical issues had been considered in the design of the research, for example, in the preclusion of participant observation, and the 'Detached

Youth Worker' approach. However, using the school as an arena for social research raises further ethical issues, in particular, the notion of informed consent, and also, the related issue of the power relationship within the research process.

Informed Consent.

According to Homan (1991), the main principle of informed consent is that the subjects of social research should be allowed to agree or refuse to participate, based on comprehensive information given to them concerning the nature and purpose of the research. Although the principle originates from medical practice, it is becoming more widely adopted within ethical guidelines concerning social research. For example, in the USA in 1983, the Department of Health and Human Services adopted federal regulations concerning behavioural research on children, and introduced further regulations concerning social research on children, including survey and interview research. (Stanley and Sieber, 1992).

In Britain, although restrictions on social research are not specifically embodied in law, similar issues were included in the BSA's Statement of Ethical Practice, ratified in April 1992, and published in the Association's Journal, 'Sociology', in November 1992. For example, section 1(b) of the Statement states that:

'As far as possible, sociological research should be based on the freely given informed consent of those studied. This implies a responsibility on the sociologist to explain as fully as possible, and in terms meaningful to participants, what the research is about, who is undertaking and financing it, why it is being undertaken, and how it is to be promoted.'

The Statement then goes on to provide guidance on participant's right to refuse, in section 1(b)(i):

'Research participants should be aware of their right to refuse participation whenever, and for whatever reason they wish. They should also not be under the the impression that they are required to participate.'

However, it could be argued that in all social research, respondents are 'required' to participate. All researchers want, and need, people to participate in their research. In the Plymouth study, with such a small school population, it was important that the survey was administered to as many of the school pupils as possible, for the data to be meaningful. If it had been emphasised that respondents didn't have to take part, this would have severely reduced the response rate, and consequently, the validity of the results.

In the Plymouth study, respondents were reasonably 'informed'. Each researcher introduced him/herself to the class, and explained that we were a team of researchers from the University, who were interested in the sorts of things that young people do in their spare time. It was explained that we would like each member of the class to fill in a questionnaire containing questions about their spare time activities. It was stressed that it was important to us that they told the truth, and that no-one except the researcher would see their answers. If there was anything they were unsure of, they were to raise their hand for the researcher to assist them. In this way, anonymity and confidentiality were assured. Although there was no compulsion, at no time was it stressed to the respondents that they didn't have to take part if they didn't want to.

Nevertheless, the questionnaire survey was well received by the respondents. In an attempt to provide some measure of the internal validity of the questionnaire, it was decided to include an open ended question asking respondents for their views on the questionnaire. Table 2 shows the breakdown of the main responses, by age group and gender.

Table 2: PARTICIPANT'S VIEWS ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE.

	Age Group						ALL
	11/12		13/14		15/16		
	M	% F	M	% F	M	% F	
Good/OK	55.6	80.0	69.2	70.8	57.1	57.8	64.7
Enjoyed it	11.1	6.7	-	-	-	-	2.3
Interesting	5.6	13.3	7.7	16.7	28.6	7.7	13.1
Total (Positive)	72.3	100.0	76.9	87.5	85.7	65.5	80.0
Nosey/Too Personal	16.6	-	11.6	4.2	-	26.9	10.8
Boring	11.1	-	3.8	8.3	-	3.8	2.3
Too Long	-	-	7.7	-	-	3.8	2.3
Shouldn't Have To	-	-	-	-	14.3	-	2.3
Total (Negative)	27.7	-	23.1	12.5	14.3	34.5	20.0
(Positive + Negative)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(n =	21	19	34	32	35	32	173)

It can be seen from Table 2 that the overwhelming majority of the respondents viewed the questionnaire in a very positive manner, with an overall positive response rate of 80.0 per cent. Considering the deprived nature of the area, and the poor reputation of these young people, this is a very high response rate.

The positive manner in which the questionnaire was viewed is underlined by further comments written on the questionnaire, such as:

"Glad someone is interested in me".

"It will help adults understand how we feel".

"It helps teenagers to express their feelings".

"Tells adults there's not enough to do in our spare time".

"I liked it because it was secret".

"It made me think about the things I do".

Such extended comments were made, in the main, by those respondents who were quite happy about filling in the questionnaire. Those that were unhappy about filling it in were less likely to make any extended comments, but still completed it, nonetheless. Typical of the few negative comments were:

"It was investigative".

"Shouldn't have to do it".

"Its a load of bollocks".

"It takes the piss".

Thus, everyone was provided with an opportunity to express thier feelings about taking part in the study, and it would appear that the majority were quite happy to have taken part.

Power in the Research Process.

The fact that the research took place in a school suggests an element of assumed compliance, on the part of both the researcher and researched. Schools operate through systems of rules and expected behaviour patterns, which are based on

particular power relations between teachers and pupils. Young people are socialized into this organised routine throughout their school careers. Therefore, even when a researcher enters the classroom, he or she is seen as a figure of authority, and the power relations remain.

In the Plymouth research, therefore, there was an implied obligation for the school pupils to fill in the questionnaire. Although it was stressed that it was not a test, that there were no right or wrong answers, and that it was not school work at all, the fact that it was being conducted within the school, and with the full knowledge of the teacher, implied an obligation for the questionnaire to be filled in.

The notion of power in the research process is also linked to the concept of informed consent, especially when access to participants is achieved through gatekeepers. For example, the BSA Guidelines on Ethical Practice states, in section 1(b)(iv):

'In some situations access to a research setting is gained via a 'gatekeeper'. In these situations members should adhere to the principle of obtaining informed consent directly from research participants to whom access is required, while at the same time taking account of the gatekeeper's interest. Since the relationship between research participants and the gatekeeper will continue long after the Sociologist has left the research setting, care should be taken not to disturb that relationship unduly.'

In the Plymouth study, the Headteacher was the gatekeeper, a fact that the researcher was well aware of in the negotiations over access. Whilst parental consent was obtained for the interviews, it was not considered necessary for the questionnaire survey. The Headteacher, acting 'in loco parentis', fully exercised his power as

gatekeeper, and gave his informed consent to the survey taking place within the school. In this case, the gatekeeper's interests were continually taken into account, through a series of consultative meetings.

Conclusion.

This Chapter has focused on the methodology employed in studying young people and leisure in a deprived urban area. This discussion has not merely focused on the methods employed, but on the overall strategy employed in producing knowledge about deprived young people and leisure.

The research issues were framed after an in-depth review of the existing literature into young people and leisure. In particular, the research was an attempt to provide an original contribution to sociological analyses of youth transitions, firstly by researching a younger age group than had previously been the case; and secondly, by focusing more specifically on leisure as an arena for transition.

The research techniques employed in the study were chosen after ethnographic methods were considered and rejected as problematic. It was decided, therefore, to use a combination of both quantitative and qualitative methods. Thus, quantitative data was collected through the questionnaire survey, providing a broad picture of general leisure trends, and variations in responses, across the age range. The interviews provided the opportunity to explore more deeply, the meaning attached to particular leisure experiences for these young people.

The conceptions and categories of leisure chosen, were selected after careful consideration of the conceptualizations of leisure used in previous research. Thus, the

concepts of leisure chosen had been tried and tested in previous research, and were not simply based on the value judgements of the researcher.

Some reservations have been expressed concerning the use of the school as the research site. Firstly, the resistance of the school to questions about sex is regrettable. It is likely that this may be not only an important leisure activity, but a significant feature in the transition to adulthood. Secondly, there is the problem of the extent to which young people are likely to admit to illegal activities in a school-based methodology.

Although there was an element of 'assumed compliance' in this research, it is important to acknowledge that power is a two-way process. For example, even if these young people felt compelled to do something they didn't want to do, they could very easily have spoilt the questionnaires, by giving nonsensical responses, or ticking every response. Nevertheless, the fact that 47.4 per cent of the sample volunteered to be interviewed, and 80.0 per cent passed generally favourable comments on the questionnaire, would seem to indicate that the majority of respondents answered the questions truthfully, and found their participation in this research an enjoyable experience.

It was hoped that the analysis of the survey data would generate descriptive data, in order to provide a broad picture of general leisure trends, and variations in responses, across the age range, and therefore would provide a reliable and objective data set on young people and their leisure activities in the research area. However, care needs to be taken in the use of age cohorts. The data does *not* show that individuals are changing their behaviour with age. What it shows is that these groups, who are of different ages, are exhibiting differences in behaviour. It therefore suggests that the differences are associated with age. The interviews were intended to provide

greater qualitative depth in understanding the meanings and perceptions these young people had of their personal and social lives.

The questionnaire elicited a considerable amount of demographic information about these young people, concerning the social characteristics of the young people themselves, and the area in which they live. These social characteristics are the concern of the next Chapter.

CHAPTER SIX: SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DEPRIVED YOUNG PEOPLE.

Introduction.

Chapter Five contains a fuller, more general description of the deprived area of Plymouth in which the young people in this study are growing up, the structural features of which serve to define the 'habitus' into which they have been socialized. This Chapter provides a fuller description of the social characteristics of these deprived young people, and provides evidence from the survey data which supports the view that these young people come from deprived backgrounds. Indicators of deprivation which were chosen include parental status, occupational status of parent(s), family size, and type of housing and housing tenure. This provides the contextual framework for the analysis of young people and leisure in a deprived urban area.

Age and Gender.

The survey sample of 173 consisted of 90 males and 83 females, all between the ages of eleven and sixteen. Thus the sample consisted of a slightly higher proportion of males to females - 52 per cent, compared to 48 per cent. Table 3 shows the number of males and females within each age group, as a percentage of the total.

Table 3: GENDER AND AGE COMPOSITION OF THE SAMPLE.

	Age						ALL (%)	n
	11 (%)	12 (%)	13 (%)	14 (%)	15 (%)	16 (%)		
Male	5.8	6.4	11.0	8.7	15.1	5.0	52.0	90
Female	3.5	7.6	9.9	8.7	14.0	4.3	48.0	83
ALL	9.3	14.0	20.9	17.4	29.1	9.3	100.0	

(n =	16	24	36	30	50	17	173)
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For the purpose of analysing trends, however, it was felt that the ages could be grouped more usefully into three categories. The first contains the eleven and twelve year olds. These are clearly in the early years of adolescence, and are beginning to move away from the childhood phase. The second contains the thirteen and fourteen year olds, those firmly in the teenage years, and in the middle years of adolescence. The third category contains the fifteen and sixteen year olds, those who are now moving towards adulthood. The gender composition within each of these three age groups is shown in Table 4. As Table 4 shows, there are slightly more males than females in every age group.

Table 4: GENDER BY AGE GROUP.

	Age Group			ALL (%)
	11/12 (%)	13/14 (%)	15/16 (%)	
Male	52.5	51.5	53.0	52.3
Female	47.5	48.5	47.0	47.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(n =	40	66	67	173)
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Parental Status.

As was shown in Chapter Five, the area in which the study is set is alleged to be characterised by high incidences of lone parent families. It was therefore expected that this would be reflected in the survey, and that a diversity of family structures and household forms would be illustrated. The survey showed that as many as 33 per cent of the sample had at least one step-parent. Of these, only 7 per cent were stepmothers, whilst the majority, 26 per cent, were stepfathers. This illustrates the national trend, whereby the majority of children stay with their mother after their parent's part.

Further evidence to illustrate the high incidences of lone parents in the area can be seen by an analysis of who these young people actually live with. It was discovered that 28 per cent lived with their mother or stepmother alone, while 7 per cent lived with their father or stepfather alone. Thus, 35 per cent (61) of the young people surveyed came from lone parent backgrounds. A further 58 per cent said that they lived with both parents, while 7 per cent claimed that they live with neither parent.

Local Base Statistics, derived from the 1991 census, show that 8.6 per cent of the households in this area are lone parent households. However, it is estimated that the 1991 Census contains an undercount of two per cent nationally, which is likely to be most significant in Inner City areas (OPCS, 1991). These figures are largely in line with national trends, which show the number of households containing a lone parent, with dependent children, at 10.0 per cent. (Social Trends 23, 1993).

Nevertheless, with 33 per cent of the sample claiming to have at least one step-parent, and 35 per cent claiming to live with one parent only, and with a further 7 per cent claiming to live with neither parent, it can be deduced that as few as 25 per cent

of these young people live with both of their natural parents. These figures suggest that, the number of lone parent households in the area in which this study is set, is higher than either regional or national statistics appear to show. These figures also serve to illustrate the diversity of family structures and household forms, in which these young people are living.

Occupational Status of Parents.

The socio-economic location of the family was based largely on the father's occupation. However, where this was not possible, the mother's occupational status was used. It was felt that some of these young people may not know the name of their father's or mother's job, but they may be able to describe the sort of work they do. Therefore, occupational status was assessed in two ways. Firstly, through the occupation of both their mother and father; and secondly through a description of the type of work that both, their mother and father, were engaged in. In this way it was possible to clarify the occupation of both, fathers and mothers. These were then coded according to the Registrar General's Classification, in order to obtain some understanding of the socio-economic location of these young people. Occupational status of parents is shown in Table 5.

Table 5 shows that most of these young people come from families whose socio-economic location is at the lower end of the Registrar General's Classification, with high incidences of economic inactivity for both, fathers and mothers. For the purpose of this study, 'economically inactive' has been taken to mean 'without paid employment', for whatever reason. The data shows that some 24.8 per cent of fathers, and 57.2 per cent of mothers, are economically inactive. These can be compared with national and regional figures. For example, in Spring 1992, economic inactivity among

white males over the age of sixteen, in Great Britain, stood at 22.9 per cent, while among females it was 36.0 per cent. (Social Trends 23, 1993). However, Local Base Statistics, derived from the 1991 Census, show that 29.7 per cent of males, and 55.5 per cent of females were economically inactive at that time. More recent figures obtained from Plymouth City Council show that unemployment in the area remains high, with an unemployment rate of 29.86 per cent in January 1993.

Table 5: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF PARENTS.

	Father's		Mother's	
	Occupation %	n	Occupation %	n
Higher Professional/Managerial	0.6	1	-	-
Lower Professional/Managerial	1.2	2	-	-
Supervisory/Routine Non Manual	8.1	14	21.3	37
Skilled Manual	20.2	35	3.5	6
Semi-Skilled Manual	4.0	7	-	-
Unskilled Manual	20.2	35	11.0	19
Economically Inactive	20.2	35	48.0	83
Armed Forces	6.9	12	-	-
Not Known	18.6	32	16.2	28
	100.0	173	100.0	173

Economic inactivity appeared to be particularly prevalent among lone parent households. For those respondents who lived with their lone mother, some 62.5 per cent of mothers were economically inactive. For those who lived with their lone father, some 27.3 per cent of fathers were economically inactive.

Even for those parents who are in employment, the majority are likely to be in semi-skilled, or unskilled, manual work. This, together with the high numbers of parents who are economically inactive, would seem to provide some supporting evidence that these young people come from deprived backgrounds.

Number of Siblings.

Family sizes tended to vary. Around 57.0 per cent of the sample said that they had two siblings or less, suggesting family sizes which are broadly in line with national trends. However, as Table 6 shows, a diversity of family forms were shown in the study. Table 6 shows the number of siblings respondents had.

Table 6: NUMBER OF SIBLINGS.

No of Siblings	Older Siblings		Younger Siblings		Total Siblings	
	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)
0	33.0	57	29.9	52	2.9	5
1	33.9	59	33.4	58	29.4	51
2	18.6	32	22.1	38	24.7	43
3	6.4	11	6.4	11	18.6	32
4	4.1	7	3.5	6	7.0	12
5	1.7	3	2.9	5	8.1	14
6	2.3	4	1.2	2	4.7	8
7	-	-	0.6	1	2.9	5
8	-	-	-	-	1.7	3
	100.0	173	100.0	173	100.0	173

Around a third (57) of the sample had no older brothers or sisters, while another third (33.9 per cent) had only one. A further 18.6 per cent had two. Only 8.1 per cent had four or more older siblings. A similar pattern was produced for younger siblings. Some 29.9 per cent of the sample (52) had no younger brothers or sisters, while 33.4 per cent had one, and 22.1 per cent had two. However, the pattern changes slightly when the total number of siblings is taken into account. Only 2.9 per cent of the sample (5) had no brothers or sisters at all, while 29.4 per cent of the sample had one sibling, 24.7 per cent had two, and 18.6 per cent had three. Thus, around 75.6 per cent of the sample (131) had three siblings or less. However, 24.4 per

cent (42) had four siblings or more, of which 9.3 per cent (16) claimed to have between six and eight siblings. Thus, although 57.0 per cent of the sample (99) claimed to have two siblings or less, a further 43.0 per cent (74) had three siblings or more.

These figures suggest a significant proportion of families which are larger than the national average. For example, in 1991, the average number of children, for all families with dependent children, was only 1.8. (General Household Survey, 1993). Given the high incidences of lone parentage, and high incidences of economic inactivity, larger family sizes are likely to be an additional strain on the family economy, which is also likely to have implications for the leisure activities of these young people.

Type of Housing and Housing Tenure.

Figures provided by Plymouth City Council suggest that over 75 per cent of the house holders in this area live in Council or Housing Association accommodation, with only 5 per cent being owner occupiers. This is further reflected in the fact that some 84 per cent of the housing stock in the area are flats and maisonettes, compared to only 8 per cent in Plymouth as a whole. (Plymouth City Council, January 1990). The survey results reflect this position, with around 52.9 per cent of the sample (92) living in a flat or maisonette, and 54.2 per cent of the sample (94) claiming to live in rented accommodation. Of these, almost two thirds (62) lived in a flat or maisonette. This is considerably higher than national figures, which put the number of lone parent families living in purpose built flats or maisonettes at 19.0 per cent, and other families at 6.0 per cent. (General Household Survey, 1993). However, the number living in

rented accommodation could be higher than stated, because around 22 per cent didn't know whether their home was owned or rented by their parents.

Table 7: HOUSING TYPE AND TENURE.

	Owned		Rented		Don't Know		Total	
	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)	(%)	(n)
House	18.2	32	17.7	31	10.0	17	45.9	80
Maisonette	2.9	5	11.8	20	2.9	5	17.6	30
Flat	2.4	4	24.1	42	8.8	15	35.3	61
Other	-	-	0.6	1	0.6	1	1.2	2
Total	23.5	41	54.2	94	22.3	38	100.0	173

In recent times, the City Council has decided to demolish one block of Local Authority controlled flats, because they are prey to vandalism. It is alleged that this particular block of flats, originally built in the early 1930s, loses the city council around £80,000 per year in unpaid rent, maintenance, and repairing vandalism. Factors such as these tend to emphasise the deprived nature of the area.

Conclusion.

This Chapter has focused on the social characteristics of the sample, and provides some evidence from the survey to support the fact that these young people, by and large, come from deprived urban backgrounds. Evidence is shown in the high incidences of lone parent families; high incidences of economic inactivity among parents; a significant number of family sizes which are higher than the national average; and high incidences of occupancy of run-down Local Authority accommodation.

All of these indicators support the contention that these young people come from deprived backgrounds, and this is bound to have implications for the leisure activities of young people growing up in such deprivation. This is developed further in the next Chapter, which considers the young people's self-perceptions, their social network, and their home life.

CHAPTER SEVEN: SELF, SOCIAL NETWORK, AND HOME LIFE.

Introduction.

This Chapter attempts to develop further the contextual framework outlined in Chapter Six, for the analysis of the field of leisure among this group of deprived young people. The focus of this Chapter is on these young people's self descriptions and perceptions; friends and bases of friendship; parental rules and evenings out; household chores and responsibilities; disposable income and patterns of consumption; and subjective views on the deprived area in which they live.

The self-perceptions, social network, and home life of such young people undergo a number of changes between the ages of eleven and sixteen, which influence, and accompany, a number of changes in their leisure activities. These changes can be seen to mark the beginnings of the transition to adulthood as part of the process of social and cultural reproduction.

Self Description.

Most of these young people tended to have a positive self-image, despite the fact that they are allegedly growing up in one of the most socially deprived areas in Europe. The questionnaire survey sought to obtain a general description of their self image, and this was followed up in more depth in the interviews. This was important in determining their perceptions of their own place in the transition to adulthood.

It was expected that young people between the ages of eleven and sixteen would show great variations in terms of their development or lifestage. Within this age range are those who are just leaving the childhood lifestage, and entering the 'teenage' lifestage, and there are those who feel they have almost reached full adult status. However, rather than being merely chronological stages in the lifecycle, these lifestages mark the beginnings of the transition to adulthood, as part of the process of social and cultural reproduction. These variations can be seen in terms of the respondent's self-perception, and these are illustrated in Table 8, which shows self description by age group and gender.

Table 8: SELF DESCRIPTION.

	Age Group						ALL
	11/12		13/14		15/16		
	M (%)	F	M (%)	F	M (%)	F	
Girl/Boy	81.0	47.4	17.6	9.4	2.9	3.2	22.1
Teenager	4.8	42.1	58.8	75.0	45.6	38.7	46.5
Young Man/Woman	-	-	11.8	6.2	22.9	19.4	11.6
Young Person	4.8	-	5.9	-	8.6	3.2	4.1
Young Adult	9.4	10.5	5.9	9.4	17.1	32.3	14.5
Adult	-	-	-	-	2.9	3.2	1.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(n =	21	19	34	32	35	32	173)

Table 8 shows that the majority of young people in the 11/12 age group clearly still see themselves in childlike terms, as either a boy or girl. However, males, more than females, described themselves this way, with 81.0 per cent of the males in this age group, compared to 47.4 per cent of females in this age group, giving this response. females were already identifying with the next age group, with 42.1 per cent of the females in this group of 11/12 year olds preferring to describe themselves as a 'teenager', compared to only 4.8 per cent of males.

The majority of those in the 13/14 age group chose to describe themselves as a 'teenager'. This self description was given by 75.0 per cent of the females, and 58.8 per cent of the males in this age group. However, here it was the males who were beginning to identify with the next age group, with 23.6 per cent of the males in this age group describing themselves in more adult terms, compared to 15.6 per cent of females.

