

LIVING ON DURBAN'S FRINGE: A STUDY OF THE
LEISURE STYLES OF SHACK AND PERI-URBAN
YOUTH

by

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ABSTRACT

The study explored the leisure styles of peri-urban youth living on the fringe of the city of Durban. Little is known about the leisure patterns of this marginalised segment of the urban population and an aim of this study was to begin to develop a knowledge-base using a holistic or multi-theme approach. Data was collected on the leisure activities, attitudes and the leisure setting of shack youth. Such information would be helpful in understanding the role which leisure plays and could play in the social development of shack youth.

The research methodology, comprising qualitative interviewing in phase one (to gather contextual data) and a survey in phase two (to explore leisure patterns quantitatively), complemented the holistic focus by examining actors' leisure experiences and the wider leisure context.

To interpret the research findings, socio-psychological models of leisure explained respondents' styles of leisure at the interpersonal level whilst at the macro-spatial level, findings were contextualised in an apartheid city framework to show the way the historical context has shaped present leisure patterns.

In the context of shack life, leisure was found to be a strategy for survival and an alternative route to the satisfaction of higher order needs. Despite environmental constraints, respondents identified socio-spatial opportunities for leisure activities which they perceived to be freely chosen and enjoyable. The study concluded that leisure is a valuable tool which social policy makers and planners could use to develop the latent potential of young shack dwellers.

PREFACE

This thesis, unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, is my own work, and has not been submitted in part, or in whole, to any other University. The research was carried out in two main study areas, Mgaga and Amawoti, which are shack settlements on Durban's fringe. The study was under the supervision of Professor Valerie Møller from the Centre for Social and Development Studies and Mr. Geoff Willis from the Department of Geographical and Environmental Sciences at the University of Natal.

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Note:

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- Tables which appear in the main body of the thesis, are numbered in sequence and prefixed by the chapter number. The page on which the table is to be found is also indicated.
- Tables in the Appendix:
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction: What is Leisure?

In industrialised society leisure has been defined in four main ways: As a state of mind or peak experience (for example, Pieper, 1952); leisure as a nonwork activity (Kelly, 1972); leisure as free time or discretionary time (Szalai, 1972); and finally, a holistic approach (for example, Kabanoff, 1980) incorporating the main elements of leisure identified in the other three definitions. They include the components of activity, attitude and setting. This fourth approach to understand leisure is adopted in the present investigation. The advantage of this approach is that it includes the social and spatial context which define the meaning of leisure. This is especially important in the context of this study which explores the way the spatial arrangement in the apartheid city has shaped the leisure patterns of shack youth. In addition, in South Africa where unemployment among school-leavers has increased (over half of the employable African youth population is unemployed, Chisholm, 1993), the increased amount of non-work time does not correspond with an increased amount of unproblematic leisure. Poor access to material resources (including leisure amenities) may constrain the range of leisure opportunities and cause boredom and frustration.

The philosophical approach outlined next also includes the basic components inherent in a holistic understanding of leisure.

1.1.1 Philosophical Assumptions of the Study

The spatial and cultural context of leisure are key elements in understanding the meaning and value of leisure to society. Leisure is embedded in human culture and culture in turn is the substance of leisure (Pieper, 1952). Hence, leisure behaviour and meanings vary according to their cultural context

(Kelly 1987). The spatial setting of leisure also influences leisure patterns and behaviour. Culture shapes and is shaped by the structure of the city (Murphey, 1984). Leisure behaviour is therefore viewed as a product of an interactive process between 'actors' and the socio-spatial and cultural context in which they operate. Dear (1988: 269) summarises this process, "Human landscapes are created by knowledgeable actors (or agents) operating within a specific social context (or structure)". Other social theorists who advocate the importance of the human agency dimension in social theory include Giddens (1987) and Cohen (1987).

This approach was compatible with the two wave research process of the study. Phase one examined the way individuals (actors) adapted to their socio-spatial environment, and reasons and motives for leisure behaviour. Phase two entailed a survey which explored the extent to which the leisure findings derived from phase one could be generalised to a wider shack population.

The next section highlights the marginalised position of black¹ youth in the apartheid city and forms a useful backdrop against which leisure's role in the social development of this sector of the South African population is explored.

1.2 The Situation of Black Youth in South Africa

Recent empirical research has shown that in South Africa, more African youth than youth from any other population group are marginalised or at risk of alienation (Everatt and Orkin, 1993). Indicators of youth marginalisation include: "unemployment, low levels of education, poor health, and poor living conditions, and those who have had 'contact' with the police and judiciary" (Rijpma and Meiburg, 1989: 150).

1 The terms 'black' and African are used interchangeably in this study and exclude Asian and so-called 'Coloured' population groups as defined by the Population Registration Act of 1950 under the system of apartheid.

These indicators of marginalisation are reflected in the personal lifestyle assessments of black South Africans in the late 1980's. Teenage pregnancy and a lack of employment and educational opportunities were perceived as the main problems which this group faced (Møller, 1991).

Crime, delinquency and political conflict were also perceived as negative factors in their lives (Ibid.). Reporting on the levels of violence in black communities between 1989 and 1991, Bundy (1992) reports that urban violence is most common amongst young Africans between 15-25 years of age.

It has recently been found that the experience of violence is worst amongst residents from informal settlements (Everatt and Orkin, 1993). Arguably, shack youth constitute the most marginalised sector of South Africa's urban population. Geographic locality in the apartheid city has increased their social isolation and, an inability to satisfy primary and secondary needs (because of poor access to health, educational, and recreational infrastructure) are factors which exacerbate their marginalised position. Deprivation is one of the main causes of violence in informal settlements. Youth living in informal areas are more likely to be angry and frustrated with their lives and to have a poorer self-image than young people living in other parts of South Africa (Ibid.).

Having highlighted the marginalised position of black youth in South African society, the next section outlines the role which leisure can play in the social development of African youth.

1.3 The Importance of Leisure Research in the Context of Development

Everatt and Orkin (1993) stress the need for an holistic approach to youth development which entails allowing young people to express their opinions on a range of issues in the social, economic, political and psychological domains. Leisure research would facilitate such a holistic approach because

it provides a window from which to observe young people's lifestyles¹ and how these lifestyles shape their attitudes about the social world in which they live.

Webster (1984: 10) argues that "it is important to examine people's own conceptions of their lifestyle, life chances and motivations in order to see how they respond to apparent 'development opportunities'."

The role which leisure research could play in development has been highlighted by several researchers. For example, Garton and Pratt, 1987 point out that data on the leisure activities of adolescents is important as it provides a more complete picture of their social world; Henderson, 1990 suggests that understanding women's leisure can also reveal other aspects of their lives including lifestyle choices and oppression.

Geographical research in the field of leisure is difficult to separate from other disciplines (Collins and Patmore, 1981). This difficulty arises from the cross-disciplinary content of leisure studies (Mercer, 1980). Geographic interest in leisure cuts across many disciplines including the social sciences, the humanities, biological sciences and the earth sciences (Ibid.). In the sub-field of recreation², two main research foci can be identified: work related to the availability (the supply) of recreation resources and, the demand for such resources.

For human geographers the main areas of interest concern leisure behaviour (including leisure resource demand and the spatial distribution of leisure activities) and the development of recreational policy concerned with the

1 The term 'lifestyle' refers to "the characteristic way of filling and combining the various social roles....-those of parent, spouse, homemaker, worker, citizen, friend, club, or association member, and user of leisure time" (Havighurst and Feigenbaum, 1959: 396).

2 The term recreation is sometimes used synonymously with leisure but most writers agree that recreation is a narrower concept falling within the realm of leisure. Weiskopf (1982:15) defines recreation as "a goal oriented and constructive activity".

use of recreational resources (Ibid.). Coppock (1982) points out that leisure activities outside the home require a journey to the recreation site and thus the study of the "spatial interactions between participants and resources" (Ibid: 3) is an additional area where geographers can make a valuable contribution to leisure research.

Coppock (1982: 2) highlights the unidimensionality of leisure research in the West and notes that "only now is a concern with leisure as a whole and with leisure systems beginning to emerge". The eclectic nature of geography puts it in a unique position to simultaneously explore the impact of society and geographical space on leisure behaviour (Goudie, 1992). Geographers are therefore strategically placed to undertake leisure research in a holistic manner and to assess leisure's role in the social development of marginalised youth. Given the importance of leisure research to developing societies, leisure's role in human development is explored in the next section.

1.3.1 Can Leisure Play a Role in Development?

The entrenchment of the right to leisure in the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights highlights the importance of leisure as an essential human need in society. Nevertheless, in South Africa, given its developing context, it would seem that there are more important developmental challenges and research priorities (for example in fields of housing, unemployment and education) besides the leisure needs of the urban poor. Responding to these priorities effectively will in part determine the future peacefulness and prosperity of the country.

Social theorists generally agree that leisure cannot be viewed as a panacea for all social developmental problems, however, leisure can play a role in solving some of these problems. The development of a leisure policy could be one ingredient in a policy package aimed at improving the quality of life and opportunities of young South Africans living on the fringes of our cities in shack settlements where boredom and frustration levels are high as a result of relative deprivation.

In South Africa, the apartheid city has resulted in the spatial and social isolation of Africans. Black city dwellers have been confined largely to the urban periphery in informal settlements.

For example, it has been estimated that by 1985, 62% of the total African population in the Durban Functional Region (otherwise referred to as the DFR¹, the boundaries of which are shown in **Figure 1.1, p 7**) were settled informally (Sutcliffe and McCarthy, 1989). Access to social and physical infrastructure is poor in such areas and there is a shortage of formal health facilities and recreational amenities (Grant and Meiklejohn, 1994).

Such conditions of deprivation have a negative impact on the quality of life of residents. For example, research has shown that township youth in South Africa who are dissatisfied and pessimistic also experience leisure deprivation together with other socio-economic problems such poverty and unemployment (Møller, 1991). Other writers (for example Neulinger, 1981 and Shaw, 1984) agree that quality of life research also needs to be concerned with leisure. Shaw (1984: 92) suggests that "leisureliness", or the amount of leisure people experience, can play a role in social development.

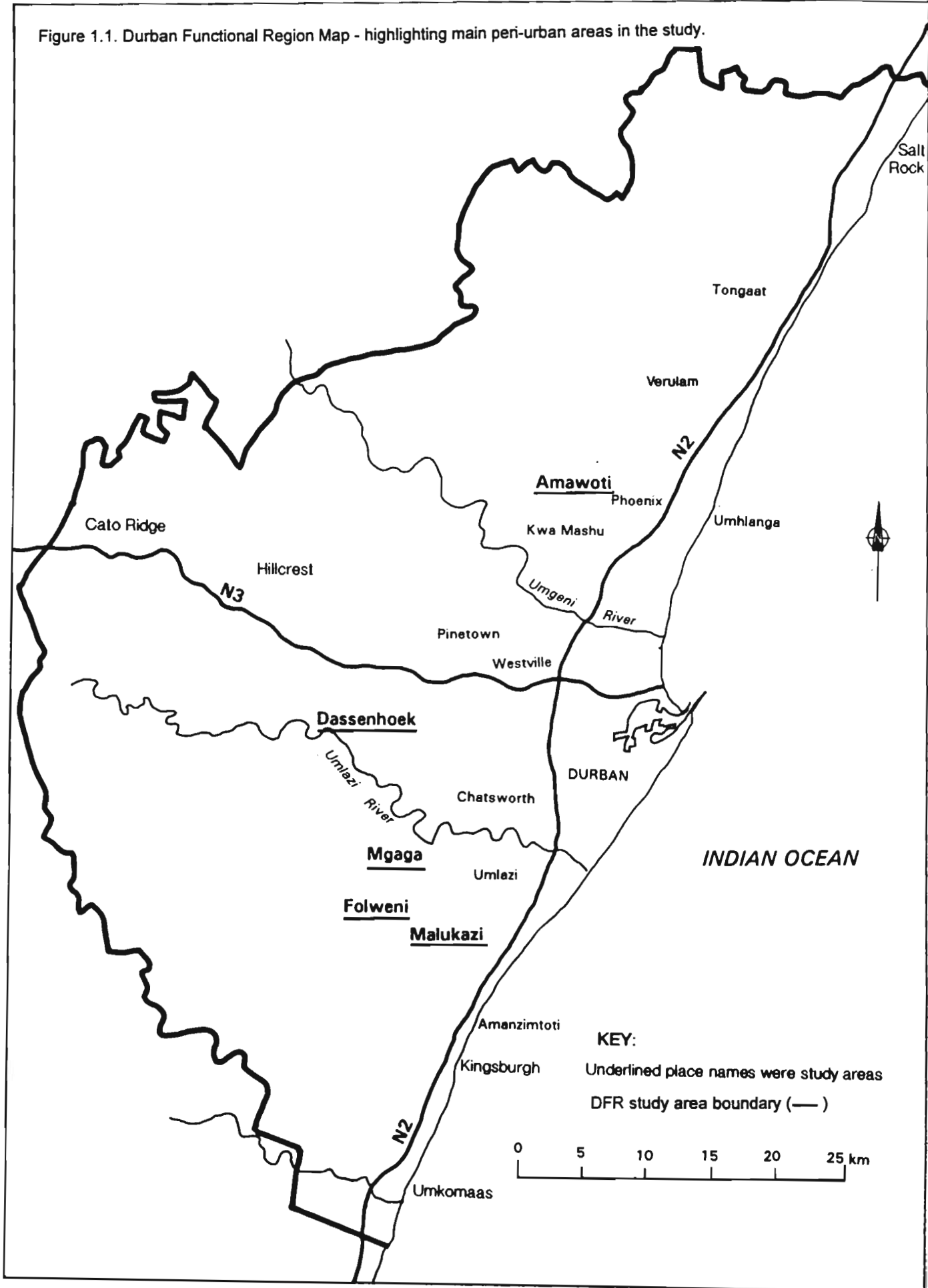
Leisure's role in public policy to address the problems of the urban poor is therefore receiving increased attention amongst social scientists. Areas of investigation include the promotion of the informal economy through the voluntary leisure sector² (Bishop and Hoggett, 1989); the provision of public sporting and recreational facilities for the unemployed (Glyptis, 1983) and; the establishment of leisure education and education for leisure programmes³.

1 In the Durban region, there are a number of statutory and non-statutory boundaries. Statutory boundaries include the Durban Metropolitan Transport Area Boundary (the DMTA boundary is defined in Chapter Four) and the Greater Durban Metropolitan Area Boundary and Substructures (1994). This thesis uses the DFR and the DMTA as study area boundaries.

2 The voluntary leisure sector includes clubs and organisations. For example, amateur dramatic societies, art clubs, singing clubs and sporting clubs.

3 The former denotes the use of discretionary time for educational projects whereas the latter focuses on leisure as an actual learning goal.

Figure 1.1. Durban Functional Region Map - highlighting main peri-urban areas in the study.



In the light of the role which leisure can play in social development, the aims of the present study of shackland youth are discussed in the next section.

1.4 The Aims of this Study

Little is known about the lifestyles of young shack dwellers living on the fringe of South African cities and in view of their marginalised position in the city, they are an especially important group which planners and policy makers need more information about. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)¹ will have to be tailored to young shack dwellers' lifestyles, their needs and the local conditions in which they live. Failure to consider these factors will undermine the success of future developmental efforts. The present holistic leisure study attempts to partially address this knowledge gap by exploring the leisure patterns of peri-urban black youth around the city of Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. The research areas covered in this study are highlighted in **Figure 1.1, p 7**.

The second objective of this holistic study focuses on the nature of leisure activities and leisure's role in the social development of shack youth. This is an important and neglected area of research which the study explores further. Recent research in South Africa has tangentially shown how the apartheid city has shaped the leisure choices of black youth. For example, Møller et al., 1994 found that youth clubs in Durban's townships and shack settlements served as a channel for personal advancement for young people. Such informal youth clubs were therefore used as a vehicle for education in leisure time. The extent to which (semi-) leisure² replaces paid work and school activities in satisfying young shack dwellers' higher order needs such as self-esteem, a sense of belongingness, and self-actualisation is a further aim of this study.

-
- 1 The RDP is a broad policy framework adopted by the Government of National Unity for the economic and social development of all South Africans.
 - 2 Semi-leisure activities are part-work and part-leisure and have some utilitarian value and institutional obligation. In contrast 'pure or ideal' leisure is an activity participated in for its own sake. It is discretionary and entails no extrinsic reward. An example would be listening to music for its pure enjoyment value.

With these research objectives in mind, the research hypotheses are outlined below.

1.5 The Research Hypotheses

The apartheid city has resulted in social inequality between black city dwellers living on the distant periphery and residents closer to the urban core. This legacy of oppression has resulted in many social and economic problems including poverty, unemployment, a shortage of social and physical infrastructure, overcrowding, violence and the breakdown of family life. All of these factors are major impediments to the social development of African youth living on the urban periphery. In the light of this deprived social environment, the following hypotheses were formulated:

- a) Shack youth should express negative perceptions about their social and physical environment and have negative self-perceptions.
- b) Boredom and frustration as a result of young shack dwellers' deprived environment should influence their style of leisure. Delinquent leisure activities (such as youth gangsterism) should be more common than "pro-social activities" (Møller *et al.*, 1994). Examples of pro-social activities include participating in church and youth clubs.
- c) Leisure activities which have some utilitarian value (semi-leisure) should be more common than pure leisure activities and leisure should be self-organised rather than consumer-oriented (an example of commercial leisure would include going to night clubs).
- d) Respondents' leisure activities should be neighbourhood-based and, given the dearth of leisure amenities in peri-urban settlements and respondents' poor access to resources outside their shack settlements, makeshift informal venues should be the most common spaces used for leisure.
- e) In view of the marginalised position of shack youth in the South African city, access to leisure resources and a lack of awareness of available resources should be respondents' main constraints on their leisure activities.

f) In the context of deprivation and the unequal distribution of resources in the apartheid city, respondents' main motivations for leisure should also focus on ways of coping with the consequences of social and economic deprivation. Definitions of leisure are expected to be based on semi-leisure rather than pure leisure qualities.

To conclude the chapter the structure of this dissertation is summarised.

1.6 The Layout of the Study

Chapter Two reviews the Western literature on leisure. Five models of leisure are summarised and discussed to show the way leisure theory has progressed. Moving from the interpersonal to the macro level, the second half of the chapter examines the way in which broader societal and institutional forces influence leisure. This investigation covers the influence of the family, the school and unemployment on leisure behaviour. A discussion of current theory on leisure constraints provides a backdrop against which such influences on leisure are explored. Finally, the role which lifecycle plays in shaping leisure meanings and styles is explained. At the adolescent phase of the lifecycle, participation in youth gangs and subcultures serve as important leisure outlets and also assist teenagers in exploring their interests and identities. A summary of the origin, and kinds of youth subcultures to which adolescent youth belong concludes the section on lifecycle influences on leisure.

Chapter Three shifts the focus from the First World to a developing context and reviews some existing leisure research in Africa. Geographic constraints on leisure are then highlighted as a backdrop against which leisure is contextualised in the South African city. This review of the socio-spatial and historical context of leisure in the South African city provides additional pointers to understand more fully the leisure patterns of black youth in the apartheid city.

The methodology is discussed in **Chapter Four**. Hitherto there has been little research into the leisure styles, leisure needs and leisure meanings of shack

youth in the apartheid city. This necessitated an inductive research design employing a first wave of qualitative research from which a data-base was compiled. A questionnaire was then developed and, in the second wave, findings from phase one were tested extensively (quantitatively). The research methodology complemented the holistic approach to the study which investigated respondents' leisure activities, attitudes and leisure settings at the individual and the wider community levels.

Chapters Five, Six and Seven report on the research findings. Chapter Five explores respondents' perceptions of their environment and self-perceptions. Environmental perceptions include an investigation into the kinds of subcultures which are perceived to exist in the two main survey areas, perceptions of community leadership and perceptions of respondents' most pleasant events. Moving from environmental perceptions to the interrelated theme of self-perceptions, respondents' rural-urban identities, self-esteem and personal aspirations are then explored.

Chapter Six deals with the leisure context. Leisure preferences and participation rates are investigated. The impact of gender, age, main occupation and place of residence on leisure behaviour is also explored. The concept of 'leisureliness' was the criterion used to discuss the divisions between the work and leisure spheres of young shack dwellers. Places and venues used for leisure are also described.

A discussion of leisure constraints, is the main topic in Chapter Seven. Central to the leisure experience are motivations for leisure (Neulinger, 1981). Perceptions of leisure constraints influence motivations for leisure (Losier et al., 1993). Logically therefore, the leisure motivations of shack youth are also investigated in this chapter. Leisure definitions and meanings were also explored using qualitative and survey data.

The relationship between the supply of and demand for recreational resources as well as leisure aspirations and barriers to their fulfillment are then examined. Apart from the impact of geography and space on leisure patterns, other social factors such as political violence, youth delinquency,

poor relations with township neighbours are also examined as further possible constraints on leisure. The way shack youth (actors) have adapted to their deprived social environment and overcome some of these constraints to participate in their leisure activities is a further theme. Profiles of recreationists, which are based on the types of leisure amenities they use, highlight the way practical recreational service delivery should be matched to the needs of the end-users and their socio-cultural environment.

Chapter Eight summarizes the main research findings and assesses whether the research questions in Chapter One have been answered. The policy implications of the research findings are also highlighted.

CHAPTER TWO

LEISURE THEORY

2.1 General Introduction

Chapter Two equips the reader with Western models of leisure which highlights the way social forces influence the style of leisure. Socio-economic factors which shape leisure interests and needs are also explored in Chapter two. Existing models which explain leisure are ahistorical and focus attention at the micro-level (the relationship between individuals and their immediate social context). Such models also originate from Western industrialised contexts which exclude cultural variations in leisure styles in African societies and the way the "racial geography" (Hindson *et al.*, 1993) of the apartheid city influences leisure patterns. Nevertheless, these models are important in the present analysis because they provide the link between the social and spatial contexts at the micro level.

Chapter Three contextualises leisure within the South African city to achieve a more complete understanding of the forces which influence the leisure experience in South African apartheid city. The interrelationship between geographical space, the historical context and social structure in the apartheid city is the framework for this discussion.

2.1.1 The Content of this Chapter

Firstly, five contemporary models of leisure are reviewed. The most recent models identify different leisure styles which serve as useful conceptual tools to understand the leisure patterns of peri-urban and shack youth in the South African city.

A summary of the most important conceptual and analytical advances in leisure constraints theory introduces the second part of this chapter and

forms a useful backdrop against which major institutional constraints on young people's leisure are discussed. The study of leisure constraints is a major theme in contemporary leisure research and is an important aspect of this study.

The life-course approach to understanding leisure needs is then expanded upon to capture the 'meaning' (the subjective experience of leisure) dimension of leisure more completely. This description illustrates the way leisure needs change at different points in the lifecycle and the interrelationships between these needs and the wider social context. The chapter is concluded with a brief review of basic concepts and theory of youth subcultures which assists with an understanding of the subcultural styles of shack youth explored in this study.

2.2 A Review of the Leisure Models

Explanations of leisure have shifted from unidimensional models incorporating either sociological or psychological explanations (for example, Kelly, 1972; Neulinger, 1974) to eclectic models which combine psycho-social interpretations (for example, Gunter and Gunter, 1980; Samdahl, 1988). The holistic emphasis of these latter models makes them more useful to this present exploratory study of shack youth which investigates the leisure experience in both work and non-work contexts. This section firstly explores sociological and psychological models and then examines holistic models which combine psycho-social approaches.

2.2.1 Sociological Models

The *Tripartite Model* of leisure conceptualised by Parker (1972) identified three kinds of work-leisure relationships. People classified under the extension category view work as their central life interest which extends into leisure time. The opposition pattern describes a situation where leisure activities are deliberately unlike work and leisure compensates for the negative features associated with work.

In the neutrality pattern, work is generally different to leisure but not deliberately so. Whereas the opposition and extension patterns describe respectively negative and positive attachments to work, the neutrality pattern denotes a detachment from work as a result of workers' ambivalent feelings about work. These bland and detached feelings carry into their leisure styles. Passivity and detachment are the hallmarks of leisure behaviour for this group (Ibid:105).

In the *Two-Factor Model* proposed by Kelly (1972), two scales, applied to a four cell configuration, are used to measure the quality of leisure. **Figure 2.1, p 16** shows that these are the "freedom-discretion and the work-relation dimensions" (Ibid: 59). "Ideal-type leisure" (Ibid: 56) occupies cell one and is the equivalent of pure leisure. Cell two; "co-ordinated leisure" (Ibid: 56), is leisure which is related to but not required by the job. In this situation, work may spill-over into leisure time. Cell three; "complimentary leisure" (Ibid.) is obligatory and independent of the work context. In this, situation role expectations associated with a particular job carry into leisure time to influence the type of leisure experience. In the fourth cell, "recuperative or preparative leisure" (Ibid: 58) is dependent on the work context and is obligated leisure. Under these circumstances, the worker needs to either prepare for future work or recuperate from past work. This cell is therefore not unlike the opposition pattern described in Parker's (1972) model.

The major problem with the *activity* models of leisure (for example Kelly, 1972; Parker, 1972) is their treatment of leisure as residual time outside work. Not all free time activities may constitute leisure. For example, maintenance activities such as cleaning and eating occur in non-work time but nevertheless are obligatory and therefore should be distinguished from leisure (O'Brien, 1986). Another criticism is that these models assume that the different modes of leisure styles are only a product of the work situation (Kabanoff, 1980).

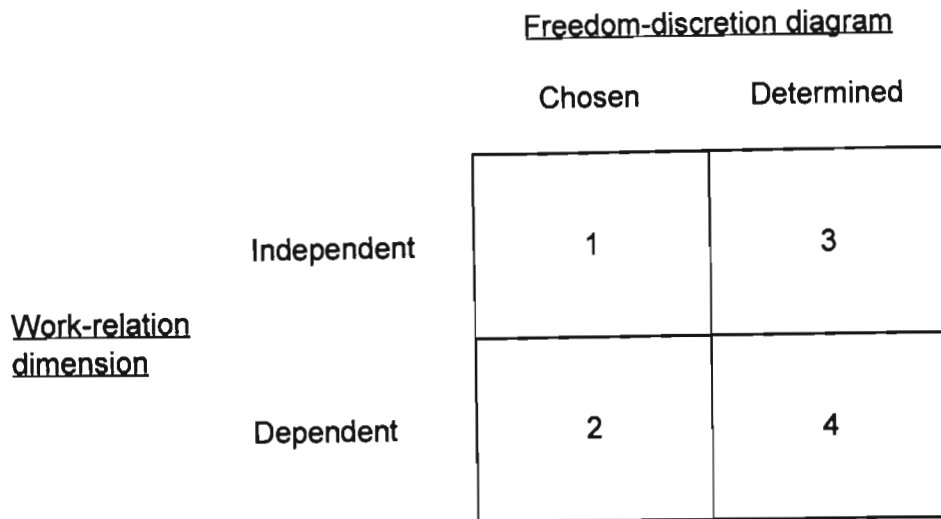


Figure 2.1. A Simplified Model of Leisure. (Kelley, 1972)

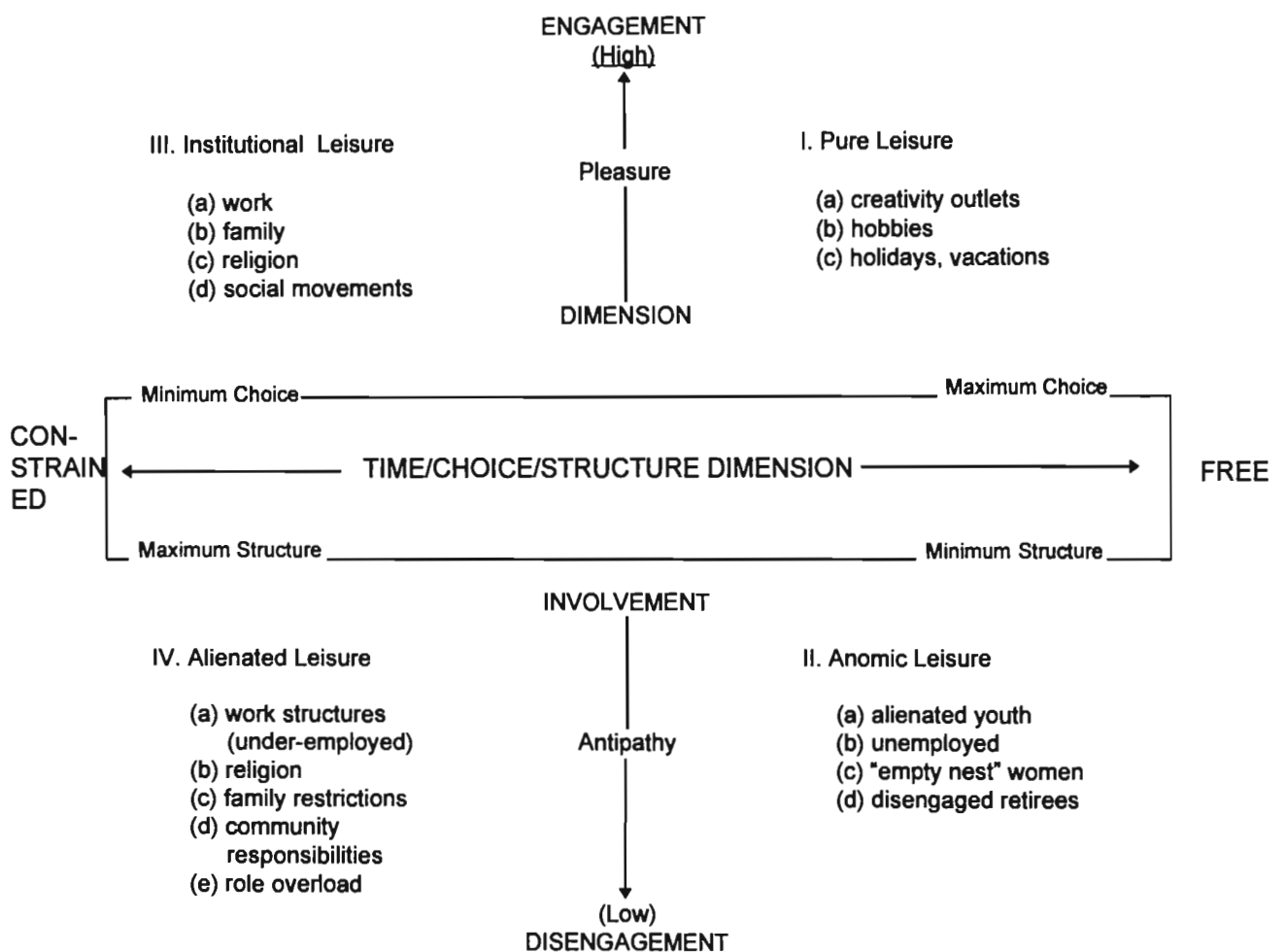


Figure 2.2. Engagement-Free Choice Model of Leisure (Gunter and Gunter, 1980)

2.2.2 Psychological Models

Motivation is a key component of leisure and is the cornerstone of the psychological models of leisure. Some important concepts of leisure motivation are firstly defined to introduce the description of the psychological leisure models.

Deci and Ryan (1985) identify several types of motivation associated with leisure. Intrinsically motivated leisure (Ibid: 32) is leisure engaged in for its own sake, for the pure pleasure derived from the activity. When leisure is extrinsically motivated, the influence of an outside force is the incentive to participate (Ibid: 35). "Self-determination", or the capacity to choose, (Deci and Ryan, 1985: 38) determines the type of leisure motivation (i.e. intrinsic or extrinsic motivation). Perceptions of free choice promote intrinsic motivation whereas perceptions of constraints boost the chances of "non-self-determined" forms of motivation (Losier et al., 1993: 157). Self-determined motivation has positive consequences for the individual which include: better mental health, higher self esteem and more satisfaction with an activity and life in general (Deci and Ryan, 1985; Losier et al., 1993).

Two variations of extrinsic motivation also exist; "self-determined extrinsic motivation and non-self-determined extrinsic motivation" (Losier et al., 1993: 154). The difference between these two is based on the reason for participation. In the former case, the reason for participation is discretionary whereas in the latter case, the reason for participation is determined by external factors (Ibid.).

Neulinger's (1981) *Three Layer Model* is a prominent example of a psychological approach to understanding leisure. Neulinger (1981) identified perceived free choice and intrinsic motivation as the key qualities of pure leisure (Ibid: 17). Neulinger's approach views leisure as an attitude which accompanies a behaviour.

The major advantage of Neulinger's subjective approach is that it avoids the "value overtones" associated with a work/leisure distinction (O'Brien, 1986: 254). Work activities are therefore not necessarily unpleasant and can be fun if they are perceived as freely chosen and self-actualising. The major disadvantage with this approach is that any activity can be defined as leisure providing it is an enjoyable and freely chosen experience. Examining the relationship between work and leisure therefore would be difficult because 'tapping into' the mental state of the actor at any particular time is not practical. Our mental experiences and emotions are not stable over time and even the most enjoyable activities may be characterised by periods of "neutral emotion" (Ibid: 254).

Shifting from the unidimensional perspectives, the next section explores holistic models which highlight the differing contexts in which leisure is experienced.

2.2.3 Socio-psychological Models

Gunter and Gunter (1980) based their **four-cell typology** on two dimensions. The first dimension concerns the degree of involvement in an activity (the extent to which an individual becomes absorbed in an activity). The second dimension focuses on the degree of free choice. **Figure 2.2, p 16** shows the four types of leisure identified by Gunter and Gunter (1980). Each type of leisure is based upon different social contexts or "life conditions" (Ibid: 369). For example, the opposite of *pure leisure* (**figure 2.2, p 16** quadrant 1), is *anomic leisure* (quadrant 2), which is characterised by low involvement and an absence of obligation. Unemployed youth may experience this kind of leisure whereby free time is 'empty-time' rather than meaningful leisure. *Institutional leisure* (quadrant 3) is characterised by high enjoyment and engagement but is also structurally constrained by major social institutions to which the individual is linked. For example, the family, work or the church. *Alienated leisure*, (quadrant 4), is also shaped by strong associations with institutional structures. Unlike the previous kind of leisure, the alienated variety has a low enjoyment and engagement value. The gender role obligations of women in the family is an example of this kind of leisure.

Symbolic interaction theory is the basis of Samdahl's (1988) model of leisure. According to this approach, leisure can only be understood completely when we identify the constraints which limit the main component of leisure, that of freedom. Symbolic interaction theory is a useful tool to conceptualise these constraints. Hence, "the subjective interpretations of the social context, are the source of freedoms and constraints which regulate individual action" (Ibid: 29).

Individual action is shaped through a process of "self-objectification" otherwise known as the "looking-glass self" or the awareness of the self in different social roles (Ibid.). A dialectical arrangement exists between the cognitive self (our interpretations of the way people perceive us) and the experiential self (our reaction to the environment). Social interaction is therefore intrinsically restrictive, "our actions are moulded and modified to fit the patterns of action by others" (Ibid: 29). By reducing (social) interactive constraints on our behaviour, the individual is freed from the need for self-objectification (the need to be concerned about the way others are evaluating and judging us). The opportunity for "true self-expression" is thereby increased (Ibid: 30). True self-expression may be equated with the concept of intrinsic motivation identified by Deci and Ryan (1985). **Figure 2.3, p 20** shows Samdahl's use of a four cell typology with self-expression and role constraint as key factors affecting the quality of the leisure experience.

This model has advantages over the others proposed by the Kelly (1972); Neulinger (1981) and the Gunters' (1980). It draws together the important qualities described in the other models and it relates leisure to non-leisure contexts, a feature of Neulinger's (1981) model. In addition, it also incorporates the concepts of *anomic* and *alienated* leisure characteristic of marginalised groups such as alienated youth and the elderly (Ibid: 37). These kinds of leisure may also be characteristic of the leisure styles of some shack youth in the South African city. Such styles of leisure highlight the unpleasant aspects of leisure in certain social contexts and stress the difference between free time which is empty and free time usage which is rewarding.

		Role Constraint	
		Low	High
Self - Expression	High	Pure	Enjoyable
		Leisure	Work
	Low	Anomic	Obligatory
		Leisure	Tasks

Figure 2.3. A Symbolic Interactionist Model of Leisure (Samdahl, 1987)

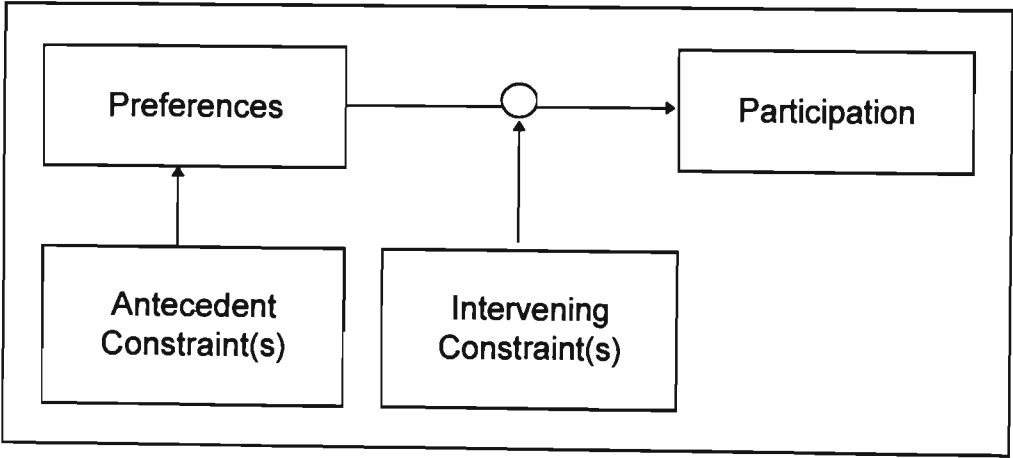


Figure 2.4. Antecedent Constraints (Jackson, 1990)

Researchers using an interactionist approach to explain leisure meanings and behaviour expose themselves to the same criticisms leveled against those working in the functionalist tradition (see Rojek, 1985). One of the major points of contention is their ahistorical treatment of human interaction. These models also do not adequately locate human behaviour within the wider social context but rather concentrate on small-scale interpersonal interaction. Questions about the regularities in human actions and behaviour and why people behave in specific standardized ways in particular social situations are not adequately explained.

In sum, psycho-social models of leisure highlighted the role which perceived constraints play in shaping leisure behaviour. The next section specifically examines the theory behind leisure constraints. The purpose is to acquaint the reader with some of the basic concepts used to describe the leisure constraints experienced by shack youth.

2.3 Leisure Constraints: Some Concepts Defined

A deeper understanding of leisure constraints has recently been achieved with the identification of different dimensions of constraints and the wide range of constraints which effect the recreationist's choices in different ways and at different points in the recreational decision making process. This section summarises some of these findings and forms an important theoretical backdrop from which to explore major institutional constraints on young people's leisure activities discussed in the next section.

The most commonly used method to describe leisure constraints is to distinguish between those which are "internal" and "external" (Francken and van Raaij, 1981: 337). Internal constraints are personal psychological factors such as: capacities, abilities, knowledge and interests (Ibid.). External constraints are those which lie outside the individual and examples include: lack of time and money, lack of facilities and geographical distance (Ibid.). This simple division ignores underlying reasons for particular constraints. For example, a constraint initially seen as 'internal', may mask

the real reason for non-participation which may be a lack of facilities at which the skill can be acquired (Jackson, 1988). 'Blocking' and 'inhibiting' constraints are two further conceptual distinctions. A blocking constraint precludes all participation in an activity whereas inhibiting constraints "inhibit the ability to participate to a greater or lesser extent, depending on the circumstances" (Jackson and Searle, 1985 cited in Jackson, 1988: 208).

Crawford and Godbey (1987) suggest a more sophisticated social-psychological model of constraints and argue that such models should be contextualised within the leisure preference-participation dynamic. Three levels of barriers influencing leisure preferences and participation are listed by these researchers: "*Intrapersonal barriers*" (Ibid: 122), which are similar to internal psychological constraints identified earlier and "*interpersonal barriers*" (Ibid: 123) which are the consequence of interaction between people, for example, the ideas; leisure preferences and needs spouses bring into the marriage relationship. The final level of leisure constraints are "*structural barriers*" (Ibid: 124) which are the standard social context constraints such as lifecycle stage, financial reasons, climate and work time schedules.

Finally, Jackson (1990) identified a further category of constraints which impact on leisure preferences rather than intervening between the preference-participation link. **Figure 2.4, p 20** shows that "antecedent barriers" (Ibid: 55) influence the preference for a particular activity. Antecedent constraints roughly correspond with Crawford and Godbey's (1987) definitions of interpersonal and intrapersonal constraints. Many potential antecedent constraints exist and examples include: gender-role socialisation factors, a shortage of recreational amenities in a particular area and natural recreation resource barriers, for example climatic conditions or topography (Jackson, 1990).

In conclusion, researchers now recognise the need for multi-dimensional models of constraints incorporating psychological and sociological barriers to leisure participation. Recent developments have also focussed on

individuals who express a lack of interest in a particular leisure activity. Researchers have found that such a lack of interest may be an indicator of an antecedent leisure constraint. These constraints influence leisure preferences and do not intervene between the preference-participation dynamic.

The next section moves from the theory of leisure constraints to a review of some Western empirical studies which highlight the impact of structural constraints on leisure.

2.4 How Family, School and Unemployment Influence Leisure

The multidimensional models of leisure behaviour (described earlier) highlighted the different social contexts which promote different styles of leisure. This section reviews some Western empirical studies on the social contexts and institutional forces which give rise to specific leisure styles described in the models. At an intermediate level of macro analysis, three major forces have a direct impact on the leisure behaviour of young people, these are: the family and school contexts and unemployment. The empirical research reviewed in this section focuses on these three factors.

2.4.1 Leisure and Gender Obligations in the Family

The family is a major vehicle through which traditional customs and culture are passed from one generation to the next (Parsons and Bales, 1956). Leisure meanings and styles are partially shaped by the customs and culture transmitted through the family. In Western industrial society women have traditionally occupied a subservient status to men in the household. This subordinate status has its origins in pre-industrial society where the division of labour between the sexes was clear. Women were responsible for managing the household whereas men had to manage the farm and pay the taxes (Robertson, 1985). Men's work had a higher value than women's which also influenced the leisure experiences between the genders. Responsibility for the household finances meant that men had more links

with the outside world and the additional social space in which to engage in leisure activities (Ibid.).

In contemporary Western society the inequality between men and women's leisure persists. Shaw (1984) found that distinct differences exist between males and females vis á vis leisure definitions, meanings and experiences. Activities such as cooking, domestic chores and child care are more frequently defined as leisure by male respondents than their female counterparts. Men are more likely to define these activities as leisure because they perceive less obligation in performing them. Shaw (1984) found that situational specificity resulted in the same individual defining the same activity as either work or leisure at different times.

Factors such as the day of the week, the time of the day, the location of the activity and the presence of other people all featured in respondents' assessments as to whether an activity constituted work or leisure.

Within the family unit, women are socialised to show more concern for others than for their own interests and this has an impact on their leisure experiences and meanings (Henderson, 1990). Allen and Chin-Sang (1990) note that the ethic of care-giving is an important part of women's leisure activities. Structural barriers within the household also constrain women's leisure activities. Women are more subject to role overload than their male counterparts. Many engage in paid work outside the home and also have domestic and other childcare responsibilities at home. This cuts down on their available leisure time (Streather, 1976). Alienated leisure may therefore be the style which typifies women's leisure. Multiple role responsibilities mean that their leisure activities are often fragmented and interrupted frequently by their "unpaid work" (Deem, 1988: 93).

Work and leisure also frequently occur in the same spatial setting for women. "Interstitial leisure" (Kelly, 1987: 126) or short breaks within the context of work activities is a common style of leisure. Household commitments and family obligations make it more difficult for women to go out (Deem, 1988). The lack of opportunities outside the home as well as

security factors may be additional reasons why the family is their major "container" (Henderson, 1990: 233) for leisure. Scraton (1984) notes that young working-class women in British society have little access to space. Social and sporting facilities are dominated by men (Ibid: 153).

Leisure activities outside the home are also experientially different between the genders. For women, the meaning of such activities centres around social interaction with other women (Henderson, 1990). Intrapersonal constraints also limit the leisure alternatives available to women (Crawford and Godbey, 1987). In patriarchal societies, women's (unpaid) domestic work is undervalued and the traditional conception that leisure is the reward for (paid) work means that women lose out in the leisure-reward stakes. Many women are socialised to believe that they do not deserve leisure (Henderson, 1990).

Bella (1986, cited in Henderson, 1990) asserts that leisure is a concept developed by men who based their definition on the importance of employment in their lifestyles.

In the family context young people are socialised to value different kinds of leisure. Roberts (1970) notes that during adolescence, the leisure activities of young women are regulated more closely than young men's. Florian and Har-Even (1984) confirm this point in a study on the cultural patterns in the choice of leisure time activities between Jewish and Arab youth. Teenage girls in the Arab group were most disadvantaged in terms of leisure opportunities. The researchers attributed this to the traditional home-keeping role of women in Arab society (Ibid.).

Gender role-socialisation is also evident in Western society. Different leisure interests between young males and females are due to differing main occupations and the constraints which derive from young women's domestic responsibilities in the home. Garton and Pratt (1987) found that whereas boys do not participate in activities such as talking about fashion and beauty, girls were not interested in some of the male pastimes such as attending youth clubs and listening to a particular radio station. Differing

leisure preferences may be due to antecedent constraints. For example, Brake (1985) attributes the rise of the 'Teeny Bopper' subculture amongst young women to more strict control by parents and gender-role socialisation. Young women are required to remain at home where they are informally trained for their future roles as housewives and mothers. The 'Teeny Bopper' subculture is easily accessible to adolescent girls. It is bedroom-based and consists of meeting girlfriends. Activities include listening to music and sharing gossip. General topics of conversation may include discussing boyfriends and talking about the latest fashions. This young women's subculture is,

a retreat and a preparation for young girls. They can relate to their best friend...and together practice the secrecy of girl culture for the rituals of courtship, away from the eye of male ridicule (Brake, 1985: 169)

In conclusion, this section dealt with the specific way in which the family has an impact on the leisure styles of its members. Gender roles assigned to women bind them to the family and for many, leisure may be of the alienated variety. In the next section attention is focused on the influence of the school as an institution which has an impact on young people's leisure behaviour.

2.4.2 The Impact of the School on Leisure

For most adolescents in Western industrialised society, school activities occupy much of their daily time. Corrigan (1982: 194) notes that the school is a major defining characteristic in the lives of adolescents. Weekly activities including leisure are structured around this experience. For young people school is an obligatory activity and this element of compulsion translates into a feeling of powerlessness which shapes the style of their free time activities. The rejection of institutions controlled by adults results in young people being left with 'nothing to do' in their spare time (Ibid.). Yet the activity 'doing nothing' is both boring and important for adolescents in

that it contains a wide variety of activities which offer excitement. Corrigan (1982: 195) writes,

contained within the experience of doing nothing there has to be a set of autonomous, interesting activities which will last them for the rest of a week that is bounded by an institution which 'tries to rule them'

The idea of contemplative leisure (sometimes incorrectly labelled 'doing nothing') is not unique to young people, Wilson (1981: 284) suggests that leisure is "precisely the most active way of doing nothing-that is [i.e.], of doing nothing that is yet apparent, of nourishing an emergence."

Biddle et al., (1981) highlight the positive role which the school and wider societal influences play in shaping the leisure experiences of young Americans and Australians. Their findings showed that respondents had uniform leisure preferences (they enjoyed sports and recreation), and in addition, unemployment was high in both countries.

Despite such similarities, leisure patterns differed between young Americans and Australians. Whereas most Australian school drop-outs used their leisure time in a constructive manner and engaged in sporting and recreational activities, American youth suffered from boredom and frequently engaged in delinquency. This also applied to young Americans who attended school.

The researchers cited several reasons for the differing leisure patterns between young Americans and their Australian counterparts. For example, the different leisure experiences were partially attributed to the dearth of recreational programmes at American schools. Biddle et al., (1981) note that although American communities sponsor recreational programmes for young people, these are structured in the school system. Competition over the limited number of places in school sports teams excludes the majority from participating in such activities. Unlike Australia, America does not have a well established system of amateur (sports) clubs which could absorb young

people excluded from school-based leisure programmes. These youth are expected to organise their own leisure pursuits. Disadvantaged groups in American society who have limited financial resources and organising skills are hardest hit by this lack of institutional support and such deprivation contributed to delinquency (Ibid.).

To promote the development of leisure activities such as amateur sporting and recreational clubs outside the school system (evident in the Australian case study), social analysts (for example, Leigh, 1971; Hendry and Marr, 1985; Hendry, 1987) advocate the introduction of leisure education programmes in the school curriculum. Rather than the provision of "short term recreational and activity skills", Hendry and Marr (1985: 126) propose that schools should develop leisure education programmes which would teach pupils the necessary social skills to enable them to "think through, evaluate, and make...own decisions and choices regarding leisure". The acquisition of such skills and attitudes would enable young people to "organise, select and participate in chosen leisure pursuits in post-school years (Ibid: 126).

Moving from the family and school contexts, the next section in this review of Western empirical research focuses on the impact of unemployment on leisure.

2.4.3 The Impact of Unemployment on Leisure

In Western industrialised societies, economic change and technological advancements have contributed to increased structural unemployment. This section explores the way increased amounts of non-work time have influenced young people's leisure styles.

Many writers have reported on the social and psychological consequences of unemployment, examples include: Eisenberg and Lazarsfeld (1938); Corrigan (1982); Viney (1983); Hendry *et al.*, (1984); O'Brien (1986). The general effects of unemployment include: depression, listlessness, feelings of worthlessness, lack of money, social isolation, bitterness about the

inability to find a job and, an inability to attain higher order needs associated with particular stages in the lifecycle, for example, the need for independence from the immediate family in the young adult phase (Deem, 1988). Feelings of externality (being an outsider, not part of mainstream society) and powerlessness are also part of the unemployment experience (Corrigan, 1982).

The experience of unemployment also effects the leisure styles of young people. Unemployment redefines the experience of leisure (Hendry, 1987). The central problem is how to fill the surfeit of free time. The effect of unemployment is experientially different between the genders (Brake, 1985; Hendry, 1987). Young working-class women's freetime may be devoted mainly to unpaid domestic chores (Hendry et al., 1984; Scraton, 1984). In contrast young men may join street gangs (Whyte, 1973; Scraton, 1984; Brake, 1985) and are permitted by their parents to explore territory outside the confines of their home. Findings from a study by Hendry et al. (1984) showed that the experience of unemployment for young people was not uniform. Some perceived positive aspects to unemployment and equated the experience with a school holiday and freedom from work. Others perceived the *opportunity* which unemployment provided in terms of 'time-out' to formulate career plans (Ibid.). Nevertheless, a majority of respondents viewed unemployment as an "'ordeal'" (Ibid: 184). Anomic leisure may therefore have been the dominant style for most respondents.

Hendry et al. (1984) found that the use of time also varied. Some respondents structured their time fairly rigidly whilst others had completely unstructured free time. Different leisure activities were also identified in their study. These included domestic chores at home, young women's activities; "ritual job hunting", young men's activities (Ibid: 185) and; hanging around on the streets in unstructured and informal groups, also an activity participated in mainly by young men.

In the next section, an inquiry into the way stages in the lifecycle influence leisure choices, needs and motivations concludes the holistic review of the leisure literature.

2.5 The Impact of Lifecycle on Leisure Needs and Meanings

This section focuses on two distinctive lifecycle phases (adolescence and young adulthood) selected for the present study of black youth in Natal. The lifecycle approach provides a more complete understanding of leisure and keeps "the 'experiencing' dimension in leisure analysis, and captures the 'holistic' quality of people's systems of leisure behavior" (Roberts, 1978: 274). Lifecycle stages interact with wider social forces and correspond with "changing resources, opportunities, role expectations and self-definitions" (Kelly, 1983: 54).

Adolescents are young people roughly between the ages of 15-19 years (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1975: 31). A number of central needs influence the leisure styles of youth at this lifecycle stage. These needs include: the quest for personal identity; the need for autonomy and independence; the need for stimulation and boredom (the social spaces in which to do nothing, just to 'hang out'); the need to explore the sphere of 'work' (including experiences of formal employment); the need to develop an occupational identity and to begin to set aspiration levels. The need to be sociable is another preoccupation. Interaction in a variety of peer-group settings and in different types of subcultures are reflections of this need.

During this phase, physical maturation is the context in which sexuality is explored. A preoccupation with clothing and hairstyle fashions is an outcome of sexual exploration.

Other needs include: mental development; environmental exploration and moral sensitivity (perceptions of what is 'right' and 'wrong' may be expressed through religious and or political affiliations). Achieving a sense of lifestyle balance is explored through role-experimentation enabling young people to balance lifestyle choices more effectively. Finally, adolescent youth are also interested in developing a capacity for living and enjoying life (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1975).

Adolescence is an identity forming phase in which relations with parents are sometimes strained. In Western industrialised society, conflicts between parents typically centre on every-day issues such as dress patterns and punctuality rather than issues relating to values, for example, religion; sexual morality and politics (Hendry, 1987). The young person typically struggles to find a balance between the need for independence on the one hand and attachment to the family on the other. A catch-all phrase the "generation gap" (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1975: 90) indicates the collectivity of these children-parent conflicts. The need to establish an identity and the tensions which arise in the context of the family are the main incentives for adolescents to seek their leisure experiences outside the family unit. Participation in youth subcultures provides the social space from which to escape family tensions and in which young people can explore their identities. In the section which follows, young people's participation in youth subcultures will be examined further.

The young-adult stage comprises young people who are roughly between 19-25 years (Ibid: 118). The distinguishing features of this phase are: preoccupations with occupational interests; interests in forming intimate relationships; parental and family relationships and friendship interests (Ibid: 171). Occupational choices influence social status, personal finances and the nature of the relationship between work and leisure (Ibid: 172). The need to find a 'mate' results in the reorganisation of leisure interests to suit new lifestyles and social obligations arising from marriage or commitment to a 'mate' (Ibid: 176).

Young adults who have selected a partner, are motivated to reintegrate themselves with their families (Ibid.). New relationships may be explored in the context of family leisure activities. Although social leisure activities outside the family unit are still important, the accent changes from competitive relationships with same-age peers to friendships with work and community friends which may cut across the age spectrum (Ibid: 178). Old peer groups associated with school life and teenage subcultures are gradually replaced. In some cases, particularly with respect to the unemployed, adolescent delinquent gangs carry over into the young-adult phase and develop into criminal gangs (Ibid.).

In sum, different psychological needs at each stage of the lifecycle interact with wider social forces to influence the leisure choices of young people. It has already been suggested that youth sub-cultures are important leisure outlets and channels in which adolescents' identities are explored. An investigation of the origins and types of youth subcultures follows in the next section.

2.5.1 Youth Subcultures and Leisure Behaviour

This section attempts to highlight basic concepts and differing theoretical perspectives which will contribute to an understanding of youth subcultures and delinquent gangs perceived by shack respondents in the present study to exist in their own areas.

Culture is defined by Waddington, et al.(1989: 161) as,

all the ways in which groups of people understand the social world and their place within it, their definitions of the rules which do or should govern behavior and how they define themselves and other social groups

Subcultures on the other hand are "sub-sets - smaller, more localised and differentiated structures, within one or other of the larger cultural networks" (Clarke, et al.,1981: 55). The term subculture suggests a diversity of "cultural expression" (Brake, 1985: 8).

Young people's subcultures are not static groupings but are constantly changing in form and style. Changes centre around new fashions, activities, and membership (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1975).

As outlined in an earlier section, the generational or lifecycle approach to explain youth subcultures suggests that in the adolescent phase youth rebelliousness, the need to socialise with peers and to explore the environment are the main reasons why young people belong to youth

subcultures. In contrast, social class explanations of youth subcultures examine "the relationship of youth to social class, the mode of production and its consequent social relations" (Brake, 1985: 24). Subcultures offer young working-class people,

a temporal and geographical space, which can be used to test out questions about their world and their relationship to it. Identities and ideas can be experimented with, and possibilities for social change considered (Ibid: 26).