Most of those in the 15/16 age group described themselves in more adult terms. Gender differences were fairly small, with 51.5 per cent of the males and 58.1 per cent of the females in this age group, choosing to describe themselves as either 'young man/woman', 'young person', 'young adult', or 'adult'.

However, during the interviews, an open question on self-description produced some very different responses to the structured responses provided in the questionnaire. Respondents of all age groups claimed that most of the time they were fairly happy with their lives, but tended to describe themselves primarily as 'healthy', 'natural', 'normal', or 'friendly'.

Females were more likely to describe themselves as 'friendly'. A typical example is VW, an 11/12 year old female:

CD: How would you describe yourself?

VW: It depends what you mean really.

CD: The type of person you are.

VW: Fairly friendly. I enjoy drama and things. I've got quite a few friends.
I'm very happy really.

This notion of friendliness, and along with it the notion of confidentiality, became more important for females as they got older. For example, TR is a 13/14 year old female:

CD: How would you describe yourself?

TR: Friendly. I listen to my friends if they're in trouble, and that.

CD: So you're the sort of person they can confide in?

TR: Yeah.

Appearance also became increasingly important in the female's self-descriptions. For example, LP is a 15/16 year old female:

CD: How would you describe yourself?

LP: Tall, dark hair. Quite attractive. Modest! Outgoing. Funny! - I've got a sense of humour! Hard working!

However, friendship and confidentiality were also very important among the older females too:

LP: I have quite a few friends, that I talk to, or I sit next to in school. But I like to have close friends that I can talk to, and tell my problems to.

Among the males, self descriptions ranged from a curious emphasis on normality, to being active. For example, RB is an 11/12 year old male:

CD: How would you describe yourself as a person?

RB: Well, natural.

CD: Yes.

RB: Normal.

CD: Alright. What do you mean by that?

RB: Well, Just like any other person!

This emphasis on normality is further illustrated by the response given by MP, another 11/12 year old male:

CD: How would you describe yourself as a person?

MP: Just normal, like. Just do anything, and that.

However among the males in the older age groups, the emphasis became one of being active. An example of this is PE, a 15/16 year old male:

CD: How would you describe yourself?

PE: Well, I'm healthy. I like sport, and gardening. I enjoy helping other people. I like having fun.

A further example of the importance of being active in the young males' self description comes from BP, another 15/16 year old male:

CD: How would you describe yourself as a person?

BP: Well, I'm quite an active person. I do a lot of sport, fishing, snooker. Generally, I like to walk around, or ride my bike. A sporty person.

In general, these data clearly show the importance of adolescence as a transitory phase between childhood and adulthood. It is a period in which their self descriptions change. The survey data shows that the majority of these young people clearly identify with the teenage years of middle adolescence, but many of them are already beginning to see themselves in more adult terms, such as 'young man/woman', 'young person', or 'young adult'. The interview data shows that, in addition to these self perceptions, young people attribute particular qualities to themselves, which they see as important to their self description. Also, the emphasis on particular qualities changes as they get older. This is a significant feature for the transition to adulthood.

Friends and Friendship.

The peer group is obviously an important arena for the development of a sense of identity, and will therefore influence the type and extent of the leisure activities that these young people engage in. Table 9 shows their Free-Time Companions; that is, with whom their free time is mostly spent.

Table 9: FREE-TIME COMPANIONS.

	Age Group						ALL		
	11/12		13/14		15/16				
	M (%)	F	M (%)	F	M (%)	F			
1. Alone/Relatives.									
Alone	9.6	10.5	14.7	6.3	14.3	3.2	9.8		
Parents	4.8	26.3	8.8	9.3	-	3.2	7.5		
Brothers/Sisters	19.0	21.1	2.9	6.2	2.9	9.7	9.2		
Other Relatives	19.0	5.3	2.9	3.1	2.9	-	4.6		
2. Single Friend.									
Boy/Girlfriend	4.8	-	14.7	6.3	14.3	22.6	11.6		
Close Friend Same Sex	9.5	21.1	26.5	21.9	14.3	6.5	16.8		
3. Group of Friends.									
Grp Friends Same Sex	14.3	5.3	5.9	18.8	14.3	6.5	11.0		
Grp Friends Both Sex	19.0	10.5	23.6	28.1	37.0	48.4	29.5		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
(n =	21	19	34	32	35	32	173)

As Table 9 shows, the majority of those in the 11/12 age group spend their free time mostly either alone, or with relatives. Some 63.2 per cent of the females in this age group, compared with 52.4 per cent of the males, spent their free time either alone, or with relatives. Females in this age group were also more likely to spend their free time mostly with their parents, while males were more likely to spend their free time mostly with other relatives.

Those in the second age group, 13/14 year olds, were more likely than 11/12 year olds to spend their free time with a single friend. Some 41.2 per cent of the males in this age group, and 28.2 of the females, fell into this category. This was more likely to be a single friend of the same sex, rather than a boyfriend or girlfriend. However, the peer group was also important for this age group, with 29.5 per cent of males, and 46.9 per cent of females spending their free time with a group of friends. This was more likely to be a group of friends of both sexes, rather than a single sex group.

Those in the 15/16 age group tended to spend their free time mostly with a group of friends. Some 51.4 per cent of males, compared to 54.9 per cent of females spent their free time mostly with a group of friends. As with the 13/14 year olds, this was more likely to be a group of friends of both sexes rather than a group of friends of the same sex. However, just under a third of both males and females in this age group spent their free time mostly with a single friend. However, for 22.6 per cent of females, compared to 14.3 per cent of males, this was more likely to be a boyfriend or girlfriend, rather than a friend of the same sex.

Females across the age groups generally had more friends than males. However, females in the lower age groups tended to have friends who were younger than they were, whereas those in the higher age groups, 15/16 year olds, tended to have friends who were older than they were. By contrast, the males across all age groups said that their friends were mostly younger than they were.

Females were also more likely to have one special friend, of the same sex, in whom they could confide if they experienced personal problems. Few of the males had a special friend, preferring to talk to a parent, or other member of the family if they were experiencing any problems.

A definite trend can be seen to emerge from these data, which is significant for the transition to adulthood. That is, in the very early stages of adolescence, at age 11/12, most young people spend their free time mostly alone, or with members of the family. By the time they reach the ages of 13/14, most of their free time is spent either with a group of friends, or a single friend of the same sex. The peer group becomes more prominent at ages 15/16, with most young people spending their free time with a group of friends of both sexes. However, at this stage, many young people are beginning to form relationships with members of the opposite sex, and so are spending their free time mostly with a boyfriend or girlfriend. This is particularly true of the females, with almost a quarter spending their free time mostly with their boyfriend.

Bases of Friendships.

Respondents were asked the main reasons for their friendships. They were presented with a list of possible bases for friendship, and asked to respond positively or negatively for each one. The positive responses are shown in Table 10.

The bases for friendships tended to be rather parochial, in that they tended to be formed with people from the immediate area, or who attended the same school. As Table 10 shows, around a half of the sample were friends with people who lived in the same street, with very little difference between the sexes, or the age groups. The school was also an important arena for the basis of friendships, particularly among the young women. However, the main reason for friendship for both males and females was that their friends liked doing the same things.

Table 10: BASIS OF FRIENDSHIPS.

	Age Group						ALL
	11/12		13/14		15/16		
	M (%)	F	M (%)	F	M (%)	F	
Like Doing Same Things	85.0	94.4	68.8	83.3	75.8	87.1	81.2
Go to Same School	76.2	77.8	59.5	74.2	50.0	74.2	67.3
Hang-out Same Places	47.4	72.2	63.6	66.7	60.6	71.0	63.6
Same Age	45.0	58.3	54.5	74.2	60.6	51.6	58.2
Similar Type of Person	40.0	76.5	55.2	60.0	54.5	64.5	57.8
Parents are Friends	55.0	66.7	61.3	48.3	45.5	50.0	53.1
Live in Same Street	50.0	44.4	48.5	54.8	51.5	61.3	52.1
Go to Same Club	33.3	44.4	28.1	40.0	60.6	9.7	35.6
Live on Same Estate	42.1	17.6	25.8	23.3	18.2	35.5	27.2

(n = 21 19 34 32 35 32 173)

The parochial nature of friendships, such as attending the same school, living in the same street, and hanging around the same places, suggests that the socialization process takes place almost entirely within this deprived habitus, and is therefore a significant feature of the process of social and cultural reproduction.

Evenings Out.

One of the main factors affecting young people's leisure opportunities, is whether or not they go out in the evenings, and if so, the number of evenings a week they go out. The survey sample were asked how many evenings they went out in the previous week. The results are shown in Table 11.

These figures seem to suggest that, generally, these young people go out in the evenings quite often, with the number of evenings out increasing with age. This

implies an increasing participation in leisure activities outside of the home, or in other people's homes.

Table 11: EVENINGS OUT IN THE LAST WEEK.

	Age Group						ALL
	11/12		13/14		15/16		
	M	% F	M	% F	M	% F	
None	15.6	26.2	18.5	6.7	6.1	3.3	11.4
1 to 3	42.2	10.6	11.2	40.0	24.2	20.1	24.7
4 to 6	21.1	26.4	29.6	30.0	36.4	53.3	34.2
All 7	21.1	36.8	40.7	23.3	33.3	23.3	29.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(n =	21	19	34	32	35	32	173)

Among the 11/12 year olds, 26.3 per cent of females, compared to 15.6 per cent of males, didn't go out on any evening in the previous week. However, 36.8 per cent of females, compared to 21.1 per cent of males, went out on every evening.

Among the 13/14 age group, males generally went out on more evenings than the females, with some 40.7 per cent of males going out on every evening, compared to 23.3 per cent of females. However, in this age group, more males than females stayed in every evening. Only 6.7 per cent of females, compared to 18.5 per cent of males, didn't go out on any evening.

However, staying in was not a popular choice among the 15/16 year olds. Only 6.1 per cent of males (2 respondents), and 3.3 per cent of females (1 respondent), didn't go out on any evening in the previous week. In this age group, some 76.6 per cent of females, compared to 69.7 per cent of males, went out on more than four evenings in the previous week.

These data show interesting gender differences, and change over time, in the number of evenings per week that these young people do go out. This is bound to have important effects on the types of leisure activities in which these young people are able to engage, and the frequency of participation.

Parental Rules.

Parental rules and concerns are likely to have a constraining effect on adolescent leisure. Therefore, respondents were asked to respond positively or negatively to a number of particular statements, which reflect parental concern and parental control. The positive responses are shown in Table 12.

Table 12: PARENTAL RESTRICTIONS.

	Age Group						ALL		
	11/12		13/14		15/16				
	M	% F	M	% F	M	% F			
Have to tell parents where I am going.	71.4	83.3	51.5	71.9	54.3	71.0	64.9		
Free to do as I Like.	15.0	41.2	50.0	50.0	52.9	58.1	47.3		
No time limits if they know where am.	38.1	33.3	47.1	41.9	45.7	36.7	41.8		
Parents are very strict about time.	28.6	61.1	29.4	40.6	29.4	38.7	36.3		
Parent's disapprove of most of my spare-time activities.	35.0	25.0	21.9	25.8	17.6	16.1	23.0		
Parent's prefer me to stay in.	19.0	6.3	6.3	9.7	14.7	17.2	12.2		
(n =	21	19	34	32	35	32	173)

These figures show that perceived levels of parental monitoring are generally quite high, although there is some evidence of an apparent general reduction in parental concern and control, as these young people progress through the age groups. Also, it would seem that females are more likely than males to be subject to these concerns and controls, which is likely to have important implications for their leisure opportunities.

The interview data also shows that these young people perceive a considerable amount of parental control and concern, particularly in the early stages of adolescence. A typical example of this is SC, an 11/12 year old female:

CD: Does your mum have particular rules about what you do and where you go?

SC: Yes. If I goes somewhere, I've got to tell her, and be back at a certain time.

CD: Do you ever go out in the evenings, or after school?

SC: I goes out for about an hour or so, then I've got to come in, 'cos it's too dark.

CD: Where do you go, when you go out?

SC: Just outside the door.

CD: So you don't go very far?

SC: No.

Within this younger age group, males were just as likely as females to be subject to strict parental controls. For example, RB is an 11/12 year old male:

CD: Do your parents have strict rules about what you do and where you go?

RB: Yeah. We've always got to be in by eight o'clock, unless we tell them we're going out. Like, if we don't tell them, we've got to be in by eight. And if we tell them we're gonna be in by a certain time, like, we've gotta be in before ten, or truthfully, before half past nine. We, like, go up our friends and play on his computer, and all that. We goes up there.

CD: So they don't mind as long as they know where you are?

RB: Yeah. We give them the house number, and that, or leave a note or something.

As these young people progress through the age groups, the parental controls appear to remain. However, the extent to which they are rigidly enforced appears to vary. Quite often they are the source of conflict between the young people and their parents. An example of this is RC, a 13/14 year old male:

CD: Do your parents have rules about what you do, or where you go?

RC: Well, they don't let me out at a certain time, and sometimes they don't like the people I hang around with.

CD: Is there any particular reason for that - do you think your parents are justified in that?

RC: No!

A similar example comes from KB, a 15/16 year old female:

CD: Do your parents have rules about what you do, or where you go?

KB: Yeah, that's why me and my mum don't get on. They have quite strict rules. Like, they don't like me staying out late, but sometimes I do, and then we has a row, and that. It's only 'cos they don't like my friends.

Most of these young people, then, are expected to tell their parents where they are going, although this is expected more of females than males. Around half of those in the 13/14 age group, and the 15/15 age group, perceived themselves as free to do as they please, and more males than females perceived that there were no time limits imposed by their parents. Generally parents were seen to be more strict about time for females, than for males. Parents were also more likely to disapprove of the spare time activities of the younger age groups, than the older age groups.

Help Around The Home.

The extent to which young people are expected to help around the home can adversely affect the amount of time they have available for leisure. Helping around the

home can be categorised in three main areas, in which young people might be expected to engage. Firstly, helping with the preparation of meals; secondly, helping with more general house work, such as cleaning and tidying the house; and thirdly, looking after brothers and sisters. Table 13 shows the extent to which these particular young people were expected to help around the home, with reference to these three main categories.

Table 13: HELP AROUND THE HOME.

	Age Group						ALL		
	11/12		13/14		15/16				
	M	% F	M	% F	M	% F			
Cook a Meal.									
Never/rarely	45.0	22.2	52.9	28.1	40.0	19.4	35.3		
Occasionally	20.0	16.7	14.7	31.3	20.0	35.5	23.5		
Regularly	35.0	61.1	32.4	40.6	40.0	45.1	41.2		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
Help with Housework.									
Never/rarely	33.3	10.5	39.4	9.7	47.1	19.4	27.8		
Occasionally	-	5.3	24.2	16.1	11.8	22.6	14.8		
Regularly	66.7	84.2	36.4	74.2	41.1	58.0	57.4		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
Look after Siblings.									
Never/rarely	40.0	36.8	66.7	43.8	50.0	56.7	50.6		
Occasionally	10.0	5.3	6.1	15.6	11.8	13.3	10.7		
Regularly	50.0	57.9	27.2	40.6	38.2	30.0	38.7		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
(n =	21	19	34	32	35	32	173)

As Table 13 shows, the majority of these young people are expected to help around the home at some time, but young women are generally more likely to do so than young men. In the 11/12 age group, some 45 per cent of the males never, or

hardly ever cooked a meal, compared to 22.2 per cent of females. Some 61.2 per cent of the females regularly cooked a meal, compared to 35.0 per cent of the males. Males in this age group were more likely to help with housework. Even so, females did so more often than males, with 84.2 per cent of females, compared to 66.6 per cent of males, regularly helping with housework. Females in this age group were also more likely to look after brothers or sisters. Some 57.0 per cent of females, compared to 50.0 per cent of males, regularly looked after siblings. This pattern of sibling-care, however, reflects the traditional pattern of working-class child-minding. Although comparative figures are not available here, it is likely that figures for sibling-care would be lower among middle-class adolescents.

Among the 13/14 age group, females were again more likely to cook a meal, with 40.6 per cent cooking regularly, and a further 31.3 per cent doing so occasionally. Among males in this age group, 52.9 per cent never cooked a meal, compared to 28.1 per cent of females. Females in this age group were again more likely to help with housework. Some 74.2 per cent of females, compared to 36.4 per cent of males, regularly helped with house work. Only 9.7 per cent of females, compared to 39.4 per cent of males, never or hardly ever helped with housework.

Females among this age group were also more likely to look after brothers or sisters. Some 66.7 per cent of the males, compared to 43.8 per cent of the females in this age group never, or hardly ever, looked after siblings. However, some 40.6 per cent of the females looked after siblings at least once a week, compared to 27.2 per cent of males. This further reflects traditional patterns of sibling-care among the working-class.

Among the 15/16 age group, differences between the genders were smaller, but females rather than males were still more likely to help around the home. For example,

some 40.0 per cent of the males, compared to only 19.4 per cent of the females, never, or hardly ever, cooked a meal. Yet 40.0 per cent of males, and 45.1 per cent of females regularly cooked a meal. Similarly, some 47.1 per cent of males in this age group, compared to only 19.4 per cent of females, never, or hardly ever, helped with housework. Yet 58.0 per cent of females, compared to 41.1 per cent of males, regularly helped with house work. However, males in this age group were more likely to look after brothers or sisters, with 38.2 per cent of males, compared to 30.0 per cent of females, looking after siblings more than once a week.

These figures indicate that most of these young people are expected to help around the home at some time. For many of these young people, it was a way of 'earning' their pocket money. Nevertheless, it is the young women who carry out these tasks more often than the young men. Thus, participation in housework follows fairly gender-typical patterns, and is indicative of the ways in which young women in particular, are socially and culturally reproduced as wives and mothers. Also, most of these tasks take place after school. Therefore, time available for leisure, particularly among the young women, is likely to be affected by the extent to which they are expected to help around the home.

Disposable Income.

Another major factor affecting the nature of young people's leisure is the amount of money they have to spend. Shortage of money was a major constraint on leisure choices for most of the young people in the study. There was widespread concern that commercial leisure provision, such as the new city centre leisure complex, was beyond the means of the majority of these young people, and yet one of its main intended purposes was leisure provision for the young.

The amount of disposable income available for leisure varied considerably. This was dependent on the source of their income, which also varied. Some received pocket money from their parents, and some received money from a part-time job, or paper round. Others had no money of their own to spend. Around 80.0 per cent of the sample received pocket money from their parents, but only 24.3 per cent of the sample claimed to have a part-time job or paper round, although many were expected to earn their pocket money by helping with housework. Table 14 shows the number of respondents who received pocket money, and those who had a part-time job or paper round, by age group and gender.

Table 14: POCKET MONEY AND PART-TIME JOB.

	Age Group						ALL
	11/12		13/14		15/16		
	M	% F	M	% F	M	% F	
Pocket Money	71.4	94.7	79.4	78.1	85.7	71.0	80.0
Part-Time Job	19.0	10.5	44.1	15.6	37.1	19.4	24.3
(n =	21	19	34	32	35	32	173)

Comparative data is difficult to find, given the paucity of research on this age group. However, one of the most recent surveys carried out on 11 to 16 year-olds, was undertaken by John Balding (1993) at the Schools Health Education Unit, at Exeter University. Balding's study is part of a longitudinal study of health related behaviour among school pupils, based on a national sample of 20,218 school pupils between the ages of 11 and 15.

The number of young people in the Plymouth study having part-time jobs was considerably lower than the national figures from Balding (1993). For example, some 28.8 per cent of the young people in Balding's study had part-time paid work,

compared to only 24.3 per cent of the Plymouth sample. However, despite the deprived backgrounds of the Plymouth sample, 80.0 per cent of the sample received pocket-money. This is broadly in line with national figures of 81.0 per cent. (Balding, 1993).

As Table 14 shows, in the 11/12 age group, around 23 per cent more females than males received pocket money, but around 9 per cent more males had part-time jobs or paper rounds. In the 13/14 age group, there is little difference between the number of males and the the number of females who receive pocket money, but around 28 per cent more males had part-time jobs. Owing to age restrictions in employment law, these part-time jobs are likely to be paper-rounds, baby-sitting, or paid housework. However, in the 15/16 age group, around 15 per cent more males than females received pocket money, and around 18 per cent more males in this age group had part-time jobs. Thus, more males than females had part-time jobs. This implies that males have more disposable income, and hence, a greater choice in leisure participation.

Table 15 shows the amount of money that these young people have to spend each week, whether from pocket-money, part-time job, or both. The largest single amount given was £35. The mean amount of money available to spend was £4.83, and the median was £3.00. This is considerably lower than the national average in Balding's (1993) study, of £8.18 per week.

In the 11/12 age group, 15 per cent of males, and 5.3 per cent of females had no money at all. Amounts of money available to spend tended to be rather small among this age group. For females, some 68.4 per cent had £2 or less per week to spend. Males had a little more, with 70 per cent of them having £3 or more per week to spend. None of the respondents in this age group had more than £15 per week.

Table 15: MONEY AVAILABLE TO SPEND EACH WEEK.

	Age Group						ALL
	11/12		13/14		15/16		
	M	% F	M	% F	M	% F	
None	15.0	5.3	3.0	3.1	-	-	3.6
Up to £2	15.0	68.4	15.2	25.0	14.7	9.7	21.7
£3 to £5	50.0	15.8	39.4	53.1	20.6	22.6	33.9
£6 to £10	10.0	5.3	30.3	12.5	41.2	41.9	25.9
£11 to £15	10.0	5.3	9.1	3.1	20.6	22.6	10.1
More than £15	-	-	3.0	3.1	2.9	16.1	4.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(n =	21	19	34	32	35	32	173)

Among the 13/14 age group, only 3.0 per cent of males, and 3.1 per cent of females had no money at all. As with the 11/12 age group, females in the 13/14 age group tended to have smaller amounts of money to spend, with 78.1 per cent having £5 or less per week. Among males, some 78.8 per cent had between £3 and £15 per week. Only 3.0 per cent of males, and 3.1 per cent of females in this age group had more than £15 per week to spend.