Class and generational explanations contribute to the overall understanding of youth subcultures. This view is supported by Rapoport and Rapoport (1975) who argue that leisure styles of young people, including participation in youth subcultures, may be the result of many factors ranging from "developmental dynamics to the attitudes of society towards them" (Ibid: 96).

Researchers (Matza, 1964; Rapoport and Rapoport, 1975; Corrigan, 1982; Brake, 1985) agree that responses to environmental influences produce two broad social groupings of youth: the 'conformers' and the 'non-conformers'. Within these two social categories, Brake (1985) identifies a number of sub-groupings. "Respectable youth" follow mainstream fashions and leisure interests and do not belong to a specific teenage youth culture (Ibid: 23). This group uses existing leisure amenities and opportunities available to them in ways that conform to societal norms. 'Respectable youth' may still follow fashions (for example the latest music and clothing styles) but do not adhere to particular lifestyles associated with a subculture. Most young people fit into this social category (Ibid.).

The second social category suggested by Brake (1985), "delinquent youth" are working-class adolescent males who reject middle-class societal values (Ibid). Other writers, for example, Cohen (1955) and Cloward and Ohlin (1960) also use a structuralist approach to explain delinquent youth.

In contrast, Kraus (1978) and Matza (1964) are against making generalisations about the class origins of delinquent youth. Motives for delinquency are not just economic, 'thrill-seeking' and 'fun' may be additional reasons for this behaviour. Matza (1964) suggests that young people may 'drift' into and out of delinquency as a result of periods of boredom and frustration. These young people are part of mainstream society and share and accept common societal values. In Matza's (1964: 28) words,

The image of the delinquent...is one of drift; an actor neither compelled nor committed to deeds nor freely choosing them; neither different in any simple or fundamental sense from the law abiding, nor the same; conforming to certain traditions;..while partially unreceptive to other more conventional traditions

Two further categories identified by Brake (1985) are "Cultural rebels" (bohemian youth with middle class origins) and youth who are "Politically militant" (active in radical politics) (Ibid: 23).

2.6 General Conclusion

To summarise, the first half of this chapter explored five models formulated by prominent leisure philosophers. The review highlighted the way leisure theory has progressed from simplistic unidimensional and unidirectional models, (for example, explanations which treat leisure pejoratively by focussing specifically on the way work influences it), to multidimensional models which recognise the complex interrelationship between leisure and the wider social context. More recent models have conceded that leisure needs to be examined by taking into account human-agency and structural dimensions.

These theoretical advancements are reflected in the identification of different modes of leisure including; pure and semi-leisure; anomic leisure; alienated leisure and institutional leisure. The styles are determined by actors' subjective perceptions of activities, the social situations in which they occur, and the way institutions of society shape such experiences.

These societal institutions were investigated further in the second half of the chapter. A summary of recent theory of leisure constraints was the backdrop against which to explore the way the family; the school and unemployment influence leisure styles. The influence of lifecycle stage on leisure activities and motivations was included to capture the 'meaning' dimension of leisure. Finally, a discussion of youth subcultures as expressions of leisure activities completed the review.

Many empirical leisure studies have been conducted on each of these themes (with the exception of youth subcultures), examples of such studies were used selectively to highlight theoretical tenets and themes relevant to the present study. It has been suggested in this chapter that models of leisure should not only focus on the micro or interpersonal levels. Chapter Three addresses this theoretical gap by exploring leisure at the macro level and situating the study within the context of the South African city. The important role which geographic space plays in shaping leisure behaviour is also highlighted.

CHAPTER THREE

LEISURE IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN URBAN CONTEXT

3.1 General Introduction

The review of the Western theory of leisure in Chapter Two provided a theoretical framework and the basic conceptual tools with which to understand leisure in the South African urban context. The previous chapter also contextualised leisure at an intermediate level by investigating the way the family, the school, and lifecycle stage influence leisure styles. This chapter compliments the previous one by contextualising leisure within the South African city. The purpose is therefore to move beyond "the immediate surface rules of leisure relations" (Rojek, 1985: 92), to explore the wider structural level and the underlying social processes which give rise to the particular leisure styles of peri-urban and shack youth in Durban.

As a backdrop to this discussion, a review of leisure research in developing countries is undertaken and South African leisure research foci are also explored.

3.2 Leisure Research in Developing Societies

South African leisure research has concentrated on the sub-field of recreation. Four strands of South African recreation research are distinguished by Magi (1992): projects aimed at the development of the theoretical discourse of recreation; research dealing with recreational resources (including supply and demand factors); studies concerned with recreation behaviour patterns and perceptions, and finally research which highlights recreational activity patterns. Magi's (1992) synopsis of recreational studies exposes the unidimensional nature of many of these projects. Scholtz (1993) advocates a holistic view of leisure. Few holistic leisure studies have been conducted which integrate aspects of *activity*,

attitude (of the actor) and setting. The purpose of this study is therefore to fill the knowledge gap. In addition, little attention has been given to studying black youth at leisure (Magi, 1992). The most recent wide-ranging study of leisure amongst township and peri-urban youth (which included research into recreational activities and amenities) was undertaken by the Youth Centre Project (YCP).

A theme which has dominated South African leisure studies is the focus on recreation resources, including supply and demand factors and constraints on the use of these resources (examples of recent studies include: Kies 1982; Franke, 1985; Butler-Adam, 1986; Schlemmer, 1986; Smout and Naidu 1986; Venter, Nair and Chetty, 1989; Wilson, 1989; Richards and Møller, 1990; Scholtz, 1993). Most of these studies have been urban-based as is the present study. Investigations on the meanings of leisure and leisure resource perceptions (including perceptions of the accessibility of resources) have received little attention. Existing research has focussed on the use of natural recreation resources outside major urban centres (examples include Magi, 1986, 1989, 1992). The present research aims to redress this by using a holistic approach which examines the socio-spatial contexts which shape leisure perceptions.

With respect to the research aims in the present study, Goudie (1992: 110) suggests that leisure researchers need to shift their emphasis from *only* reporting on the shortage of leisure resources in black communities as a result of apartheid planning, to an investigation of the "*responses* of communities to the environments in which they find themselves."

Noteworthy contributions to leisure research in South Africa from other disciplines have been tangential. Anthropological research has focussed on the roles played by voluntary associations (for example youth clubs) in assisting residents in coping with aspects of city-life. Findings showed that for those who are employed, clubs relieve the monotony of their work situations; for the unemployed, they serve as survival strategies in the face of poverty; for the politically marginalised, they are channels to express

community interests and needs in the absence of power in local government structures (La Fontaine, 1970; Dubb, 1972).

Historical accounts of black urban leisure styles in South Africa and in Durban have been provided by Couzens (1983) and La Hausse (1990). La Hausse (1990) contextualises the origins of early black youth gangs, the "amalaita" gangs, (Ibid: 87). Such gangs had their roots in rural Zulu culture and the stick fighting games participated in by young males. In the urban context these modified gangs were survival strategies to cope with unemployment and the negative social consequences of the migrant worker system (La Hausse, 1990). Couzens (1983) explores the origins of football in Durban which developed from the system of African labour migrancy and the early stick fighting gangs at the turn of the century.

Research on the meanings city dwellers attach to leisure as well as leisure styles have been conducted in other developing countries. Gihring (1983) studied the meanings Nigerian city dwellers attached to leisure activities and highlighted the way meanings and leisure needs are culture-bound. For example, in African culture visiting relatives is considered to be an obligatory activity whereas in modern Western society visiting is classified as a free time activity. Bhattacharya (1975) contrasted the differing leisure styles of those living in urban and rural areas in India. For rural dwellers, leisure was frequently interstitial and integrated into daily work routines. In the urban contexts, greater opportunities for leisure existed. Formal employment with set work times enabled city dwellers to have daily amounts of free time for leisure activities.

It is clear from this review that holistic studies of leisure in the South African city have not been undertaken. To contextualise the present study being reported on, the next section examines the structure of the apartheid city and the environmental conditions which influence the leisure patterns of black youth.

3.3 The Structure of the Apartheid City

Johnston (1986: 135) notes that the apartheid system "involved the careful planning and policing of absolute spaces to achieve control by a racial minority". Legislation such as The Group Areas Act of 1950 and the Separate Amenities Act of 1953¹ systematised segregation which included the control of spaces used for leisure purposes. In the 'apartheid city', different race groups were housed in different residential areas and each group commuted to work centres typically located close to the core of the city (McCarthy, 1990). In this racially-based urban design, residential location correlated with access to political power. White residents are closest to economic opportunities whereas blacks occupied areas beyond white suburbs,² the majority of whom lived in informal settlements on the periphery of the city.

The spatial marginalisation of black city dwellers increased in the 1980's with rapid urbanisation. A combination of factors including: rural poverty; the abolition of influx control and the weakening of black local authorities, led to the rapid expansion of peri-urban informal settlements over the past decade and a half. In the DFR, urbanising Africans were able to obtain legal tenure on the edges of the former homeland of KwaZulu and on state-released land (Davies, 1991). These shack residents are an impoverished sector of Durban's citizenry and many are near the bottom of the black social class hierarchy (Hindson *et al.*, 1993). The spatial structure of the apartheid city restricted the range of leisure opportunities available to shack youth as a result of geographical and socio-economic marginalisation.

The next section explores how the apartheid city shapes the leisure styles of shack youth.

1 The Group Areas Act of 1950 and The Seperate Amenities Act of 1953 were removed from the statute books in the early 1990's.

2 Since major political reform, a growing black middle class is moving into white suburbia. Social divisions in the urban context will be determined less by race than by class in the future (Financial Mail, August 12, 1994).

3.4 Leisure Constraints and Styles in the South African City

Chapter Two described three interrelated types of leisure barriers: structural; interpersonal and intrapersonal barriers (Crawford and Godbey, 1987). These are useful concepts which help to inform the debate around leisure constraints in South African cities. Smout and Naidu (1986: 630) identify five distinct access constraints which are explored more thoroughly in the social and political contextualisation of leisure which follows. These access constraints determine which leisure amenities are *used* for leisure and include: the cost of using the venue, the quality of service at the venue, opening and closing times of the venue, legislation, and socio-cultural factors.

In the next section, leisure constraints are contextualised at the political and social level. At the outset, it is recognised that both levels overlap and are interwoven.

3.4.1 The Political-Spatial Context

Apartheid planning has resulted in spatial imbalances between the 'haves' (predominantly white formal city dwellers) and the 'have-nots' (black informal city dwellers). An imbalance in the distribution of resources is a further consequence of the apartheid city. This section explores the way the political context has shaped the leisure choices of black youth. The leisure constraints which derive from the political context are also highlighted.

The two most obvious structural constraints on leisure in peri-urban shack settlements are space and infrastructural shortages. Informal settlements in KwaZulu-Natal are characterised by an absence of physical infrastructure including water, sewerage, refuse removal, roads and telephone links (Tongaath-Hulett Properties Limited, 1989). In addition, there is a dearth of social infrastructure such as schools, hospitals, libraries, community centres, parks and other recreational amenities (Grant and Meiklejohn, 1994).

The shortage of physical space for recreation in peri-urban shack areas is a further structural constraint. Hindson *et al.* (1993) suggest that the population growth in these areas (as a result of urbanisation) increased the pressure on land for residential space and heightened the competition for scarce resources. Research has also shown that the construction of recreational amenities is of less importance to shack residents than the provision of basic infrastructure (Møller, 1980).

Informal settlements also have poor *access* to recreational opportunities close to the urban core. For blacks in KwaZulu-Natal, low incomes and high transport costs are the two main factors which restrict the range of opportunity spaces (potential spaces for leisure) to local neighbourhoods (Butler-Adam, 1986). The fragmented spatial structure of the apartheid city means that access to activity spaces (spaces used for leisure activities), frequently necessitates journeys through areas previously reserved for other race groups. Such journeys may inhibit access to such amenities because of cost factors and current political conflict.

A factor which compounds the problem of distance to recreational amenities is the poor transport system linking shack areas to leisure opportunities closer to the central city. Travel patterns reflect apartheid planning to the extent that impoverished city-dwellers are most reliant on public transport systems which offer a poor service outside scheduled travel times (Smout and Naidu, 1986). This factor is particularly pertinent for the unemployed wishing to use leisure amenities outside their own areas during the day. This group is the least mobile during working hours because of a transport service tailored to meet the needs of the employed. Alternative, cheaper transport modes such as walking and cycling are impossible for peri-urban shack dwellers because of their geographic position in the city (Pirie, 1992). Geographic location in the city combined with a poor transport system contributes to the social isolation of shack youth. In comparison to their counterparts living in townships closer to the city, shack dwellers in peri-urban areas are among the most socially isolated groups (Everatt and Orkin, 1993).

The inadequate transport system is also a reminder to black people of their oppressed and marginalised urban status. Public transport has been an obvious target for protesters who have frequently attacked or boycotted these services rendering them less reliable (Ibid.). The problem of reaching recreational amenities outside shack dwellers' own areas within set opening and closing times has thus been heightened through such political collective action.

When the present study was carried out in the early 1990's, political violence in the Natal region had reached a peak (Louw and Bekker, 1992). This violence is an intervening leisure constraint and researchers have attributed its causes to a number of factors including: competition over scarce basic resources as a result of accelerated urbanisation (Hindson et al., 1993); competition for political power nationally and at the local level (Olivier, 1992) and; the absence of local authority structures in some shack settlements which lead to uncontrolled in-migration thereby encouraging social instability (Louw and Bekker, 1992).

This conflict curtailed the free movement of young people and shaped the character of their leisure styles. For example, Møller and Mthembu (1991) found that black youth are encouraged to establish neighbourhood social clubs to keep them off the streets and out of danger. Research has shown that political strife affects the leisure styles of young black people in other ways. Attending funerals is the second most common "atypical" leisure event over weekends amongst young black township dwellers (Møller, 1991: 20). For some black youth, their motive for participation in political activities does not only arise from a feeling of deep political commitment. Seekings (1993) suggests that such activities have a 'fun' element which is an added incentive for participation.

Besides the structural nature of leisure constraints due to apartheid legislation, antecedent constraints are a further outcome. The long term impact of apartheid legislation, referred to as "cumulative deprivation" (Kelly, 1983: 30), describes the lasting psychological effects of such legislation on black South Africans. Despite the repeal of apartheid laws, young people's *perceptions* of the narrow range of leisure opportunities available to them in the apartheid era continues to shape their current leisure interests. These leisure interests will slowly expand with the gradual discovery of 'new' leisure opportunities in a more spatially integrated city.

In line with leisure interests being shaped by antecedent constraints, the social and spatial marginalisation of peri-urban shack dwellers promotes a different world view from residents in formal areas. Their different world view coincides with a sense of "'illegality'" (Byerley, 1989: 140). Living outside the laws which governed the apartheid city promoted this different world view and encouraged a resourcefulness and vitality of lifestyle which some writers have alluded to.

For example, residents of Crossroads in the Cape organised their own self government as well as schools (Western, 1981). Evidence of such resourcefulness has also been highlighted in informal settlements in Inanda, Durban. With the absence of a formal authority structure to represent their interests at the wider regional and national level, civic associations have recently emerged in attempt to provide some control and administration at the local level (Cross et al., 1992).

The resourcefulness of black city dwellers is also evident in their leisure styles and a good illustration of this is the construction of 'peoples parks'. These occur in a variety of forms ranging from informal open plots of land on which games of soccer are played or social gatherings held, to politically symbolic open spaces highlighting "people's power" (Lodge, 1987 cited in Sack, 1989: 201). Besides their political symbolism, such parks are also a reflection of recreational needs and serve as important 'signposts' for planners wishing to develop recreational amenities in black areas based on

the principle of equity (Butler Adam, 1986). In Mamelodi, Pretoria these parks served important functions which included:

to transform and beautify the environment, including the provision of essential services, such as garbage removal...secondly to keep the youth occupied and out of the way of the police; and thirdly, to draw upon the support and assistance of parents so as to overcome antagonisms that had developed between parents and youth." (Sack, 1989: 202)

The example of the Mamelodi people's park highlights the way black city dwellers have devised local solutions to overcome leisure constraints and to cope with social problems in their own areas. The construction of people's parks also highlights the interactive shaping-process between the structure of the city, the values and culture of its inhabitants, and the unique leisure styles which are the outcome of this process.

Several South African researchers (for example: Pinnock, 1985; Cross, 1991; Mokwena, 1992) have commented on the way the apartheid city has also encouraged the growth of delinquent and criminal gangs.

Cross (1991: 43) points out that "given...harsh social and economic conditions, youth culture emerged predominantly as tsotsi [gangsters] or street gang culture." In the city of Cape town, street gangs are coping mechanisms in the face of poverty (Pinnock, 1985). Mokwena (1992: 41) suggests that

gangs provide an alternative home for marginalised youngsters. They are a source of emotional and material support. They are also an attempt by the powerless and the alienated to obtain a sense of power, status and belonging.

In the townships young women are the victims of gang violence as men try to improve their self-esteem and reduce their sense of powerlessness. The phenomenon of "jackrolling" (Ibid: 44), in which gangsters abduct young

women and gang-rape them, is a reflection of anomic leisure which has its roots in poverty and loss of self-esteem.

Poverty in other African states is also associated with the formation of youth gangs. La Fontaine (1970) remarks that in Kinshasa, Zaire:

Deprivation has driven more street gangs to outright delinquency....In addition, the products of secondary school find their opportunities curtailed and leave school only to enter the world of the unemployed. (La Fontaine, 1970: 212)

In conclusion, apartheid legislation has limited the range of opportunity spaces for leisure available to black youth. Cumulative deprivation resulting from the marginalisation of the African population in the divided city will continue to shape leisure preferences and leisure resource needs in the short term despite the repeal of apartheid legislation. The social consequences of apartheid planning and its impact on leisure are explored in the next section.

3.4.2 The Social Context

Moving from the political to the socio-cultural level, the family's influence on the leisure choices of black youth is the main topic in this section.

Although the family is the 'engine room' for the transmission of customs and tradition from one generation to the next, the values of the family are in turn shaped by the urban experience. Western industrialised work values influence the spare time activities of black youth living in the apartheid city. To this extent, a "busy ethic" (Ekerdt, 1986: 239), similar to the work ethic, characterises the free time pursuits of township youth. This ethic improves morale and has economic value which aids the search for work (Møller, 1992).

Traditional customs and culture also influence the leisure styles of African youth. Magi (1986) points out that in traditional times it was taboo to be

idle and that in order to achieve something one was expected to work¹. Activities associated with relaxation such as lying down to rest usually required justification. Participation in an arduous activity qualified one for 'relaxation'. The resilience of African culture in the urban context has been commented on by several authors. Mphahlele (1974, cited in Western, 1984: 221) suggests that this resilience was assisted by the 'walls' of apartheid and thus asks, "How much would this [culture] survive if we had the freedom to live where we wanted to". Ramphela (1992: 20-21) cites other reasons for the resilience of African tradition in the apartheid city,

Tradition is used as a resource to maintain a semblance of self respect in the face of the humiliation of conquest and daily exploitation....Tradition also legitimates the 'economy of affection'² as the 'African way of life'.

Thus in peri-urban shack areas, where poverty and societal isolation are at their extreme, one would expect that the contrast between traditional and urban lifestyles to be more pronounced.

In traditional Zulu society housework and crop cultivation were the tasks assigned to women (Krige, 1988). Traditional gender-role obligations continue in the contemporary black urban family. Young township women spend on average two and a half times more time than young men on domestic duties and the family is the major container for their leisure with typical leisure activities including: socialising, napping and personal grooming (Møller, 1991).

Arguably, one of the most significant negative social impacts the apartheid system has had on African city-dwellers is the destabilisation of the family.

1 The Zulu phrase, *Ivila lidla ubuvila* which in English translates into *a lazy person eats laziness*, derives from this belief (Magi, Unpublished Phd thesis, 1986: 388).

2 The 'economy of affection' is the informal social welfare network which the extended family provides for the poor, aged, sick and orphaned (Ramphela, 1992).

Simkins (1986) points out that influx control measures contributed to instability within the African family particularly in the homeland areas. In the KwaZulu-Natal region, figures for 1990 show that only 45% of the population were men between 15-64 years of age. A large number of males had migrated to other regions in search of work (Development Bank of Southern Africa, 1991). The system of labour migrancy results in families being separated for long periods and family instability is the outcome. In one-parent families, the control over offspring is weakened, as children are not subject to the discipline of two parents (La Fontaine, 1975).

At the level of structural leisure constraints, poverty also reduces the family's ability to exercise control over the younger generation. La Fontaine (1970: 195) notes that,

The rich wield a powerful sanction over their children in that they can withhold pocket money or school fees as a punishment; this sanction is denied to the poor, particularly in the most deprived families where the head of the household is unemployed and dependent on casual earnings and the contributions of his wife and children.

In the South African city poverty also has an effect on the ability of the African family to exercise discipline over the new generation.

Møller (1992) found that amongst township youth, money rather than parental control is the main impediment to satisfying leisure needs. Unemployment also causes social stress in township families and may result in the loss of social power (for parents and elders) and love (Møller, 1993).

Politics has also played an important role in undermining the authority of parents. Ramphela (1992) notes that since the Sharpeville massacre of 1960, adults have suffered a loss of political prestige in the eyes of the younger generation. In the words of Ramphela (1992: 17), "Children lost respect for their frightened parents who offered them no protection against police harassment and other problems of poverty". Young people's access to power through politics undermined the traditional parent-child relationship

and parents had difficulty controlling the behaviour of their offspring. Hooliganism and delinquency increased as a result of the erosion of adult authority (Mokwena, 1992).

3.5 General Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was threefold: to review South African geographical trends in the field of leisure research; to highlight leisure studies which have been undertaken in developing countries and; to explore the way the apartheid city has influenced leisure styles and shaped the nature of leisure constraints experienced by black youth. The review of geographical research exposed the unidimensionality of projects undertaken in South Africa. No holistic studies of leisure, which include meanings of leisure and actors' perceptions of their leisure needs and constraints have been conducted in the South African urban context.

The contextualisation of leisure in the divided city was conducted at the spatial, temporal (historical) and structural levels. At the spatial level, pressure on the land for housing meant that there was a shortage of space for leisure activities in black peri-urban areas. In the apartheid city the geographical marginalisation of black residents was also linked to social, economic and political marginalisation.

Black residents were deprived of primary and secondary needs including equal education and employment opportunities and access to recreational amenities. This deprivation resulted in increased crime and political violence. Both of these factors serve as intervening constraints on leisure activities.

At the temporal-historical level, the psychological effects of apartheid legislation served as *antecedent* constraints and shaped leisure preferences in the apartheid era. Although this legislation has been repealed, the impact of cumulative deprivation continues to influence the leisure preferences of black youth today. Political reform in the early 1990's has heightened political instability and social unrest which in turn has limited the range of

opportunity spaces for leisure. The need for personal safety inhibits access to recreational venues outside young people's own residential areas.

At the socio-cultural level, the way the city is shaped by and helps to shape the culture and leisure styles of its inhabitants was explored. Living on the fringe outside the laws governing the apartheid city has encouraged a resourceful spirit and unique lifestyle amongst shack dwellers. Coping with poverty and relative deprivation has led to the development of survival techniques. Belonging to youth gangs to satisfy basic and higher order needs is one such strategy adopted by young people living in this environment. The phenomenon of 'people's parks' was a useful example to illustrate the way local solutions are found to overcome recreational space shortages and social conflict in black communities in the apartheid city.

The family still plays a role in shaping the leisure styles of the younger generation although poverty and the breakup of the family as a result of labour migrancy and youth involvement in politics, have weakened the control the African family has over the free time activities of its offspring. Gender-role obligations are interpersonal constraints which continue to shape the leisure patterns of young township women.

To conclude, the theoretical framework presented in Chapters Two and Three explained leisure at the micro-interpersonal level and at the macro-apartheid city level. Western models of leisure are useful because they provide the interface between the social and spatial contexts and highlight the way the social context influences the actors' experience of leisure. Such models are not sufficient to fully understand the regularities in leisure behaviour in the urban context in South African cities and therefore Chapter Three focussed on the forces which shape leisure in the apartheid city.

The next chapter describes the methodology of the present study and is therefore a necessary backdrop against which the findings are presented and discussed in the remaining chapters.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 General Introduction

The review of leisure research in the previous chapter indicated that South African research into the leisure patterns of shack youth is largely unexplored territory. This segment of Durban's population occupies a unique interstitial zone in the apartheid city between formal townships and rural areas. A mixture of Western and traditional cultural values suffuse the life-spheres of residents in these areas and in addition, geographical marginalisation, resulting in relative deprivation, has given rise to unique lifestyles which have not been fully explored in earlier research. The purpose of this study is to begin to fill the research gap by investigating the leisure patterns of specific shack communities holistically. In the light of a lack of knowledge about the leisure styles of shack youth, a deeper understanding of leisure in shack society posed methodological challenges which were overcome by using qualitative (phase one) and quantitative (phase two) research methods.

In the West, previous attempts at holistic leisure research have been "unilineal", focussing on specific sub-themes of leisure (Roberts, 1975: 61). An example includes research on the relationship between work and leisure, Parker (1972). The emphasis in holistic research has since shifted to the relationship between leisure and the total lifestyle and how "leisure interests and activities are developed and maintained" (Roberts, 1975: 61). In South Africa, unemployment is high and the amount of 'non-work' (time not spent in paid employment) has increased. The divisions between work and leisure are less clear and in this context, holistic leisure research has an important function. By exploring the relationship between leisure and the rest of social life, the complimentary role which leisure plays in alleviating the negative consequences of unemployment can be assessed.

Figure 4.1, p 52 shows that the present holistic study was one strand of research undertaken under the auspices of the Youth Centre Project. This chapter firstly outlines the relationship between this study and other YCP projects and a description of the two phases of research, highlighted in the shaded blocks in Figure 4.1, p 52 completes the chapter.

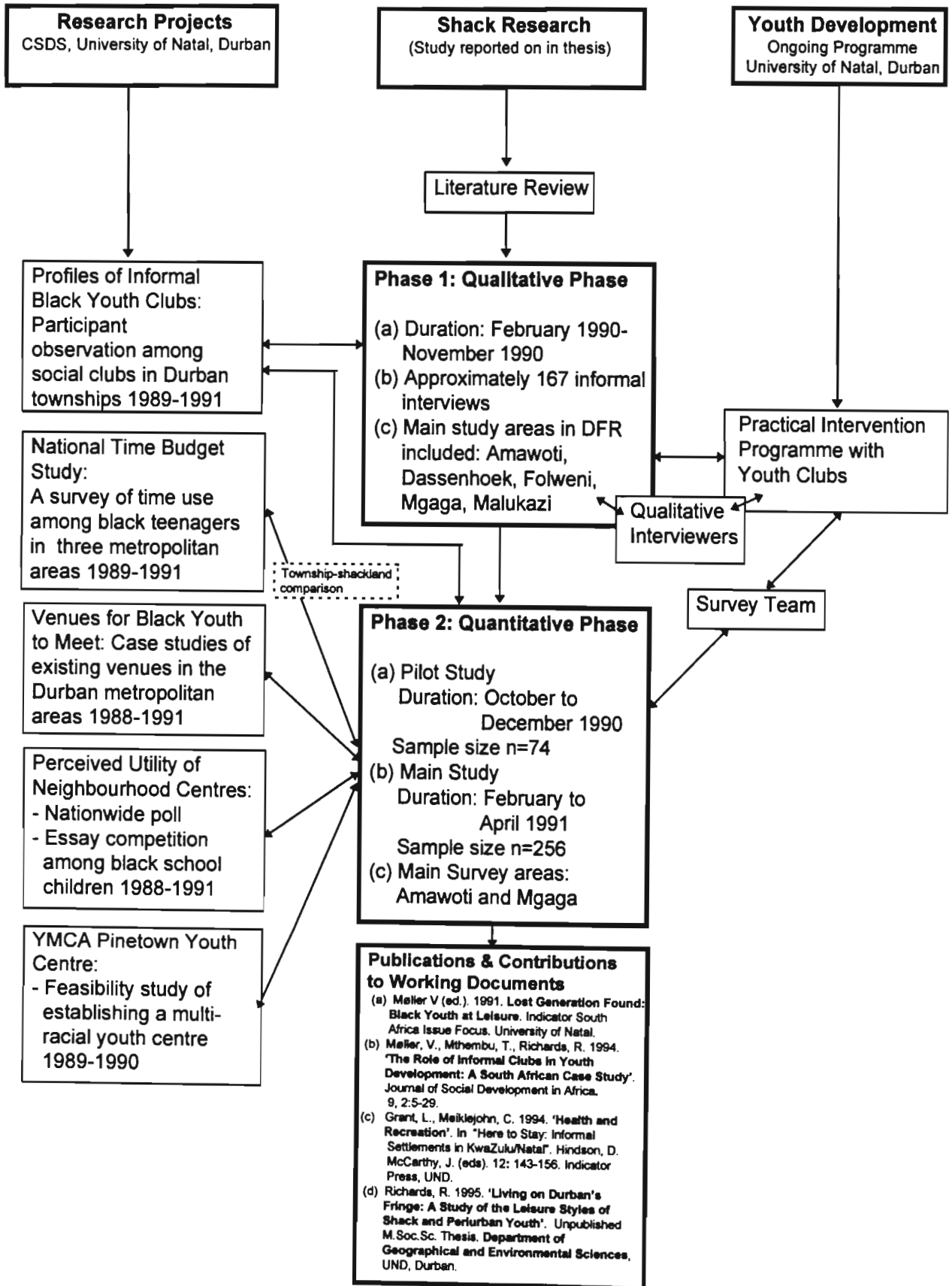
The next section contextualises the present study within the wider research and development programme subsumed under the Youth Centre Project (YCP).