All of the 15 and 16 year olds had some money to spend, whether it came from pocket money, part-time job, or both. Amounts of money available tended to be higher among this age group, with 61.8 per cent of males, and 64.5 per cent of females having between £6 and £15 per week available to spend. However, some 16.1 per cent of females, compared to 2.9 per cent of males, had more than £15 per week to spend. This is somewhat surprising, given that considerably more males than females in this age group had part-time jobs.

These data illustrate that there are wide variations in the amount of money that these young people have; that amounts of money available to spend tend to be rather

small among the 11/12 year olds, and generally tend to increase as these young people progress from one age group to another. Nevertheless, for the majority of these young people, their disposable income is way below the national average, providing further evidence to support their deprived status. Further, the small amounts of money available is likely to have an adverse effect on their patterns of consumption, and also their leisure choices.

However, the majority of these young people seemed reasonably satisfied with the amount of money they have to spend. Table 16 shows the views that these young people have of the amount of money they have to spend each week.

Table 16: VIEWS ON AMOUNT OF MONEY AVAILABLE.

	Age Group						ALL
	11/12		13/14		15/16		
	M	% F	M	% F	M	% F	
About enough	57.2	77.8	73.5	56.2	62.8	54.8	62.8
Not really enough	9.5	22.2	20.6	43.8	28.6	38.7	29.1
Not nearly enough	33.3	-	5.9	-	8.6	6.5	8.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(n =	21	19	34	32	35	32	173)

The males in the 11/12 age group appeared to be the most dissatisfied with the amount of money they have to spend, and the females in this age group were the most satisfied, despite the fact that males in this group got more than the females. However, overall some 62.8 per cent claimed that the amount of money they had to spend each week was 'about enough'. A further 29.1 per cent claimed that it was 'not really enough', and a further 8.1 per cent thought that it was 'not nearly enough'. This would seem to indicate that, although the amounts of money available were quite

small, the majority of these young people are reasonably content with the amount of money they have.

Patterns of Consumption.

Respondents were asked how often they spent their own money on a range of items. This range of items can be divided into five broad areas of expenditure: items related to appearance; items related to entertainment; food items; items which might be regarded as 'adult oriented leisure items'; and miscellaneous items.

Expenditure on items relating to appearance included clothes, shoes, toiletries, and make-up. Table 17 shows the frequency of expenditure on items related to appearance, by age group and gender. Overall, only 15.3 per cent of the sample regularly spent money on appearance-related items. This is considerably lower than national figures collected by Balding (1993), which show that as many as 37.0 per cent of the young people in this age group regularly spend money on items related to appearance.

Generally, females tended to spend money on items related to appearance more often than males. More older females than younger females spent money on appearance related items, but younger females claimed that they did so more frequently. Older males were more likely than younger males to spend money on their appearance.

Table 17: FREQUENCY OF EXPENDITURE ON ITEMS RELATED TO APPEARANCE.

	Age Group						ALL	
	11/12		13/14		15/16			
	M	% F	M	% F	M	% F		
Clothes.								
Never/rarely	71.4	36.8	60.6	43.8	34.3	16.1	42.7	
Occasionally	14.3	21.1	36.4	43.8	51.4	80.6	43.9	
Regularly	14.3	42.1	3.0	12.4	14.3	3.3	13.4	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Shoes.								
Never/rarely	66.7	31.6	58.8	62.5	64.7	58.1	58.1	
Occasionally	19.0	52.6	38.2	28.1	29.4	41.9	41.9	
Regularly	14.3	15.8	3.0	9.4	5.9	-	-	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Toiletries.								
Never/rarely	76.2	52.6	84.4	36.7	54.3	26.7	54.5	
Occasionally	9.5	10.5	3.1	23.3	28.6	26.7	18.0	
Regularly	14.3	36.9	12.5	40.0	17.1	46.6	27.5	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Make-up.								
Never/rarely	90.0	50.0	93.1	37.5	93.5	41.9	67.3	
Occasionally	-	27.8	3.4	37.5	3.2	38.7	19.1	
Regularly	10.0	22.2	3.5	25.0	3.3	19.4	13.6	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
All Appearance Items.								
Never/rarely	76.1	42.7	74.2	45.1	61.7	35.7	55.7	
Occasionally	10.7	28.0	20.3	33.1	28.1	47.0	29.0	
Regularly	13.2	29.3	5.5	21.8	10.2	17.3	15.3	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
(n =	21	19	34	32	35	32	173)

A second category, more directly related to leisure, included expenditure on items related to entertainment. These included items such as records, tapes, and CDs; video hire; computer games; books; and comics and magazines. Table 18 shows the frequency of expenditure on entertainment related items, by age group and gender.

Table 18: FREQUENCY OF EXPENDITURE ON ITEMS RELATED TO ENTERTAINMENT.

	Age Group						ALL		
	11/12		13/14		15/16				
	M	% F	M	% F	M	% F			
Records/Tapes/CDs.									
Never/rarely	63.2	41.2	34.4	40.6	23.5	38.7	38.2		
Occasionally	15.8	47.1	53.1	34.4	44.1	44.8	41.8		
Regularly	21.0	11.7	12.5	25.0	32.4	16.5	20.0		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
Comics/Magazines.									
Never/rarely	65.0	72.2	50.0	40.6	51.5	48.4	52.4		
Occasionally	5.0	22.2	28.1	28.1	27.3	19.4	22.9		
Regularly	30.0	5.6	21.9	31.3	21.2	32.2	24.2		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
Video hire.									
Never/rarely	65.0	68.4	43.8	65.6	48.6	61.3	57.1		
Occasionally	5.0	10.5	18.8	12.5	20.0	29.0	17.1		
Regularly	30.0	21.1	37.4	21.9	31.4	9.7	25.8		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
Computer games.									
Never/rarely	52.4	57.9	43.8	75.0	58.8	86.7	63.1		
Occasionally	9.5	10.5	28.1	12.5	23.5	10.0	16.7		
Regularly	38.1	31.6	28.1	12.5	17.7	3.3	20.2		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
Books.									
Never/rarely	61.9	52.6	65.6	56.3	69.7	67.7	63.3		
Occasionally	19.0	26.3	18.8	34.4	24.2	29.0	25.4		
Regularly	19.1	21.1	15.6	9.3	6.1	3.3	11.3		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
All Entertainments.									
Never/rarely	61.5	58.5	47.5	55.6	50.4	60.6	54.8		
Occasionally	10.7	23.3	29.4	24.4	27.8	26.4	24.8		
Regularly	27.8	18.2	23.1	20.0	21.8	13.0	20.4		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
(n =	21	19	34	32	35	32	173)

Overall, regular expenditure on these items of entertainment, which are all home-based entertainment items, declined with age for both males and females. However, the number of respondents regularly spending money on such items (20.4

per cent) was slightly higher than the national average of 18.0 per cent. (Balding, 1993).

Males were more likely than females to spend money on entertainment related items, and younger males generally spent money in this area more frequently than older males. These findings are broadly in line with the findings of other studies. (Hendry, 1983; Hendry et al, 1993; Balding, 1993). Within this category, computer games appeared to be the most popular item among males, although this appeared to decline with age. For example, among the 11/12 age group, some 38.1 per cent of males spent money on computer games regularly. Among the males in the 13/14 age group, this figure had declined to 28.1 per cent; and among the 15/16 age group, it had fallen to 17.7 per cent.

The hire of videos was also a popular item of expenditure among the males. Some 30.0 per cent of males in the 11/12 age group, spent money on the hire of videos regularly, compared to 21.1 per cent of females. This increased to 37.6 per cent among males in the 13/14 age group, but remained roughly the same for females, at 21.9 per cent. The hire of videos among the among the 15/16 age group remained at a similar level for males, but declined among females. Some 31.4 per cent of males in this age group hired videos regularly, compared to only 9.7 per cent of females.

Records, Tapes, and CDs comprised a third category of popular items of expenditure among the males, with 21.0 per cent of males in the 11/12 age group spending money on these items regularly, compared to 11.7 per cent of females. Among the 13/14 age group, this figure had declined for males, to 12.5 per cent, but had risen to 25.0 per cent among the females. Among the 15/16 age group, the number of males regularly buying records, tapes, and CDs had risen to 32.4 per cent, but had declined among females, to 16.5 per cent. These figures show considerable

variance with national figures, which show that 23.7 per cent of young people in this age range regularly buy CDs, Records, and Tapes.

By far the most popular area of expenditure for all age groups appeared to be fast food, softdrinks, and snacks. Table 19 shows the frequency of expenditure on such food items.

Table 19: FREQUENCY OF EXPENDITURE ON FOOD ITEMS.

	Age Group.						ALL		
	11/12		13/14		15/16				
	M	% F	M	% F	M	% F			
Crisps/sweets.									
Never/rarely	23.8	15.8	15.2	3.1	8.6	16.1	12.9		
Occasionally	9.5	15.8	3.0	12.5	22.9	12.9	12.9		
Regularly	66.7	68.4	81.8	84.4	68.5	71.0	74.2		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
Softdrinks.									
Never/rarely	20.0	11.1	11.8	15.6	8.8	16.1	14.1		
Occasionally	15.0	16.7	11.8	3.1	17.6	16.1	12.9		
Regularly	65.0	72.2	76.2	81.3	73.3	67.8	73.0		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
Fast-food.									
Never/rarely	33.3	31.6	28.1	40.6	14.7	32.3	29.4		
Occasionally	4.8	21.1	15.6	18.8	38.2	29.0	22.4		
Regularly	61.9	47.3	56.3	40.6	47.1	38.7	48.2		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
All Food Items.									
Never/rarely	25.7	19.5	18.4	19.8	10.7	21.5	18.8		
Occasionally	9.8	53.6	10.1	11.5	26.2	19.3	16.1		
Regularly	65.5	26.9	71.5	68.7	63.1	59.2	65.1		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
(n =	21	19	34	32	35	32	173)

Only 18.8 per cent never, or hardly ever, spent money on food items, while a further 16.1 per cent did so occasionally. However, some 65.1 per cent of the sample

regularly spent money on food items. This is considerably higher than the national average of 56.4 per cent. (Balding, 1993).

The most popular food items were crisps and sweets, and softdrinks. Females tended to buy these items more than males, and frequency of expenditure on these items is highest among the 13/14 year olds. For example, among the 13/14 year olds, some 84.4 per cent of the females regularly bought crisps and sweets, compared to 81.8 per cent of males. Also, some 81.3 per cent of females in this age group regularly bought softdrinks, compared to 76.2 per cent of the males. Expenditure on food items generally, then, is higher amongst this group of deprived young people than the national average.

A fourth area of expenditure consists of items which are more usually associated with adult leisure. These are items such as alcohol, cigarettes, and illegal drugs. Items such as alcohol and cigarettes are marketed specifically for adult users, and the purchase of all of these items is restricted by law. Table 20 shows the frequency of expenditure on such adult oriented leisure items.

Expenditure on alcohol among the 11/12 age group was extremely low. None of the males claimed to ever spend money on alcohol, but 5.3 per cent of the females claimed they bought alcohol occasionally. This is much lower than the national figures for this age group, which show that 8.9 per cent of males, and 3.6 per cent of females in the 11/12 age group regularly bought alcohol. (Balding, 1993).

Table 20: EXPENDITURE ON ADULT ORIENTED LEISURE ITEMS.

	Age Group						ALL	
	11/12		13/14		15/16			
	M	% F	M	% F	M	% F		
Alcohol.								
Never/rarely	100.0	94.7	59.4	87.5	59.4	67.7	78.0	
Occasionally	-	5.3	28.1	12.5	15.6	19.4	4.3	
Regularly	-	-	12.5	-	24.9	12.9	17.7	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Cigarettes.								
Never/rarely	90.5	94.4	80.6	84.4	66.7	62.1	75.4	
Occasionally	9.5	-	3.2	9.4	-	3.4	15.0	
Regularly	-	5.6	16.2	6.2	33.3	34.5	9.6	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Illegal Drugs.								
Never/rarely	90.0	100.0	90.9	90.3	75.0	96.7	89.7	
Occasionally	10.0	-	-	9.7	6.3	-	4.2	
Regularly	-	-	9.1	-	18.7	3.3	6.1	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
(n =	21	19	34	32	35	32	173)

As Table 20 shows, the majority of the sample never or hardly ever spent their own money on these items. However, the table does show a clear increase in the numbers of young people buying these items, and an increase in the frequency of purchase, as they get older. This is broadly in line with national trends.

Among the 13/14 age group, the number of females spending money on alcohol occasionally had more than doubled, to 12.5 per cent. This is higher than the national figures for females in this age group, which show that 8.4 per cent regularly bought alcohol. Among males in this age group, expenditure had increased dramatically. More than a third were now spending money on alcohol, with 28.1 per cent buying alcohol occasionally, and a further 12.5 per cent claiming to do so regularly. This is also higher than national figures, which show that 11.6 per cent of males in this age group regularly bought alcohol. (Balding, 1993).

In the 15/16 age group, almost a third of the females were now buying alcohol, with 19.4 per cent doing so occasionally, and a further 12.9 per cent doing so regularly. Among the males, the numbers buying alcohol had not increased, but the frequency of purchase was greater. Thus, some 15.6 per cent of males in this age group claimed to spend money on alcohol occasionally, and a further 21.9 per cent did so regularly. These figures are also higher than national figures, which show that 24.4 per cent of males, and 20.0 per cent of females in this age group regularly bought alcohol. (Balding, 1993).

A similar pattern emerges in the purchase of cigarettes. Among the 11/12 age group, some 9.5 per cent of males bought cigarettes occasionally, but none did so on a regular basis. Among females, none claimed to buy cigarettes occasionally, but 5.6 per cent claimed to do so regularly. This compares with Balding's (1993) national figures, which show that 2.9 per cent of males, and 3.5 per cent of females in this age group regularly bought cigarettes.

Among the 13/14 age group, some 9.4 per cent of the females bought cigarettes occasionally, while 6.3 per cent did so regularly. This was lower than the national average for females in this age group. For example, Balding (1993) found that 11.6 per cent of females in this age group were regularly buying cigarettes. However, in this age group, there was an increase in the number and frequency of young men spending money on cigarettes. Some 16.1 per cent of males in this age group were regularly buying cigarettes, of which 9.7 per cent did so every day. A further 3.2 per cent of males did so occasionally. This was higher than the national figures, which show that 8.5 per cent of males in this age group regularly bought cigarettes.

The purchase of cigarettes was greater in the 15/16 age group, with around a third of both males and females regularly buying cigarettes. The frequency of purchase for both, males and females, was greater in this age group, with 24.2 per cent of males, and 17.2 per cent of females buying cigarettes every day. This was considerably higher than the national figures, which show that only 15.7 per cent of males in this age group, and 20.7 per cent of females, regularly bought cigarettes. (Balding, 1993).

A related area is the use of illegal drugs. The use of drugs among young people has become increasingly more prevalent during the early 1990s, particularly through the 'Rave' phenomenon, and its association with the use of the drug 'Ecstasy'. Recently, there has been considerable media concern about the increased use of drugs by young people in Plymouth, and the strategies used by young people to obtain money with which to buy drugs. However, there is little evidence here to suggest that the use of drugs is widespread among this particular group of eleven to sixteen year olds. This may reflect a methodological problem, as it is difficult to assess the reliability of self-completion questionnaires in eliciting data on illegal activity.

Nevertheless, there does seem to be an increase in participation with age, especially among the males. Among the 11/12 age group, as many as 10.0 per cent of the males claimed to spend money on drugs occasionally, although none of the females in this age group did. In the 13/14 age group, the numbers of males and females buying drugs were fairly even, but the frequency of purchase was higher for males than females. Some 9.7 per cent of females spent money on drugs occasionally, while 9.1 per cent of males did so regularly. In the 15/16 age group, some 3.3 per cent of the females spent money on drugs regularly. However, in this age group, almost a quarter of the males spent money on drugs at some time. As many as 18.8 per cent of the males in this age group claimed to be regularly spending money on

drugs, with 6.3 per cent of those doing so every day. A further 6.3 per cent of males spent money on drugs occasionally. Of course, the controversial nature of the subject suggests that these figures might not be a true representation of the extent of drug use by these young people. However, they do show an increase over time, and the fact that a number of these young people were prepared to admit to buying drugs at some time, suggests that this may be the tip of a very large iceberg.

Other areas of expenditure included sport equipment or kit; stationery items, such as pens, pencils, or paper; and savings. Frequency of expenditure on such items is shown in Table 21.

Sport equipment was not a popular area of expenditure. Some 63.1 per cent claimed that they never, or hardly ever, spent money on sport kit, while 27.4 per cent did so occasionally. Only 9.6 per cent spent money on sport equipment on a regular basis. Expenditure on sport equipment was more frequent among males in the 13/14 age group, and the 15/16 age group. Females spent money on sport equipment more often than males in the 11/12 age group. However, expenditure on sport equipment for females declines rapidly with age, with 21.0 per cent of females in the 11/12 age group regularly buying sport equipment, compared to only 3.2 per cent of females in the 15/16 age group.

Stationery items were more popular, with only 33.1 per cent claiming that they never, or hardly ever, spent money this way. Some 36.7 per cent bought stationery items occasionally, and a further 30.2 per cent did so regularly. Expenditure on items such as pens, pencils, paper, etc, declines with age, and is more prominent among females than males.

Table 21: FREQUENCY OF EXPENDITURE ON OTHER ITEMS.

	Age Group						ALL		
	11/12		13/14		15/16				
	M	% F	M	% F	M	% F			
Stationery items.									
Never/rarely	45.0	5.3	35.5	22.6	48.6	33.3	31.1		
Occasionally	5.0	26.3	41.9	51.6	28.6	53.3	36.7		
Regularly	50.0	68.4	22.6	25.8	22.8	13.4	30.2		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
Savings.									
Never/rarely	52.6	33.3	53.1	50.0	42.4	32.3	44.2		
Occasionally	5.3	16.7	25.0	30.0	18.2	51.6	26.4		
Regularly	42.1	50.0	21.0	20.0	39.4	16.1	29.4		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
Sport equipment/kit.									
Never/rarely	76.2	63.2	45.5	83.9	45.5	71.0	63.1		
Occasionally	19.0	15.8	42.4	9.7	42.4	25.8	27.4		
Regularly	4.8	21.0	12.1	6.4	12.1	3.2	9.5		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
(n =	21	19	34	32	35	32	173)

There appeared to be an element of 'thrift' amongst these young people, despite the small amounts of money they receive. Some 44.2 per cent claimed that they never, or hardly ever put money into savings. A further 26.4 per cent did so occasionally. However, as many as 29.4 per cent of the sample saved money on a regular basis. Females generally saved more than males, although frequency of saving decreased with age.

Views on the Deprived Area.

Most of these young people were reasonably happy about living at home. However, many of them were less happy about the deprived area in which they are

growing up. Many of them commented on the rough nature of the area, and the high incidences of vandalism. The following are typical comments:

VW: It's really, really rough, and there's always cars being blown up.

This led to some feelings of insecurity, especially among the younger ones. For example, SC is an 11/12 year old female:

CD: When you go out in the evening, do you just stay near your home? You don't go anywhere else?

SC: I won't go anywhere else. I won't take that chance. Not in this area, anyway.

CD: What do you think of this area?

SC: In some places it's alright, but it's a bit scruffy! And there's a lot of bad language, and I don't like that.

CD: Does it frighten you to be out on your own?

SC: Yes. Like, if I go to call for someone, and they're not in, I'll go straight back home. I won't stay out.

Males in this age group were rather more ambivalent about the area in which they live:

RC: Well it's a bit of a rough area, but it's alright.

Among the older males, there seemed to be some doubt about the extent of the vandalism. The local press has constantly reported on the high incidences of vandalism in the area, and in particular, the practice of setting fire to cars. It was largely thought that these attacks were carried out by older youths. However, one 15/16 year old male claimed that younger people were involved, but they tended to exaggerate their involvement:

CD: A lot of the problems in the area seem to be caused by older teenagers. Do you think that's true?

PE: No. You get a lot of boys coming into school, saying that they have blown

- up cars, and that.
- CD: Do you think they have?
- PE: Well it's something to boast about, really. It's just a pity. There's nothing big about that.
- CD: So you think it's true, they really are doing these things?
- PE: Well, they probably have, once or twice. But some of them exaggerate, and say they blew up six cars the night before, and stuff like that!
- CD: Do you think it's because they are hanging around with older boys?
- PE: Yeah. They're like sheep, following each other.

Among the older age groups, there was generally more discontent with the area.

Typical of these was LP, a 15/16 year old female:

- LP:I don't like the area, 'cos sometimes it gets pretty noisy, and there's vandalism, and all that.

Similarly, BP, a male in this older age group, expressed his dislike for the area, and suggested that the decline had been fairly recent:

- CD: Are you generally happy where you live?
- BP: Yeah, we've got a nice house. I'm not really happy where we live, like in (this area), with all the crime going on. That's a bit of a pain. I'd like to live in the same house, but somewhere else, really.
- CD: How long have you lived in the area?
- BP: All my life.
- CD: What about your parents?
- BP: My mum's always lived in (this area), and my dad.
- CD: So do you think they've seen a change in that time?
- BP: Like, in the last six years it's gone from a really nice area, down to, like, the slum of Plymouth, with all the trouble that's going on.
- CD: Why do you think that is?
- BP: Well, there's always been a lot of young people in (this area) and they've turned bad, and their friends have joined them, and they think they can control the streets.

However, despite the general comments on the 'rough' nature of the area, there are no suggestions that fears for personal safety influence the leisure activities of the sample groups.

Conclusion.

This Chapter has focused on these young people's self-descriptions and perceptions; friends and bases of friendships; parental rules and evenings out; household chores and responsibilities; disposable income and patterns of consumption; and their subjective views on the deprived area in which they live. All of these issues are important in determining the nature of leisure for these young people. Further, the changes taking place between the ages of 11 and 16, in terms of self-perception, social network, and home-life, are an important part of the transition to adulthood, as part of a process of social and cultural reproduction.

Despite the deprived nature of the area, most of these young people tended to have a positive self-image. However, the transitory nature of the years between the ages of 11 and 16 can be illustrated in the changing nature of these young people's self-descriptions and perceptions. During this period, self perceptions change, from a view of the self in fairly childlike terms, such as 'boy', 'girl', or 'teenager', to a view of the self as a 'young adult'.

The social network widens during this period. There is a movement away from members of the family as free-time companions, towards an emphasis on the peer group. The increasing importance of the peer group has important implications for the types of leisure activities that these young people engage in. However, relationships with a member of the opposite sex are also beginning to develop, especially among the young women. This movement of free-time companions from family, to peer group, to boy/girlfriend, can be seen as a significant feature in the transition to adulthood.

As Jones and Wallace (1992) argue, during youth, access to consumer markets brings for some the possibility of new forms of freedom, independence, and choice. However, conversely, young people's choice in the market-place, and their power as consumers, are structured by their financial means. Becoming a consumer, then, can be seen as an important part of the transition to adulthood, but is obviously restricted according to young people's disposable income. This is particularly true of this group of young people, the vast majority of whom had disposable incomes far below the national average for this age group, of £8.18 per week. (Balding, 1993).

The data presented in this Chapter serve to further define the nature of the deprived habitus into which these young people have been socialized. The data also show that the years between the ages of 11 and 16 are important for the transition to adulthood. The changes illustrated in this Chapter regarding self-perception, social network, and home-life, have important implications for the field of leisure among these young people, and this is the focus of the next Chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT: DEPRIVED YOUNG PEOPLE AT LEISURE.

Introduction.

In Chapters Six and Seven, consideration was given to a number of structural features of these young people's lives, which may have some bearing on their leisure. In short, these Chapters serve to describe the 'habitus' which these young people inhabit. The culture of the habitus, it is hypothesised, will greatly influence these young people's leisure.

This Chapter presents the findings of the research, regarding the spare-time activities of these young people. The Chapter begins with some consideration of the meaning of leisure among these deprived adolescents, before going on to consider their actual leisure activities. The analysis focuses on six areas of leisure activity: home-based leisure; out-of-home organised leisure; out-of-home unorganised leisure; participation in sports; cultural activities, and illegal activities.

Against these general aims, the analyses focus on the more specific aims of the research: to consider the utility of the concept of leisure in an analysis of deprived young people's spare-time activities; to consider ways in which social class, culture, and social and economic deprivation affect adolescent leisure; to consider the significance of the changing nature of leisure activities during adolescence for the transition to adulthood; and to consider the gender differences in adolescent leisure practices, and their significance for the transition to adulthood.

Defining Leisure.

In Chapter One, some consideration was given to the meanings and definitions of 'leisure', and concluded that the term is problematic when applied to young people. The problematic nature of adolescent leisure, it was argued, lie in the extent to which it is characterized by either choice or constraint, and is perceived as such by the young people themselves. It was concluded that the study of leisure should begin, therefore, from the meanings of leisure, as perceived by those under investigation.

Most of these young people had some vague idea of the meaning of leisure. However, many of them saw leisure simply as 'sports'. The dichotomy between work and leisure was also problematic. For example, many were unsure where the school, or doing housework, fitted into this conceptualisation of leisure. This was particularly true of the younger age groups. For example, SC is an 11/12 year-old female:

CD: What do you think the word 'leisure' means?

SC: Well, sports.

CD: Is that all, just sports?

SC: Dunno.

CD: What about watching television, do you think that's leisure?

SC: No.

CD: What about going to school?

SC: Yes.

CD: You'd say that was leisure?

SC: Yes.

CD: What about doing the housework?

SC: Dunno.

Similarly, VW is an 11/12 year old female:

CD: What do you think the word 'leisure' means?

VW: Well, I actually see it as sports and things, like swimming and that. But I can't swim!

CD: So you mostly associate leisure with sport?

VW: I don't mind sport, but I just can't swim. That's a bit awkward sometimes, with my friends going swimming.

CD: Do you think things like watching TV are leisure?

VW: Well, obviously. That's more of a hobby, I would say. I like watching television - watching 'Neighbours'!

The younger males appear to have a more general idea of the meaning of leisure. For example, RB is an 11/12 year old male:

CD: What does the word 'leisure' mean for you?

RB: Relaxing! And, like, my hobbies do you mean?

CD: Well, anything. What do you think leisure means for you? You've said relaxing.

RB: Like, with no people nagging on at me? Oh, football. I likes that! That's relaxing. And I go to Marines (cadets), that's alright. Oh, and sitting in my bed and watching tele!

Similarly, MP is another 11/12 year old male:

CD: What do you think the word 'leisure' means?

MP: Well, what you do at night time, and that. When you go out and all things like that.

CD: Do you think watching TV would be part of leisure?

MP: No.

CD: What would you think that was?

MP: Boring!.

Those in the middle age groups, the 13/14 year olds, were less forthcoming. Many in this group saw leisure simply as 'having a good time', or 'going out places'. However, those in the older age group, like the younger ones, clearly identified leisure with sport. For example, KB is a 15/16 year old female:

CD: What do you think the word 'leisure' means?

KB: Well, like sports and that.

CD: What about things like watching television, or listening to music?

KB: Well, yeah, I suppose so.

Similarly, PE is a 15/16 year old male:

CD: What do you think the word 'leisure' means?

PE: Things like going swimming. Going up the park for a game of football.
Stuff like that. Spare time stuff.

Also, BP is another 15/16 year old male:

CD: What do you think the word 'leisure' means?

BP: Activities. Leisure to me is doing sporty things, like ice skating down the Pavillions, and swimming, and stuff like that.

CD: What about watching TV, or listening to music? Would you class those as leisure?

BP: Well, sort of.

Perhaps the best general understanding of the word leisure came from LP, a 15/16 year old female:

CD: What do you think the word 'leisure' means?

PL: Things you enjoy, like sport, or going out with friends, watching TV, and things like that. Going shopping. Just getting away from the things you have to do, like school and work.

These data show that the concept of leisure is problematic, especially when it is applied to a group of deprived adolescents. Leisure is a middle-class concept, implying choice. Also, leisure as a meaningful concept is largely predicated on adult status. That is, adults have leisure activities, while children merely play. Adolescent leisure is therefore an ambiguous concept. Too old to play, and yet too young to participate in adult leisure activities, leaves these young people with little to do. This is further compounded by their deprived status, and their lack of both economic and cultural capital. These young people therefore have little choice in their spare time activities, and as the following sections show, participation rates in most spare time activities are generally very low.

Home Based Leisure.

On the face of it, the home appears to be an important arena for the spare time activities of the majority of these young people. Other studies of adolescent leisure have also found this to be the case (Hendry, 1983; Hendry et al, 1993). Some 60.4 per cent of the sample said that they preferred to spend most of their spare time at home, or at a friend's house. However, 47.1 per cent also said that, in their view, anything is better than staying at home, even if there is nowhere special to go. This would seem to indicate a dichotomy between home-based leisure, and out of home leisure activities. However, the range of activities at home, in which these young people engage appears to be rather limited.

Personal space within the home is important for adolescents, as it provides a place, a 'haven' of their own. It is somewhere where they can contemplate their own identity, and express that identity through the display of personal possessions, such as pop posters, or football scarves etc. It is also somewhere where friends can be entertained. Personal space within the home is therefore an important factor in determining home based leisure practices. It was found that as many as 67.6 per cent of the sample had a room of their own at home. Thus the majority of these young people had their own space within the home, despite the fact that many of them live in local authority or housing association flats or maisonettes, which often tend to be quite small.

Leisure activities in the home can be seen to take a number of forms, some of which are quite solitary, and others which are undertaken with other people, such as family and friends. Most of these young people, some 72.6 per cent of the sample, were regularly allowed to have their friends round to the house, with 33.9 per cent of

those doing so every day. Thus, having friends round is an important part of home based leisure.

Audio-Visual Entertainment.

Table 22 shows participation in a range of leisure pursuits, related to audio-visual entertainment, by age group and gender. Such audio-visual entertainments include watching TV, watching videos, listening to music, or playing with a home computer.

Table 22: PARTICIPATION IN AUDIO-VISUAL ENTERTAINMENT.

	Age Group						ALL		
	11/12		13/14		15/16				
	M	% F	M	% F	M	% F			
Watch TV.									
Never/rarely	-	5.3	5.9	-	2.9	-	2.3		
Occasionally	4.8	-	2.9	-	-	-	0.6		
Regularly	95.2	94.7	91.2	100.0	97.1	100.0	97.1		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
Watch videos.									
Never/rarely	23.8	26.3	17.6	18.8	5.7	3.2	14.5		
Occasionally	14.3	10.5	8.8	3.1	14.3	16.1	11.0		
Regularly	61.9	63.2	73.6	78.1	80.0	80.7	74.5		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
Listen to Music.									
Never/rarely	19.0	10.5	11.8	3.1	5.7	-	7.6		
Occasionally	4.8	-	17.6	-	2.9	-	4.7		
Regularly	76.2	89.5	70.6	96.9	91.5	100.0	87.7		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
Computer/Games.									
Never/rarely	23.8	52.6	20.6	43.3	42.4	61.3	40.5		
Occasionally	9.5	10.5	8.8	20.0	6.1	12.9	8.9		
Regularly	66.7	36.9	70.6	36.7	51.5	25.8	50.6		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
(n =	21	19	34	32	35	32	173)

Watching television was by far the most popular leisure activity in the home. Some 97.1 per cent of the sample watched TV regularly, of which 87.8 per cent did so every day. Only 2.9 per cent said that they never, or only occasionally watched TV. There were few differences in terms of gender, or age group. More of this group of young people appear to watch TV than national figures show. For example, Balding, (1993) found that around 10-15 per cent of young people watched no television at all, while around 50 per cent watched for between one and two hours every day.

Watching videos was also popular, with 74.4 per cent of the sample watching videos regularly. Of these, 27.9 per cent did so every day. Again, gender differences were minimal, although females in the younger age group watched videos slightly more often than males. However, there was a general increase in the frequency of watching videos between the age groups. Again, many more of these young people watched videos than national figures show. Balding's (1993) data shows that only 14.1 per cent of his sample watched videos at any time.

The importance of television and video in these young people's leisure is further illustrated in the interviews. Most of these young people said that the 'Soaps', such as Neighbours, Home and Away, and Brookside, were their favourite programmes. This was particularly true of the females. For example, TR is a 13/14 year old female:

CD: Do you watch TV very much?

TR: All the time!

CD: What sort of programmes do you like?

TR: Neighbours, Home and Away, By George.

CD: Do you watch videos very often?

TR: Yeah.

CD: Do you hire those from a video shop?

TR: My dad's friend has got a lot of videos, and we borrow them off of him.
Or we rent them from the video shop.

The emphasis on watching the 'Soaps' is further illustrated by KB, a 15/16 year old female:

CD: Do you watch television very much?

KB: Not really. I likes Neighbours, and Coronation Street, and Eastenders. But that's about it really. I don't watch much else.

Similarly, LP is 15/16 year old female:

CD: Do you watch TV quite often?

LP: Yeah.

CD: Do you have any favourite programmes?

LP: I like Brookside, 'cos it's down to earth, and you can relate to some of the characters. I like Top Of the Pops because of the music; and Harry Enfield's Television Show, 'cos he's very funny.

CD: Do you watch videos very much?

LP: Well, we've got 'Sky', and they've got a movie channel, So I watch films then. If there's a film I really want to see, I'd rather see it at the Cinema really, 'cos it gets you out.

The 'Soaps' were also popular among the males. However, males generally preferred 'action' movies, such as war films and Westerns. A typical example is RB, an 11/12 year old male:

CD: If you're at home, and you have spare time, what would you normally do when you are indoors?

RB: Well, sometimes I'll run up the video shop, get a video, then come down and nag on at my mum to get me some food! Then I'll go upstairs, and like, I've got my own video in my own room, so I can watch it upstairs.

CD: Do you watch television?

RB: Yes.

CD: What are your favourite programmes?

RB: I like 'Soaps', like Neighbours, and Home and Away. And I like watching Western movies, and I like 'Turtles'. My favourite comedy is Red Dwarf.

Among the older males, 'Soaps' were still popular, as were 'action' films. However, sport programmes were also popular. For example, BP is a 15/16 year old male

CD: Do you watch TV very much?

BP: Yeah, I watch it quite a lot.

CD: What programmes do you like?

BP: I like Soaps, sports, like boxing, snooker, and football; and comedy as well.

CD: Do you watch videos very much?

BP: Yeah, I like videos. I like some horror videos, and some war films.

CD: Do you hire films from the video shop?

BP: Yeah. My grandad works in the NAAFI, and he can get videos in there. So he brings them home.

Watching television, or videos, is therefore one of the most popular forms of entertainment among these young people, and is a central feature of their home-based leisure. The extent to which they watch television or videos, is much higher than national figures appear to show (Balding, 1993).

Popular music is also an important feature of adolescent leisure within the home. Some 87.8 per cent of the sample regularly listened to music, of which 65.1 per cent did so every day. Only 7.6 per cent claimed that they never listened to music, while a further 4.7 per cent said that they listened to music only occasionally. These figures also show that more of these young people listen to music than national figures suggest. Balding's (1993) data show that 56.1 per cent of his sample listened to music at any time.

Differences between the age groups were small, although females generally tended to listen to music more frequently than males. This is in line with national trends. Among the younger age group, the 11/12 year olds, it was found that 76.2 per cent of males compared to 89.5 per cent of females, regularly listened to music. Among the middle age group, the 13/14 year olds, this figure had declined to 70.6 per

cent for males, but increased to 96.9 per cent for females. However, this had increased considerably among the 15/16 year olds, with 91.5 per cent of the males, and all of the females, regularly listening to music.

The styles of music that these young people listened to were dominated by those styles of music associated with the current 'Rave' phenomenon, such as Rap, House, and Hip-hop. Some 60.6 per cent of the sample claimed that they listened to this style of music. However, for the majority of these young people, the type of music they listened to was not part of an overall style culture. For example, 65.0 per cent of the sample claimed that the style of music they listened to had no effect on the style of clothes they wore. However, some 35.0 per cent of the sample claimed that the style of music they listened to did influence the type of clothes they wore.

An increasingly popular form of audio-visual entertainment among young people is the home computer, or more importantly, home computer games, such as Sega and Nintendo. These were played regularly by 50.5 per cent of the sample, 33.3 per cent of which did so every day. This again is higher than the national figure of 36.3 per cent of young people using a computer at any time. (Balding, 1993). However, this is an activity in which males are more likely to participate than females. Almost twice as many males than females, in all age groups, regularly played with computer games. Among the younger age group, the 11/12 year olds, some 66.7 per cent of males, compared to 36.9 per cent of females, regularly played computer games. A similar response was found among the 13/14 age group, where 70.6 per cent of the males, compared to 36.7 per cent of females played computer games regularly. However, among the older age group, the 15/16 year olds, this had declined, so that 51.5 per cent of males, and 25.8 per cent of females in this age group, were now regularly playing computer games.

Games and Pastimes.

Other leisure activities within the home can be broadly classified as either 'games', or 'pastimes'. Those home-based activities which can be seen as 'games' include activities such as playing with a particular toy, board games, such as Chess, Draughts, Monopoly or Cluedo, or playing cards. Those activities which can be seen as 'pastimes' include such activities as reading, doing crosswords or jigsaws, drawing or painting, or some type of craft, such as needlework. Table 23 shows participation in indoor games, by age group and gender.

Table 23: PARTICIPATION IN INDOOR GAMES.

	Age Group						ALL	
	11/12		13/14		15/16			
	M	% F	M	% F	M	% F		
Play with Toy.								
Never/rarely	61.9	78.9	87.8	81.3	97.1	90.0	84.6	
Occasionally	14.3	-	6.1	3.1	-	3.3	2.4	
Regularly	23.8	21.1	6.1	15.6	2.9	6.7	13.0	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Chess or Draughts.								
Never/rarely	61.9	84.2	54.5	75.0	79.4	90.3	74.1	
Occasionally	9.5	-	21.2	15.6	8.8	6.5	11.2	
Regularly	28.6	15.8	24.3	9.4	11.8	3.2	14.7	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Other Board Games.								
Never/rarely	42.9	26.3	39.4	25.0	79.4	48.4	45.3	
Occasionally	9.5	26.3	30.3	37.5	8.8	32.3	24.7	
Regularly	47.6	47.4	30.3	37.5	11.8	19.3	30.0	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Play Cards.								
Never/rarely	38.1	42.1	35.3	46.9	58.8	41.9	44.4	
Occasionally	9.5	5.3	29.4	25.0	23.5	35.3	23.4	
Regularly	52.4	52.6	35.3	28.1	17.1	22.8	32.2	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
(n =	21	19	34	32	35	32	173)

Overall, neither of these two categories of home based leisure activities were particularly popular with this group of young people. For the first category, broadly termed 'games', some 62.1 per cent of the sample claimed that they never, or hardly ever, took part in such activities. A further 15.4 per cent claimed they did so only occasionally, while 22.5 per cent claimed that they regularly took part in 'games' activities within the home. This is broadly in line with national figures, which show that around 20.0 per cent of young people play indoor games at some time (Balding, 1993). The most popular activity in this group was playing cards. Some 55.6 per cent of the sample claimed to play cards at some time. The least popular in this group of activities was playing with a particular toy, with 84.6 per cent claiming that they never, or hardly ever played with toy. This reflects the ambiguous nature of adolescence: no longer a child, and not yet an adult.

As Table 23 shows, participation in all of these activities declines with age, but for most activities, there were no significant gender differences. One exception to this is the playing of Chess or Draughts, where more than twice as many males than females play regularly. This general decline in the playing of games, is indicative of the transitional nature of adolescence. Thus the transition to adulthood can be seen to begin with a general decline in 'play' oriented leisure.

In contrast to the playing of games, are a number of 'pastimes'. 'Pastimes' include such activities as reading, doing crosswords or jigsaws, drawing or painting, playing a musical instrument, or some type of craft, such as needlework. Participation in activities which can be seen as 'pastimes' is shown in Table 24.

This group of home based leisure activities were just a little more popular, although 58.9 per cent of the sample never or rarely took part in these activities. Some 27.5 per cent of the sample undertook these types of activity regularly, and a

further 13.6 per cent took part in these activities occasionally. This is slightly higher than national figures, which show that around 32.0 per cent of young people take part in this type of activity at any time.

Table 24: PARTICIPATION IN INDOOR PASTIMES.

	Age Group						ALL	
	11/12		13/15		15/16			
	M	% F	M	% F	M	% F		
Read a Book.								
Never/rarely	38.1	31.6	60.6	18.8	79.4	12.9	41.8	
Occasionally	23.8	15.8	12.1	21.9	2.9	48.4	20.6	
Regularly	38.1	52.6	27.3	59.3	17.7	38.7	37.6	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Read Comic/Magazine.								
Never/rarely	60.0	61.1	37.5	25.0	50.0	22.6	40.1	
Occasionally	10.0	-	21.9	9.4	26.5	22.6	16.8	
Regularly	30.0	38.9	40.6	65.6	23.5	54.8	43.1	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Crosswords/jigsaws.								
Never/rarely	50.0	36.8	73.5	40.6	82.4	67.7	61.2	
Occasionally	10.0	21.1	11.8	31.3	8.8	19.4	17.1	
Regularly	40.0	42.1	14.7	28.1	8.8	12.9	21.7	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Drawing/Painting.								
Never/rarely	28.6	47.4	52.9	46.9	57.1	51.6	48.8	
Occasionally	9.5	10.5	11.8	21.9	17.1	9.7	14.0	
Regularly	61.9	42.1	35.3	31.2	25.8	38.7	37.2	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Needlework.								
Never/rarely	71.4	52.6	81.8	56.3	91.2	63.3	71.0	
Occasionally	9.5	21.1	3.0	18.8	-	13.3	10.1	
Regularly	19.1	26.3	15.2	24.9	8.8	23.4	18.9	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Musical Instrument.								
Never/rarely	94.7	72.2	84.4	93.8	94.2	96.8	90.4	
Occasionally	-	5.6	6.1	3.1	2.9	-	3.0	
Regularly	5.3	22.2	9.1	3.1	2.9	3.2	6.6	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
(n =	21	19	34	32	35	32	173)

The most popular in this group of activities was reading a comic or magazine. Some 59.9 per cent of the sample claimed to read a comic or magazine at some time. This is higher than the national figure of 31.8 per cent. Of these, 16.8 per cent were only occasional readers, while 43.1 per cent did so regularly. Least popular in this category was playing a musical instrument, with 90.4 per cent claiming that they never, or hardly ever, played a musical instrument. Only 6.6 per cent played a musical instrument regularly, while a further 3.0 per cent did so only occasionally. This is much lower than the national average. Balding's (1993) data shows that around 16.7 per cent of young people play a musical instrument at some time.

Despite these generally low participation rates, there were some notable age and gender differences. As with the first category of home-based activities, those broadly termed indoor games, participation in indoor pastimes also generally declined with age. Also for most of these activities, participation among females was generally higher than among males, with the differences in the frequency of participation between the genders becoming greater as they got older.

An example of this can be seen in the reading of a book. In the 11/12 age group, 38.1 per cent of males never or hardly ever read a book. A further 23.8 per cent read a book occasionally, while 38.1 per cent did so regularly. Among females in this age group, 31.6 per cent never or rarely read a book. A further 15.8 per cent did so occasionally, while 52.6 per cent read a book regularly.