4.2 The Linkages Between the Shack Study (1990-91) and Other YCP Projects

Research into township and peri-urban youth clubs in the DFR preceded the shack study (reported on presently). The case histories of youth clubs were contextualised in the broader socio-political context and the findings were used to assist in the formulation of themes to be explored in the qualitative phase of the shack study (see Mthembu and Møller, 1991).

The shack study and the youth club intervention programme were also interwoven, see Figure 4.1, p 52. Aubrey, the qualitative interviewer on the shack study, was a member of the YCP working group which became known as the "super youth club" (Mthembu and Møller, 1991: 38). One of its functions was to review the problems facing youth clubs in the DFR and serve as a resource base to assist with the resolution of these problems (Ibid.). Against the background of the youth club development programme, informal interviewing for the present study was carried out. Aubrey was able to apply his community work skills, acquired through his involvement with the 'super youth club', to assist respondents who were members of youth clubs overcome organisational problems they may have been experiencing. In addition, youth clubs which fell within the jurisdiction of the YCP development programme were used as contacts for the researcher. The legitimacy awarded to Aubrey as a result of his work in the 'super youth club' as well as his contacts with other youth clubs, facilitated the informal interviewing process.

Figure 4.1 . Youth Centre Project 1988-1991



The overlap between the qualitative research phase and the youth club development programme (depicted in Figure 4.1 p 52) contributed to the development of a unique partnership between the communities being investigated and the researcher. The advantages of this approach were manifold: Through the youth club development programme, club members (respondents) were equipped with some of the skills necessary to understand social change around them (in their youth clubs and in the wider society) and researchers were able to develop their own research skills and at the same time gather valuable insights into the community life which would otherwise not have been obtained.

A description of the research methodology used in the qualitative phase follows in the next section.

4.3 Phase One: A Description of the Qualitative Research Methodology

The qualitative wave (phase one) was the first step in the research process and its purpose was to set a contextual framework for the study through a description of the target population's socio-political and physical environment. Phase one assisted with an understanding of underlying social processes which shaped the leisure styles of shack youth. Cloke et al. (1991: 156) explain the benefits of using intensive research methods by noting that the "informality of [qualitative] research techniques...stands a better chance of 'getting through to' those particular circumstances that are significant to individuals, and permits the corroboration of evidence to ensure that the findings really do apply to those individuals actually studied". Case studies of leisure events and styles were collected to highlight respondents' innovative responses to environmental deprivation. The qualitative phase also provided a data base from which to develop a questionnaire to explore in a quantitative manner the leisure context (including definitions of leisure, leisure patterns, needs and preferences and constraints) of shack youth.

Aubrey, the first field worker selected for the study, was a young male in his twenties. His informal (student) style of dress was well suited to the

interviewing environment and in addition he lived in Umlazi (a township which lies adjacent to one of the research areas, Mgaga) and was acquainted with the nuances in language style of township youth. Being of a similar age to the target population it was felt that Aubrey might share many of their concerns and leisure interests (he was also a youth club member, belonging to the 'Supreme Efforts' gospel group) and would therefore have a good rapport with the respondents. Later on in this phase, two further researchers were added to the team; Rose and Sizakele.

Topic-focused¹ interviews were the main data gathering method during the qualitative phase of research. Interviews were not limited strictly to young people in specific age categories as was the case in phase two. Community elders and adults were also sometimes interviewed. **Figure 4.1, p 52** shows that themes and topics for this phase of research were synthesised from a literature review and previous YCP research. An outline of the interview guide together with a copy of the questionnaire is provided in **Appendices 1a and 2**.

During the interview sessions with respondents, Aubrey made rough notes from which he compiled more detailed reports of each interview. No tape recorder was used in the field as it was felt that this would cause suspicion and might disrupt the flow of the interview. Report-backs (debriefing sessions) with the project leader (the author) occurred on a weekly basis. These meetings were tape recorded and the interviewer submitted reports of each interview in addition to giving a verbal account of the interviews. After every debriefing session new themes and topics which may have emerged were recorded. Possible new leads were noted. On this basis a broad agenda for the following week's interviews was set which gave the fieldwork continuity and momentum. Weekly reports of respondents' leisure patterns and lifestyles were written up as case-histories. The success of the qualitative phase was due to the positive interactive process between the

1 "Topic-focussed interviews are conducted using an interview guide which lists main topics and sub-topics to be covered. The interviewer, however, exercises discretion in using the guide; he chooses how to phrase questions, asks them in a way that permits a smooth flow of conversation and dwells in detail on matters which particularly excite the respondent's interest." (Casley, 1988:12)

interviewer, the interviewee and the project leader (the author). During the interviewing process, cognizance was taken of the subjectivity of the interview. This is best highlighted in the words of Hoopes (1979: 85):

The subjectivity of the interviewing situation, which depends not only on your interpretation of the interviewee but also on his or her perception of you, does not necessarily make it an unreliable source of information. But its subjectivity does require that you be sensitive to how you as an interviewer affect the information you get. As in any other field of study, you must interpret the information according to the context in which it is obtained, and in interviewing you are part of the context.

Despite the limitations of this research method, its valuable contribution in gathering contextual data and understanding why respondents behaved in particular ways in their leisure time, outweighed problems of subjectivity. Other problems encountered in this phase are described below.

4.3.1 Problems Encountered During this Phase

The qualitative research diary in **Appendix 1b** describes the events which *shaped* the fieldwork experience during this phase and may also provide some practical guidelines for researchers wishing to undertake research in shack settlements. The main problem was the violence and unrest which restricted access to many of the peri-urban study areas. The need to ensure interviewee and interviewer safety led to a pragmatic research strategy. In one sense, the qualitative phase 'tested the water' for the survey wave of research (phase two). Areas of unrest were excluded as potential survey sites. One of the effects of the violence was that it resulted in many shack and peri-urban areas in the DFR being visited during the qualitative interviewing. In some areas where unrest was a major problem, only a few

interviews were conducted. Past research areas would sometimes be returned to in order to assess the feasibility of continuing interviews in these areas.

A factor closely linked to social instability which is particularly pertinent in the context of this study is raised by Zulu (1989: 49): "The reality of the world of respondents is that it is a world of fears and suspicions generated by the politics of power and powerlessness". This point was illustrated in the present study, where obtaining access to conduct informal interviews in Amawoti required permission to be granted from the local induna and background checks to be undertaken by a 'research committee' attached to the Civic Association (an informal local authority structure) in the area. This committee checked the credentials of the interviewing team and investigated the purpose of the project. The YCP youth club development programme in Amawoti made it easier to gain access to this area.

Cross-cultural factors also complicated the research. A problem which is intrinsic to qualitative research is the transcription of verbal communication to the written form, whilst at the same time attempting to preserve some of the original meaning. This factor is highlighted by Hoopes (1979: 114).

The difficulty is that much of what gives speech its meaning cannot be duplicated on paper-inflection, stress, pace, volume, accent, and the sound of words themselves. Just as letters of the alphabet, differently combined, are a symbolic device for representing individual sounds and words, it is necessary to find ways to represent other aspects of speech.

This problem is compounded in cross-cultural research with the added dimension of a Zulu to English translation. The transcription from verbal communication to the written form had to cross this additional linguistic barrier. The interviewer asked the questions in Zulu and reported on interviewee responses in English. Inevitably, some of the original meaning and detail must have been lost in this process.

From a technical point of view, cross-cultural research in this field of study is also problematic. For example, a clear understanding had to be achieved on the meaning of key concepts. The terms 'leisure' and free time were key concepts and cognizance was taken of the fact that in traditional Zulu society leisure was not identified as a separate arena of activity. Various other terms were used to indicate this aspect of their lives; these related for example: *to play, to have fun, to make oneself happy, to while away the time, to show laziness, to have nothing to do*. Zulu terms for some of these words have been carried over into modern urban lifestyles but in some instances have taken on slightly different meanings in the urban context (Magi, 1986: 386-387). The terms used in the study and their Zulu translations will be discussed in greater detail during the description of the second wave of the research focussing on the survey. The next section describes the way the survey was conducted in phase two of the field research.

4.4 Phase Two: The Survey

Young people between the ages of 15-24 years were selected from two shack areas; Amawoti and Mgaga. There were two main reasons for the selection of this age cohort: Firstly, factors such as high unemployment and school failure rates in this age cohort have caused policy-makers and researchers to be increasingly concerned with this segment of the youth population. Secondly, the 15-24 year age cohort spans two important lifecycle phases (the adolescent and young adult phase, defined in Chapter Two) which have distinctively different leisure needs and interests (Rapoport and Rapoport, 1975). For planners and policy makers in South Africa, this should be an important aspect of youth research because RDP programmes must be tailored to the needs of specific groups.

It was initially decided to conduct the survey in four of the areas where qualitative interviews had been carried out, however time limitations and cost factors made this idea impractical. Criteria for the selection of Mgaga and Amawoti were based on a number of factors: both areas had been

covered during the qualitative phase and therefore access to these areas was easier as the local authority structures already knew about the purpose of the project. Both areas were also free from political strife during the time of the survey. The two areas were worthy of comparison because of their different geographical locations and differing local authority structures.

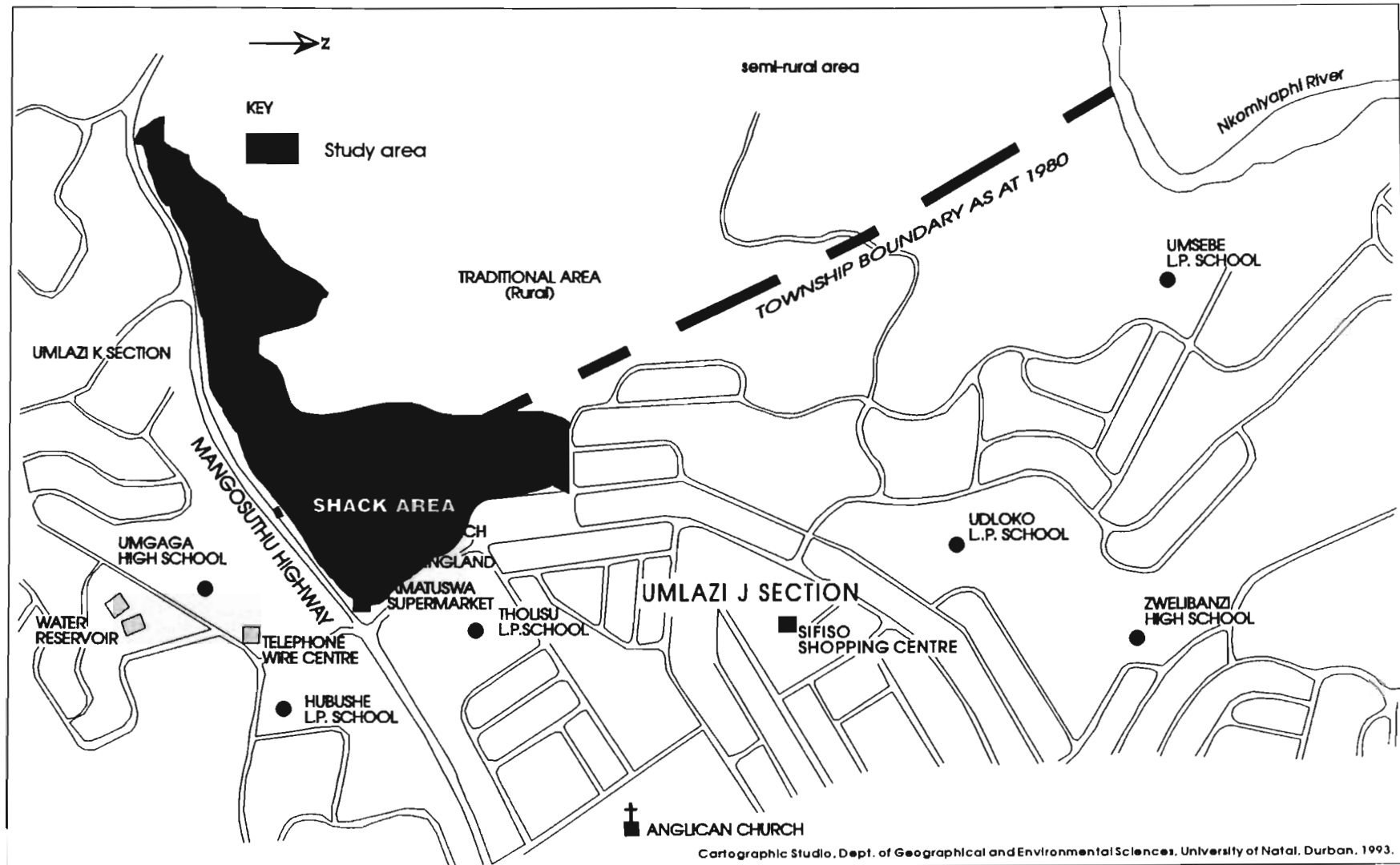
The description below focuses on the distinguishing features of the two main study areas.

4.4.1 A Description of the Two Survey Areas

The **Mgaga** shack settlement is located on the Southern periphery of Durban and was formerly part of the 'homeland' of KwaZulu. Its history has been determined by the pressures of urbanisation as a result of the flawed policies of apartheid. The land initially fell under the jurisdiction of a chief and in some parts, the induna was in charge of the allocation of land for shack building (Fourie and Perkin, 1987). The shackland in this area developed in the late 1970's (Stewart, 1982). With the 'densification' of this area by shacks, the tribal authority was phased out (Jenkins *et al.*, 1986). In the apartheid era, Mgaga fell under the jurisdiction of the 'homeland' government of KwaZulu but was informally administered by a branch of Inkatha (Fourie and Perkin, 1987).

The settlement lies on the North Western boundary of the Umlazi township (see Figure 1.1, p 7) and is some 15km from the city centre. It is situated on steep slopes which extend from the verge of the main road and running through Umlazi to Engonyameni and Umbumbulu. Mgaga spreads northwards from the main road towards the Umlazi River valley (Stewart, 1982). Figure 4.2, p 59 shows Mgaga's densely settled shackland area adjacent to the main road, and the zone towards the bottom of the valley, which is characterised by a semi-rural and a more sparsely settled landscape. Access to all areas was obtained via a series of footpaths extending from the main road.

Figure 4.2. Mgaga study area and neighbourhood.
The sketch map features activity and opportunity spaces for leisure pursuits.



Mgaga is the terminus for buses travelling between the city centre and Umlazi (Fourie and Perkin, 1987). Its residents often catch taxis to Umlazi where they may use the train service to travel to other areas (Christensen and Gumede, 1993). The main languages spoken in Mgaga are Zulu and Xhosa (Stewart, 1982). The population's age profile of this settlement is similar to other informal settlements situated on the Southern side of the DFR and is young with approximately 84% below the age of 39 years (Cross et al., 1993).

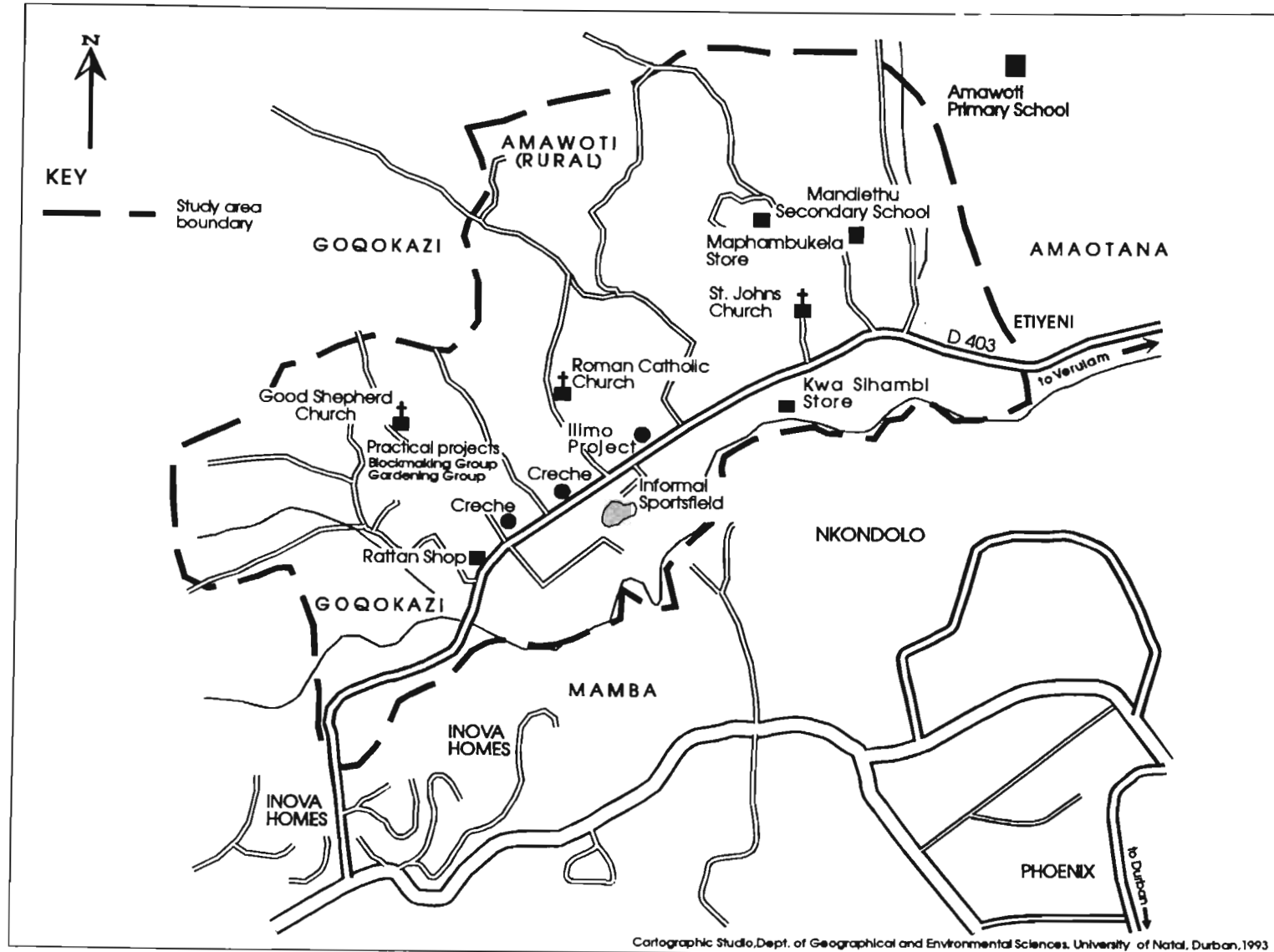
Amawoti is some 16km north of Durban and is part of land demarcated Released Area 33. This was state released land 'removed' by proclamation from the 'white' part of the apartheid city. It was eventually to be incorporated into the former 'homeland' of KwaZulu (Hughes, 1985, cited in Badsha and Hughes, 1985) although this goal was never achieved. Amawoti is closest to the formal township of Phoenix and also has informal settlement neighbours including Mamba and Amawotana and Goqokazi. **Figure 1.1, p 7** shows its location in the DFR.

The origins of Amawoti can be traced to the late 1950's when the government began demolishing shack settlements in the Durban metropolitan area and moving residents from these areas to formal townships such as Umlazi and KwaMashu. The inadequacy of these formal housing programmes resulted in many urbanising Africans settling informally in the Inanda region on state released land.

The responsible authority for the delivery of services in Amawoti in 1990 was the Department of Development Aid. Amawoti also has a young population with roughly 43% of its residents under the age of 15 years (Kirby and Kuppan, 1990).

Two different kinds of landscapes were identified in Amawoti, a more sparsely settled 'semi-rural' section, which comprised homestead clusters and larger plots of land and, a densely settled shack area clustered around the main road which runs through the area (**see Figure 4.3, p 61**). Access to

Figure 4.3. Amawoti study area and neighbourhood.
The sketch map features activity and opportunity spaces for leisure pursuits.



various parts of the settlement is via footpaths and dirt roads. Residents living within Released Area 33 have identified roads and poor transport as two of their most pressing problems (Ibid.). The Inanda region has no rail transport linking it to the urban core and other townships (Cross, et al., 1992 a). Buses and taxis serve the Amawoti shack area (Christensen and Gumede, 1993).

The survey instrument used in phase two is outlined in the next section.

4.4.2 The Questionnaire Design

A draft of the questionnaire was completed by July 1990. Two students from the University of Natal were asked to translate the questionnaire into Zulu. The two translated copies were then submitted to a Zulu linguist¹ in the Department of Zulu at the University of Natal for assessment. Particular attention was paid to the translation of the term 'leisure'. A distinction was made between the terms *isikhathi sokukhululeka* and *isikhathi sokungcebeleka*. According to the strict interpretations of the two words, the first term relates to free time and has a broader meaning which encompasses leisure time. The second term, refers specifically to leisure or activities pursued for pleasure. Both terms were used in the survey to explore the difference between free time activities and leisure activities.

Appendix 2 shows a specimen of the questionnaire which collected information both at the household and the individual level. Questions pertaining to the personal background of respondents, included: age, gender educational qualifications, main occupation, marital status, residential history and the respondent's position in the household. Some of the questions relating to leisure in the questionnaire are highlighted below and focus on questions pertaining to leisure activities, leisure settings, and leisure attitudes.

1 The author is indebted to Mr Zondi for his assistance with the translation of the questionnaire.

a) Respondents' perceptions of their environment and self perceptions:

Perceptions of the environment were explored by asking respondents whether they knew of any other people in their area who followed a lifestyle different from their own. For respondents who answered in the affirmative, two contingent questions explored the way *other* young people's lifestyles differed and whether these groups had any particular (subcultural) names. Respondents were also presented with a list of six different kinds of youth sub-cultures and had to specify how strongly they identified with each. A free response item enabled them to qualify their answers.

The way the family and traditional authority figures influenced the leisure activities of shack youth was explored. A projective item investigated the role played by grass roots authority structures. Respondents were asked whether they thought youth listened to community elders and leaders. Interviewees were also asked to state whether they felt youth listened to their parents "more" or "less often" than they did ten years ago. In both questions, a free response item enabled respondents to qualify their answers. The social environment was investigated further by investigating what had been the most pleasant event for respondents over the past year.

Respondents' self-perceptions were explored to see how the environment influenced their self image and perceptions of quality of life. Seekings (1993) suggests that we need to explore African youths' self perceptions to move away from popular stereotypes about this group.

The peri-urban location of the two study areas may have been a factor which influenced respondent self-perceptions. Interviewees were therefore asked whether they considered themselves to be "rural at heart", "urban at heart" or "somewhere in between". Self perceptions were also explored through a projective item probing whether respondents thought young people from the formal townships believed that they were 'better' than they were (shack dwellers). Both questions contained free response items enabling respondents to qualify their answers.

Respondents' reactions to their living conditions were also explored by measuring their subjective well-being and they were asked how satisfied they were with life on the whole these days. A five-point scale ranging from "very satisfied" to "very dissatisfied" was the method for answering this question. Respondents' personal happiness was also investigated using a three-point scale ranging from "very happy" to "not too happy".

b) Respondents' leisure context (including leisure activities, participation rates, amenities used and leisure definitions)

To distinguish work-related from pure-leisure activities, respondents were asked to report on a list of 38 activities using three separate scales. These scales measured the frequency which each activity was engaged in; how much perceived pressure or free choice accompanied the activity; and the enjoyment value of each activity. In a free response question, respondents listed those activities which they enjoyed doing in their free time.

Weekday and weekend work and leisure time schedules were explored by asking respondents to estimate the amount of time they spent at work and at leisure during the weekdays and over the weekends. Activity differences between weekends and weekdays were also investigated. A follow-up question required respondents to specify how their activities over weekends and on weekdays differed. The subjective assessments on the amount of free time they had at their disposal were also investigated in two fixed response questions. Respondents were asked how 'busy' they were during the day and whether their days were "too long", "too short" or "just the right amount of time". Gender differences in the amount of perceived free time were also explored. Interviewees were asked whether they thought young women had "more" or "less" free time than young men. In a follow-up question, respondents qualified their answers.

Researchers (for example Crandall, 1979), have recognised that social interaction is a universal leisure activity and therefore specific attention was given to exploring the social leisure patterns of shack youth. Social leisure

activities were explored by asking respondents who their friends were and with whom they socialised at school. Both of these questions were fixed response items. Respondents also had to specify whether they belonged to any one of 15 specified clubs and whether they were office bearers in any of these clubs. Club members were asked if they thought they were happier than young people who did not belong to any clubs and whether non-club members were gangsters or hooligans. Follow-up questions required respondents to give reasons for their answers to the above two questions.

Activity spaces for leisure were explored through a number of questions: A fixed response item required respondents to specify which of five alternative leisure locales (geographical areas) they most frequently used. A follow-up question probed why respondents chose particular locales. Leisure venue usage was explored in a similar fashion. Respondents were also presented with eight types of leisure venues and specified which venues they most often used. Both questions permitted respondents to list 'other' leisure locales or venues used.

c) Leisure constraints and motivations

Leisure constraints were investigated tangentially by asking respondents whether they could think of any events in their own community or in South Africa which had occurred in the past year and which had affected their use of free time. Contingency questions probed what these events were and how they had influenced their free time usage. Specific leisure constraints were investigated by presenting respondents with nine constraints which were synthesised from respondents' opinions in the first phase of research and included the following themes: The availability of recreational space, the impact of the family on leisure behaviour, the influence of politics on leisure, the effect of self-employment on leisure styles and, the impact of poor relations between formal township neighbours and shack dwellers on leisure patterns. Answers were recorded on a five-point scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". Respondents were also able to qualify their answers in a free response statement which followed each question.

The impact of hooligans and gangsters on respondents' leisure activities was also explored. Six statements were presented to respondents and covered the following themes: The perceived causes of gangsterism; the personal characteristics of this group and perceptions on their control. Answers were recorded on a three-point scale ranging from "agree" to "disagree".

Motivations for participating in leisure activities were examined to explore the linkage between leisure needs and environmental constraints. A twelve-point need scale was used to rank-order the perceived importance of needs which leisure activities satisfied. The needs focussed on psychological, educational, social, relaxation and physiological dimensions (see Crandall, 1980). Leisure aspirations and barriers inhibiting the realisation of these aspirations were investigated in a free response question. Leisure venue needs were explored and respondents had to select from a list of five venues those which they would most like to see developed in their area.

Meanings attached to leisure were investigated through an open ended question in which respondents defined what the word 'leisure' meant to them. Leisure meanings were investigated further by presenting respondents with six statements about the nature of leisure. A five-point scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree" was the format for answering this question.

Moving from the description of the survey instrument, the sampling procedure and fieldwork is described in the next section.

4.4.3 Data Collection and Field Work

This section describes the methods of data collection and the field work experiences in the *pilot* and *main study* of the survey. The purpose of the pilot study was to test and refine the questionnaire. The sampling procedure in this phase was based on a multistage area-stratified cluster sampling

method. Shack counts from aerial photographs¹ were used to divide the study areas up into roughly homogeneous clusters. Where possible, each cluster had roughly equal numbers of shacks within its boundaries. An attempt was made to maximise the heterogeneity within each cluster by including densely packed shacks and more sparsely settled semi-rural zones which typified the two study areas. Based on the shack counts, a sampling ratio for each area was calculated. In the third stage of the sampling procedure respondents between the ages of 15 to 24 years were randomly selected from each dwelling using a *grid selection system*. This method ensured that every person who qualified for the sample at a given dwelling unit stood an equal chance of being selected irrespective of the number of households on those premises.

The pilot study began informally, interviewers were briefed individually and were given a small number of questionnaires to complete every week. By November the size of the field team was enlarged to twelve members and the pilot study became more formalised. Schools were closed for vacations at the end of November and the team thus had easier access to school-attending youth. Incoming questionnaires were examined by the field supervisor and the project leader on a daily basis. The lengthy pilot phase was completed by December.

Some problems were encountered during the pilot study. The sample selection method proved complicated and time consuming to administer and although the field team was thoroughly briefed on the procedure, their inexperience in field research resulted in many mistakes. Fieldworkers found it difficult to understand the method and apply it correctly under varying circumstances in the field.

Coping with the social dynamics of the field team was a further problem. In the **pilot phase**, only a few of the interviewers had prior field work

1 Aerial photography was obtained from Durban Corporation, Physical Environment Service Unit and the Aerial Photographic Service, Pietermaritzburg Airport. Amawoti photograph, 1990, scale: 1/11000, Mgaga photograph, 1990, scale: 1/11000

experience and the limited amount of time to train and familiarize the interviewers with the overall goals of the Youth Centre Project, together with the project leader's own inexperience in managing a large survey team were some of the problems encountered. In addition, the tragic death of Mathews Dlamini¹ meant that a hasty replacement had to be found for the position of field supervisor. Despite these problems, the pilot phase achieved its objectives. The questionnaire was streamlined and substantive changes were made in the respondent selection process and in the general execution of the main study. The field team was restructured, new members who had research experience and who were qualified community workers, were drafted into the team. Some of the new team members had been working on YCP's youth club development programme and were therefore in tune with the goals of the project.

In the main study the sampling process was simplified to a non-probability quota sample. Quota controls were used in both survey areas with 120 respondents from each area being selected. Quota controls were also applied evenly for gender and the two age categories identified earlier². Difficulty in locating specific categories of respondents on some interviewing days resulted in quota controls being exceeded. The additional number of interviewed respondents, for example in the 15-19 year old group, were included in the final data analysis.

The original aerial photographs used in the pilot study assisted the interviewers in covering both research areas thoroughly. Interviewers were required to ask respondents whether they had already participated in the pilot study to prevent subjects from being interviewed twice. Although interviewing contacts were often made at respondents' homes, special arrangements sometimes had to be made to meet youth after school hours

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- 1 Mathews Dlamini was the chairperson of the YCP Working Group, otherwise referred to as the 'super' youth club.
 - 2 In view of the unreliability of the official census figures, particularly in informal settlements on the fringe of the DFR, quota controls were not based on estimates from this data.

or over the weekends. In some instances young people falling within the jurisdiction of YCP's 'super' youth club were contacted for interviews. In these cases interviewers were asked not to over-sample respondents from a particular youth club or interest group. Even though it was difficult to avoid the impact of such sample biases, an effort was made through frequent debriefing sessions, to determine with whom and where the interviews were carried out. For example, the geographic location of daily interviews was identified by the researchers on the aerial photographs prior to going into the field each day. In order to interview other groups of youth such as non-school attenders and those who were more marginalised, youth walking along the streets and at informal recreational venues were interviewed.

During the main study, the project leader became more involved in the fieldwork process and frequently transported the team out to the field and collected them in the afternoon. This appeared to contribute to a high morale amongst team members. To facilitate interviewing, the team were given a 'cool-box' and carried biscuits and cooldrinks into the field which they were able to share with the interviewees. Incoming questionnaires were monitored on a daily basis to check that quotas were being met and to maintain the quality of the interviews. Interviewers were debriefed individually every week and questionnaires which had not been properly completed were followed up and any queries were cross-checked with the interviewer concerned.

To sum up, the research methodology employed in phase one and two was complimentary. Phase one explored the leisure context of shack youth at the level of the individual. Case studies which were collected in this phase highlighted leisure constraints and also the efforts of shack youth to overcome such constraints and the unique leisure styles which arose from constraints. Finally, phase one provided a data-base from which a questionnaire could be developed to explore respondents' leisure styles, constraints and motivations in a quantitative manner through a survey. The statistical methods used to analyse the data are described in the next section.

4.4.4 Data Analysis

Once the data had been coded it was processed using a Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSSX). Initially the pilot study was analysed separately from the main study to test for reliability. Findings from the pilot phase were compared against the main study with the use of t-tests on key questions concerning leisure behaviour and personal background variables. Findings from both phases were generally consistent. Careful monitoring and checking of the incoming questionnaires contributed to the formation of a reliable data base. In the reporting of the findings it was decided to combine the pilot data with the main survey. **Figure 4.1, p 52** shows the sample size. Various statistical routines were used in the final data analysis including frequencies, contingency tables, t-tests and regressions.

4.4.5 Biographical Characteristics of the Survey Sample

Of the total sample (N = 330), 97% were Zulu speaking. The proportion of male to female respondents was (52% : 48%). Whereas 54% of the respondents were between 15-19 years old, 46% were in the 20-24 year age group. Slightly more respondents were interviewed from Mgaga (52%) in comparison to the Amawoti area (48%). A majority of the respondents (42%) were completing or had already completed their education between the standard 7-9 level. A smaller proportion of the sample (31%) had a standard 6 or lower qualification. Respondents completing their matric or higher qualification, including technical diplomas or University degrees, accounted for 17% of the sample. A large group (10%) had no educational qualification.

Most respondents (83%) indicated that they resided with their immediate family, in two-generational households comprising the respondents' generation and parents (76%). The average **household size** was between 5-6 persons. Whereas 48% of respondents reported that they were living with one parent, 44% were living with both parents. About 8% of the respondents were not living with either of their parents. In the one-parent families, 65% of respondents indicated that they were living with their

mother only and 35% were living with their father. In order of frequency of mention, respondents who were no longer living with their family cited the following reasons: *family factors* (examples included respondent engagement or marriage, family friction, parents deceased or divorced), *to look for employment or to gain access to education and training*. An assortment of less frequently mentioned reasons included *overcrowding at home*, and *living with girl or boyfriend*. Only 6% of respondents indicated that they were married. Half of the respondents stated that they were single but had a steady girl or boyfriend. A further 44% of respondents were single and had no steady girl or boyfriend.

Table 1, Appendix 3 shows that a majority of respondents (49%) reported that their **main occupation** was 'educational studies'. 'Regular full time employment', 'temporary or casual employment' and 'self-employment' were the occupations of 20% of respondents. Just under half of the respondents (49%) had occupations other than educational studies or paid work. These included: 'Own house work' (17%), 'own childcaring' (6%) and 'other activities' (26%). A majority of respondents (73%) in the 'other activity' category were "*unemployed*" or "*job-hunting*".

Table 1, Appendix 3 also shows that gender and age differences characterised some main occupations. A majority of 15-19 year old respondents reported that their main occupation was educational studies (72%) and there was an even gender split for this occupation. Traditional gender role obligations in the household were reflected in the sample with 35% of young women responsible for 'own domestic work' and 'childcaring' in contrast to their male counterparts, 13% of whom reported such activities to be their main occupations. Respondents with some form of employment (for example those who were self-employed; employed on a fulltime or temporary basis) were mainly older males in the 20-24 year old age group.

Slightly more than a half of respondents' parents (53%) had either full-time or temporary/casual jobs. A small majority with regular full time jobs were unskilled workers (52%). Examples of such occupations included domestic

workers, factory labourers and cleaners. Smaller numbers of parents (26%) had semi-skilled occupations and examples included shop assistants and clerical workers. Some 20% of parents had skilled occupations. Examples included dressmakers, machinists, panel beaters, cooks and welders.

Most respondents were affiliated to church groups. A majority (45%) belonged to one of the established Christian churches. Examples were, the Roman Catholic; Anglican and Methodist churches. Some 28% of respondents were members of Pentecostal and Zionist churches. A smaller group (20%) had no religious affiliation. Some 7% of respondents belonged to other faiths including Islam and traditional African religions.

The **residential history** of respondents shows evidence of recent *in-migration* (mainly from formal townships and other informal areas in Durban) into the two study areas. Over half the sample (53%) had lived in their area for between 1-5 years. **Table 2, Appendix 3** shows that some 34% of respondents were born within formal townships in the Durban Metropolitan Transport Area (DMTA)¹. Some respondents from this group specified particular townships. Those specified on the Southern side of the city included: Umlazi (17%), Kwa Makhuta (2%) and Lamontville (1%). Respondents born in townships on the Northern side of Durban included: KwaMashu (3%), Ntuzuma (1%), Inanda Newtown (1%), Newlands East (1%). Some 8% of respondents were born in areas in central and North Western Durban. Examples included Clermont and Chesterville. A smaller group of respondents (28%) stated that they were born in rural or semi-rural areas outside the DFR. Majorities of this rural group were either born on the Northern Natal coastal strip (31%) or the coastal strip in Southern Natal (38%). A further 19% of 'rural births' were in the Northern Natal region. Examples included the Natal Midlands and the Pietermaritzburg region.

1 The DMTA boundary line incorporates a smaller geographic space than the area within the DFR identified in **Figure 1.1**. It includes the coastal strip from Tongaat in the North, to Kingsburgh in the South. Its Western boundary extends to Hillcrest.

Respondents who were born in shack areas within the Durban Metropolitan Transport Area comprised 21% of the sample. From this group, most respondents were born in either one of the two survey areas: Amawoti (59%), or Mgaga (39%). Other shack areas mentioned by respondents were Malukazi and Ezimbokodweni on the Southern side of Durban. A small group of respondents (8%) were born in an interstitial zone between the DMTA and DFR boundaries. Examples of such areas included Umkomaas, Hammarsdale, Ndwedwe and Mfume. Only 6% were born in other Provinces or former so-called 'independent states'. Some 3% of respondents were born in areas which could not be identified on a map.

Respondents who had previously lived in another area before moving to Amawoti or Mgaga cited a number of reasons for moving to their present area. '*Access to Resources*' was the main reason and received 48% of the mentions. Housing and employment were the main resources referred to by respondents in this context. *Family and other personal reasons*' received 27% of respondent mentions and specific examples cited by respondents included: "To join relatives and/ or immediate family", "marriage", "family friction" and "parent/s deceased". '*Political violence and collective action*' received 12% of mentions.

4.5 General Conclusion

The dearth of knowledge about the leisure styles of young shack dwellers and the need to understand the relationship between leisure and the rest of shack life necessitated a holistic approach focussing on activities, attitudes and the leisure setting. The research methodology complemented this approach. Phase one employed qualitative research techniques to explore the leisure context. For example, this phase highlighted the complexity of leisure constraints and 'actors' struggles to overcome such constraints. An attempt to explain the factors which shaped leisure styles and aspirations, through the use of case studies, was also the purpose of the qualitative phase. In addition, phase one provided a core set of questions to be explored quantitatively in the survey. The extent to which specific leisure

patterns, styles, aspirations and constraints applied to a wider shack population was explored in phase two.

In sum, the previous chapter (Three) highlighted the objective circumstances of black youth living in the apartheid city. The present chapter (Four) described the research methodology used to collect data on shack dwellers' physical and social environment and their subjective responses to the environment which shaped their leisure behaviour. Chapters Five, Six and Seven report on the research findings.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE WAY SHACK YOUTH PERCEIVE THEIR ENVIRONMENT AND SELF-PERCEPTIONS

5.1 General Introduction

The research findings are explored in the following three chapters. Chapter Five deals with respondents' **perceptions of their environment and self-perceptions**, Chapter Six focuses on the **leisure context** and Chapter Seven investigates **leisure constraints and motivations**.

It was suggested in Chapter Three that shack residents are worst-off in terms of access to employment and educational opportunities available in the core city area and that on the fringes of the apartheid city, the provision of social and physical infrastructure has largely been neglected. In view of this deprivation, it was hypothesised in Chapter One that shack respondents would express negative perceptions about their environment and have negative self perceptions. The purpose of this chapter is to explore these two questions. This chapter therefore provides a backdrop against which to explore and to understand more completely the leisure choices and styles of shack youth investigated in Chapter Six.

5.2 Perceptions of the Environment

Respondents' perceptions of their social environment are investigated by examining their descriptions of the kinds of youth subcultures which exist in their areas and their perceptions of community leadership. The social environment is also explored through an enquiry into respondents' perceptions of the most pleasant event which they experienced over the year between 1990 and 1991. Respondents were able to cite local and national events and in this way, the historical context of the study is tangentially explored.

5.2.1 Perceptions of Youth Subcultures

To investigate the social world of the respondents, their perceptions on the types of youth subcultures which existed in the two main study areas were explored. Table 5.1 p 77 and 5.2 p 78 show that most social groupings were perceived to fall into either 'delinquent' or 'respectable' youth cultures. Perceived lifestyle differences reflected the types of youth cultures which existed.

The largest grouping of young people were perceived to be those within the 'delinquent' category. Examples included: 'drinkers and dagga (marijuana) smokers', 'prostitutes', 'school bunkers' (those who played truant), 'gangsters and criminals', 'comstotsis' (gangsters who were formerly comrades), and those who 'disobeyed authority'. Some delinquent youth did not attend school and were unemployed. It was perceived by some respondents that these youth did not want to find work and preferred not to attend school.

The perceived **lifestyle characteristics** of young people within the delinquent category were symptomatic of the behaviour of alienated and marginalised youth. Poverty and a surfeit of unstructured free time encouraged anomic leisure styles. Criminal and delinquent activities, which satisfy basic and higher order needs may have been the main occupations for some of these young people. Lifestyles reflected disengagement from the main institutions of society (for example, family, school, work, and the church). Leisure time was seen to be 'empty' and meaningless and typical activities which were mentioned included: 'sitting at home', 'those who did not want to mix with other young people', young people who 'slept the whole day' and 'those who hang around the shops and who roam the streets'.

A young person noted that 'hanging-out' either on street sides or at a local shop was a typical activity of those not attending school or the unemployed. The respondent reported that young people playing truant from school and some who were not enrolled at school, gathered at a local shop where they played table soccer and the jukebox.

TABLE 5.1: PERCEIVED SOCIAL CATEGORIES:
TOTAL SAMPLE

"What name/s are given to these youth which share
a lifestyle different to yours?"

SOCIAL GROUPINGS	PERCENTAGE RESPONSES
Delinquent and criminal youth	51
Respectable youth	35
Politically active youth	6
Residual*	8
Total	100

N = 219

Notes:

Free response question, repondents could give up to two responses.
This scheme for the classification of youth subcultures is loosely based
on the framework proposed by Brake, 1985.

* Residual category: young people who could not be classified.

TABLE 5.2: PERCEIVED LIFESTYLE DIFFERENCES: TOTAL SAMPLE
 " In what way do their lifestyles differ?"

LIFESTYLE DIFFERENCES	TOTAL SAMPLE % RESPONSES
Anomic lifestyles: Negative leisure, including delinquency and criminal activities	59
Conformist lifestyles and leisure preferences	15
Different leisure interests	7
Class differences	6
Active in politics	4
Different living arrangements	4
Fewer restrictions on free time	2
Other*	3
TOTAL	100

N = 234

Notes:

Free response question, respondents could give up to 2 responses

*"Other": residual category; responses could not be classified.

Others looked for 'tips' from the taxi drivers. They helped with the collection of fares and in return the taxi-drivers paid them a small salary. With this money they were able to purchase drugs.

Young people in the two study areas attached specific Zulu names to some delinquent youth cultures. These included:

a) Omahlalela, Omatapudaka, Amabehtla, Ogqwayilahle, Izimbungulu Slovazis, Guluvas and Loafers were described as lazy. Rather than go out to work or attempt to look for work, members of these sub-cultures preferred to stay at home and sleep and some were perceived to engage in criminal activities while others spent their time drinking and smoking dagga (marijuana). The comments below highlight some of the main traits of these social groupings:

"Youth who are so discouraged by unemployment that they drink and smoke dagga, some even steal to live" (23 year old male describing the 'amabehtla').

"They do not want to do anything in life, they just sit around at home" (19 year old female describing the 'ogqwayilahle').

b) Amaginstas, comstotsis, skhothenis and tsotsis were principally recognised for their criminal activities. Comments below by respondents highlight the main features of these groups:

"They drink and smoke dagga and do not go to school" (15 year old male describing the 'skhothenis').

"Those guys who play cards (gamble), they sit at bus-stops without any reason and at shops" (25 year old male describing the 'skhothenis').

"They are always on the road, gangsters" (19 year old female)

"Tsotsis and Comstotsis are very similar. Comstotsis are people who used to belong to political organisations but were undisciplined and deviated from political activities. Comstotsis were tsotsis before they joined political groups. They try to disturb and discourage the scholars from attending schools." (Viewpoints of a 29 year old male and 17 year old female).

The second largest perceived social category were those classified under the heading '**respectable youth**'. These young people were perceived to conform to wider societal norms. Descriptive words used by respondents to classify this group included: 'just youth', 'Christians', 'serious minded students', 'workers' and, 'children who behave well'. Many falling within this social grouping were perceived to be employed or to attend school. Some young people were however unable to attend school because of financial and other circumstances. The comments below highlight some of their characteristics:

"Some don't have babies at my age, children who are well behaved" (16 year old female, has a child of her own).

"They differ because they have steady and well-paying jobs" (24 year old female).

"Many people in this area do not know me because I am more business-like and have no time to stand at bus-stops and engage in idle talk. Other youth do" (20 year old male, attending a technical college).

A larger sub-grouping, within the category '**respectable youth**', were those who had distinctive styles of behaviour, clothing fashions and dance styles. These included the **Tsa-Tsa-Tsas**, **Pantsulas**, **Abashozas**, the **Osicuthe**, the **Spence**, **Madlisas**, **Juicys**, **Supris (Supremes)**, the **Amadudu (Dudes)** and the **Cats**. Class and gender distinctions were the defining qualities of these youth cultures. Some groups, for example the **Osicuthe**, the **Spence**, **Madlisas** and **Juicys** were not gender specific. In contrast the **Dudes**, **Supris** and **Tsa-Tsa-Tsas** and **Pantsulas** were male groups whereas the **Abashoza** was perceived to be comprised of young females.

With the exception of the **Pantsulas** and the **Abashoza**, members of these youth cultures were perceived to have '**higher-class**' aspirations and leisure

styles. Respondents noted that although the Supris are similar to Tsa-Tsa-Tsas, they predate the Tsa-Tsa-Tsas. Distinctive dress styles included: dressing smartly; wearing big trousers, jeans vests, coats, 'kruisbande' (braces); "clothes that you can see through"; "wearing trousers high up on the waist"; permed hair; "wearing one earring"; headgear, including baseball caps worn back-to-front and scarves. Leisure styles were perceived to be consumer oriented and included visiting nightclubs and hotels.

Other behaviour patterns peculiar to the **Dudes**, **Tsa-Tsa-Tsas** and **Supris** which highlighted middle class values and aspirations were: "spending money to attract the ladies" and "buying expensive things". Respondents also perceived that young people identifying with these youth cultures "claimed to be better than others" and to have "high class behaviour". Some respondents noted that the behaviour of these young people was effeminate. Descriptive words included, "they behaved like girls", "danced like ladies". They were also recognised for their dance styles which included the "Jacaranda dance", "The Twist", and the "Tsa-Tsa-Tsa". Conformity was the trademark of some of these groupings. The Tsa-Tsa-Tsas for example were described as those youth who were "disciplined and listened to their elders", "they go to school and don't drink alcohol", "are serious about life" and "proud". The following comments by respondents were examples of characteristics of these youth cultures:

"They are working and wear good expensive clothes and shoes"
(19 year old male describing the 'Osicuthe').

"New children of middle class or rich parents. Drive around with girls in their parents cars" (20 year old male describing 'Tsa-Tsa-Tsas').

"They are always beaten because they are said to be 'sell-outs' since they dress nicely" (19 year old female describing 'Tsa-Tsa-Tsas').

Pantsulas and **Abashoza's** were distinguishable from other 'respectable' youth by their smooth urban dance style and non-conformist lifestyles. Pantsulas were mainly males whilst their counterparts, the **Abashozas**, were young women who 'hang out' with Pantsulas. Pantsulas also dressed well

and clothing styles included flared trousers and takkies (sandshoes). Whereas Dudes, Supris and Tsa-Tsa-Tsas were characterised by their effeminate behaviour and given the label 'dandies', Pantsulas had the image of 'real men' as the comments below suggest:

"They are genuine guys who are mainly comrades and look strong. They play men's sports like soccer and karate" (20 year old male).

"They are very clean and well-dressed young men and they dance well" (23 year old female)

"I can't do what they do, of course this is a male lifestyle" (16 year old female).

Dudes, Supris and Tsa-Tsa-Tsas were perceived to seldom engage in acts of delinquency in contrast to the Pantsulas who were perceived to smoke dagga and drink; rob and stab people; were conversant in 'tsotsi-taal' (the street language of gangsters) and were perceived to be 'vagabonds'. Despite these negative perceptions, many respondents admired Pantsulas for their dance and dress styles. Some noted that they helped other people in the community and were popular entertainers. Their female counterpart, the Abashoza were described as "older females who wear leathers and neat expensive clothes", "fashionable young ladies", "clean, classy girls", "they wear oversize clothes" and "they carry knives". Abashozas were also perceived to have a streetwise tough image. Some respondents noted that these were "girls who behaved like guys" and "acted like Pantsulas". They were perceived to "drink too much (beer) and smoke dagga".

Politically active youth belonged to one or another political party or participated in a street committee (these are grass roots informal authority structures in black communities comprised mainly of youth). These young people were perceived to have lifestyles which centred around politics and which included participating in political marches, attending political meetings and being active in disciplinary committees.

Lifestyle differences of youth subcultures were also associated with different *leisure preferences and non-involvement* in some leisure pursuits.

For example, some young people were perceived to dislike church activities, sporting activities and getting involved in "youth activities". Although these youth were not explicitly identified with any of the youth cultures described above, they may have belonged to one of three categories of young people which have already been described, for example: (a) delinquent youth who were disengaged from mainstream social life and leisure activities, (b) conservative 'country bumpkins' who were not aware of leisure opportunities in the urban areas, or (c) 'poor' youth who could not afford the costs of participating in some leisure pursuits.

Some respondents linked lifestyle differences with material wealth associated with different leisure interests, for example, 'rich youth' who could afford to go to "fancy hotels" in their leisure time. Lifestyle differences were also related to parental and household restrictions on free time use. Respondents identified those young people who "could do whatever they wanted", those who could "go anywhere", and "youth who did not have to do domestic chores after school." The leisure activities of delinquent youth cultures and 'streetwise' youth including the Pantsulas and Abashozas, suggest that these groups had fewer restrictions on their spare time and were subject to less parental control. Finally, lifestyle differences were linked to different kinds of living arrangements. For example, young people who did not live with their parents and those who lived with either boy or girlfriends.

In summary, the two largest perceived categories of young people were 'delinquent' and 'respectable' youth. Respondents' subjective evaluations of the types of youth subcultures reflected the social context in which they lived. The lifestyles of delinquent youth centred on their criminal and delinquent activities. Many of these young people were perceived to be bored youth who roamed the streets aimlessly and did not participate in 'positive-social' activities. These activities reflected their social marginalisation and the anomic mode of leisure was typical of this group. In contrast 'respectable' youth were perceived to be participators in leisure activities and lifestyles which conformed more closely to wider societal norms. Many were perceived to be school attenders or in employment. Some of the youth cultures identified by respondents within the 'respectable' group depicted middle class values, fashion styles and

consumer oriented leisure interests. 'Respectable' youth were perceived to be 'stakeholders', it was believed that some came from 'rich families' and showed their wealth through their stylish clothing and expensive leisure interests.

A distinctive sub grouping within the category 'respectable' youth were the Pantsulas and the Abashoza. In contrast to some of their counterparts who reflected middle class values and leisure interests and whose behaviour was sometimes perceived to be pretentious, Pantsulas and the Abashozas appeared to be the 'poorer cousins'. Their streetwise dance style, fashion sense and the perception that they sometimes engaged in delinquent activities, contributed to a tougher non-conformist image. Pantsulas and Abashozas were admired by respondents. Admiration perhaps stemmed from their 'roguish' behaviour and respondents' sense of romance about 'living life on the edge' which seemed to be a feature of these two groups. Positive perceptions may also have been due their ability to 'entertain' people and their perceived role as voluntary community workers.

Unlike the delinquent group, Pantsulas and the Abashoza were young people less at risk and may not have been as alienated or as marginalised as the former group. Occasional acts of criminality and delinquency may have been the result of periods of boredom and frustration in their lives or acts of rebelliousness against major authority figures. Their free time activities were generally not characterised by 'empty leisure'. The ability to make positive contributions to their communities through their unique dance styles which had entertainment value, and their participation in conventional leisure activities such as sports, set them apart from the 'delinquent' group.

The social and physical environment of shack youth was examined further by investigating respondents' perceptions of political authority structures and at the family level, the extent to which parents were perceived to have a major influence on the behaviour of the younger generation.

5.2.2 Perceptions of Community Leadership

Against the backdrop of political unrest within peri-urban settlements in the Durban region in the early 1990's (described in an earlier chapter), this

section examines respondents' views on local leadership structures in the two survey areas. Table 5.3, p 86 shows that less than half of the respondents perceived that young people accepted the authority of community elders and leaders.

More respondents from Mgaga felt that young people did not accept the authority of community elders and leaders. In Mgaga, formal leadership was perceived to be in the hands of the older generation which supported the former 'homeland' government of KwaZulu. At the same time, an emerging more youthful informal civic structure (a locally elected informal leadership structure) appeared to be developing in this area. The views of community elders in Mgaga seemed to support the perception of a schism between the older generation who supported the old political order and the new generation aligned with an emerging (African National Congress) ANC civic structure. Two examples of such perceptions are highlighted below:

A middle-aged male respondent believed that the young people today dominated their parents and disobeyed community elders. He illustrated this point by citing a case in which many of the young people in Mgaga attended a 'Mandela rally' without first asking for their parent's permission. The respondent added that just as parents were intimidated by their offspring, the younger generation were intimidated by the political organisations and were forced to donate money and co-operate with these groups. In another interview in Mgaga a parent reported that young people had to choose between following their parents and siding with Inkatha or joining the comrades. (Fieldnotes, phase 1, Interviews between: 13.03.90-16.03.90).

Respondents in Mgaga noted that the authority of community elders and leaders would only be accepted if this authority was legitimate. The following typical comments indicate that informal political control in Amawoti was generally accepted by residents whereas in Mgaga, young people were perceived to be less tolerant of the old political order.

Amawoti youth who accepted the local authority:

"We appoint elders to take responsible positions in the community (18 year old male, Amawoti).

TABLE 5.3: COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP BY AREA

"Do you think young people living in your area accept the authority of community elders and leaders?"

RESPONSE	TOTAL (N = 311) %	MGAGA (N = 161) %	AMAWOTI (N = 150) %
Yes, they always accept their authority	45	39	51
No, they never accept their authority	28	37	18
Only sometimes do they accept their authority	27	24	31
TOTAL	100	100	100

Note:

Fixed response question, respondents were required to choose one response from the above.

TABLE 5.4: PARENTAL AUTHORITY BY AREA

"Do you think that young people listen to their parents more or less than they did 10 years ago?"