Among the 13/14 year olds, frequency of reading a book was lower among males, but slightly higher among females. Among the males, some 60.6 per cent never or rarely read a book. A further 12.1 per cent did so occasionally, while 27.3 per cent regularly read a book. Among females in this age group, 18.8 per cent never or rarely

read a book. A further 21.9 per cent do so occasionally, while 59.3 per cent did so regularly.

In the older age group, the 15/16 year olds, reading among males was much lower, with as many as 79.4 per cent of males in this age group, never or rarely read a book. Only 2.9 per cent read occasionally, while 17.7 per cent read a book regularly. Reading among females was more popular, with only 12.9 per cent of females in this age group never or rarely reading a book. Some 48.4 per cent said they read a book occasionally, and a further 38.7 per cent did so regularly.

The importance of watching TV and listening to music as home based leisure pursuits is further illustrated in the interviews. Only a few of those interviewed actually mentioned any other activity. For example, SC is an 11/12 year old female:

CD: So, what do you normally do in your spare time, if you are indoors, at home?

SC: I practice my dancing, do my homework, mess about with my cat, or watch TV.

Similarly, MP is an 11/12 year old male.

CD: When you are at home, indoors, what sorts of things do you do in your spare time?

MP: Just play with my cat or talk to my birds, and that. I've got loads of birds. And then I just stay in and watch Tele'.

Generally, then, it can be concluded that the importance of the home as an arena for leisure declines between the ages of eleven to sixteen. This decline is greater among males than females. There is a general decline in the playing of games. Pastimes are slightly more popular, but participation in these also declines with age. The only significant leisure activities within the home, are watching television, and

listening to music, which were highly popular among both males and females in all age groups. This general decline in home-based leisure suggests an increase in out-of-home leisure.

Leisure Activities Outside of the Home.

The out-of-home leisure activities of these young people can be placed in two broad groups: organised activities, and unorganised activities. The first group, organised activities, are activities which are generally organised for young people by adults, and consists of activities such as visiting a youth club; meetings of a youth organisation such as the Scouts, or Guides; meetings of a particular hobby club; gigs or concerts; or an under-18s disco. Unorganised activities are those which the young people themselves undertake, without being organised by adults.

Participation in Organised Activities.

Participation in this group of activities was also low, with 75.7 per cent never, or hardly ever, taking part in such organised activities. A further 10.4 per cent did so only occasionally, but only 13.9 per cent took part on a regular basis. Table 25 shows participation in organised activities, by age group and gender.

Table 25: PARTICIPATION IN ORGANISED ACTIVITIES.

	Age Group						ALL		
	11/12		13/14		15/16				
	M	% F	M	% F	M	% F			
Youth Club.									
Never/rarely	52.4	38.9	72.7	50.0	66.7	90.3	64.3		
Occasionally	9.5	27.8	6.1	9.4	9.1	-	8.9		
Regularly	38.1	33.3	21.2	40.6	24.2	9.7	26.8		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
Youth Organisation.									
Never/rarely	66.7	84.2	78.8	90.6	85.3	90.3	83.5		
Occasionally	9.5	-	15.2	9.4	2.9	-	1.8		
Regularly	23.8	15.8	6.0	-	11.8	9.7	15.7		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
Hobby Club.									
Never/rarely	47.6	84.2	84.8	75.0	85.3	96.8	80.6		
Occasionally	14.3	-	3.0	15.6	2.9	-	5.9		
Regularly	33.3	15.8	12.2	9.4	11.8	3.2	13.5		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
Gigs/Concerts.									
Never/rarely	90.5	89.5	75.8	93.8	79.5	83.9	84.7		
Occasionally	-	5.3	21.2	3.1	17.6	16.1	11.8		
Regularly	9.5	5.3	3.0	3.1	2.9	-	3.5		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
Under-18s Disco.									
Never/rarely	63.6	53.1	67.6	80.6	47.6	57.9	64.1		
Occasionally	27.3	31.3	20.6	16.1	19.0	26.3	24.1		
Regularly	9.1	15.6	11.8	3.3	33.4	15.8	11.8		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
(n =	21	19	34	32	35	32	173)

The most popular of this group of activities was attending a youth club, although participation rates were still low. Only 26.8 per cent of the sample visited a youth club regularly, and a further 8.9 per cent did so only occasionally. Some 64.3 per cent said that they never, or hardly ever, visited a youth club. In terms of age and gender differences, it was generally the younger females who were more likely to attend a youth club. A similar trend was found by Hendry et al (1993). For example, among the 11/12 year olds, 61.1 per cent of females attended a youth club at some time, compared to 47.6 per cent of males. In the middle age group, the 13/14 year olds, attendance at a youth club had declined, particularly among the males. In this age group, 50.0 per cent of the females attended a youth club at some time, compared to 27.3 per cent of males. However, among the older age group, the 15/16 year olds, the decline in attendance at youth clubs was most dramatic among the females. Only 9.7 per cent of the females attended a youth club, compared to 40.6 per cent of females in the next youngest age group, and compared to 24.2 per cent of males of their own age.

Participation rates in youth organisations such as the Scouts, or Guides, were also very low. These organisations are aimed particularly at young people within the age range that this study has focused on. Plymouth probably has more of these organisations than most provincial towns, because of the City's close association with the Military. Thus, apart from the Guides and Scouts, there are organisations such as the Sea Scouts, Army Cadets, and the Marine Cadets. However, as many as 85.5 per cent of the sample said that they never, or hardly ever, took part in such youth organisations. A further 1.8 per cent took part occasionally, but only 14.8 per cent went to a youth organisation regularly. Nevertheless, this is higher than the national average, which puts the number of young people attending organisations such as the Guides or Scouts at 8.7 per cent. (Balding, 1993).

Whereas national figures show that youth organisations are more likely to be attended by females, in the Plymouth study, youth organisations were more likely to be attended by males, reflecting their association with the Military. Among the 11/12 year olds, 33.3 per cent of males attended a youth organisation at some time, compared to only 15.8 per cent of females. In the middle age group, the 13/14 year olds, 21.2 per cent of males, compared to 9.4 per cent of females, attended a youth organisation at some time. Among the 15/16 year olds, this had declined further, so that only 14.7 per cent of males, and 9.7 per cent of females attended a youth organisation.

Meetings of Hobby Clubs were not popular among this group of young people, with 80.6 per cent never or rarely attending such a club. Only 13.5 per cent attended a hobby club regularly, while 5.9 per cent did so occasionally. Again, this was much lower amongst older respondents, and was most marked amongst the youngest males.

A number of the larger night clubs in the city open up between 7pm and 9pm one night a week for the under eighteens. The clubs sell only softdrinks on these occasions, but in all other respects, these sessions are run in the same way as for adults. However, attendance at these under-18s discos among this group of young people was also quite low, with 64.1 per cent never attending such a function. Only 11.8 per cent went to one of these discos regularly, while a further 24.1 per cent did so occasionally.

Least popular among this group of activities was going to gigs or concerts. This may be partly due to lack of money, but also to a lack of provision at venues accessible to young people in this age group. Thus, 84.7 per cent of the sample said that they never, or hardly ever, went to gigs or concerts, while 11.8 per cent did so

only occasionally. Only 3.6 per cent regularly went to watch bands at gigs or concerts.

The general opinion of these ordered activities is that they are 'for kids', or that they are 'boring'. The interview data supported the notion that males were more likely to attend a youth organisation. Most of the males had attended a youth organisation such as the Scouts, or Marine Cadets, until they were about eleven or twelve. Thereafter, their interest declined, with many of these young people seeing the activities carried out at such organisations as rather futile, and childish.

One 11/12 year old male, RB, had been going to Marine Cadets twice a week for two and a half years, and was proud of the fact that he had recently been made a Corporal. RB was still enjoying the activities despite their futile nature:

CD: What sorts of things do you do at Marines?

RB: Well, marching..., marching..., marching..., PT..., and that's it. Oh, and I like shooting, and cooking in the field.

CD: Do you go into the field very often?

RB: Yes. We have a game of football, and stuff like that, and games.

However, among the 15/16 year olds who had attended Marine Cadets when they were younger, it was the mundane nature of the activities which caused them to leave:

BP: I used to go to Marine Cadets when I was younger, but I left that.

CD: What age were you when you left?

BP: I was only about nine when I left. I went when I was really young.

CD: What made you leave?

BP: I just got fed up with it! Doing the same old things all the time, and being ordered around by the Sergeant, and stuff like that.

Interest in organised activities also declined among the females. For example, KB is a 15/16 year old female:

CD: Do you ever go to any organised activities, such as youth clubs, or the Guides, or anything like that?
KB: Well, I used to go to a youth club when I was younger.
CD: But you don't go now?
KB: No.
CD: How old were you when you stopped going?
KB: About thirteen or fourteen.
CD: Why did you stop going?
KB: It just got boring. It's for young kids, really.
CD: Did you ever go to Brownies, or Guides, or anything like that?
KB: I used to go to Brownies, when I was about eight, but I never went to Guides. I didn't want to.

For many of these young people, the night clubs and bars of Union Street start to become much more appealing than the mundane activities carried out in youth clubs, or youth organisations. For example, LP is a 15/16 female:

CD: Do you ever go to a youth club, or the Guides, or anything like that?
LP: I used to be in the Brownies, when I was younger.
CD: What did you think of it?
LP: Well, when I was young, it was nice to meet people, and do different activities, like plays. I was in quite a few pantomimes. But I never went on to the Girl Guides. I didn't fancy it. I've been to a couple of youth clubs, but they're really for kids. I like going out and doing other things, like going down Union Street and dancing, and that.

It can be seen, then, that participation in organised activities such as youth clubs, the Scouts or Guides etc, is generally low. Many of these young people have tried these organised activities at some time, but it is usually when they are younger. Youth organisations are seen as an extension of school, whereby young people are ordered by adults. Beyond the age of thirteen, such activities are no longer seen as useful, and are very often seen as childish. This serves to illustrate further the transitional nature of the adolescent years. They are years when such young people appear to reject the ordered nature of youth organisations, in search of something more interesting and exciting. For the young people themselves, these years are

characterised, and accompanied by, a lack of suitable leisure opportunities. This presents a problem which current youth policy appears unable to resolve.

Participation in Unorganised Activities.

The general disinterest in organised activities would suggest that these young people would generally prefer to organise their own leisure pursuits. However, participation in unorganised activities also appeared to be very low. That is to say that, generally speaking, the majority of these young people spent their spare time doing nothing in particular. Hendry et al (1993), in their study of around 10,000 Scottish young people, found that for around 56.0 per cent of adolescents, hanging around in the streets with friends was the most popular leisure activity outside of the home. Similar results were found in the Plymouth study, where some 54.9 per cent of the sample said that they often spent their spare time just hanging around with friends doing nothing in particular. However, 'hanging-out' in this way can be seen as an important stage in adolescent development. The identification of a place to hang out gave these young people an identity with their own 'social space'. Table 26 shows the places where these young people normally meet up with friends, by age group and gender.

As Table 26 shows, the most popular places for hanging around are streets and parks. This appears to be true of both males and females, across the age groups. Least popular meeting places are Bus Shelters, or some Organised Activity.

Table 26: PLACES WHERE FRIENDS MEET.

	Age Group						ALL
	11/12		13/14		15/16		
	M	% F	M	% F	M	% F	
Streets	21.4	26.3	31.8	36.7	27.7	40.8	32.0
Friends House	7.1	31.6	9.1	23.2	24.1	22.2	20.6
Parks	21.4	26.3	22.8	16.7	6.9	25.9	19.1
Own House	7.1	-	13.6	6.7	24.1	3.7	9.9
Arcades	14.5	-	18.2	6.7	6.9	3.7	7.8
Garden/Courtyard	21.4	10.5	4.5	-	3.4	3.7	5.7
Organised Activity	7.1	-	-	6.7	6.9	-	3.5
Bus Shelters	-	5.3	-	3.3	-	-	1.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(n = 21 19 34 32 35 32 173)

The interview data confirm Corrigan's (1979) assertion that hanging around doing nothing in particular is a common feature of young people's leisure, across all age groups. For example, MP is an 11/12 year old male:

CD: So if you're indoors, and you're not at Scouts, what sorts of things do you do then?

LP: Just go up around the park, walk around, sit down, play football, and that's it. Be with my friends, and that.

Similarly, RC is a 13/14 year old male:

CD: What do you normally do if you go out?

RC: Just walk around, and that.

CD: Doing nothing in particular?

RC: No, not really.

Females are also just as likely to hang around in this way. For example, TR is a 13/14 year old female:

CD: So if you're not going to a youth club in the evenings, or you're not staying at home, what would you do then, if you went out?

TR: I'd go and call for my friends, and we'd either go up the school, or we'd go down the beach, or just hang around.

Parks and Streets were also popular places to hang around for the older age group. However, many of the older females had older boyfriends, and despite the economic constraints were pursuing more adult oriented leisure pursuits, such as going to pubs and night clubs (see Table 28 p192). For example, KB is a 15/16 year old female:

CD: So what do you do in your spare time, if you're not at home?

KB: Well, sometimes me and my boyfriend go to the pub, or occasionally we go down Union Street, to night clubs, and that. But it's not very often. There's not much to do, especially when you haven't got much money.

Similarly, LP is another 15/16 year old female:

CD: So if you're not at home, and you're not going to an organised activity, what would you do in your spare time then?

LP: Go to the Cinema. My boyfriend took me out for a meal once, and we went down Union Street afterwards, dancing in the night clubs, and that. I like going down Union Street

CD: Do you ever go to pubs, or anything?

LP: Somethimes, if we can afford it. Yeah, we go to a few pubs down Union Street.

Other out-of-home activities included visiting Amusement Arcades; going to a Cafe or Coffee shop; and going to Parties. Participation rates in these activities were reasonably high in comparison to other out-of-home activities.

There has been increased concern in recent times of the extent to which young people are gambling (see for example Griffiths (1991) and Fisher (1992)). The Amusement Arcade is the main arena for such activity. Some 53.2 per cent of the sample claimed that they visited Amusement Arcades at some time. Of these, 22.8 per cent were only occasional visitors, while 30.4 per cent regularly visited Amusement Arcades. Some 5.3 per cent said that they visited Amusement Arcades every day. These can be compared with national figures, which showed that 28.2 per cent of males, and 7.2 per cent of females, had spent money on Arcade games in the previous week. Further, 11.1 per cent of males and 2.8 per cent of females admitted to gambling within Arcades in the previous week (Balding, 1993).

Cafés or Coffee Shops were popular places for hanging out for 50.3 per cent of the sample. Of these, 21.0 per cent were occasional users, and 29.4 per cent were regular users, with 4.8 per cent visiting a Cafe or Coffee shop every day.

Unorganised leisure, then, consists mainly of hanging around with groups of friends, doing nothing in particular. This can be seen to be an important feature in the transition to adulthood. The identification of their own social space, and identification with peers, is important for the development of young people's self-image. However, some of the older females, many of whom have older boyfriends, are also likely to be pursuing more adult-oriented leisure, such as going to pubs and night clubs.

Participation in Sports.

Many of these young people, when asked to define 'leisure', mentioned sport in their definition. However, sports generally did not feature very prominently in the lives of these young people. This may be because of the cost. For example, 53.5 per

cent of the sample claimed that they never, or hardly ever, visited a sports centre. A further 16.5 per cent said they did so occasionally, while 30.0 per cent claimed they visited a sports centre regularly. Similarly, attending a sports match as a spectator was not a popular leisure activity for the majority of the sample. Some 63.3 per cent said that they never, or hardly ever, watched a sports match. A further 15.4 per cent said that they did so only occasionally, while 21.4 per cent claimed to watch a sports match regularly.

Respondents were asked how often, outside of school, they took part in a wide variety of sports. The results are shown in Appendix D. Overall, participation in sports was low, with 68.9 per cent of the sample claiming that they never, or hardly ever, took part in any sports outside of school, and a further 12.8 per cent claiming to do so only occasionally. Only 18.3 per cent claimed to play sport regularly.

A deeper analysis of sports participation shows that, generally, males participate in sport more frequently than females. Also, participation in sport, for both males and females, declines with age. However, this decline is most dramatic among the females. For example, among the 11/12 year old females, 26.3 per cent said they played hockey regularly, while a further 21.1 per cent said they did so occasionally. However, among the 15/16 year olds, none of the females played hockey regularly, and only 3.2 per cent did so occasionally. Similarly, among the 11/12-year old females, some 50.0 per cent of the females played netball regularly, and a further 5.6 per cent did so occasionally. Among the 15/16 year old females, however, this had declined dramatically, so that only 3.2 per cent played netball regularly, and a further 12.9 per cent did so only occasionally.

The most popular sports among the females were swimming, athletics, and walking/trekking, although the dramatic decline in participation among the older

females is also evident in these sports. For example, among the 11/12 year olds, some 42.1 per cent of the females took part in athletics regularly, and a further 10.5 per cent did so occasionally. Among the middle age group, the 13/14 year olds, participation in athletics had actually increased, so that 55.0 per cent of the females played regularly, and a further 15.6 per cent did so occasionally. However, among the 15/16 year olds, only 3.2 per cent of females took part in athletics regularly, while 19.4 per cent did so occasionally. Similarly, among the 11/12 year olds, some 68.4 per cent of females went swimming regularly, while 15.8 per cent did so occasionally. Among the 13/14 year olds, this had declined, so that 24.9 per cent went swimming regularly, and 43.8 per cent did so occasionally. However, among the 15/16 year old females, only 9.7 per cent went swimming regularly, while 61.3 per cent did so occasionally.

The most popular sports among the males were football, swimming, and playing pool or snooker. The participation rates in these sports also declined with age, but the decline is not as dramatic as that of the females. For example, some 61.9 per cent of the males in the 11/12 age group played football regularly, while a further 4.8 per cent did so occasionally. Among the 13/14 year olds, this was slightly greater, so that 69.9 per cent were now playing regularly, and a further 9.1 per cent were playing occasionally. Among the 15/16 year olds, this was slightly lower, so that 57.2 per cent of males in this age group played football regularly, and a further 17.1 per cent did so occasionally. Similarly, among the 11/12 year old males, some 62.0 per cent went swimming regularly, while 19.0 per cent did so occasionally. Among the 13/14 year old males, this had declined slightly, so that 48.5 per cent now went swimming regularly, and 18.2 per cent did so occasionally. Among the 15/16 year olds, this had declined further, with 22.9 per cent of the males in this age group going swimming regularly, and 31.4 per cent doing so only occasionally.

Most of the males in the interview sample were quite active, and played sports, especially football, quite often. For example, MP is an 11/12 year old male:

CD: You said earlier that you play football a lot. Are there any other sports that you like?

MP: I like badminton and tennis, but that's about it.

Similarly, RB is a 13/14 year old male:

CD: Apart from football, do you play any other sports?

RB: Oh, I like running a lot. 'Cos in the cross country championships, I came fourth in that. I like running. That's probably my best hobby. And I like playing tennis or badminton, and gymnastics.

CD: So you're quite an active person, and you like playing sports?

RB: Yes.

Also, BP is a 15/16 year old male:

CD: You mentioned earlier that you like sports.

BP: Yeah, I'm into sports.

CD: What sports do you play?

BP: I like playing football, I like going to snooker. I do a lot of fishing as well.

Not all of the males were keen on football, but most said they would play it occasionally. Those who weren't so keen on football were generally more interested in some other sport. For example, RC is a 13/14 year old male:

CD: Do you ever play any sports?

RC: Yeah. I like baseball. I'll play football, but I'm not really that keen on it. Basketball is alright as well. That's it really.

Similarly, PE is a 15/16 year old male:

CD: Do you play any sports?

PE: I like badminton. I'm not all that keen on football, but I will have a little

muck around, and that. But I wouldn't play for a team, or anything.
CD: Do you play badminton around here anywhere?
PE: Every Friday, we go to the Mayflower Centre, and play there.

The females in the interview sample were less inclined to play sports than the males, although some of the younger females did occasionally play football with their brothers:

CD: Do you ever play any sports?
SC: I used to play tennis quite a lot, and that's about it really. I used to play football, as well. I used to do it with my brother.
CD: Did you enjoy playing football?
SC: Yes.

Similarly:

CD: What about sports, do you play any sport?
VW: When my brother comes home - he goes to boarding school - he likes playing football with me. I'm not very good at it though.

Some of the older females, however, confirmed that they were not keen on sport, and very rarely took part in sport outside of school. For example, LP is a 15/16 year old female;

CD: Do you ever play any sports?
LP: Not after school, but in school I like trampolining. I don't like running around, but I don't mind rounders or tennis. I don't like cross country running, or jogging. I don't like climbing ropes.
CD: So you don't do very much sport outside of school?
LP: No.

Generally, then, despite the fact that the majority of these young people defined leisure in terms mainly associated with sport, participation rates in most sports are very low. Males take part in sporting activities more than girls, reflecting the traditional reproduction of gender roles. However, for both males and females, there appears to be a considerable decline in participation with age. This decline is more

dramatic for females than males. However, these findings generally concur with those from other studies of adolescent leisure (Balding, 1993; Hendry, 1983; Hendry et al, 1993).

Hendry et al (1993) argue that the knowledge, motivation and opportunity needed to play sport are made available through a process of socialization. Such a process, they argue, takes place in a variety of settings which can either promote or discourage participation. Parent's, in particular, are influential in providing role models, encouragement, and assistance which affect young people's participation in sport. In the Plymouth study, the deprived habitus into which these young people have been socialized, is not conducive to active participation in sport. Three main reasons can therefore be given for the relative lack of participation in sport. Firstly, many of these young people come from lone parent backgrounds, so that role models, encouragement, and assistance may be lacking. Secondly, the deprived area in which they live lacks any reasonable sporting facilities of any description. Thirdly, the school also lacks any reasonable sporting facilities. It doesn't even have its own playing field.

Cultural Activities.