	TOTAL % (N = 322)	MGAGA % (N = 167)	AMAWOTI % (N = 155)
Less often	78	79	77
More often	8	7	9
Do not know	14	14	14
TOTAL	100	100	100

"Every new rule in Amawoti is negotiated by older people and the youth together" (24 year old female, Amawoti).

"It all depends to which group the leader (elder) belongs to. ANC (African National Congress) leaders are mostly accepted by their own followers. Councillors and induna's are usually rejected by the youth" (25 year old male, Amawoti).

Mgaga youth who rejected the local authority:

"Elders are scared to lead in this area, children are taking their place" (21 year old male, Mgaga).

"They say (elders) are old-fashioned and outdated" (21 year old female, Mgaga).

"Most of the older people are Inkatha followers" (24 year old male, Mgaga).

"Because in our area they got rid of the councillors" (19 year old female, Mgaga).

In Amawoti, where no formal authority existed, an informal civic was already in place. Some respondents made a distinction between 'elders' and community 'leaders' (the informally elected civic body). The establishment of a more 'democratic' informal local political authority which comprised younger and older generations may have been one of the reasons for this distinction. Community 'elders' were seen to be parent-figures who did not necessarily hold political office. The decision takers, the informal 'comrade' structure, were perceived to 'prop-up' eroding parental authority. The real power lay with the established and recognized informal political structure.

This point is illustrated through the following respondent's comment:

"Young people have been admonished to respect their parents by the community through meetings. Dissidents and law-breakers are thrashed thoroughly by the disciplinary committee" (25 year old male).

Arguably, the erosion of the authority of community elders and traditional leaders may also have been a reflection of the rural-urban identity of respondents in peri-urban settlements. These are areas of transition in which

modern city-life and political culture are mixed with traditional custom.

Moving from the community to the family level, the next section examines more thoroughly the extent to which parental authority was accepted by respondents.

5.2.3 Perceptions on the Acceptance of Parental Authority

The previous section suggested that with the emergence of the civic organisations young people were more actively involved in politics. This reduced the authority which traditional community leaders and elders had over the younger generation. This section examines the relationship between the younger generation and authority-figures at the level of the family. **Table 5.4, p 86** shows that most respondents felt that children listened to their parents less often than they did ten years ago.

Those respondents who felt this way qualified their answers in one of three ways: some noted that this was due to a *lack of parental discipline* (30% of mentions), others reported that young people *lead a more independent lifestyle and are able to make their own decisions* (29% of mentions), while a further group of responses concerned youth *disobeying and intimidating their parents* (27% of mentions). Many of the responses focussing on the lack of parental discipline were linked to young people's active involvement in politics which reduced respect for elders. As outlined in an earlier chapter, young people lost respect for their parents from the 1960's onwards when parents could no longer protect their offspring from the repressive actions of the state and the effects of poverty. Loss of political power amongst parents corresponded with increasing youth involvement in politics which further undermined the traditional authority of parents.

In a separate question, respondents were asked whether parents decided what leisure activities they could participate in. **Table 16, Appendix 3** shows that a majority (72%) believed that parents had no say in their leisure choices. Many respondents commented that they made their own leisure

choices without requiring the permission of parents. Others claimed that their parents were not interested in what they did with their free time.

To summarise, respondents' perceptions on the decline of parental authority may have been linked to the social context in which they lived. Earlier findings showed that a majority of respondents lived in single parent families where control over offspring may have been weaker. In addition, most of the respondents' parents were employed in poorly paid unskilled jobs. Under such conditions, the ability of parents to wield economic sanctions over their offspring to control their leisure activities may have been reduced. In addition, part-time or informal sector jobs which some respondents engaged in enhanced their independence making them less susceptible to economic sanctions which parents might have applied for disciplinary reasons.

Finally, perceptions of community leadership indicated that young people played an active role in politics and that in some instances, youthful local informal civic structures bolstered the declining authority of parents. The corollary was that community elders (including parents) were perceived by some respondents to represent the old discredited order and should be replaced by a younger more representative leadership structure. To this extent, respondents' involvement in politics may have boosted their own power and further eroded the authority of parents.

Respondents' most pleasant events which they had experienced over a year are explored in the next section. This investigation contributes to an overall understanding of young shack dwellers' perceptions of their environment.

5.2.4 Respondents' Most Pleasant Events

Local and national events mentioned by respondents when asked to identify the most pleasant event during a year, reflect the temporal dimension or the historical time frame in which the study was conducted. The highest number of responses (36% mentions) were for activities falling within the category 'political events'. Specific mentions included attending political meetings and marches and the launch of political parties. The release of Mandela, the

establishment of 'people's courts'(courts comprising youth who administer informal justice in communities) and disciplinary committees and the desegregation of the beaches were also mentioned as pleasant events.

The study was undertaken when major political reform had commenced in South Africa (1990). Legislation which defined the apartheid city was removed from the statute books, political prisoners were released and formerly banned political parties were able to canvass for support openly. In the context of this new-found freedom, it was not surprising that political events featured prominently in the minds of respondents as their most pleasant events.

A relatively high percentage of mentions (16%) were for 'no events' which is symptomatic of the dearth of leisure opportunities for young people living in marginalised shack areas in the apartheid city. 'Sporting events' received the third highest number of mentions (14%) and included soccer matches, netball, basketball and athletics. 'Cultural and artistic events' received 11% of respondent mentions with specific events including: gospel singing and music competitions; music festivals and shows; talent days; participation in church choirs and disco and ballroom dancing events. 'Improved amenities' accounted for 3% of respondent mentions and included the installation of water taps, the provision of building land, the upgrading of houses and the construction of a netball court. Respondents also listed a range of 'Other events' (10% mentions) such as trips to the beach, and the 'outbreak of peace'¹. The comments below illustrate some of the events which respondents mentioned:

"The Ford music competition held at the city-hall" (15 year old female, Mgaga).

"The struggle for South Africa, going to political rallies and camping out at night" (19 year old female, Mgaga).

"The match between Amazulu and Cosmos at Kings Park" (19 year old male Mgaga).

1 Political strife in the two survey areas was at low levels during the time of this study.

"The gospel music concert at Amaotana (a nearby shack area), not a regular event" (15 year old female, Amawoti).

"Netball and basketball was introduced for the first time, there was also a beauty contest held at a nearby hall" (24 year old male, Amawoti).

To conclude, the majority of most pleasant events mentioned by respondents were of a political nature. In the context of major political reform in South Africa at the time of this study, it was not surprising that political events featured prominently in respondents' answers. Local (neighbourhood) events rather than national events were the more frequently mentioned by respondents. Many of these pleasant events occurred within the context of leisure activities. Leisure activities may therefore play an important role in contributing to feelings of happiness and well-being amongst respondents. The high percentage of respondents who could think of *no* most pleasant event over the previous year may be due to the dearth of leisure opportunities available to young shack dwellers.

The next section shifts the focus from respondents' perceptions of their environment to an interrelated theme focussing on the way the spatial design of the apartheid city influenced respondents' self-perceptions.

5.3 Respondents' Self-perceptions

The influence of the peri-urban location and informal settlement patterns within Mgaga and Amawoti on respondents' self-perceptions and subjective well-being is examined in this section.

Table 5.5, p 92 shows that over half of the respondents had strong identifications with a city lifestyle. Interestingly, a smaller group of respondents believed that they were still rural at heart.

Both research areas are situated between formal townships and more sparsely settled rural areas and are areas of residential transition. In addition, the settlement patterns *within* the two areas reflected a mixture

TABLE 5.5: IDENTIFICATION WITH THE CITY BY AREA

"How do you see yourself, as...?"

	TOTAL (N = 321) %	MGAGA (N = 168) %	AMAWOTI (N = 153) %
A person who has always lived in the city and whose life and future is in the city.	52	55	49
A person who lives in the urban areas but is a rural person at heart	31	30	31
A person who is changing from being a rural person to being a city person	17	15	20
TOTAL	100	100	100

Note:

Fixed response question, respondents could choose one response from above.

between dense shack and lower density semi-rural settlement zones. The peri-urban location and settlement patterns of the two survey areas may therefore have influenced respondents' perceptions about their urban identity. Just under half of the respondents felt that they were still rural at heart or changing from being a rural to a city person.

Those who believed that they were **city people** gave the following main reasons: *"I was born and raised in the city"* (56% of respondent mentions) and, *"city life provides more opportunities, including work"* (9% mentions).

Findings on popular youth cultures in the shack areas, reported on earlier in this chapter, confirm that shack youth identified strongly with urban leisure interests and lifestyles. Popular sub-cultures were associated with symbols of urban life. Examples included urban dance styles (for example the Pantsula Jive); urban dress fashions and leisure activities such as listening to pop and gospel music; participating in sporting activities and youth clubs.

Respondents who felt that they were **rural** at heart listed their preference for the traditional rural lifestyle and accompanying leisure activities, as well as the poor living conditions in the urban areas as reasons for their strong identification with a rural lifestyle (64% mentions). Typical comments included:

"Not happy in this area, overcrowding, no transport, small houses, not enough schools"

"People have more love for each other in rural areas"

"There is always the rural lifestyle, for example, cattle and livestock and hunting in the forest"

"Don't go out at night like township youth"

"Am living in slums"

"I hate staying here because there is nothing to do except hanging around the streets or staying at home to sleep"

In sum, a small majority of respondents identified strongly with the city lifestyle because of work and leisure opportunities close to the urban core. In contrast, a smaller group had a mixture of traditional-rural and modern-urban values. These respondents preferred traditional rural leisure activities and lifestyles and as reflected in some of their comments, their lack of interest in and knowledge about urban leisure opportunities reinforced their negative perceptions about city life.

The development of leisure amenities in shack settlements should therefore be accompanied by community awareness programmes focussing on the leisure opportunities available in these areas. The provision of future leisure amenities should also match the unique leisure needs of such communities who are in the process of urban transition.

The extent to which the urban environment and social inequality influenced respondents' self esteem was also explored. Respondents' negative self-perceptions were derived from their sense of *material deprivation*. A majority of respondents (63%) believed that young people living in formal townships looked down on shack youth. Two major reasons were cited for this perception. Most reasons focussed on the better living conditions in the townships (68% mentions). Specific comments concerned: (a) Better social and physical infrastructure in the townships accounted for 29% of respondent mentions and respondents' comments included: *"They have electricity, tap-water, toilets, street lights, tarred roads"*; *"They have recreational amenities"*; *"They have easily accessible transport"*; *"They have many schools"*. (b) Poor quality housing in shack areas (21% mentions). Examples of comments included: *"Their houses have four rooms"* and, *"they have big yards"*.

Other general comments about township dwellers included:

"Township is beautiful compared to shack area"

"We live in densely populated areas"

"Life is easier for township dwellers"

"Many township people are employed"

"Township is clean"

Although *material deprivation* was the main reason cited by respondents for township dwellers looking down on them, a smaller percentage of responses (18%) focussed on the perceived negative personal descriptions given by township residents about shack dwellers. Examples of comments included: *"They look down on us"; "We are regarded as nothing"; "They say we are rural people"; "Rural and semi-rural people are considered stupid by township dwellers".*

Some 24% of respondents who did not feel that youth from the townships looked down upon them, noted that people were all the same regardless of where they lived, and that formal township dwellers socialised with shack dwellers. Comments included: *"They visit us and we visit them, they don't behave differently", "We helped them when they were attacked by Inkatha", "They visit our jondies (shacks)."*

Material deprivation and negative self-perceptions may also have influenced respondents' assessments of their well-being. Some 42% of respondents reported that they were satisfied with life on the whole these days whereas 20% were ambivalent and 35% were dissatisfied with their lives. Some 47% of respondents were somewhat happy with their current circumstances whilst 33% were not too happy. Only 19% of respondents indicated they were very happy with things these days.

To conclude, material deprivation was the major reason why a majority of respondents thought township dwellers looked down on them. The provision of physical and social infrastructure within shack settlements should be one

of the main priorities of planners and policy makers wishing to develop these areas. Supplying this basic infrastructure would help to reduce competition over scarce resources and improve the perceived poor relations between formal township dwellers (the 'haves') and informal dwellers (the 'have-nots'). This development programme would improve the self-esteem of shack dwellers and perceptions of their quality of life.

Respondents' (work) goals and aspirations are investigated in the next section to complete the analysis of self-perceptions.

5.3.1 Respondents' Aspirations

Some 95 respondents in phase one (the qualitative interviews) were asked what their goals in life were. Just over half of the respondents (51%) listed specific work aspirations. In the order of frequency of mention these included: nursing; social work; teaching; owning one's own business; police work; to become a professional sports person (including athletics and soccer); to be a medical doctor and to be a musician. Approximately 5% of respondents indicated that just finding a job was their major goal.

Approximately 35% of respondents wanted to continue with their education, which in many cases had been disrupted because of financial shortages and political unrest. From this grouping about half wished to study at the tertiary level whilst the other half wanted to continue with their school studies. The importance which respondents gave to completing their studies reflected their marginalisation in South African society and the realisation that more education gave one a chance of finding a job. Few opportunities to complete their education were available. Besides the poor quality of education available to black youth, the shortage of social infrastructure (such as schools) within their areas, may also have been a factor which inhibited the satisfaction of these aspirations.

Respondents with work and study aspirations gave a variety of reasons for these goals. For some, the short term financial benefits of these occupations were cited as reasons. This highlighted their material deprivation. For

example, a respondent who listed nursing as a career goal, cited the small salary trainee nurses received whilst studying as a reason for choosing this course. Respondents who wanted to join the police force gave a variety of reasons including, "to help maintain law and order in my community" or "to avenge her brothers and sisters who had been shot". An aspirant soccer professional wished to join an overseas soccer club so that he could "become rich through soccer".

Some 8% of respondents listed aspirations other than career or study goals. Examples included public-spirited or altruistic goals such as to improve the standard of living in their area, or to render voluntary assistance in their community. Some aspirations were to be achieved through leisure activities. For example a netball player said she wished her team could "become heroes by winning all the games locally and outside". The same respondent also wanted to "improve relationships and to develop friendships with other teams". Other more basic aspirations were "to marry and have children", "to find a woman and own a house".

To conclude, findings showed that the majority of respondents felt that they were city people at heart and perceived the employment and leisure opportunities to be the major advantages of city-life. The majority of respondents also believed that young people from formal townships thought that they were better than they were. Material deprivation was the major reason for this negative self-perception. This factor may also have been a reason why many respondents expressed negative assessments of their overall satisfaction with life and the high percentage of respondents who reported that they were *not too happy* or *only somewhat happy* with their current situation. Finally, respondents' study aspirations reflected the relative deprivation which they experienced in their shack areas. Despite their deprived environment, respondents had ambitious work aspirations which may be similar to the aspirations of less marginalised young people living in other parts of the apartheid city.

5.4 General Conclusion

Respondents expressed negative opinions about their social environment. Youth sub-cultures in Mgaga and Amawoti were classified by respondents into two broad categories, 'delinquent' and 'respectable' youth. The former category was mentioned more often than groups in the latter category. This may have been symptomatic of the marginalised urban status of shack dwellers as well as conditions of poverty which influenced perceptions of their social environment. Lifestyles of delinquent subcultures were frequently described in terms of deviant and criminal behaviour. Hanging around on the streets, drug-taking and playing truant were examples of such activities. 'Respectable youth' were perceived as the 'haves' and had conformist lifestyles which included attending school or having paid work.

Findings showed that political reform in South Africa had an impact on respondents which filtered down to the level of the family. Young people in the present study were able to participate in political activities more freely and their involvement in politics and civic structures boosted their power and reduced the authority of parents. Other reasons cited by respondents for the decline in parental authority included a lack of parental discipline (parents may also have been lacking discipline themselves) and young people leading more independent lifestyles. These two factors may have been the result of conditions of deprivation in the study areas. A breakdown of the family structure (many respondents lived in single parent, female headed households) may have been a further reason for the perceived decline in parental authority.

The peri-urban location and settlement characteristics of the main study areas influenced respondents self-perceptions. Both areas are sandwiched between formal townships and rural areas. In addition the two areas contained mixed residential patterns comprising dense shack settlement and more sparsely settled semi-rural zones. These settlements were therefore areas of transition in which many respondents (just under a half of the sample) expressed ambiguous positions about their identity in the city. A relatively high percentage of respondents thought they were rural at heart.

A majority of respondents believed that formal township dwellers looked down upon them. The major reasons for negative self-perceptions concerned the material deprivation in shack settlements. Relative deprivation may also explain why many respondents were dissatisfied and unhappy with their lifestyles. Environmental deprivation also shaped their aspirations. Most respondents either wanted to complete their educational studies or seek employment in a variety of skilled and professional occupations.

Shack respondents expressed negative views about their environment and the relative deprivation which they experienced lowered their self-image. Despite their marginalised position in South African society, the aspirations of the shack respondents in this study showed that they were not part of a 'lost generation of youth' but wished to improve themselves and were open to new developmental opportunities.

Chapter Six shifts the investigation from the perceived social context to the leisure context by describing the leisure patterns of shack youth.

CHAPTER SIX

THE LEISURE CONTEXT

6.1 General Introduction

The previous chapter investigated the way shack youth perceived their environment. Chapter Six examines the impact of the divided city on the leisure styles and patterns of shack youth. The following research questions, linked to the hypotheses in Chapter One, are explored: a) In view of peri-urban shack dwellers' geographic and socio-economic marginalisation in the apartheid city, are leisure activities oriented more towards semi-leisure than pure-leisure pursuits? b) In the context of their deprived social and physical environment, are delinquent leisure activities more common than pro-social activities? c) Are shack respondents' leisure activities self-organised, neighbourhood-based and held at informal (makeshift) venues?

The first half of the chapter explores the activity choices and frequency rates of respondents' activities. An investigation of the differences between work and leisure in shack life is also undertaken. The manner in which age, gender, main occupation and residential area influence leisure choices and activity patterns is then investigated. Finally, moving from the types of activities respondents engaged in, the last section examines the spaces they used for leisure.

6.2 Activity Choices and Participation Rates

Table 3, Appendix 3 shows the classification of the 38 activities listed in the questionnaire into six categories: *sports, passive, social, work-related, cultural* and *delinquent* activities. It is accepted that the classification of these activities into different categories is problematic since activities are

multidimensional and may satisfy more than one need depending on an actors subjective perception of an activity. For example, adolescent participation in a youth gang may be a delinquent activity born out of the need for survival, but it may also have a social leisure content which satisfies psycho-social needs at this lifecycle stage. For analytical purposes, the present study attempted to classify activities objectively by considering the socio-cultural and spatial context in which the activities occurred (i.e., shack settlements on the fringe of the apartheid city) and by assessing the dominant characteristic of each activity.

Table 6.1, p 102 shows that the most frequent activity was **school homework (*work-related activity*)** which was a daily activity for the majority of respondents (45%) (see **Table 4, Appendix 3**). Another frequently participated in work-related activity was **looking after small children**. This was a daily or weekly activity for 34% of respondents. Educational studies and childcare were two of the main occupations of respondents and therefore it was not surprising that such activities were amongst respondents' most frequent activities. Qualitative findings showed that in many instances young women living with their family and those who were not attending school and not employed were given the responsibility of taking care of the household. This may have included child care responsibilities especially in situations when both parents had fulltime jobs. The case studies of leisure in the family context which are presented later, highlight this finding.

Helping other people in the community was a less frequent work-related activity. A majority of respondents (79%) had been involved in voluntary community work although for many respondents (41%) this was an infrequent activity occurring approximately once a year as **Table 4, Appendix 3 shows**. Helping other people in the community included a range of activities such as the various social functions performed by civic structures. Other specific examples were: administering first aid at soccer matches; singing at funerals and weddings; the collection of donations for the bereaved at funerals; involvement in the organisation of amateur sporting clubs and disseminating news to neighbours about community

TABLE 6.1: TWENTY TWO MOST FREQUENTLY PARTICIPATED IN	
ACTIVITIES: TOTAL SAMPLE	
	Participation Rank
Homework	1
Socialising with friends	2
Reading newspapers	3
Childcare	4
Visiting unemployed friends	5
Playing sports	6
School sports	7
Hanging around the streets	8
Reading fiction	9
Helping others in the community	10
Talking politics with friends	11
Singing in a gospel group	12
Church activities	13
Watching films	14
Smoking dagga and sniffing glue	15
Watching live sports	16
Sexual activities	17
Pantsula dancing	18
Watching videos	19
Singing or playing an instrument for a group	20
Participating in youth club activities	21
Attending parties and braais	22
Total Sample N = 330	

meetings and events. Fewer respondents were involved in **part time studies** (18%), and **house to house job hunting** (23%). Average participation rates for these activities are shown in **Table 3, Appendix 3**. Part time study classes was a weekly activity engaged in usually on a Saturday. Venues for formal study classes were located in the central city, for example, at the Natal Medical School. Informal study groups sometimes used the Durban City Library.

Socialising with friends (*social activities*) was one of respondents' most frequent activities as shown in **Table 4, Appendix 3**. Over half of the respondents socialised with their friends on a daily or weekly basis. The main socio-spatial 'containers' for social leisure were: neighbourhood friends (31% respondent mentions), school friends (19% mentions) and, friends from the same interest group or youth club (13% mentions). Other peer groups were: unemployed friends (11% mentions), friends from formal townships (9% mentions) and siblings (9% mentions). Social leisure activities were therefore confined mainly to respondents' own neighbourhoods which reflects their geographic and social isolation from young people living in other (formal) areas in the apartheid city.

Other *social activities* which also featured in respondents' list of most frequent activities included: **visiting unemployed friends, talking politics with friends, sexual activities, youth club activities and attending parties and braais**. Average participation rates for these activities are shown in **Table 3, Appendix 3**. Less common social activities were: **visiting shebeens, playing video and arcade games and hanging around on the streets**. Although 'hanging out' on street sides was not a common activity, participators engaged in this activity regularly (on a daily or weekly basis). This may have been an indicator that some youth suffered from boredom resulting from a dearth of alternative leisure activities and venues for leisure.

Over half of the respondents (56%) indicated that they never participated in **youth club activities**, a second survey question on youth club participation showed that 82% of respondents belonged to at least one type of organisation or club. This conflicting survey evidence was attributed to the

different ways in which youth club participation was investigated in the questionnaire. A second in-depth survey question on club membership asked respondents whether they belonged to any one of 15 different clubs or associations. In this question, the definition of a club was extended to include a wide variety of interest groups. **Table 5, Appendix 3** shows the types of clubs to which respondents belonged.

The most popular clubs were sports clubs (for example: soccer; netball; karate and boxing clubs) and church clubs (including gospel groups) was the second most common type of club (specific examples were: Zionists; Sunday schools; and church choirs). Third-placed were political groups (for example: The ANC Youth League; Sayco (South African Youth Congress); youth committees; trade unions and civic bodies). Self-help organisations comprised stokvels (savings clubs); burial societies; and unemployment clubs. Cultural and artistic groups included Pantsula dancing clubs, Maskanda dancers¹, drum majorettes and ballroom dancers. A majority of respondents (54%) believed that belonging to a youth club made them happier than those that did not belong to clubs. A minority of club members (18%) were office bearers in their clubs.

Reading newspapers (*passive activity*) was the third most frequently participated in activity. For over half the respondents this was either a daily or weekly activity. Despite the geographical isolation of shack respondents in the apartheid city, it appeared that they were nevertheless interested in local and/or national events. **Reading fictional novels** was also one of respondents' most frequent activities with a weekly average participation rate.

Less frequent passive activities were **watching films** (going to the cinema) and **watching videos**. Going to the cinema was typically engaged in over the weekend on a Saturday when more time was available for trips to central

1 This is quasi-traditional Zulu music noted for its informal style. It may also involve singing and clapping and the use of a guitar and other musical instruments.

city areas where shows were screened. The less frequent nature of watching videos may have been due to the special arrangements which had to be made for this activity. For example in Dassenhoek when a video show was organised for the young people, the power supply (a generator), the video machine, and television set had to be borrowed or hired. Political and sporting videos were examples of the programmes watched by respondents.

Sporting Activities also featured on the list of most frequent activities (see Table 6.1, p 102) and included: **playing sports, school sports and watching sports**. Weekly participation rates was the average for these three activities. Playing school sports was a less common activity with 55% of respondents never having participated (see Table 4, Appendix 3). The high percentage of non-participants may have been due to the main occupations of respondents. Less than half of the sample were school students. In addition access to school-based sporting activities was restricted for non-school attenders. The few sporting amenities at schools are also of a poor quality which may discourage young people from participating in school sports.

Table 6, Appendix 3 shows that the most popular sport was soccer. Other sports included: netball, jogging, karate, basketball, gym, boxing and volleyball. Qualitative research indicated that there were more amateur soccer clubs than any other sporting club in the two main research areas. Some twelve different soccer clubs were listed by Amawoti youth. Examples of a few were: "The Hot Leaders", "Vultures" and "Golden Young Touch". In Mgaga two clubs were mentioned by respondents in phase one: the "Soccer stars" and, the "Heroes" which was later reformed and renamed the "Heroes Champions". Weekdays after school hours were the main times for soccer practice. Some respondents practiced every day of the week whilst others practiced three times a week. Weekends were usually the days on which soccer matches against rival clubs were played and soccer matches were also watched over weekends. Venues for such matches were situated either closer to the core of the city or in their own areas.

Netball, the sport played by young women, seemed to be area-specific with no clubs reported in Mgaga (in phase one) whereas two clubs were identified in Amawoti, "Geneva" and "Blizzard". Practice times varied and some respondents reported practice sessions every afternoon. Matches against rival teams were played over weekends.

Cultural and creative activities also featured amongst respondents' most frequent activities and included: **singing in gospel groups; church activities; pantsula dancing and singing or playing an instrument for a musical group.** The majority of respondents (66%) had participated in church activities. Participation was on a weekly basis for most respondents (43%). Church services were typically held on a Sunday and other church activities, for example choir practice meetings were often arranged on weekdays. Over half the sample (52%) indicated they had participated in Gospel singing and the average frequency rate was every week. At least four Gospel groups existed in Amawoti ("The Mozambique Gospel Singers", "Faith Movement", "Interdenominational" and "Young Christian Life") and in Mgaga at least two groups were reported on by respondents in informal interviews ("The Stars of the Summer Night" and the "Supreme Efforts"). Gospel groups usually met after school hours and after the completion of domestic chores. Some groups met three times a week whilst others held their practices once a week. The average frequency rates of other *cultural and creative activities* are shown in Table 3, Appendix 3.

Delinquent activities included: **smoking dagga and sniffing glue; participating in street gang activities and playing truant from school.** Although these activities were rarely participated in, the previous chapter on young people's perceptions of their social context showed such activities were perceived to be widespread. High rates of non-involvement in some of these activities, for example smoking dagga, may have been due to their perceived illegality and the negative social stigma which the wider society attached to such activities. To protect themselves from prosecution, some respondents may have reported their non-participation. Interestingly, for the some 12% of respondents who smoked dagga or sniffed glue, their average participation

rate was daily. Getting a daily 'fix' may have helped some respondents cope with the alienation and poverty they experienced in shack settlements.

Some 18% of respondents indicated that they had played truant from school. School truancy may have been partially the product of the increased politicisation of African youth following the Sharpeville massacre of 1960 and the Soweto riots in 1976. School boycotts were part of a programme of resistance against the state in South Africa and the phrase 'liberation before education' was coined to signify this. This point was highlighted by a respondent from Mgaga who noted that some young people in her area were called 'freedom fighters'. These youth believed that there was no reason to attend school, involvement in the struggle for freedom was more important and would eventually lead to equality in South Africa.

The low reported incidence of delinquency may also have been due to the other types of free time activities young people were involved in. A majority of respondents were 'respectable' youth and participated in 'positive social' activities. The network of amateur sporting, social and cultural clubs to which many respondents belonged supports this finding. Such activities provided an important outlet for young people not attending school; for the unemployed and for those who could not afford the costs of leisure activities located closer to the core of the city. Boredom and frustration arising from too much free time and poverty may have been offset through involvement in youth club activities. Youth clubs served to instill a sense of individual and residential pride through competition against teams from different areas and by giving respondents a sense of personal development (Chapter Seven examines the motivations for leisure activities more closely).