Cultural pursuits, including going to the cinema, the theatre, visiting a museum or art gallery, or attending a church service or religious meeting, were not popular among this group of young people. This is indicative of their lack of cultural capital. Table 27 shows participation in such cultural activities, by age group and gender. Going to the cinema was the most popular of this group of activities, for all age groups, with at least 50.0 per cent of both males and females, in all age groups, going to see a film at some time.

Table 27: PARTICIPATION IN CULTURAL ACTIVITIES.

	Age Group						ALL	
	11/12		13/14		15/16			
	M	% F	M	% F	M	% F		
Cinema.								
Never/rarely	47.6	47.1	23.5	34.4	48.6	29.0	37.1	
Occasionally	9.5	23.5	52.9	56.3	37.1	54.8	42.4	
Regularly	42.9	29.4	23.6	9.1	14.3	16.2	20.5	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Theatre.								
Never/rarely	76.2	61.1	90.9	78.1	97.1	93.5	85.2	
Occasionally	9.5	16.7	6.1	18.8	-	3.2	8.3	
Regularly	14.3	22.2	3.0	3.1	2.9	3.3	6.5	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Museum/Art Gallery.								
Never/rarely	81.0	89.5	90.9	93.8	91.2	93.5	90.6	
Occasionally	14.3	-	6.1	6.2	8.8	3.2	6.5	
Regularly	4.7	10.5	3.0	-	-	3.3	3.5	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Religious Meeting.								
Never/rarely	85.0	84.2	93.9	78.1	91.2	90.3	87.6	
Occasionally	10.0	-	3.0	6.3	2.9	3.2	4.1	
Regularly	5.0	15.8	3.1	15.6	5.9	6.5	8.3	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
(n =	21	19	34	32	35	32	173)

Visiting a Museum or Art Gallery, or going to the Theatre, were the least popular of this group of activities. Some 90.6 per cent of the sample said that they never, or hardly ever, visited a Museum or Art Gallery, while 85.2 per cent never, or hardly ever went to the theatre. There were no significant gender differences, but they were least popular among the older age groups.

Religion seemed not to play an important part in these young peoples lives either. Around 33.5 per cent said that their religion was Church of England, while a further 7 per cent claimed to be Catholic, or some other Christian religion. However, a little under 31 per cent claimed to have no religion, and a further 27 per cent didn't know what their religion was.

Participation in Church Services was, therefore, also very low, with 87.6 per cent of the sample claiming that they never, or hardly ever, went to Church. Some 4.1 per cent went to Church occasionally, while only 8.3 per cent went once a week or more. However, these figures are broadly in line with national figures, which show that in 1989, the number of children under the age of fifteen, attending church services, amounted to around only 13.0 per cent. (Social Trends 23, 1993).

Plymouth is not well equipped with cultural activities. As previously mentioned, the City's cultural inheritance has largely been influenced by its association with the military, in particular the Royal Navy. This cultural inheritance, or lack of it, is illustrated in these young people's general disinterest in cultural activities.

Illegal Activities.

Two types of illegal activities can be distinguished. Firstly, those which are more usually associated with adult leisure, such as smoking cigarettes, drinking alcohol, or taking illegal drugs, together with attendance at venues which are oriented to adult leisure, such as pubs and night clubs. Secondly, there are those activities which can be seen as petty crime, such as fighting, vandalism, and theft. Participation in adult oriented leisure activities, by age group and gender, is shown in Table 28.

As Table 28 shows, the survey discovered that 65.1 per cent of the sample never, or hardly ever, went to a pub. This means that as many as 34.9 per cent of the sample did go to a pub at some time, even though they are under-age. Of those, 16.6 per cent visited a pub only occasionally. However, as many as 18.3 per cent claimed to go to a pub regularly. Among the younger age groups, males tend to go to a pub more often than females. However, among the 15/16 year olds, this trend is reversed,

with more females than males visiting a pub. Some 25.8 per cent of females in this age group go to a pub regularly, while a further 16.1 per cent do so occasionally. Among the males, 17.7 per cent go to a pub regularly, and a further 14.7 per cent do so occasionally.

Table 28: PARTICIPATION IN ADULT ORIENTED LEISURE.

	Age Group						ALL		
	11/12		13/14		15/16				
	M	% F	M	% F	M	% F			
Visit a Pub.									
Never/rarely	66.7	78.9	54.5	71.0	67.6	58.1	65.1		
Occasionally	14.3	5.3	21.2	22.6	14.7	16.1	16.6		
Regularly	19.0	15.8	24.3	6.4	17.7	25.8	18.3		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
Visit Night Club.									
Never/rarely	71.4	78.9	78.8	78.1	73.5	61.2	73.5		
Occasionally	9.5	-	6.1	12.5	17.6	19.4	11.8		
Regularly	19.1	21.1	15.1	9.4	8.9	19.4	14.7		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
Drinking Alcohol.									
Never/rarely	81.0	84.2	42.4	62.1	45.7	51.6	57.5		
Occasionally	9.5	10.5	48.5	31.0	25.7	32.3	28.6		
Regularly	9.5	5.3	9.1	6.9	28.6	16.1	13.9		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
Smoking Cigarettes.									
Never/rarely	90.4	89.5	85.3	76.7	64.7	54.8	75.1		
Occasionally	4.8	-	-	6.7	2.9	3.2	3.0		
Regularly	4.8	10.5	14.7	16.6	32.4	42.0	21.9		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
Illegal Drugs.									
Never/rarely	95.2	100.0	88.2	93.3	33.3	73.7	87.0		
Occasionally	-	-	5.9	6.7	14.3	21.1	5.9		
Regularly	4.8	-	5.9	-	52.4	5.2	7.1		
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0		
(n =	21	19	34	32	35	32	173)

These figures are similar to those found by Hendry et al (1993). Although they found that only 5 per cent of 13-14 year olds visited a pub regularly, they also found that 18.0 per cent of 15-16 year olds regularly visited a pub. Although Balding's (1993) national data is not directly comparable here, he found that as many as 26.5 per cent of his sample had visited a pub in the last week.

The number of these young people going to night clubs was also quite high, considering the ages of this group of people, and the fact that entrance is dependent upon negotiating with the 'bouncers'. Some 73.5 per cent claimed that they never, or hardly ever, went to a night club. However, this means that 26.5 per cent did attend a night club at some time. Of these, 11.8 per cent went to a night club only occasionally, while 14.7 per cent went regularly. Gender differences among the younger age groups are fairly small. However, among the 15/16 year olds, females tended to visit night clubs more than males. Some 19.4 per cent of females in this age group regularly visit a night club, and a further 19.4 per cent do so occasionally. Among the males, 8.9 per cent visit a night club regularly, and a further 17.6 per cent do so occasionally.

The reported consumption of alcohol among this group of young people was high, considering that they were under age. Some 57.5 per cent of the sample claimed that they never, or hardly ever drank alcohol. However, this means that as many as 42.5 per cent did drink alcohol at some time. Of these, 28.6 per cent said that they drank alcohol only occasionally, while 13.9 per cent claimed to drink regularly. Again, comparable data is not readily available, although Balding (1993) found that as many as 40.3 per cent of his sample had had an alcoholic drink within the last week, despite being under age.

Among the 11/12 year olds, gender differences are quite small, with 19.0 per cent of males, compared to 15.8 per cent of females, drinking alcohol at some time. However, occasional alcohol consumption increases dramatically among the 13/14 year olds, with 48.5 per cent of the males, and 31.0 per cent of the females, drinking alcohol occasionally. A further 9.1 per cent of males, and 6.9 per cent of females, claimed to drink alcohol regularly. Among the 15/16 year olds, alcohol consumption was generally greater for both males and females. Some 28.6 per cent of the males drank alcohol regularly, and a further 25.7 per cent did so occasionally. Among the females in this age group, 16.1 per cent drank alcohol regularly, and a further 32.3 per cent did so occasionally.

Some 75.1 per cent of the sample claimed that they never, or hardly ever smoked cigarettes, which means that almost a quarter (24.9 per cent) did smoke at some time. Only 3.0 per cent claimed to smoke occasionally, while 21.9 per cent smoked on a regular basis. This is significantly higher than national figures, which show that 7.3 per cent of young people in this age group smoke occasionally, while only 6.1 per cent smoke regularly (Balding, 1993).

Females in Balding's (1993) study were more likely to smoke than males. This was also true among the Plymouth sample. For example, among the 11/12 year olds, some 10.5 per cent of females regularly smoked cigarettes, but none smoked on an occasional basis. Among males, 4.8 per cent smoked regularly, while a further 4.8 per cent did so occasionally. Among the 13/14 year olds, incidences of smoking were again greater among the females, with 16.6 per cent of females in this age group smoking regularly, and a further 6.7 per cent doing so occasionally. Among the males in this age group, 14.7 per cent smoked regularly, but none claimed to do so only occasionally. Among the 15/16 year olds, smoking had increased significantly for both males and females. Among the males, 32.4 per cent smoked regularly, while a further

2.9 per cent did so occasionally. Among females, 42.0 per cent regularly smoked cigarettes, and a further 3.2 per cent did so occasionally.

Smoking 'dope', sniffing glue, or taking other illegal drugs, did not appear on the surface to have very high participation rates, with 87.0 per cent of these young people claiming that they never, or hardly ever, took illegal drugs. However, this means that 13.0 per cent actually admitted they did take drugs at some time. This is broadly in line with Balding's national figures, which showed that 12.5 per cent of the sample had taken drugs at some time. Of the 13.0 per cent of the Plymouth sample who admitted taking drugs at some time, for 5.9 per cent of these, drug use was only occasional, while 7.1 per cent claimed to take drugs regularly.

Drug use was generally more prevalent among the males, which is broadly in line with national trends. Among the 11/12 year olds, none of the females admitted to taking drugs, while 4.8 per cent of the males claimed to do so regularly. Among the middle age group, the 13/14 year olds, some 6.7 per cent of females took drugs occasionally, but none of them admitted to doing so on a regular basis. Among the males in this age group, 5.9 per cent took drugs regularly, while a further 5.9 per cent did so occasionally.

Reported drug use was considerably higher among the older age group, the 15/16 year olds. Among females in this age group, some 5.2 per cent regularly took drugs, and a further 21.1 per cent did so occasionally. Among males in this age group, drug use was more prominent, with 52.4 per cent claiming to take drugs regularly, and a further 14.3 per cent doing so occasionally. Among this age group, reported use of drugs was far greater than the national figures show. For example, Balding (1993) found that in the 15/16 age group, some 23.3 per cent of males, and 23.4 per cent of females had taken drugs at any time.

A second category of illegal activities are those which can be categorised as 'petty crime'. Participation in petty crime is shown in Table 29.

Table 29: PARTICIPATION IN PETTY CRIME.

	Age Group						ALL
	11/12		13/14		15/16		
	M	% F	M	% F	M	% F	
Involved in a Fight.							
Never/rarely	33.3	73.7	47.1	66.1	67.6	83.9	62.7
Occasionally	14.3	21.1	41.2	23.3	23.5	12.9	23.7
Regularly	52.4	5.2	11.7	10.6	8.9	3.2	13.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Act of Vandalism.							
Never/rarely	90.4	100.0	58.8	85.7	70.6	87.1	79.6
Occasionally	4.8	-	32.4	14.3	11.8	6.5	12.6
Regularly	4.8	-	8.8	-	17.6	6.4	7.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Trouble with Police.							
Never/rarely	90.4	94.7	50.0	83.3	76.5	93.5	79.3
Occasionally	4.8	-	35.3	13.3	11.8	6.5	13.6
Regularly	4.8	5.3	14.7	3.4	11.7	-	6.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Stolen from Shop.							
Never/rarely	95.2	89.4	61.8	76.7	67.6	86.7	77.4
Occasionally	4.8	5.3	23.5	20.0	17.6	10.0	14.9
Regularly	-	5.3	14.7	3.3	14.8	3.3	7.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Stolen from Family.							
Never/rarely	90.5	94.7	93.9	93.1	94.2	93.6	93.4
Occasionally	9.5	5.3	6.1	6.9	2.9	3.2	5.4
Regularly	-	-	-	-	2.9	3.2	1.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Stolen from Friend.							
Never/rarely	95.2	100.0	87.9	100.0	97.1	96.7	95.8
Occasionally	-	-	9.1	-	2.9	3.3	3.0
Regularly	4.8	-	3.0	-	-	-	1.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(n = 21 19 34 32 35 32 173)

Reported petty crime rates among these young people were relatively low, considering the high crime rates for the area generally. However, the extent to which they would admit to such involvement in crime is open to question. It is likely, therefore, that these figures are an under-representation.

As Table 29 shows, some 79.3 per cent claimed that they had never, or hardly ever, been in trouble with the police, while 13.6 per cent had been occasionally. Only 7.2 per cent claimed to be regularly in trouble with the police. This is more prevalent among males than females, and is greatest among the 13/14 year old age group.

Local newspapers regularly report acts of vandalism as being endemic among young people in the area, yet 79.6 per cent of the sample said that they had never, or hardly ever, been involved in such acts. A further 12.6 per cent said they were involved in vandalism only occasionally, while 7.8 per cent admitted that they regularly committed acts of vandalism. Again, this was more prevalent among the males than females, and was greatest among the males in the 13/14 year old age group. However, as with drug use, there may be an element of under reporting here. This may highlight a methodological weakness, in the ability of self-completion questionnaires to elicit accurate information concerning illegal acts.

Theft was more likely to be from a shop, than from family or friends. Theft was also more prevalent among males, and again, was greatest among males in the 13/14 year old age group. Some 22.6 per cent of the sample had stolen from a shop at some time, of which 7.8 per cent did so regularly. Only 6.6 per cent had stolen from their family, but 1.2 per cent of those admitted to doing so regularly. These young people were even less inclined to steal from friends. Only 4.2 per cent had ever stolen from friends, but 1.2 per cent of those claimed to do so regularly.

Finally, 37.3 per cent of the sample claimed that they had been involved in a fight at some time. For 23.7 per cent of these, this happened only occasionally. However, 13.7 per cent said that they were regularly involved in a fight. Males were more likely than females to be involved in a fight, and fighting was more prevalent among the younger age groups than the older age groups.

The 11/12 year olds who were interviewed were rather condemnatory about participation in such illegal activities. Most of them said they felt that smoking, or taking drugs, was really stupid - mainly for health reasons. However, they were less concerned about drinking alcohol. Most of them had drunk alcohol at some time, but this was usually on special occasions, such as Christmas, or New Year. This was with the full knowledge, and consent, of parents.

The 13/14 year olds, were rather more ambivalent about smoking and drinking alcohol, but tended not to approve of taking drugs. Most of them had smoked, and drank alcohol, at some time. They were also well aware of the health issues, especially with regard to smoking. Typical of these is TR, a 13/14 year old female:

CD: Have you ever done anything that would be considered illegal, like drinking alcohol, or smoking, or taking drugs, or anything like that?

TR: I've smoked sometimes.

CD: What did you think of it?

TR: It was alright.

CD: So do you think you would take it up regularly, if you could afford to?

TR: Well, I know it's bad for your health, but I don't know. I doubt it. Some of my friends smoke anyway, and if I ever want one they just give it to me. So sometimes I will, but not all the time.

CD: What about alcohol? Do you drink?

TR: No, only at Christmas, and that, with my family.

CD: Your family don't mind you having a drink then?

TR: No. Port and lemonade, or something like that. Or a glass of wine or something. That's what I like.

CD: Have you ever taken anything like drugs?

TR: No.

Similarly, RC is a 13/14 year old male:

CD: What about things that might be considered illegal, such as smoking or drinking, or anything like that?

RC: No. I used to smoke, but I gave it up.

CD: How long did you smoke?

RC: It was only for about a year, and I didn't really smoke heavy. Just now and then.

CD: What age were you when you started smoking?

RC: It was last year. I was thirteen.

CD: Why did you decide to give it up?

RC: Well, I've got a brace, and I didn't want to ruin my teeth after having a brace for ages. And for my health, and that.

CD: What about alcohol? Do you drink alcohol?

RC: Only really at Christmas. But I don't drink a lot.

CD: And your family don't mind?

RC: My mum doesn't like me drinking too much. She'll give me a can or two of lager, but that's about it.

CD: Do you like it?

RC: Yeah, but I don't think when I'm older I'll be alcoholic or anything!

CD: What about drugs, have you ever tried anything like that?

RC: No, I wouldn't try drugs.

Among the males in the 15/16 year old age group, responses to these sorts of questions were similar to those in the younger age groups. That is, they smoked only very rarely, if at all; drank alcohol only on special occasions; and never took drugs. Among the females, however, smoking and drinking was a normal part of their leisure, and had been for some time. One example is KB:

CD: Have you ever done anything that might be considered illegal, such as smoking, or drinking alcohol?

KB: Well, I do smoke.

CD: Regularly?

KB: Yeah.

CD: How long have you been smoking?

KB: About three years.

CD: Since you were twelve?

KB: Yeah.

CD: What about alcohol?

KB: Yeah, I drink occasionally, but not very often, 'cos I can't afford it.

CD: Do you enjoy it?

KB: Yeah, it's good if you only have a few. But I don't like getting drunk. It makes me feel ill!

CD: So how long have you been going to pubs and clubs?

KB: About a year now.

CD: Since you were fourteen?

KB: Yeah.

CD: And you've never had any problems getting in?

KB: No, 'cos when I've got my make-up on, and that, I look older. I don't think anybody cares anyway.

Similarly, LP is another 15/16 year old female, for whom drinking alcohol, and going to pubs and night clubs is a normal part of leisure:

CD: Have you ever been involved in any illegal activities, such as smoking or drinking?

LP: Yeah. I drink alcohol under age, but I'm quite sensible about it. It's only at private parties that I get drunk. Like, I go down town and drink quite a lot, but it's a bit expensive down there. I basically go down there to have a good time. If I'm not feeling too good, I'll have a few lagers, you know, weak alcoholic drinks, and then I'll stick to orange juice or coke.

CD: So you go down town and drink, but you don't really think of it as being illegal?

LP: It doesn't bother me like that, because it's better than going out and vandalising cars, I think. I drink in moderation, I suppose. And, like, at family events I'm allowed to have a little drink.

CD: How long have you been drinking?

LP: I started going down town last summer, with my older sister. We both look older than we are when we're dressed up, so people don't really bother. One of my friends is eighteen, and her boyfriend smokes dope, and I don't like drugs like that. He passed me this joint once, and I didn't know what it was! I took a few drags, but when I knew what it was, I said no. It's stupid, pushing things like that on you at an early age. But I do smoke sometimes, when I'm in a bad mood.

CD: What, cigarettes?

LP: Yeah.

CD: You don't smoke regularly then?

LP: Not the regular twenty a day, like most people. But I'll give it up soon. It's horrible! It makes your breath smell! I only smoke when I'm in a bad mood with somebody.

These data provide further evidence that the years between eleven and sixteen are important years in the transition to adulthood. They are years when these young

people begin to experiment with adult oriented leisure. This begins in early adolescence with occasional smoking, and drinking alcohol. By the ages of fifteen and sixteen, many of these young people are regularly pursuing adult oriented leisure activities, such as smoking, drinking, taking drugs, and visiting pubs and night clubs. This is particularly true of the young women, who are able to use make-up, and dress, in order to make themselves appear older. This transition to adult oriented leisure can be seen as part of the process of social and cultural reproduction. The deprived habitus into which these young people are socialized, together with the leisure culture characteristic of this habitus, means that these young people are being socially and culturally reproduced as adults through a particularly limited range of leisure pursuits.

Leisure Aspirations and Attitudes.

The respondents were asked if there was anything they would like to do in their spare time, but are unable to. These were also classified in terms of whether they were home based; out-of-home organised; out of home unorganised; sport; cultural; or illegal. The responses are shown in Table 30, by age group and gender.

Table 30: LEISURE ASPIRATIONS.

	Age Group						ALL
	11/12		13/14		15/16		
	M	% F	M	% F	M	% F	
Sport	42.9	33.3	50.0	26.3	50.0	4.8	33.0
Organised	28.5	33.3	16.7	52.6	30.0	23.8	30.9
Illegal	-	-	11.1	10.5	20.0	57.1	21.3
Unorganised	-	11.3	11.1	5.3	-	14.3	7.4
Home Based	14.3	11.3	11.1	5.3	-	-	5.3
Cultural	14.3	10.8	-	-	-	-	2.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(n =	21	19	34	32	35	32	173)

As Table 30 shows, the largest response overall came from those who wanted to take part in some form of sport, and these accounted for 33.0 per cent of the sample. Some of the sporting activities mentioned included rock climbing, ice skating, and even parachute jumping. Sporting activities were mainly alluded to by males, with around half of the males in each age group wanting to take part in some sort of sporting activity. Around a third of the females in the 11/12 age group wanted to take part in a particular sport. However, this declined among the 13/14 year olds to 26.3 per cent, and further still among the 15/16 year olds, to only 4.8 per cent.

Secondly were those who wanted to take part in some form of out-of-home organised activity. These accounted for 30.9 per cent of the sample. Activities alluded to here included roller disco, rollerblading, and even voluntary work. These were mainly alluded to by the younger females, especially those in the 13/14 age group, with 52.6 per cent of the females in this age group giving this response.

The third highest response came from those who wanted to take part in some form of illegal activity. These were mainly leisure activities which are more usually associated with adult leisure, including going to pubs, visiting night clubs, or going to raves. These accounted for 21.3 per cent of the sample. These types of activity were alluded to mostly by those in the older age group. However, it was the females more than the males who wanted to take part in this form of illegal activity, with 57.1 per cent of females, compared to 20.0 per cent of males, giving this response.

Some form of out-of-home unorganised activity was alluded to by only 7.4 per cent of the sample, and home-based leisure activity by only 5.3 per cent. Again, cultural activities were bottom of the list, with only 2.1 per cent wanting to pursue

this type of activity. In all of these groups, it was the younger age groups who were more likely to allude to these types of activity.

Respondents were then asked for the main reason why they were unable to take part in these leisure activities. The responses are shown in Table 31, by age group and gender.

Table 31: MAIN RESTRICTIONS ON LEISURE ASPIRATIONS.

	Age Group						ALL
	11/12		13/14		15/16		
	M	% F	M	% F	M	% F	
Not Available Locally	22.2	27.2	44.8	22.2	36.0	29.7	32.0
Can't Afford It	55.6	18.2	24.3	26.0	28.0	18.5	25.7
Not Old Enough	-	18.2	13.8	18.5	12.0	22.2	15.6
Parent's Won't Allow	11.1	18.2	10.3	7.4	12.0	22.2	13.3
Other	-	9.1	6.8	7.4	8.0	7.4	7.1
Friends Uninterested	11.1	9.1	-	18.5	4.0	-	6.3
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(n =	21	19	34	32	35	32	173)

As Table 31 shows, the main reason given for not taking part in the leisure activity of their choice was that facilities were not available locally. Overall, these accounted for 32.0 per cent of the sample. Lack of money was the second reason why these young people could not pursue the leisure activity of their choice. Some 25.8 per cent of the sample said that they simply could not afford it. However, lack of money was a particular problem for the young males in the 11/12 age group. Three times as many males as females in this age group couldn't afford to pursue the leisure activity of their choice, despite the fact that they had more money than females of the same age (see Table 15 p145). Thirdly, and the main reason these young people could not engage in illegal activities, was that they were not old enough. That is,

participation in such activities was prohibited by law, merely because of their age. This response was given by 15.6 per cent of the sample. Similarly, 13.3 per cent were barred from taking part by their parents, although it is not clear what these activities were. Some 6.3 per cent said that none of their friends was interested, and a further 7.1 per cent gave some other unspecified reason for being unable to take part in the leisure activity of their choice.

Attitudes to leisure time seemed to be fairly mixed. Some 27.5 per cent of these young people felt that, in the area in which they lived, there were lots of different things for young people to do in their spare time, although they did not specify what these were. As many as 55.0 per cent claimed there were not lots of different things to do, while 17.5 per cent were unsure. However, despite this perceived lack of things to do, the majority did seem to find plenty of enjoyable things to do in their spare time. Some 57.6 per cent claimed that they found plenty to do, while a further 29.1 per cent were unsure. Only 13.4 per cent said that they were unable to find plenty of enjoyable things to do in their spare time, reflecting the positive nature of their bodily hexis. However, boredom seemed to be evident at some time, for the majority of these young people. Some 19.8 per cent admitted that they were often bored, and 43.6 per cent said they were sometimes bored. This reflects the negative aspects of the bodily hexis, acquired through the habitus. A further 27.3 per cent said they were hardly ever bored, but only 9.3 per cent said that they were never bored.

Conclusion.

This Chapter has presented some empirical evidence to illustrate the ways in which the leisure activities of a group of deprived young people change between the ages of eleven and sixteen. The analyses have focused on six areas of leisure activity:

home-based leisure; out-of-home organised leisure; out-of-home unorganised leisure; participation in sports; cultural activities; and illegal activities.

The home can be seen as an important arena for leisure among young people. In particular, watching television and listening to music are almost universal leisure activities among this group of deprived young people. Home-based leisure activities are generally more prevalent among females, but the importance of the home as an arena for leisure generally declines with age.

Organised activities, that is youth activities which are organised by adults, appear to be more popular among this group of young people than national figures suggest. Nevertheless, participation rates also declined with age. Whereas younger females tended to attend youth clubs, younger males were more likely to attend youth organisations, such as the Scouts, Sea Scouts, Marine Cadets, and Army Cadets. This is indicative of Plymouth's cultural inheritance, and the influence of military culture on the area.

Participation in unorganised activities, or activities which young people organise for themselves, is also very low. For the majority of these young people, hanging around in the streets with friends, doing nothing in particular, was the most popular leisure activity outside of the home. However, this may be an important feature of adolescence for the development of self-identity, and therefore is significant for the transition to adulthood.

Although many of these young people defined leisure in terms of sport, participation in sport was relatively low. Three main reasons were suggested for these relatively low participation rates. These included lack of role models, encouragement, and assistance; lack of facilities in the area; and lack of facilities within the school.

The evidence presented, although based on cross-sectional data, shows a trend towards more adult oriented leisure practices. Many of these young people were beginning to participate in adult-oriented leisure activities, such as visiting pubs and night clubs, smoking, drinking alcohol, and taking illegal drugs. However, the findings also revealed diversity within and between both the age groups and the gender groups. Visiting pubs and night clubs, and smoking cigarettes, were more prevalent among the young women, while drinking alcohol and taking illegal drugs was more prevalent among the young men. It was predominantly the older age groups who were taking part in these activities. Participation in such activities, although legally restricted by age, can be seen as a significant feature in the transition to adulthood.

The period between the ages of eleven and sixteen can clearly be seen as a significant period for the transition to adulthood. During this period, there is a general shift away from home-based activities such as playing with games and pastimes, and away from organised activities outside of the home. The data show that there is a movement towards more unstructured forms of leisure, such as hanging around the streets doing nothing in particular, or visiting cafes. This leads to participation in more adult oriented activities, such as visiting pubs and night clubs. This movement during adolescence, from play-oriented activities to adult-oriented leisure activities can be seen as an important feature in the transition to adulthood, as part of a process of social and cultural reproduction. This analysis is based on the premise that certain characteristics are indicators of different world views, which are derived from the habitus, and consequently influence behaviour.

CONCLUSION.

This thesis has examined the changing nature of the leisure activities of a group of adolescents growing up in a particularly deprived urban area of Plymouth. It is an examination of the implications of changes in leisure activities, during adolescence, for the transition to adulthood. The analyses are based upon data derived from secondary sources; through a questionnaire survey of 173 young people residing in the area; and through a sample of 10 semi-structured interviews. The results of this study are relevant on a number of levels of analysis. Firstly, the findings provide detailed case study information on the lives of adolescents from deprived backgrounds. Secondly, they also contribute to a body of data and theory on the social situation of all adolescents. Thirdly, the conclusions drawn concerning leisure and leisure change during adolescence provide an original perspective on the transition to adulthood. Fourthly, the analysis also contributes to our understanding of the ways in which culture influences young people's leisure activities. In addition, four main conclusions can be drawn from this research.

The first conclusion concerns the problematic nature of the concept of leisure. Leisure is a central feature of our everyday lives, and plays an important part in our self-perceptions and well-being. Yet defining leisure is considerably problematic. Definitions of leisure have been based upon a number of inter-related concepts, such as work, play, recreation, idleness, fun, free-time, games, sport, entertainment, and so on. Thus, a singular definition of leisure is virtually impossible, resulting in leisure merely becoming an umbrella term for a wide variety of behaviour.

These popular conceptions of leisure place considerable emphasis on freedom of choice. While this may be a feature of adult leisure, it is not a significant feature of adolescent leisure. It is argued here that, for adolescents from a particularly deprived urban area, leisure is more likely to be characterised by constraint rather than choice. These constraints are not merely economic, but also social and cultural. Therefore, if leisure, leisure activities, and leisure experiences can only be fully understood in terms of the societal conditions within which leisure is experienced and structured, as Hayward et al (1989) suggest, then the individual's subjective experience of leisure must be the central feature of leisure research.

The concept of leisure, then, is particularly problematic when applied to adolescents. Popular conceptions of leisure have been based upon the dichotomous relationship between work and leisure, and have therefore largely been predicated on adult status. Whereas children 'play', and adults have 'leisure' activities, the spare-time activities of adolescents are more difficult to conceptualize. No longer a child, but not yet an adult, the adolescent is left in an ambiguous situation. This ambiguity is reflected in these young people's definitions of leisure. Many of these young people saw leisure as synonymous with sport, and yet sport was not a significant feature of their leisure activities. Nevertheless, the changing nature of spare-time activities during adolescence is important for the development of a social identity, and hence is an important feature of the transition to adulthood.

The second conclusion concerns the concept of social class. Social class differences exert considerable influence on types of leisure participation. Existing research tends to suggest that young people's leisure activities are influenced by a number of cultural factors, including the home background, peer group interactions, and experiences within the education system. Existing research also tends to portray working-class young people's leisure as inferior to that of middle-class young people.

However, mass long-term unemployment in recent times has led to the development of an 'underclass'; a significant number of people who are deprived, both socially, culturally, and economically. Therefore, traditional analyses based on a dichotomy between working-class and middle-class culture may no longer be appropriate. Many of the young people in this study can be seen to be part of group of severely deprived people. They are not unique. It is probable that every city in Britain has deprived urban areas of a similar nature to the one in which this study is set. Nevertheless, the deprived area of Plymouth in which this research was undertaken has a particular cultural inheritance, which has important consequences for the leisure activities of young people growing up there.

Chapter Five has shown that there is a severe shortage of leisure and recreational facilities in the area, especially for adolescents. Cuts in Youth Work provision as a result of cuts in the Community Education budget have meant that these young people have to find their own forms of amusement. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that there are reports of high incidences of vandalism and juvenile crime in this area. In addition, the leisure culture of Plymouth into which these young people are being socialized, has largely been influenced by the presence of the Royal Navy, and the needs of the shorebound sailor. Thus, the adolescent, beginning the transition to adulthood, is likely to be lured towards the excitement of the bars and night clubs of Union Street. It can be concluded, therefore, that the leisure activities of these young people from a deprived urban background are restricted, not only by their lack of economic capital, but also through their lack of cultural capital.

This thesis therefore rejects the optimistic post-modernist view that young people in Britain are growing up in a socially open space, where many choices are possible, and that young people are able to 'write their own biographies'. Instead, this

thesis argues that these young people are being socially and culturally reproduced into a limited range of leisure activities.

The third conclusion concerns the significance of the changing nature of leisure activities during adolescence, for the transition to adulthood. Chapter Eight of this thesis has clearly shown a number of changes taking place in the field of leisure, during adolescence. One significant feature in the transition to adulthood is these young people's self-perceptions. In the 11/12 age group, the majority of these young people saw themselves in fairly childlike terms, as either a boy or girl. In the 13/14 age group, the majority saw themselves primarily as a 'teenager'. However, those in the 15/16 age group tended to describe themselves in much more adult terms, such as 'young man/woman', 'young person', 'young adult', or even 'adult'. This clearly illustrates the transitional nature of adolescence, as formative years in the transition from child to adult.

These deprived young people's leisure companions changed between the ages of eleven and sixteen. At age 11/12, free time is spent mostly either alone, or with the family. By the ages of 13/14, most free time is spent either with a group of friends, or a single friend, of the same sex. At ages 15/16, the peer group becomes more prominent, with most of the young people in this age group spending their free time with a group of friends of both sexes. However, many young people in this age group are beginning to form relationships with members of the opposite sex, and so are spending their free time mostly with a boyfriend or girlfriend. This is particularly true of the females. These changes in leisure time companions are important for the adolescent's social and personal development, and is therefore a significant feature in the transition to adulthood.

The disposable income of these deprived young people increased between the ages of eleven and sixteen, either through increased pocket money, or through a part-time job, or both. Thus, patterns of expenditure and consumption also changed in this period. There was a general decline in the purchase of items such as books, stationery items such as pens, pencils, and paper, and computer games, and a general increase in the purchase of records, tapes, and CDs, the hire of videos, and the purchase of items related to appearance, such as clothing and toiletries. In particular, there was a general increase in the purchase of adult-oriented leisure items, such as cigarettes, alcohol, and illegal drugs. Drug use is increasingly becoming a central feature of contemporary youth culture, through its association with the 'rave' phenomenon, and the falling street prices of many drugs. These changes in patterns of consumption between the ages of eleven and sixteen further illustrate the transitional nature of adolescence.

The importance of the home as an arena for leisure declined between the ages of eleven and sixteen, although this decline is greater for males than females. Participation in games and pastimes within the home decline dramatically in this period. The only significant leisure activities within the home are watching television and videos, and listening to music, which were highly popular among males and females in all age groups. This general decline in home based activities suggests an increased participation in leisure activities outside of the home. This is a significant feature for the adolescent's social and personal development, and is therefore important for the transition to adulthood.

Participation in organised activities outside of the home was generally very low, but also tended to decline between the ages of eleven and sixteen. These activities included youth organisations, such as the Scouts, or Guides, and even more casual youth clubs. These activities are specifically aimed at young people in this age group. However, youth organisations are seen as an extension of school, whereby young

people are organised and ordered by adults, and the content of the activities is seen as futile. Beyond the age of thirteen, such activities are no longer seen as useful, and are very often seen as childish. This further serves to illustrate the transitional nature of adolescence.

The general disinterest in organised activities, and sporting activities, of these young people suggests that they would generally prefer to organise their own leisure pursuits. However, participation in unorganised leisure activities was also very low. That is to say, that generally speaking, these deprived young people spend most of their spare time hanging around with friends doing nothing in particular. However, 'hanging-out' in this way with peers, provides these young people with a social identity, and an identity with their own social space. This is important for the transition to adulthood.

The years between eleven and sixteen are years when these young people begin to experiment with adult-oriented leisure. This begins in early adolescence, with occasional smoking and drinking alcohol. By the ages of fifteen and sixteen, many of these young people are regularly pursuing adult-oriented leisure activities, such as smoking, drinking alcohol, and visiting pubs and night clubs. This is particularly true of the young women, many of whom have older boyfriends, and are able to use make-up and dress to make themselves appear older. This clearly shows the nature of adolescence as a transitory phase, and shows that increased participation in adult-oriented leisure is a significant feature of the transition to adulthood.

The fourth conclusion concerns gender differences. Adolescence is an important time for the development of gender subjectivity. Gender appropriate behaviour is instilled in young children through their play and games. This continues through adolescent leisure practices, preparing young people for their adult roles.

Thus, young people are socially and culturally reproduced as either males or females. However, the development of gender roles in adolescence is an under-researched area, particularly with respect to leisure choices and opportunities, and especially with regard to deprived young people.

The findings from this study show that the transition to adulthood begins earlier for females than males. While females in the younger age group, the 11/12 year olds, are much more likely than males to be involved in home-based leisure activities, and spend their free time mostly with members of their family, females in the older age group, the 15/16 year olds are much more likely to be pursuing more adult-oriented leisure activities. The move towards adult oriented leisure begins much earlier for females. By the age of fifteen, females are more likely to view themselves in more adult terms. Whereas the peer group is the focus of the leisure activities of the males, females are much more likely to have a steady boyfriend. Their boyfriends are often two or three years older, and drive a car, so that many of these young women are already pursuing adult-oriented leisure activities, such as visiting pubs and night clubs.

Past research in the sociology of youth has focused almost exclusively on the years from sixteen to twenty-one as the principal years in the transition to adulthood. These are the years when a number of structural changes occur, such as the transition from school to work, the transition to a home of one's own, and the transition to a family of one's own. Whilst recognising the importance of these structural changes, this thesis argues that the transition to adulthood begins much earlier, through the changing nature of leisure activities, between the ages of eleven to sixteen. Thus, youth transitions do not occur overnight. Instead, adolescence can be seen to be characterised by a transitional process; a kind of 'journey' towards adulthood.

Past research concerning the concept of social and cultural reproduction has also focused on the structural changes taking place in people's lives. In particular, research has focused on the work place, and the ways in which school pupils become socially and culturally reproduced as workers. This thesis, however, has considered the role of social and cultural reproduction in a less structured area of social life: the changing nature of adolescent leisure. The transmission of cultural capital in leisure terms, is limited by the leisure opportunities available to young people growing up in such a deprived habitus.

In short, this thesis has argued that the transition to adulthood, as part of a process of social and cultural reproduction, begins much earlier than has previously been acknowledged. This can be illustrated through the changing nature of leisure activities between the ages of eleven and sixteen. This transitional process is characterised by a decline in participation in home-based activities, and organised activities, and a move towards more unstructured, unorganised activities, and towards more adult-oriented leisure activities. Thus, the transition to adulthood, as part of a process of social and cultural reproduction, is characterised by a number of informal and less structured changes taking place in young people's lives. These are equally as significant as the structural changes taking place beyond the age of sixteen.

The findings of this research present a number of problems and dilemmas for youth policy. The state now provides very little in this area in the way of youth provision. Efforts to form youth clubs and youth groups are almost entirely voluntary. However, most of these young people feel that beyond the age of thirteen, such organised activities are no longer useful. The problem comes in making the activities available at such organised youth groups relevant and interesting to older adolescents. Although participation in sporting activities was generally low, many of these young people's leisure aspirations involved some form of sport. Nevertheless, without a

major cash injection into the area, it is unlikely that such facilities will be provided in the foreseeable future. This leaves many of these young people in a vulnerable position, hanging around doing nothing in particular, tempted by boredom into vandalism, petty crime, and underage drinking and drug-taking.

The academic study of adolescence has been largely dominated by psychologists, and relatively neglected by sociologists. The present study may be limited by its small sample size, and the fact that it has focused exclusively on the social lives of a particular group of adolescents, who are growing up in particularly deprived urban area of Plymouth. Recent increased concerns over juvenile offending, and drug use among adolescents, suggests that adolescence is an extremely fertile area for further research. A fuller understanding of the social development of adolescents requires a wide ranging study similar to the ESRC's '16-19 Initiative'. Only then will we be able to understand adequately the profound changes taking place in the lives of adolescents, and the implications of such changes for social policy.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A:
THE QUESTIONNAIRE



**PLYMOUTH
POLYTECHNIC SOUTH WEST**

Faculty of Human Sciences

Drake Circus, Plymouth, Devon PL4 8AA, United Kingdom
Telephone: 0752 233192 Fax: 0752 233194

	1	
2	3	4

YOUNG PEOPLE AND LEISURE SURVEY 1991

******* THIS IS NOT A TEST *******

The answers you give to these questions are secret. Nobody that you know, or who knows you, will see it. We do not need your name or address.

Please answer as truthfully as possible. Your honesty is very important to us.

Where boxes are provided, please tick the box which most applies to you. If a question does not apply to you, then leave it blank.

Assistant Director and Dean of Faculty: Professor Geoffrey Payne, BA (Econ), MA, PhD
PLYMOUTH - EXETER - EXMOUTH - NEWTON ABBOT

PART I

First we would like to ask some questions about what you do in your spare time

- 1 When you have spare time, who do you usually spend it with? Please tick ONE

Parents

1

Brother(s) and/or sister(s)

2

Other relatives

3

A boyfriend or girlfriend

4

A close friend of the same sex as me

5

A group of friends of the same sex as me

6

A group of friends of both sexes

7

I spend my free time mostly on my own

8

--

5

- 2 What are the main reasons for your friendship?

Tick either yes or no for each question

Yes No

Go to the same school

1	2
---	---

Live in same street/area

1	2
---	---

Live in same estate

1	2
---	---

Hang around the same places

1	2
---	---

Go to the same club

1	2
---	---

Same age

1	2
---	---

Similar type of person

1	2
---	---

Like doing the same things

1	2
---	---

Parents are friends

1	2
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- 3 In the last week, how many evenings did you go out?

Last week, I went out on evenings

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15

4 Which of the following statements applies to you?

Please tick either yes or no for each statement

Yes No

- (a) I have to tell my parents where I am going
- (b) There are no time limits as long as they know where I have been
- (c) My parents are very strict about time
- (d) My parents prefer me to stay in
- (e) I am free to do as I like
- (f) My parents disapprove of most of my spare-time activities

1	2
1	2
1	2
1	2
1	2
1	2

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5 Do your parents give you pocket money?

Yes 1

No 2

22

6 Do you have a part-time job or paper-round?

Yes 1

No 2

23

7 How much money do you usually have to spend each week (from pocket money, spare-time job etc)?

I usually have £.....p to spend each week

24	25

8 What are your views on the amount of money you have to spend each week? Please tick one.

It's about enough for a person of my age

It's not really enough, but I manage

It's not nearly enough

1
2
3

26

9 How often do you spend your own money on the following items? Please tick one box for each item.

	Never or Hardly Ever	More than once a month	1 or 2 times a week	3 to 6 times a week	every day
Clothes	1	2	3	4	5
Shoes	1	2	3	4	5
Toiletries	1	2	3	4	5
Make-up	1	2	3	4	5
Records/Tapes/CDs	1	2	3	4	5
Hire Videos	1	2	3	4	5
Comics/Magazines	1	2	3	4	5
Books	1	2	3	4	5
Fast food (chips, burgers etc)	1	2	3	4	5
Crisps/Sweets	1	2	3	4	5
Soft drinks	1	2	3	4	5
Sport equipment/kit	1	2	3	4	5
Alcohol	1	2	3	4	5
Cigarettes	1	2	3	4	5
Illegal drugs or glue	1	2	3	4	5
Computer games	1	2	3	4	5
Pens/Pencils/Crayons/Paper etc	1	2	3	4	5
Savings	1	2	3	4	5
Other (please state what)	1	2	3	4	5

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10 Which of the following do you own or have the use of at home? Please tick yes or no for each one.

	Yes	No
Telephone	1	2
Bicycle	1	2
Motorbike or Moped	1	2
Television	1	2
Video	1	2
Satellite TV	1	2
Radio	1	2
Record Player	1	2
Radio cassette player ("Ghetto blaster")	1	2
Compact disc player	1	2
Midi system or music centre	1	2
"Walkman" or personal stereo	1	2
A room of your own	1	2
Home computer	1	2

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11 Outside of school, how often, do you normally take part in the following sports? Please tick one box for each sport.