The financial costs of procuring drugs, the community spirit and collective authority within the survey areas were also possible reasons for low delinquency rates amongst respondents. Unlike more marginalised street children living in central city areas away from family and community support groups, shack youth had the support of parents and relatives, cultural and political organisations and youth clubs located in their own residential areas to guide their behaviour. Although research findings suggested that parental

influence over the younger generation had diminished, shack residents and community organisations played an important role in regulating the activities of the younger generation. For example, some community elders were involved in voluntary community service work to control youth behaviour.

In the absence of social welfare services and adequate policing in marginalised shack communities, shack residents have adopted a self-help approach to cope with delinquency and other social problems. The following vignettes from phase one of the study support this contention.

A 21 year old unemployed male living in Mgaga noted that before implementation of the street court system by the comrades, most young people in his area resorted to taking drugs as a way of dealing with their frustrations. Many young people socialised with their peers on the streets and young males gathered at a local shop to play table soccer. With the implementation of this system of authority, levels of delinquency had been reduced. (Interview notes, phase 1, date of interview between: 12.06.90 - 22.06.90).

A 23 year old unemployed male reported that in Dassenhoek an education committee attached to the civic investigated school truancy. In one incident following an investigation of absenteeism at a local school, the enquiry found that some students were spending their school hours at the local shop where they were playing the 'jukebox'. The Executive Committee intervened and negotiated with the shop owner to limit access to the 'jukebox' to specific times during the week, for example on a Friday afternoon after school. The children's parents were also visited by the committee to ascertain the reasons for their offspring's truancy and the committee assisted the parents with the disciplining of their children. (Interview notes, phase 1, date of interview between: 16.07.90 - 19.07.90).

Respondents' activity patterns are further explored by investigating the distinction between work and leisure in the next section.

6.3 Perceptions of Work and Leisure

The essential qualities of leisured behaviour are freedom and enjoyment (Roadburg, 1983; Shaw, 1984). The purpose of this section is to distinguish respondents' leisure activities from their work activities by analysing their activities in relation to the above two dimensions of leisure. **Table 3, Appendix 3** shows the average frequency; enjoyment and free choice values for each of the 38 activities listed in the questionnaire.

Few activities were perceived by respondents to have been obligatory in character. The most binding activity was house to house job hunting which was also respondents' least enjoyed activity. School homework and bunking school (playing truant) were borderline activities which were neither purely discretionary nor obligatory. Whereas school homework was perceived to be an enjoyable activity, playing truant was perceived as less enjoyable.

Semi-leisure activities such as attending part-time study classes; singing or playing a musical instrument for a musical group; community service work; gospel singing; church and sporting activities were not perceived to be that binding. Regular meetings and practice sessions had no impact on respondents' assessments as to whether some of these activities were obligatory. Such activities may have been perceived as avenues for self-development to achieve personal success in the face of environmental deprivation and were therefore enjoyed by respondents. The collective evidence in **Tables 3 and 6, Appendix 3** suggests that most pure and semi-leisure activities were perceived to be discretionary and highly enjoyable.

Surprisingly, looking after small children was not viewed as an unenjoyable activity. Interstitial leisure, for example listening to the radio and reading whilst childcaring, may have made this type of activity more enjoyable. Findings from the nationwide township survey support this thesis (see Møller, 1989). Involvement in such secondary activities made work-related activities more bearable with the injection of an element of 'fun'. Although most respondents (96%) perceived school truancy to be unenjoyable, some did express positive sentiments about this activity. Truancy was sometimes associated with social leisure which may have been a reason why some youth enjoyed this activity.

Activities such as visiting shēbeens; hanging around the streets; taking drugs and belonging to street gangs were enjoyed less by respondents. Low enjoyment values may have been a function of respondents' genuine disliking for some of these activities because they may have been equated with empty or meaningless leisure and were the product of boredom and poverty.

The next two sections explore the way leisure patterns are influenced by life cycle stage; gender; place of residence and main occupation. The division of labour in the family unit is also investigated in the discussion on the impact of gender on leisure.

6.4 The Influence of Age, Gender and Residential Area on Leisure Patterns

Age differences:

Adolescent respondents (youth aged 15-19 years) were engaged more often than their older counterparts (the 20-24 year old respondents) in leisure activities in the peer group setting, see **Tables 7 and 8, Appendix 3**. Examples included watching live sports and playing sports. Other survey findings also suggested that the context for their leisure activities was the peer group setting. For example, more adolescents were youth club members than respondents from the young adult group. **Table 5, Appendix 3** shows that adolescent respondents were more active in sports clubs, church and gospel clubs whereas the older respondents belonged to more self-help clubs. Arguably such clubs served as practical support groups for respondents who had left home and were no longer supported to the same extent by their immediate family.

Differing participation rates between older and younger respondents for some activities, for example sports activities may have reflected the need for competitive relationships with same-age peers which is typical of the adolescent phase of the life cycle. Adolescents' higher frequency rates in comparison to the older group for school sports may have been the result of

structural constraints. School-going adolescents had easier access, than their non-school attending older counterparts, to school property; training facilities and teams affiliated to the schools close to their own residential areas. Distance and cost factors in travelling to practice sessions with clubs based outside their own areas may therefore have been a constraint for older youth (this point is covered more thoroughly in the next chapter which focuses on leisure constraints). Activities involving one-to-one social interaction such as sexual activities, were more frequent amongst older respondents. The need for more social intimacy is a central need amongst young adults.

Adolescent respondents' most frequent activities (findings were derived from the fixed activity list in the questionnaire) were: school homework; socialising with friends; reading newspapers; looking after small children and visiting unemployed friends. In the young adult group, the five most frequent activities (in order of frequency) were: socialising with friends; childcare activities; school homework; reading newspapers and visiting unemployed friends.

In the light of the central needs of young adults outlined in the lifecycle model of leisure behaviour (discussed in Chapter Two), it was surprising that social and sports activities including participation in sports clubs were still so popular amongst the young adult group. These activities may have been important channels to satisfy higher order needs especially for the unemployed and school drop-outs. This point was evident in respondents' descriptions of their aspirations in the previous chapter. For some respondents, aspirations included to become professional sports stars or to become 'local-heroes' by winning contests against rival teams. Participation in amateur sports clubs may therefore have been the first step to achieve career goals.

Playing sports; socialising with friends and reading newspapers appeared in both age groups' lists of five most enjoyable activities. There were also activity differences in the two age cohorts' lists: In the 15-19 year old group, watching live sports and participating in musical groups featured

highly whereas in the older group, sexual activities and community service activities were included in their list of five most enjoyable pursuits. **Table 9, Appendix 3** highlights the age differences in enjoyment values for the 38 activities listed in the questionnaire.

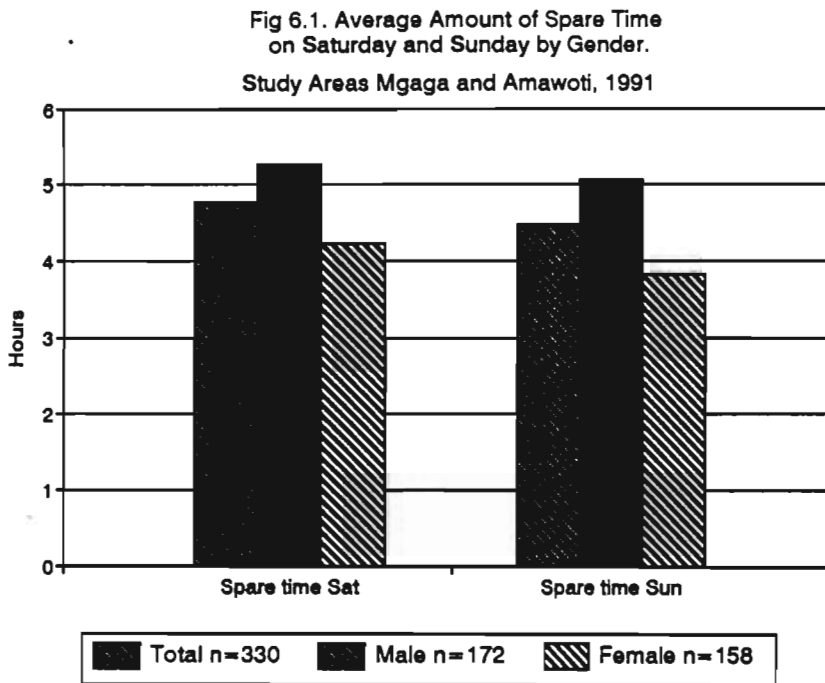
Gender differences:

Overall, male respondents participated in a wider range of activities than their female counterparts as shown in **Table 10, Appendix 3**. Male respondents were more active in many leisure activities and examples included: sporting activities; playing video and arcade games; socialising with friends; watching films (which included going to the cinema); visiting shebeens and participating in street gang activities. A number of reasons may explain why young women participated less frequently in many of the listed leisure activities.

The most important reason related to the family context. A majority of respondents (60%) perceived that young women had less free time for leisure than their male counterparts. Main reasons cited for this viewpoint was the perception that young women had more domestic responsibilities (69% respondent mentions) and that young women had less freedom and were subject to more parental control (26% respondent mentions).

The above perceptions coincided closely with actual participation rates and main occupations between young men and women shown in **Tables 1, 10 and 11, Appendix 3**. Young women were more involved in domestic chores than their male counterparts. A majority of homekeepers (those respondents whose main occupations were own housework and childcaring) were young women. Young women were also more frequently involved in childcaring activities than young men.

In addition **Figure 6.1 below** shows that on average young women had less free time for leisure over weekends than their male counterparts. The average amount of free time available to young women on Saturday was 4.2 hours in contrast to young males who had 5.2 hours of free time. On Sunday young men averaged 5 hours of free time in comparison to young women whose free time was some 3.8 hours.



Domestic responsibilities and stricter parental control over young women may have been the main reasons why young women had less free time than male counterparts over the weekends. Escapist activities such as attending sports meetings were usually weekend activities and young women were less able to participate in such pursuits because of domestic tasks at home and stricter parental control. Young women's most common leisure activities were located close to their place of residence and an example included gospel singing which featured in their list of top six most frequent activities. Noteworthy was that young women belonged to more church clubs and gospel groups than young men as shown in **Table 5, Appendix 3**.

Their most frequent activities included (in order of frequency of occurrence): school homework; looking after small children; socialising with friends; reading newspapers; gospel singing and participating in school sports. Female respondents were less frequently involved in delinquent activities which may have been an indicator of stricter parental control over young women. Interestingly, young men's most frequent activities were similar to their female counterparts. In order of frequency of participation these included: socialising with friends; school homework; reading newspapers; visiting unemployed friends; hanging around on the streets and playing sports.

The home-centred nature of young women's leisure was also reflected in their spontaneously mentioned, most enjoyable activities, see **Table 6, Appendix 3**. In order of frequency of mention these activities included listening to music (also records and tapes); participating in choirs and gospel singing; socialising; doing nothing including sleeping; handicraft activities (examples were crochet work, knitting and sewing) and reading books and magazines. Sports activities and socialising with friends were young men's favourite activities. **Table 12, Appendix 3** highlights the gender differences in enjoyment values for the 38 activities listed in the questionnaire.

To highlight the way gender influenced leisure patterns in the context of the African family unit, profiles showing the relationship between family life and leisure are described below.

(a) Nonhlanhla was a 23 year old from Mgaga. Her parents had retired and were living on a farm in Richmond. In 1987 she left school having completed her Standard 9 and enrolled in a two year dress-making course which her sister helped to pay for. She subsequently operated an informal dress-making business from her home. The most profitable side of her business was the making of pinafore dresses which were sold in Gazankulu (a former homeland in South Africa) where she was able to get a better price for her goods. In her spare time she liked to listen to 'fusion music'. This was a viable leisure activity for her because she was able to listen to the music while she worked. Her business occupied all of her time and because of time constraints she had no close friends to socialise with. To save time she employed a housekeeper to do her domestic work. (Interview notes, phase 1, date of interview between: 27.04.90 - 2.05.90).

(b) Connie was 27 years old and lived in Mgaga. She has two young children of her own and lived with her parents and younger brother and sister. The respondent's father worked for an insurance company before losing his job five years ago. Her mother was a 'live-in' domestic worker and returned home to her family over the weekends. Connie was self-employed and specialised in selling ice-blocks, cooldrinks and 'broken cakes.' Connie said she felt stressed and her additional responsibilities as breadwinner and mother-figure placed such a burden on her that she did not experience leisure or enjoy anything in life. (Interview notes, phase 1, interview between: 27.04.90 - 2.05.90).

(d) Thoko was a 27 year old unemployed male living with his family in Dassenhoek. Thoko was a student at the University of Zululand but had dropped out of these studies. His parents owned a beerhall in Dassenhoek and he helped with the running of this business. His daily activities included: ordering stock; driving the company car and overseeing security at the venue. Over the weekend he hired equipment for a disco at the beerhall. Thoko's spare time activities included: domestic chores such as washing and ironing. He was also a member of the youth organisation in his area and apart from these activities, he liked to visit friends and to drink socially. His other leisure activities included reading the newspapers (which his father bought) and listening to music. His least liked activities included fetching water¹ and looking after children. (Interview notes, phase 1, Interview date: 09.08.90).

The case studies show that for young women, the family was the major container for leisure. The institutional mode of leisure was more evident amongst female respondents than their male counterparts and unpaid domestic work featured prominently as activities occurring within spare time or as activities which had to be completed before leisure time. The case study of Connie illustrated that in some instances institutional role-constraints may be doubled as young women in paid employment are constrained by both work and family obligations which further reduce their available free time for leisure.

Interstitial leisure featured importantly in the repertoire of young women's leisure activities. Domestic responsibilities restricted their opportunity spaces for leisure and the most common leisure activities occurred alongside

1 Several respondents reported that fetching water from taps situated in their neighbourhood was a constraint on their leisure time. For example, in Folweni a respondent noted that with the water crisis in her area, residents had to carry water from other sections.

daily 'work' routines within the household. Examples included listening to music whilst looking after children or engaging in informal sector work and, doing crochet work or reading while the baby was resting.

In contrast, although young men did help with house work, their domestic chores often served to 'fill-in' time especially for those not attending school and for the unemployed. Young men therefore appeared to be less obligated to perform domestic chores.

To sum up, the survey and qualitative findings highlighted that young men participated in a wider range of leisure pursuits than young women. This may have been due to interpersonal constraints within the family context. Young women's gender role obligations in the family and stricter parental control were two of the main reasons cited by respondents for the perceived limited amount of free time available to young women. Main occupational differences between the genders supported this perception. Finally, survey evidence showed that young women had less free time for escapist leisure over the weekends when such activities were typically engaged in.

Residential differences:

This discussion firstly compares the activity frequencies between the two main survey areas, Amawoti and Mgaga and then contrasts activity patterns of shack respondents with formal township dwellers in the DFR. In the shack settlement comparison, **Table 10, Appendix 3** shows that participation rates for most of the 38 activities listed in the questionnaire were similar. Activities which did show significant differences in frequency rates were: reading newspapers; doing school homework; attending music and pop-concerts; child-caring; and playing a musical instrument for a musical group. Overall, respondents from both shack areas enjoyed similar activities. Sporting activities (including watching and playing sports); reading newspapers; participating in musical groups including gospel singing; and voluntary community work were activities which respondents from both areas most enjoyed. Respondents' five most frequent activities in the two

shack areas were also the same and included: school homework; socialising with friends; reading newspapers; looking after small children and visiting unemployed friends.

With respect to child caring, higher frequency rates amongst Amawoti youth may have been due the fact that more respondents from this area (20%) had children of their own than the group from Mgaga (12%). Frequency rates were higher in the Mgaga subsample in comparison to their Amawoti counterparts for activities such as participation in musical groups. More respondents in the former group belonged to church clubs and gospel singing groups which might account for their higher participation rates.

The previous chapter highlighted respondents' perceptions of the differing opportunities young people had to participate in local authority structures in the two areas. Amawoti youth were perceived to be actively involved in the informal local authority structure whereas their counterparts in Mgaga were perceived to be under the control of the formal KwaZulu authority and less politically involved. For many young people in Mgaga, participation in politics may not have been a viable leisure option and their energies may therefore have been channelled into other social clubs such as church and gospel groups. Noteworthy was the fact that whereas 84% of Mgaga respondents belonged to church groups, 69% of youth from the Amawoti subsample were church members.

The impact of shack residents' geographical position in the apartheid city is explored further through a **township-shackland comparison** of the leisure patterns of respondents living in these two different settlement types. To compare the leisure patterns of shack respondents with township dwellers, data from the leisure time use study conducted in 1989 under the auspices of the Youth Centre Project (see Figure 4.1, p 52) are used. The questionnaire in the 1989 study made use of an 18-item activity list and as in the shack survey, the township study asked respondents to report how often they participated in each of the activities on the list. In both studies similar participation frequency intervals were used so that the data was comparable. For the purposes of the present comparison, only the sub-

sample of townships located in the Durban Functional Region (including Umlazi; KwaMashu and Clermont) were used. Activities which formed the basis of the township-shackland comparison are shown in Table 13, Appendix 3.

For some activities, frequency rates between township and shack youth were very similar. Examples included watching live sports; going to concerts; church activities; visiting shebeens; socialising with friends and attending political rallies. Similar participation rates for these activities may have been due to the universal appeal of such activities to young people as well as the ease of access which both groups had to such activities.

For some activities participation rates were higher for township respondents and such activities included: playing sports; going to the cinema; reading fictional novels and newspapers. Geographic location of shack respondents in the apartheid city may have been one of the inhibiting or blocking constraints which prevented shack youths' more frequent participation in some activities for example playing sports. Young shack dwellers living on the urban periphery usually have to travel longer distances to reach recreational venues located in townships and the core city areas. Other factors such as political unrest; parental control and financial restrictions may also have interacted with this variable to influence the participation rates of shack youth. These constraints will be examined more thoroughly in the next chapter.

To sum up, activity participation rates and enjoyment levels were similar in the two shack settlements. Where differences did occur in participation rates, these were attributed to main occupational differences (for example, child-caring activities were significantly more frequent amongst the Amawoti subsample in contrast to the Mgaga respondents) between respondents from the two areas. For some activities such as participating in musical groups, higher frequency rates amongst Mgaga youth were attributed to divergent leisure interests between respondents from Mgaga and Amawoti. Differing leisure interests may have been the result of structural constraints affecting Mgaga respondents' access to some leisure

activities. Differences in activity frequencies between township and shackland youth were attributed to the geographical marginalisation of shack youth which negatively influenced their access to leisure resources.

Following the investigation of the impact of age, gender and place of residence on respondents' leisure preferences and activity participation rates, the next section explores the impact of these socio-economic variables on respondents' weekday and weekend activity programmes. Respondents' **main occupation; gender and age** are focussed on in this discussion.

6.4.1 The Way Main Occupation, Gender and Age Influence Weekday and Weekend Activity Programmes

Weekday and weekend activity patterns were examined across three main occupations: homekeepers, school attenders, and the unemployed. The findings are presented in **Table 6.2, p 120**.

The majority of respondents in all occupational categories reported that on weekdays they were involved more in work than in leisure activities. Interestingly, in comparison to other occupational categories more unemployed youth also mentioned that they were involved in sports and leisure activities on weekdays. This may have been an indicator that their work-related main occupations were not as rigidly time-structured as for example school students who attended school at set hours on weekdays. Despite housework and other activities such as job hunting, unemployed youth were able to organise their weekdays in such a way as to have more time for leisure. Further evidence of this is the differing amounts of time spent in main occupations between the unemployed, students and those in full time employment. **Tables 6.3 and 6.4 p 121** show that most homekeepers and respondents who were unemployed spent roughly equal amounts of time (on average between 1-4 hours) in their main occupations on weekdays and on weekends. In contrast, majorities of school attending and employed youth reported 7-12 hour work shifts on weekdays whereas over the weekends they spent less time on work activities.

TABLE 6.2: WEEKDAY AND WEEKEND ACTIVITY PATTERNS BY MAIN OCCUPATION

"In what way do your weekend activities differ from your weekday activities?"

WEEKDAY ACTIVITY PATTERNS	TOTAL %	SCHOOL- GOERS %	HOME- KEEPERS %	UNEMPLOYED %
School work	38	69	6	5
More work and less free time	20	6	16	16
House work	9	5	25	14
Sports and leisure activities*	7	4	3	11
Look for work	4		9	14
Stay at home	4	2	9	9
No difference between weekday weekends	2		3	5
	N = 239	N = 126	N = 32	N = 44

WEEKEND ACTIVITY PATTERNS	TOTAL %	SCHOOL- GOERS %	HOME- KEEPERS %	UNEMPLOYED %
Sports and leisure activities*	90	92	106	89
House work	8	10	3	2
General work**	7	5		16
School work	3	6		
Stay at home	3	5		
No difference between weekday weekends	2		3	5
	N = 239	N = 126	N = 32	N = 44

* Examples included: soccer, socialising, youth group and church meetings.

** Examples included: casual work, part-time and temporary jobs.

Notes:

The tables are based on a free response question. Respondents could give up to three responses.

Activities in the two tables were combined. The table was based on respondents which explains why some percentages exceed 100 percent in some categories.

TABLE 6.3: AVERAGE HOURS SPENT IN MAIN OCCUPATION ON A WEEKDAY BY MAIN OCCUPATION

HOURS	STUDENT %	EMPLOYED %	HOMEKEEPER %	OTHER %
1 - 4 hours	7	11	47	42
5 - 6 hours	20	14	10	14
7 - 12 hours	70	61	24	29
More than a day	1	8	11	4
No hours	1	6	5	7
Other	2	0	3	4
	N = 151	N = 63	N = 62	N = 55

297 Valid Cases

Notes:

"Employed" included: self employed/full time and temporary/casual work.

"Homekeeper" included: domestic work and child caring.

"Other" - the majority of these respondents were unemployed.

TABLE 6.4: AVERAGE HOURS SPENT IN MAIN OCCUPATION ON A WEEKEND DAY BY MAIN OCCUPATION

HOURS	STUDENT %	EMPLOYED %	HOMEKEEPER %	OTHER %
1 - 4 hours	31	8	51	37
5 - 6 hours	20	21	12	16
7 - 12 hours	8	25	13	13
More than a day	0	11	8	6
No hours	39	33	11	22
Other	2	2	5	6
	N = 146	N = 61	N = 61	N = 54

289 Valid Cases

Notes:

"Employed" included: self employed/full time and temporary/casual work.

"Homekeeper" included: own domestic chores and child caring.

"Other" - the majority of these respondents were unemployed.

Table 6.2, p 120 shows that the majority of respondents in all three categories reported that **weekend days** were typically the reserve of sporting and other leisure activities. Majorities of school students and the employed reported that they spent no time in work activities over the weekends. Examples of leisure activities mentioned by respondents (in approximate order of frequency of mention) included church activities; soccer; karate; socialising; just relaxing; and trips to the city or to the beaches. For those that were engaged in work activities over the weekend, domestic chores and homework were their main occupations. It was reported in the previous section that young women sometimes had less free time over the weekends for leisure activities because of multiple institutional obligations relating to the family, (paid) work and school contexts. Work-related occupations for the unemployed group also included informal sector jobs.

The focus in the next two sections shifts from the types of leisure activities respondents engaged in and activity frequency rates, to the sites respondents chose for their leisure activities.

6.5 Most Popular Leisure Locales

This section explores the survey findings on the places young people most frequently used in their leisure time. Table 6.5, p 123 shows that the most common places for leisure in order of frequency of mention were 'own area', 'the city' (the central city zone) and 'formal townships'.

Respondents who reported that their leisure activities were neighbourhood-based listed two main reasons for remaining in their own areas in their leisure time. A majority of responses (46%) mentioned their satisfaction with their own areas as places for leisure. Specific reasons were that they liked to use leisure locales which were **familiar** to them. Comments included: "Its my home, I am familiar with it", "I feel more comfortable in my area" and, "It is my way of relaxing". The presence of friends and relatives and the availability of their leisure activities in their own areas were cited by respondents as additional reasons for their satisfaction with 'own areas' as

TABLE 6.5: LEISURE LOCALES BY AREA

"Where do you spend most of your leisure time?"

AREA	TOTAL % *N = 320	MGAGA % N = 164	AMAWOTI % N = 156
In my own area	68	72	64
In the city	46	52	40
A formal township	24	32	16
A rural area	11	8	14
Other**	3	2	4

Notes:

Fixed Response categories, respondents could choose more than one option.

Percentages are based on respondents.

* Total number of cases

** Other = residual answers which could not be classified.

sites for leisure. Prima-facie evidence indicated the effects of antecedent constraints on respondents' choice of leisure locale. Respondents may have been unaware of leisure opportunities and amenities available in other areas due to the effects of cumulative deprivation.

The second major set of reasons for the choice of 'own area' for leisure activities were **physical constraints** (20% respondent mentions). The majority of responses related to financial shortages and the costs of travelling to other areas for leisure purposes. Parental control was also mentioned as a further reason.

Respondents' preference for the city may have partially reflected their differing leisure needs. Young people may prefer a range of leisure locales which satisfy divergent needs. For example, the need for safety would be satisfied by remaining in their own areas whereas the need for adventure and escapism from the drudgery of everyday life and the poverty in their own areas may have been satisfied by taking trips to other places such as central city venues. Those who used the *city* in their leisure time, listed a number of specific venues such as cinemas; shopping centres (examples of which were: The Wheel, The Workshop and The Berea Centre); the beachfront; Kings Park Soccer Stadium, recreational parks; West Street; Minitown; Seaworld and Durban libraries. Pinetown and Johannesburg were also mentioned under city leisure locales.

Those who used the city for their leisure activities listed the **recreational opportunities** available in the city as the major drawcard (37% respondent mentions). Comments included: "In town I enjoy leisure activities and use a wide variety of facilities" and "I like watching films in cinemas".

Other reasons concerned the **enjoyment and escapist benefits** of trips to the town (24% respondent mentions): comments included: "I need a change of environment" and, "More fun in town than in own area". **A place to hang out with friends** (14% respondent mentions) was another reason for choosing the city.

As a rule of thumb townships used by respondents for leisure purposes were situated in close proximity to their own residential areas. Those townships used in the south of Durban (close to Mgaga) were: Umlazi (adjacent to Mgaga); Lamontville (about 5 kilometres from Mgaga) and KwaMakhuta (some 10 kilometres from Mgaga). Townships on the Northern side of Durban used for leisure (close to Amawoti) were: KwaMashu (about 6 kilometres from Amawoti); Inanda Newtown (some 4-5 kilometres from Amawoti); Phoenix (some three kilometres from Amawoti) and Ntuzuma¹ (about 6 kilometres from Amawoti). Other leisure sites included: Chesterville (west of Durban's business centre and approximately 15 kilometres from both study areas). Respondents who favoured townships for their leisure activities listed the presence of friends and relatives (40% respondent mentions) and the availability of recreational amenities and the close proximity of townships to their own areas (16% mentions) as the major reasons for their choice.

To sum up, the main leisure locales of respondents were their own residential areas, the city, and neighbouring formal townships. The push factors which caused respondents to remain in their own areas during their free time were: financial costs and distance to recreational sites (situated in other areas) and parental pressure. Pull factors influencing respondents' choice to remain in their own areas during their free time were: familiarity with their own areas, the existence of their main leisure interests in these areas, and their friends and relatives also living in their areas. With respect to the choice of the city and townships as leisure locales, the major pull factors included the perceived opportunities which these areas offered in terms of a wide variety of recreational amenities and the escapist dimension inherent in such trips. In the particular case of the township choice, the presence of friends and relatives was also a pull factor. Push factors included the shortage of venues and space for leisure activities in their own areas.

1 For a description of some of the leisure venues available in these townships see Richards, R 'Hanging out: Black youth on leisure venues' in *Lost Generation Found: Black Youth at Leisure*, 1991.

The next section shifts the investigation from an examination of geographical location of activity spaces for leisure to the micro level by exploring the venues respondents used for their leisure activities.