	Ne ver or hardly ever	More than once a month	1 or 2 times a week	3 to 6 times a week	Every day
Football	1	2	3	4	5
Hockey	1	2	3	4	5
Cricket	1	2	3	4	5
Rugby	1	2	3	4	5
Athletics	1	2	3	4	5
Swimming	1	2	3	4	5
Sailing	1	2	3	4	5
Tennis	1	2	3	4	5
Squash	1	2	3	4	5
Badminton	1	2	3	4	5
Netball	1	2	3	4	5
Walking/Trekking	1	2	3	4	5
Ice skating	1	2	3	4	5
Pool	1	2	3	4	5
Snooker	1	2	3	4	5
Darts	1	2	3	4	5
Table Tennis	1	2	3	4	5
Surfing	1	2	3	4	5
Martial Arts (any)	1	2	3	4	5
Aerobics/keep fit	1	2	3	4	5
Skateboarding	1	2	3	4	5
Cycling	1	2	3	4	5
Fishing	1	2	3	4	5
Running or Jogging	1	2	3	4	5
Basketball	1	2	3	4	5
Other (state which)	1	2	3	4	5

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12 Please tell us how often you normally do each of the following things, by ticking one box for each activity.

	Never or hardly ever	More than once a month	1 or 2 times a week	3 to 6 times a week	Every day
Listen to music	1	2	3	4	5
Watch TV	1	2	3	4	5
Watch Videos	1	2	3	4	5
Play musical instrument	1	2	3	4	5
Play with a particular toy	1	2	3	4	5
Play cards	1	2	3	4	5
Board games (monopoly, cluedo etc)	1	2	3	4	5
Crosswords or jigsaws	1	2	3	4	5
Party games	1	2	3	4	5
Chess/draughts	1	2	3	4	5
Read a book	1	2	3	4	5
Read comic or magazine	1	2	3	4	5
Cook a meal	1	2	3	4	5
Help with housework	1	2	3	4	5
Look after younger brothers/sisters	1	2	3	4	5
Drawing or painting	1	2	3	4	5
Needlework	1	2	3	4	5
Have friends around	1	2	3	4	5
Home computer or computer games	1	2	3	4	5

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13 Now please tell us how often you would normally do or go to each of the following things, by ticking one of the boxes for each activity.

	Never or hardly ever	More than once a month	1 or 2 times a week	3 to 6 times a week	Every day
Go to friends house	1	2	3	4	5
Visit relatives	1	2	3	4	5
Babysit for friends or relatives	1	2	3	4	5
Go to a pub	1	2	3	4	5
Go to gigs or concerts	1	2	3	4	5
Under-18s disco	1	2	3	4	5
Parties	1	2	3	4	5
Night Club	1	2	3	4	5
Cinema	1	2	3	4	5
Theatre	1	2	3	4	5
Visit Museum or Art Gallery	1	2	3	4	5
Sports Centre	1	2	3	4	5
Attend sports match (to watch)	1	2	3	4	5
Youth Club	1	2	3	4	5
Meetings of a special hobby club	1	2	3	4	5
Youth Organisation (cubs, scouts, guides, cadets etc)	1	2	3	4	5
Church Service or Religious meeting	1	2	3	4	5
Amusements Arcades	1	2	3	4	5
Cafe/Coffee shop	1	2	3	4	5

<input type="checkbox"/>	50
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<input type="checkbox"/>	66
<input type="checkbox"/>	67
<input type="checkbox"/>	68

14 Where do you and your friends normally hang out? (eg friends house, streets, parks, bus shelters, etc.)
Please tell us:-

<input type="checkbox"/>	69
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15 And now please tell us how often you would normally do, or take part in, each of the following things by ticking one of the boxes for each activity.

	Never or Hardly Ever	More than once a month	1 or 2 times a week	3 to 6 times a week	Every day
Smoking cigarettes	1	2	3	4	5
Drinking Alcoholic drinks	1	2	3	4	5
Smoking 'dope', sniffing glue or other illegal drugs	1	2	3	4	5
Been involved in a fight	1	2	3	4	5
Committed an act of vandalism	1	2	3	4	5
Stolen from a shop	1	2	3	4	5
Stolen from family	1	2	3	4	5
Stolen from friend/neighbour	1	2	3	4	5
Been in trouble with Police/law	1	2	3	4	5

	3	
2	3	4

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16 What style of music do you mostly listen to? Please tick one :

Rave/Rap	1
House/Hiphop	2
Indie (eg Happy Mondays etc)	3
Rock/Heavy Metal	4
Pop (eg Jason & Kylie)	5
Soul	6
Other (say which)	7

	14
--	----

17 Does the style of music you listen to influence the style of clothes you like to wear?

Yes	No
1	2

	15
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18 Please tell us how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statements, by ticking one box for each:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I usually find plenty of enjoyable things to do in my spare time	1	2	3	4	5
I prefer to spend most of my spare time at home or a friends house	1	2	3	4	5
I don't feel its safe for young people like me to hang around on the streets	1	2	3	4	5
I don't usually have enough money to do what I'd really like	1	2	3	4	5
I often hang around with friends doing nothing in particular	1	2	3	4	5
Anything is better than staying at home, even if there's nowhere special to go	1	2	3	4	5
In this area there are lots of different things for young people to do in their spare time	1	2	3	4	5

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19 Is there anything you would like to do in your spare time but are unable to. If so, please tell us about it:

	23
--	----

20 What is the main reason you are unable to do this activity?
Please tick one box.

Not available locally

1

Can't afford it

2

No friends interested

3

Parents won't let me

4

Too difficult for me

5

Not old enough

6

Other (please state)

7

24

21 Do you feel bored because you have nothing to do in your
spare time? Please tick one box.

I am often bored

1

I am sometimes bored

2

I am hardly ever bored

3

I am never bored

4

25

PLEASE TURN OVER TO PART

PART 2

Now please tell us a bit about yourself.

22 Are you male or female? Please tick.

Male 1 Female 2

26

23 How old are you?

I amyears old.

27 28

24 Do you have:

Yes No

(a) a Stepmother?

<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
----------------------------	----------------------------

29

(b) a Stepfather?

<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
----------------------------	----------------------------

30

25 Who do you live with?

Mother/ Step- Mother Father /Step- Father Both Neither

<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
----------------------------	----------------------------	----------------------------	----------------------------

31

26 What is the name of your father's/stepfather's usual job?

32

27 Please describe the sort of work he does.

33

28 What is the name of your mother's/stepmother's usual job?

34

29 And what sort of work does she do?

35

30 How many brothers and/or sisters do you have?

- I have older brother(s)
- I have younger brother(s)
- I have older sister(s)
- I have younger sister(s)

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	39

**31 What sort of building do you live in? Would it be:
Please tick one.**

- House

1

- Bungalow

2

- Maisonette

3

- Flat

4

- Caravan/Mobile Home

5

- Other (please state)

6

	40
--	----

32 Is your home owned by your parents, or rented?

- Owned

1

 Rented

2

 Don't know

3

	41
--	----

33 What is your religion? Please tick one.

- Church of England

1

- Catholic

2

- Other Christian (eg Methodist)

3

- Jewish

4

- Other (state which).....

5

- I have no religion

6

- I don't know

7

	42
--	----

35 How would you describe yourself? Please tick one.

Girl or Boy

<input type="checkbox"/>	1
--------------------------	---

Teenager

<input type="checkbox"/>	2
--------------------------	---

Young man or young woman

<input type="checkbox"/>	3
--------------------------	---

Young person

<input type="checkbox"/>	4
--------------------------	---

Young Adult

<input type="checkbox"/>	5
--------------------------	---

Adult

<input type="checkbox"/>	6
--------------------------	---

Other (please state)

<input type="checkbox"/>	43
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PLEASE TURN OVER TO COMPLETE THE QUESTIONNAIRE

35 Is there anything else you would like to tell us, about the things you do in your spare time? If so, please write it here:

--	--

44 45

36 What are your views on this questionnaire? Please tell us:-

--	--

46 47

37 Later this year, we would like to talk to some of you about the things you do in your spare time. If you would be prepared to talk to a researcher about your spare time activities, please write your name and year group here.

Name & Year Group No.: _____

--

48

(Please note: not everyone who gives their name will be interviewed. Any information given will be kept secret, for the researcher's use only. Your name will not be used).

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELP

Please check you have answered each question correctly.

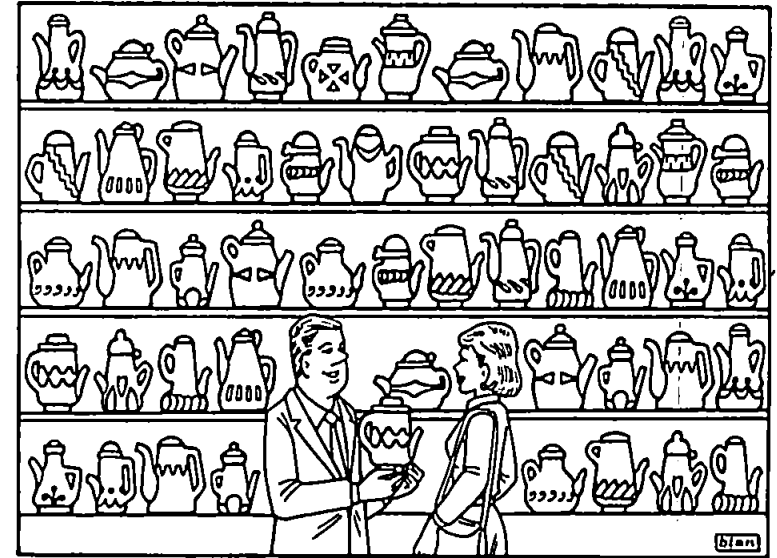
If you have any time left, there is a puzzle on the next page for you to try.

WORD SEARCH

- ACORN
- AKEE
- ALLIGATOR
- PEAR
- APPLE
- APRICOT
- ARNUT
- BETEL-NUT
- BIFFIN
- BLENHEIM
- ORANGE
- CAPE
- GOOSEBERRY
- CEDRATE
- CHESTNUT
- CODLING
- CORNELIAN-CHERRY
- COSTARD
- CRAB
- DATE
- FRENCH BERRY
- GEAN
- GOLDEN DELICIOUS
- GRANADILLA
- GUAVA
- HIP
- HOG-PLUM
- KAKI
- LEMON
- LOQUAT
- MANDARIN
- MANGO
- MAST
- MELON
- MUSCATEL
- NECTARINE
- OLIVE
- PEAR
- PINE
- PISTACHIO NUT
- RASPBERRY
- SAMARA
- SLOE
- WALNUT
- WATER-MELON
- WHORTLE-BERRY

B E T E L N U T N I R A D N A M
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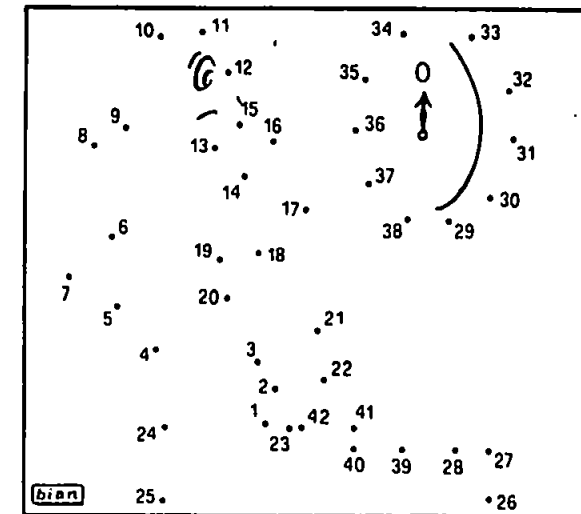
POT LUCK



The shopper is looking for four coffee-pots of exactly the same design. Can you help the assistant to find them for her?

235

DOT- to-DOT



Join the dots from 1 to 42 to reveal

APPENDIX B:
**LETTER OF PARENTAL
CONSENT TO INTERVIEW**

POLYTECHNIC SOUTH WEST (PLYMOUTH)
YOUNG PEOPLE AND LEISURE SURVEY 1992

April, 1992.

Dear Parent(s),

I am a researcher at Polytechnic South West in Plymouth, and I am carrying out some research into the sorts of things young people do in their spare time. I am currently focusing on young people between the ages of eleven and sixteen, and I would really like to talk to a number of them, in confidence, about their spare time activities.

Mr Clark, Headteacher at Devonport Secondary School, has kindly agreed to co-operate with the study, and to allow the interviews to be carried out at the school.

Your child, _____ has indicated that he/she would be willing to be interviewed, and I am now writing to ask for your written consent to this.

I can assure you of the utmost confidentiality, and that no names will be used in any way. I would be very grateful for your help in this very important piece of research.

Would you please fill in the form below, and return it to the school as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Colin Dawson.

Polytechnic South West (Plymouth): Young People and Leisure Survey

* I give my consent to _____ being interviewed.

I do not give my consent to _____ being interviewed.

(* Please delete as appropriate)

Signed _____ (Parent) Child's Form: _____

APPENDIX C:
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

YOUNG PEOPLE AND LEISURE SURVEY 1992

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Notes to Researcher.

1. Introduce yourself.
2. Explain purpose of research.
3. Explain how the information will be used.
4. Stress complete anonymity and confidentiality.
(i.e. No feedback to parents or teachers).
5. Ask for consent to tape interview.
(Explain role of tape recorder as note taker).
6. Probe as necessary.

Self Image.

1. How would you describe yourself as a person?
2. Are you mostly happy, or sad?
3. Are you ever lonely?
4. Do you ever get angry or violent?
5. How do you think other people see you?
6. Do you ever worry about your appearance?

Home Life.

1. Are you happy where you live?
2. What things do you like or dislike about living at home?
3. Do you have to help around the home?
4. Do your parents have rules about what you do, or where you go?

Social Network.

1. Do you have a lot of friends?
2. Are your friends mostly male, female, or mixed?
3. Do you have one special friend?
4. If yes, is it male or female?
5. Do your friends mostly live in the same area?
6. Are your friends mostly the same age, or younger, or older?
7. If you have a problem, who would you talk to about it?

Leisure.

1. What do you understand by the term 'leisure'.
2. Where you live, are there lots of things to do in your spare time?
3. What do you normally do in your spare time, when you are at home?
4. Do you use any organised activities, such as youth clubs, Guides, Scouts, etc.
If not, why not?
5. What do you do in your spare time, when you go out of your home?
6. Do you take part in any sports?
7. Do you take part in any musical/artistic/cultural activities?
8. Do you take part in any illegal activities?
9. Is there anything you would like to do in your spare time, but are unable. If so, what prevents you from doing it?
10. Do you ever feel disadvantaged in what you are able to do, compared to other people?

Change over time.

1. What sorts of things did you do in your spare time when you were:
 - (a) 11
 - (b) 12
 - (c) 13
 - (d) 14
2. In what ways has this changed?
3. How do you think your spare time activities will change over the next five years.

Gender Differences.

1. What effect does being a male or female have on the sorts of things you are able to do in your spare time.

2. Are there things that males can do, but females can't, and vice versa? If so, why do you think this is.
3. In the area in which you live, do you think that life is generally better for males, or females?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR COMING TO TALK TO ME

APPENDIX D:
PARTICIPATION IN SPORTS

	Age Group							
	11/12		13/14		15/16		ALL	
	M	% F	M	% F	M	% F		
Swimming.								
Never/rarely,	19.0	15.8	33.3	31.3	45.7	29.0	31.0	
Occasionally,	19.0	15.8	18.2	43.8	31.4	61.3	33.3	
Regularly	62.0	68.4	48.5	24.9	22.9	9.7	35.7	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Pool.								
Never/rarely	35.0	63.2	35.3	59.4	33.3	58.1	46.8	
Occasionally	20.0	5.3	23.5	18.8	33.3	25.8	22.5	
Regularly	45.0	31.5	41.2	21.8	33.4	16.1	30.7	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Walking/Trekking.								
Never/rarely	50.0	31.6	75.8	31.3	60.0	35.5	48.8	
Occasionally	10.0	15.8	6.1	21.9	17.1	22.6	15.9	
Regularly	40.0	52.6	18.1	46.8	22.9	41.9	35.3	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Football.								
Never/rarely	33.3	63.2	21.2	78.1	25.7	80.0	49.4	
Occasionally	4.8	5.3	9.1	9.4	17.1	13.3	10.6	
Regularly	61.9	31.5	69.7	12.5	57.2	6.7	40.0	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Ice Skating.								
Never/rarely	73.7	52.7	60.6	40.6	51.5	48.4	53.3	
Occasionally	5.3	26.3	21.2	31.3	39.4	38.7	28.7	
Regularly	21.0	21.0	18.2	28.1	9.1	12.9	18.0	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Snooker.								
Never/rarely	36.8	68.4	38.2	62.5	45.5	74.2	54.2	
Occasionally	15.8	10.5	26.5	12.5	21.2	19.4	18.5	
Regularly	47.4	21.1	35.3	25.0	33.3	6.4	27.3	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Running/Jogging.								
Never/rarely	33.3	22.2	60.6	38.7	75.8	74.2	54.5	
Occasionally	9.5	16.7	15.2	12.9	9.1	12.9	12.6	
Regularly	57.2	38.9	24.2	48.4	15.1	12.9	32.9	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Cycling.								
Never/rarely	42.9	73.7	37.5	62.5	63.6	71.0	58.3	
Occasionally	4.8	5.3	18.8	18.8	15.6	16.1	14.3	
Regularly	52.3	21.0	43.7	18.7	20.8	12.9	27.4	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
<hr/>								
(n =	21	19	34	32	35	32	173)

	Age Group						ALL	
	11/12		13/13		15/16			
	M	% F	M	% F	M	% F		
Darts.								
Never/rarely	65.0	77.8	51.5	78.1	50.0	67.7	63.7	
Occasionally	10.0	-	15.2	9.4	17.6	22.6	13.7	
Regularly	25.0	22.2	33.3	12.5	32.4	9.7	22.6	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Badminton.								
Never/rarely	85.7	57.9	69.7	59.4	70.6	51.6	65.3	
Occasionally	9.5	15.8	6.1	21.9	14.7	25.8	15.9	
Regularly	4.8	26.3	24.2	18.7	14.7	22.6	18.8	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Athletics.								
Never/rarely	71.4	47.4	66.6	59.4	64.7	77.4	65.3	
Occasionally	4.8	10.5	18.2	15.6	23.5	19.4	16.5	
Regularly	23.8	42.1	15.1	55.0	11.8	3.2	18.2	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Skateboarding.								
Never/rarely	52.4	68.4	57.6	71.9	60.6	100.0	69.2	
Occasionally	9.5	-	18.2	15.6	18.2	-	11.2	
Regularly	38.1	31.6	24.2	12.5	21.2	-	19.6	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Fishing.								
Never/rarely	57.1	68.4	59.4	80.0	66.7	90.3	71.1	
Occasionally	14.3	5.3	31.3	10.0	12.1	9.7	14.5	
Regularly	28.6	26.3	9.3	10.0	21.2	-	14.4	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Basketball.								
Never/rarely	66.6	66.7	48.4	82.8	81.8	86.7	73.1	
Occasionally	5.6	6.7	19.4	10.3	9.1	10.0	10.9	
Regularly	27.7	26.6	32.2	6.9	9.1	3.3	16.0	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Table Tennis.								
Never/rarely	70.0	73.7	84.8	75.0	61.8	74.2	73.4	
Occasionally	5.0	15.8	6.1	6.3	5.9	9.7	7.7	
Regularly	25.0	10.5	9.1	18.7	32.3	16.1	18.9	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
Aerobics/Keep Fit.								
Never/rarely	76.2	47.4	87.1	59.4	97.0	77.4	76.0	
Occasionally	-	21.1	3.2	15.6	-	16.1	9.0	
Regularly	23.8	31.5	9.7	25.0	3.0	6.5	15.0	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
(n =	21	19	34	32	35	32	173)

	Age Group						ALL
	11/12		13/14		15/16		
	M	% F	M	% F	M	% F	
Hockey.							
Never/rarely	61.9	52.6	57.6	87.5	88.6	96.8	76.6
Occasionally	9.5	21.1	21.2	9.4	5.7	3.2	11.1
Regularly	28.6	26.3	21.2	3.1	5.7	-	12.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Tennis.							
Never/rarely	85.7	72.2	78.8	65.6	82.4	77.4	76.9
Occasionally	4.8	11.1	9.1	15.6	8.8	12.9	10.7
Regularly	9.5	16.7	12.1	18.8	8.8	9.7	12.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Netball.							
Never/rarely	85.7	44.4	96.9	58.1	97.0	83.9	80.1
Occasionally	-	5.6	3.1	29.0	-	12.9	9.0
Regularly	14.3	50.0	-	12.9	3.0	3.2	10.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Squash.							
Never/rarely	90.5	84.2	84.8	84.4	88.2	58.1	81.2
Occasionally	4.8	5.3	6.1	-	8.8	22.6	8.2
Regularly	4.7	10.5	9.1	15.6	3.0	19.3	10.6
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Martial Arts.							
Never/rarely	73.7	73.7	84.8	93.8	87.9	90.3	85.6
Occasionally	5.3	10.5	3.0	-	-	9.7	4.2
Regularly	21.0	15.7	12.2	6.2	12.1	-	10.2
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Rugby.							
Never/rarely	80.0	89.5	75.8	87.4	85.3	100.0	86.4
Occasionally	10.0	-	12.1	6.3	8.8	-	6.5
Regularly	10.0	10.5	12.1	6.3	5.9	-	7.1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Cricket.							
Never/rarely	66.7	84.2	75.8	93.8	94.1	96.8	86.5
Occasionally	14.3	-	18.2	3.1	2.9	3.2	7.1
Regularly	19.0	15.8	6.0	3.1	3.0	-	6.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Sailing.							
Never/rarely	85.7	83.3	90.9	87.5	88.2	90.3	88.2
Occasionally	-	11.1	6.1	9.4	2.9	6.5	5.9
Regularly	14.3	5.6	3.0	3.1	8.9	3.2	5.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(n = 21 19 34 32 35 32 173)

	Age Group						ALL	
	11/12		13/14		15/16			
	M	% F	M	% F	M	% F		
Surfing.								
Never/rarely	95.0	78.9	93.9	96.9	90.9	100.0	93.5	
Occasionally	-	15.8	-	3.1	6.1	-	3.0	
Regularly	5.0	5.3	6.1	-	3.0	-	3.5	
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
(n =	21	19	34	32	35	32	173
)								

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