6.6 Popular Leisure Venues

Popular leisure venues used by respondents are described in this section. **Table- 6.6, p 127** shows that the three main leisure venues used by respondents were: friend's house, halls¹ or school classrooms and sports venues such as a soccer fields². Whereas a majority of female respondents made use of halls and friends homes, popular meeting places for young men were sporting venues such as soccer fields. Male respondents also made use of a wider selection of leisure venues in comparison to their female counterparts. Besides the venues mentioned above, more male respondents used alternative venues such as hotels, shebeens, shops with video and arcade games, street corners and pavements for their leisure activities. The **gender difference** in venue usage patterns may be explained in terms of three interrelated factors: different activity preferences; access constraints and the uneven distribution of free time between young men and women. These factors were discussed in detail earlier in this chapter.

The types of venues used did not differ very much between the two **survey areas**. Respondents from Mgaga did however report that they made more use of hotels³ and shebeens as leisure 'hang-outs'. Respondents from this area had better access to hotels and shopping centres because of the close proximity of Umlazi and a better transport system which serviced this area. Halls were also used more by Mgaga youth than respondents from Amawoti. More active participation in church clubs and gospel groups may be the reason for this.

-
- 1 The venue 'hall' may include church buildings and school classrooms which often serve as meeting places for church groups.
 - 2 These are usually rough patches of ground located within the respondents' own area.
 - 3 The Executive Hotel at Umlazi was listed as a popular leisure site. This venue had a disco which youth attended.

TABLE 6.6: MOST POPULAR LEISURE VENUES BY AREA, GENDER AND BY AGE
 "Which of the following venues do you most often use in your leisure time?"

VENUE	TOTAL % *N = 324	AREA		GENDER		AGE	
		MGAGA % N = 167	AMAWOTI % N = 157	MALE % N = 170	FEMALE % N = 154	15 - 19 % N = 174	20 - 24 % N = 150
Friend's house	67	70	64	63	71	66	68
Hall (including school hall and classrooms)	62	66	57	36	90	78	43
Soccer field	44	43	46	69	17	48	40
Shebeen (tavern)	6	8	5	9	3	3	9
Street corner	6	8	4	10	1	7	5
Hotel	6	8	3	9	2	2	10
A corner shop with arcade games	6	4	8	7	4	8	3
Other**	10	7	14	9	12	8	14

Note:

Fixed Response categories, respondents could choose up to three options.

* Total number of cases

** Other: Examples included: shopping centres, parks, beaches, the casino and cinemas.

The main age difference in venue usage was the use of halls for leisure purposes. More respondents in the 15-19 year old age group (the younger group) made use of halls than the older group. Easier access to school halls and classrooms due to the younger group's school affiliations may be the main reason for this difference. Interestingly, whereas the 20-25 year old group made more use of hotels and shebeens during their leisure time, the younger age group were more frequent users of corner shops which had arcade games. Differing venue usage patterns between the two age cohorts may be due to divergent leisure interests. In addition, the older age cohort may have been less subject to parental restrictions and financial constraints. Access to venues such as hotels in neighbouring townships may therefore have been easier. The older group may also have had to use alternative venues in other areas due to restrictions on the use of school venues for their leisure activities. This factor may also have influenced their leisure interests.

To conclude, the main venues used by shack youth included private homes, halls and sports venues. Whereas venue usage patterns were similar in the two survey areas, age and gender differences were evident and these were attributed mainly to access constraints.

6.7 General Conclusion

Despite respondents' deprived social and physical environment, delinquent leisure activities were less common than pro-social activities. Respondents' most frequent activities were frequently of a semi-leisure nature and their leisure activities were typically self-organised and neighbourhood based. The school; the family; church groups; social movements and youth clubs were respondents' main *containers* for leisure and shaped their leisure styles. Examples of self-organised leisure (usually those activities which respondents had the easiest access to) were: participation in youth clubs

and informal social interaction with neighbourhood friends. Escapist activities such as going to the cinema and attending music concerts were rare events and especially enjoyed by respondents. Infrequent participation may have resulted in such activities being viewed as special treats which increased their enjoyment value.

The infrequent nature of such consumer-oriented activities may have been the result of accessibility constraints including distance and cost factors. This thesis is supported in the comparative analysis of activity frequency rates between township and shackland youth. Township youth had higher frequency rates for activities such as playing sports. It is suggested that township youth are closer to recreational opportunities which the urban core provides and may also be better-off economically to afford the costs of such activities. In the shackland areas, weekends were usually the reserve of escapist leisure activities which required a journey to other parts of the city. On weekdays work activities cut down respondents' free time for leisure.

In the context of shack life, *institutional leisure* and *pure leisure* were 'hybridised'. There was little evidence of the 'alienated' form of leisure with the exception of church-going youth who were compelled by their parents to attend regular services and young people who were not interested in politics but were nevertheless forced to attend political meetings (this point is highlighted in the next chapter). Activities which were structurally constrained within work (including school work) and family contexts were perceived to be both enjoyable and largely discretionary. The instrumental value which some of these activities had (i.e., they became channels for the satisfaction of higher order needs) offset their work-related context. Examples of such activities included participation in sporting, cultural and political organisations and part-time study classes. The enjoyment value for some activities may have been increased as a result of secondary activities which frequently coincided with the main activity. For example, child care activities may have been performed whilst listening to the radio.

Although some respondents experienced leisure deprivation, the low incidence of delinquency was attributed to the existence of a wide range of

youth and amateur sports clubs which occupied respondents' free time with positive-social activities rather than delinquent alternatives. Self-help community support groups (in some cases attached to the civics) which assisted parents in monitoring their children's behaviour may have been a further reason for the low incidence of delinquency. The civics also provided opportunities for young people to become involved in the affairs of their residential areas. This partially satisfied the higher order needs of some youth whose daily activities were not necessarily structured around the school, family or the employment experience. Finally, it should be noted that the two main study areas are not new shack settlements as highlighted in Chapter Four. Shacks were first identified in Mgaga in the late 1970's and people began moving into Amawoti from the 1950's. Arguably residents in these two areas have a sense of shared history. Findings presented earlier showed that a majority of respondents had lived in the two areas for between 1-5 years and some had been born in these areas. This fact may have contributed to their positive community spirit which included efforts to control delinquency.

The *lifecycle model* of leisure behaviour partially explained the way leisure styles were influenced by age. Central needs associated with the adolescent and young adult phases roughly coincided with respondents' leisure patterns which satisfied some of these needs. In the apartheid city, other factors also shaped the leisure styles of these two age groups. Accumulative deprivation; unemployment and high school drop-out rates were additional forces which influenced respondents' leisure choices. The collective evidence suggested that leisure activities characteristic of the adolescent phase continued into the young adult phase. The deficit of employment and educational opportunities available to young adults meant that leisure became an alternative channel through which aspirations could be achieved. Respondents' continued involvement in sporting clubs, cultural groups and other social movements highlighted the way respondents used their leisure activities to satisfy higher order needs. The previous chapter also illustrated the way leisure became the 'stepping-stone' for young people to satisfy career aspirations.

Weekend and weekday activity programmes differed between school students and respondents who were unemployed and those whose main occupations were domestic work at home. Majorities of homekeepers and the unemployed spent roughly equal amounts of time in their main occupations over weekends and during the week. Arguably, their uniform work-leisure programme throughout the week may indicate that the work and leisure spheres for the unemployed and homekeepers were interlinked spatially and socially. Their style of leisure was adapted to financial constraints and their daily activity schedule. Leisure activities which were home and neighbourhood based were the norm. In contrast, respondents attending school reported a more uneven distribution of time between work and leisure on weekdays and over weekends. Leisure time was *residual time after work* and leisure activities were usually confined to the weekends when most free time was available.

Gender differences in leisure were closely linked to the influence of main occupation on leisure. Shack data supported other research evidence (see Møller, 1991) showing that *young women were more constrained in their choice of leisure activities*. Domestic chores (the main responsibility of young women) reduced their free time for leisure. In the context of shack life in the apartheid city, additional obligations were placed on young women. The case studies highlighted the way the legacy of apartheid has influenced African family life. The elderly and children are frequently left at home whilst the breadwinners are employed or looking for work closer to the urban core or in other metropolitan centres where more job opportunities may be available. Violence, caused by poverty, political collective action against the state and competition between political parties, has caused many deaths and robbed children of their parents. In circumstances such as these, older youth (especially young women) may have to act as the 'mother-figure' and breadwinner for their family.

Such additional responsibilities maximised the young woman's sense of role constraint thereby reducing her chance of experiencing leisure.

Activity participation rates and enjoyment levels were similar in the two shack settlements. Where differences did occur in participation rates, these were attributed to main occupational differences between respondents from Mgaga and Amawoti as well as different leisure interests. Differing leisure interests were attributed to structural constraints which affected respondents' access to some leisure activities and promoted the development of other leisure interests. Differences in leisure activity frequencies between township and shackland youth were due to the geographical marginalisation of shack youth which inhibited their access to leisure resources closer to the core of the city.

Geographical locales used by shack respondents for leisure and their leisure venues highlighted the divided character of the apartheid city which restricted the poorest residents' to the peripheries where the fewest opportunities were available for leisure. The use of specific sites for leisure reflected the circular relationship between leisure interests and constraints. The most common leisure sites were: 'own residential areas', 'the city' and, formal townships. Private homes, halls and playing fields were the main venues for leisure. Structural constraints such as distance and cost factors were the main reasons why young people used their own areas and informal venues for leisure activities. The availability of leisure venues and familiarity with own areas were other reasons why respondents chose their areas for leisure. Formal townships and the city attracted respondents because of the recreational opportunities they offered and respondents' desire to explore new environments and escape from the drudgery of daily life in their own areas.

Chapter Seven examines the leisure constraints of shack youth more thoroughly together with the need for leisure resources. Leisure motivations and definitions are derived from environmental constraints and therefore this is an additional theme explored in Chapter Seven.

CHAPTER SEVEN

LEISURE CONSTRAINTS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS LEISURE

7.1 General Introduction

The previous chapter explored the leisure styles and activity patterns of shack youth. The impact of the family, gender and main occupation on leisure patterns was explored and hence leisure constraints were partially examined. The focus of this chapter is to investigate respondents' leisure constraints more thoroughly. Secondly, researchers (for example, Losier *et al.*, 1993) have shown that attitudes towards leisure (including leisure motivations) are partially influenced by perceptions of leisure constraints. For this reason, the second half of the chapter explores respondents' motivations for leisure and leisure definitions.

The following questions linked to the hypotheses set out in Chapter One are therefore explored:

- a) Access to leisure resources (including venue, equipment and human resources) are the main leisure constraints perceived by shack youth to negatively affect their leisure opportunities.
- b) Respondents' motivations for leisure should focus on ways of coping with the consequences of their deprived environment. The 'fun' and enjoyment value of their chosen activities should be a secondary motivation. Leisure definitions of respondents should be influenced by their environmental deprivation and should emphasise semi-leisure rather than pure leisure qualities.

7.2 An Inquiry into the Leisure Constraints of Shack Youth

Chapter One highlighted the fact that access to physical and social infrastructure was and continues to be very poor in peri-urban shack areas

and that this was a major structural constraint on the leisure activities of shack youth. Respondents' perceptions on this issue are explored firstly. The impact of a shortage of leisure amenities on respondents' perceived leisure resource needs is also investigated. The influence of other (less obvious) constraints, including hooliganism and political collective action, on respondents' leisure activities are then examined. To highlight the complex interplay between individual and environmental factors which influenced respondents' leisure choices, typologies of leisure venue users are explored. Lastly, the interaction between structure and agency dimensions on the leisure styles of shack youth is highlighted through the presentation of two case studies which illustrate the unique ways in which shack youth overcome leisure constraints.

7.2.1 The Way Leisure Resource Shortages Influence Respondents' Leisure Activities

In phase two of the research, respondents were asked what they would most like to do in their spare time but were unable to for one reason or another. **Table 14, Appendix 3** shows that a majority of respondents wished to participate in 'semi-leisure' activities and 'sports' activities. Examples of sporting activities mentioned by respondents included: tennis, football, karate, netball, boxing, athletics and playing volleyball. Examples of semi-leisure activities are listed in **Table 14, Appendix 3**.

Snooker was an example of an indoor game respondents wished to participate in. 'Consumer leisure' pursuits included going to the cinema, watching television, social drinking and listening to music whilst examples of escapist leisure activities were: trips to the beach or the city; going to places you enjoy; and visiting shopping centres. Activities listed under 'social leisure' included visiting friends and relatives; attending parties and braais and socialising.

Table 15, Appendix 3 shows the reasons why respondents were unable to participate in these activities. The largest perceived leisure barrier was a

shortage of amenities, equipment, and teachers or trainers. Fewer respondents from Amawoti perceived this as a blocking constraint on their leisure aspirations. The presence of an informal communal playing ground accessible to all residents (illustrated in Figure 4.3, p 61 sketch map of Amawoti) may have been a reason for this. Financial constraints and distance to leisure venues was also perceived to be a major constraint by many respondents from both areas. The following comments highlight some leisure aspirations and reasons why these could not be satisfied.

"Drama, there is no venue for practicing because we share it with the church" (24 year old male, Mgaga).

"I would like to practice ballroom and the Waltz but we don't have a teacher and venue, I would also like to play netball (24 year old female, Amawoti).

"Netball, there is no ground for it" (19 year old female, Mgaga).

Slightly more respondents from Mgaga perceived venue and equipment shortages to be a major leisure barrier. Although six schools are located in the Mgaga area (see Figure 4.2, p 59 Sketch map of Mgaga), some respondents in phase one of the study reported that tighter controls to curb the alleged destruction of school property by young people had been instituted by the KwaZulu authorities. These measures restricted the range of leisure activities which could be held on school property. This factor may be one reason why slightly more youth in Mgaga listed sporting activities as pastimes they most wished to participate in but could not due to equipment and venue shortages. Leisure activities on school property had been restricted mainly to students attending KwaZulu schools. Some church groups were permitted to use school amenities and non-students were also able to use school property for their leisure activities provided they submitted their applications to the controlling authorities (M.E.Khanyile, pers comm., June 1993¹).

The red-tape involved with such applications made these amenities inaccessible for many sports and youth clubs. Venue shortages in Mgaga

1 Mr M E Khanyile, KwaZulu Education Department, Umlazi South, Circuit Inspector, Private Bag X03, Umlazi, 4031.

have resulted in the collapse of a number of youth clubs and others have had to travel to other areas to find suitable venues. The Glebelands Hall near the Reunion Railway station and a hall at Isipingo were examples of venues used by karate clubs from the Mgaga area. A Mgaga soccer club which formerly used the sportsfield at the Mgaga High School, was forced to use a venue in Montclair as a practice venue following a decision by the school to ban non-students from using their amenities for leisure purposes after school hours. The club organiser had to provide the transport to this alternative venue and after some two months the club collapsed due to financial constraints and players not turning up for practice.

Besides the protection of school property from vandalism, which was perceived to be the main reason for tighter controls on the use of school property for leisure, it was alleged by some respondents that political allegiances also determined whether access to school space could be obtained for leisure. For example, it was reported that clubs in the former homeland of KwaZulu who had ANC links were denied access following their applications.

Schools in Amawoti were managed by DET (Department of Education and Training) and the style of administration appeared to be more flexible. Management Councils, consisting of community representatives controlled the schools which fell under the jurisdiction of the Circuit Inspector. Permission to use such amenities for leisure purposes was obtained through the Management Councils (N.S.Hlubi, pers comm., June 1993¹). The easier access which Amawoti youth had to local schools may have been a reason why fewer respondents from this area listed resource shortages as a major constraint upon their leisure.

The types of constraints on leisure were investigated further by asking respondents to either agree or disagree with nine statements relating to factors in their immediate environment which may have negatively impacted on their leisure activities. **Table 16, Appendix 3** shows that most

1 Mr N S Hlubi, Department of Education and Training, Private Bag X54303, Durban, 4000

respondents in the two survey areas perceived that distance to amenities (82%) and a shortage of space and leisure venues in their own neighbourhoods (89%) were the two most important constraints upon their leisure. A majority of respondents (56%) also agreed that self-employment limited their amount of free time for leisure.

The influence of distance to leisure amenities and a shortage of space and leisure venues is highlighted in the following comments from respondents:

a) Insufficient space and a shortage of amenities:

"We only have a few sports grounds here and they are not up to standard. They are full of holes, there is no grass. No-one maintains them" (17 year old male, Amawoti).

"There is just no place to enjoy oneself in this place. One may sometimes be forced to enjoy oneself in a wayward manner" (20 year old male, Amawoti).

a) Distance and financial costs:

"Most youth don't attend their favourite recreational activities because it is expensive going there and you get home late due to transport problems" (24 year old female, Mgaga).

"I did point out that I also suffer from this. I sometimes fail to go to football matches because of lack of money" (23 year old male, Mgaga).

The following vignette illustrates the impact of distance and transport cost factors on young people's leisure activities:

A 27 year old unemployed male respondent reported that soccer clubs in the Dassenhoek area were forced to use a school playing field, the Bhekukuhle Combined school. The main problem with using this ground was that four other clubs also made use of it and that the ground was not in very good condition. The shortage of space in Dassenhoek necessitated that soccer tournaments be held at Mariannridge (a neighbouring township). The major problem with this alternative venue was its distance from Dassenhoek. Advanced bookings had to be made to use the ground and sometimes a match went into overtime which resulted in the final game being postponed to the following day. Transport costs would be doubled on such occasions. (Field notes, phase 1, Interview between: 6.7.90 - 13.7.90)

A few respondents reported that distance to recreation sites and a shortage of recreational space did not adversely affect their leisure patterns. Some of their viewpoints are highlighted in the following statements:

"It all depends on the youth itself, self-help is important. With our basketball we came together and built our own ground. People should not want to have things done for them" (15 year old female, Amawoti).

"The youngsters don't want to have leisure activities near home" (18 year old female, Amawoti).

"We walk to sportsfields in J,K and L sections" (18 year old male, Mgaga).

"They can organise themselves to hire transport as a group and lessen the transport costs" (21 year old female, Amawoti).

In summary, most respondents in the survey wished to participate in leisure activities which promoted their personal advancement and *semi-leisure* activities were their most popular choices. In the context of the deprivation and marginalisation experienced by peri-urban shack youth, a preference for semi-leisure activities was not surprising. The main perceived barriers to fulfilling these leisure needs were extrinsic in character and concerned shortages of equipment, venues, instructors, financial constraints and time constraints. The relationship between perceived resource constraints and venue needs is investigated in the next section.

7.2.2 The Way Leisure Constraints Shape Leisure Resource Needs

The previous section highlighted that one of the main constraints on the leisure activities of shack respondents was the short supply of leisure amenities in their own areas. In Amawoti, the two schools; an informal playing field and the Catholic church building were the main activity and opportunity spaces for leisure. In Mgaga, the sportsfield at the Mgaga Highschool, and five other schools in the area were the main activity and opportunity spaces for leisure see Figure 4.2, p 59 and 4.3, p 61 for illustrations of the approximate locations of these venues in both survey

areas. The shortage of leisure venues was also reflected in the large percentage of respondents who used informal venues for leisure such as friends houses (67%) and corner shops and street sides for leisure activities (12%) (see Table 6.6, p 127).

This shortage of leisure venues in the two survey areas together with respondents' specific leisure preferences were factors which determined the venue needs of shack youth. As shown in Table 18, Appendix 3, respondents perceived sporting venues; libraries with study areas and multi-purpose venues which could be used by different interest groups and youth clubs as their most important venue needs.

Arguably, fewer Amawoti respondents expressed the need for a sports venue in comparison to their counterparts from Mgaga because of the presence of an informal communal sports ground in Amawoti which partially satisfied the need for such an amenity. In contrast, more respondents from Amawoti wished for a large hall which could be booked by different interest groups for leisure purposes. Although it was pointed out that both areas have a dearth of such amenities, Mgaga youth have better access to halls which cater for a variety of interest groups because of Mgaga's geographical position relative to the city. Mgaga is situated on the main transport routes and the area lies adjacent to Umlazi which has a greater number of venues, including schools and church buildings, which could be used for leisure purposes.

Recreational usage patterns reflected local opportunities and constraints on leisure activities. Fewer respondents from Amawoti used nearby townships for leisure purposes in comparison to Mgaga respondents who frequently commuted to Umlazi for leisure activities (see Table 6.5, p 123). Unlike Mgaga, Amawoti is not situated close to a large township such as Umlazi. The nearby Indian township of Phoenix situated on its Eastern boundary has few recreational facilities. These included a sports ground (for soccer) and a swimming pool. The entry fee at the pool however discouraged many youth from using this amenity. In addition, Amawoti respondents reported that travel to the sportsfield for soccer practice in Phoenix was problematic because of harassment by thugs en route to this venue.

Amawoti is surrounded by informal areas such as Amawotana, Mamba and Gogokazi. The high concentration of informal settlements in this Northern part of Durban has put pressure on the use of existing recreational venues in surrounding formal townships. The shortage of such venues in these townships may therefore have discouraged young people living in Amawoti from travelling to nearby townships such as KwaMashu and Ntuzuma to use the existing recreational amenities there. Access to townships such as KwaMashu and Ntuzuma may also have been inhibited because of the possible existence of 'political boundaries' (or 'no-go-zones') which coincided with a patchwork of different local authorities. For example, both Ntuzuma and Kwamashu were under the jurisdiction of the former homeland of KwaZulu, whereas informal settlements in Released area 33 largely fell under the Department of Development Aid in 1990. Residents in these different local authorities may have had different political allegiances. The heightened tensions between political parties in the run-up to South Africa's first democratic election may have increased the political divisions between neighbouring townships and informal settlements.

Gender differences in venue needs may also have reflected the impact of antecedent constraints on leisure. More young women than men perceived the need for a library with a study area and in contrast, more young men than young women expressed the need for sporting amenities. Access constraints, the components of which were discussed in Chapter Three, may have been the main reasons for gender differences in leisure needs.

Venue needs also correlated with **age differences**. More adolescents were in favour of a library with a study area than the older respondents who expressed a greater need for a large hall which could be booked by different interest groups. Main occupational differences may have been the reason why venue needs were age-related. A majority of school-attending respondents were in the teenage group and were more likely to need study facilities which could be used after hours for homework and studying purposes. Respondents in the 20-25 year old age group were more likely to need a multipurpose hall which may have been useful meeting places for the organisations to which they belonged.

To conclude, leisure activities which respondents wished to participate in were generally of a semi-leisure nature and the shortage of leisure resources in respondents' own areas were the main barriers to the satisfaction of these needs. Venue needs were also influenced by amenity shortages in respondents own areas and by main occupational differences. Sporting venues, libraries with study areas and multi-purpose venues which could cater for many different interests were the most needed amenities in the survey areas.

The shortage of leisure venues in respondents' own areas, distance from leisure venues and financial constraints were respondents' most obvious leisure constraints and arguably the ones that were 'easiest' for respondents to report on. Perhaps it was not surprising therefore that these constraints featured so prominently in respondents answers. Respondents may not have been fully cognizant of, or have been able to express other real constraints on their leisure activities. In the next section an attempt is made to highlight some of respondents' other leisure constraints.

7.2.3 The Way Politics Constrains Respondents' Leisure Activities

For many young people in both survey areas, political activities restricted their leisure choices and the amount of free time available for leisure. **Political factors** featured prominently in respondents' statements about events in their own area or in South Africa, which had adversely affected their use of free time. In both study areas, political violence was perceived as the main factor which had a negative impact on leisure activities. The most frequent theme mentioned by respondents was fighting between opposing political parties and faction fighting. Other factors which impacted negatively (in order of frequency of mention) were: killings, rioting, theft and taxi-feuds. Non-violent political collective action such as political marches, strikes and boycotts was also frequently mentioned. Police and army activities (including raids on private homes by the KwaZulu police in Mgaga and the setting up of police stations in this area) were also mentioned as activities which had curtailed free time activities.

When respondents were asked how such events had affected their leisure patterns, the majority reported that such events had constrained their freedom of movement and disrupted their daily activity programmes. The comments below highlight these issues:

Event: *"The release of Mandela and the fight between the two political parties".*

Outcome: *"Until now it has been a risk going out to sports grounds and parties at night" (18 year old male, Mgaga).*

Event: *"There are political boundaries in certain places".*

Outcome: *"I was unable to attend (church) youth activities as I expected" (24 year old female, Amawoti).*

Event: *"IFP fighting comrades."*

Outcome: *"Most of the comrades are young people therefore they could not move freely like before" (23 year old female, Mgaga).*

In both main study areas **political coercion** was an important dominant factor which limited the amount of leisure time and leisure opportunities available. Respondents reported that political meetings were compulsory and that time spent in political activities reduced the amount of time for leisure. Politically-linked collective action including school boycotts forced (directly or indirectly) young people to stay at home and not participate in their normal daily activities (including leisure).

Some respondents noted that school boycotts had prevented them from writing their exams and that the time spent away from school had to be made up which reduced free time for leisure.

In a separate survey question on factors which affected leisure activities, the issue of political coercion¹ also featured prominently in respondents answers on the way politics limited the choice of young people's leisure

1 Since the first non-racial, democratic general election in South Africa in April 1994, political coercion may have declined but may once again increase with the forthcoming local government elections in 1995. These elections should increase the levels of political competition between opposing parties.

activities. **Table 17, Appendix 3** shows that respondents in Amawoti were more likely to agree that politics interfered with their leisure activities in comparison to the Mgaga group.

Amawoti youth gave a wide variety of reasons why they thought political activities disrupted their leisure pursuits. The most frequently mentioned factor was political coercion. Some respondents commented that they were "forced to attend political meetings and disciplinary committees"; "forced to join the party and spread the political doctrine" and that "activists harassed those that were not politically active". The physical disruption of leisure activities was also mentioned by respondents and leisure events sometimes clashed with political meeting times. The following comments highlighted this issue: "politics interferes with community activities", "meetings are noisy and disrupt people" and "the timing of political activities clash with other activities such as soccer matches". Mgaga respondents reported that attending meetings took up much of their free time and that some of these meetings were compulsory. Some respondents dodged such meetings by staying indoors. Others reported that to avoid political conflict they remained indoors.

Political collective action also negatively affected the use of **public and private transport services** which inhibited respondents' access to leisure activities. Some respondents were afraid to use public transport as these services had become targets for protesters and political violence. Respondents also complained about the high costs of transport to recreational venues. The following comments by respondents highlight some of the transport problems faced by shack dwellers.

Event: *"Last year there's been a political fight between Inkatha and ANC supporters".*

Outcome: *"We have been unable to travel anyhow. People were taken out of taxi's and brutally killed" (23 year old female, Amawoti).*

Event : *"Taxi-men quarreled among themselves".*

Outcome: *"Shortage of transport and I wouldn't go to places"(17 year old male, Mgaga).*

Event: *"Unrest, we were no more free to move".*

Outcome: *"Transport very short" (23 year old male, Mgaga).*

In sum, for respondents who were not interested in politics, political activities interfered with their leisure programmes. Some respondents (particularly in Amawoti) reported that attending political meetings and activities was compulsory and the timing of such activities often clashed with their leisure engagements. Respondents believed that violent and non-violent political collective action inhibited their leisure activities for example by disrupting regular transport services thereby restricting freedom of movement.

The previous chapter highlighted the way recognised community civic structures were able in the main, to control youth delinquency in peri-urban informal settlements. In contrast in areas with political conflict, social instability promoted criminal and delinquent activities. The impact of hooligans and gangsters on the leisure activities of respondents in the two survey areas is explored in the next section.

7.2.4 The Impact of Hooligans and Gangsters on Respondents' Leisure Activities

Chapter Five showed that respondents perceived delinquent youth sub-cultures to be the main social grouping in their areas. In a separate survey question, respondents were asked whether they thought hooligans and gangsters had disrupted their leisure activities. **Table 19, Appendix 3** shows that respondents felt that if there were more jobs and opportunities for personal fulfillment in their areas there would be no hooligans and gangsters and that hooligans and gangsters were bored youth who had lost all meaning in life.

Although shack youth believed that hooligans and gangsters comprised only a small part of the population and were not worth worrying about, it was felt that they nevertheless disrupted young people's leisure activities. An example of such disruption was reported on by a respondent from Malukazi who alleged that thugs had been responsible for vandalism and removing the goalposts from the local soccer ground. When locals wanted to play soccer, the posts first had to be found.

Majorities of respondents in Amawoti and Mgaga disagreed that political structures had lost all control over hooligans and gangsters and also disagreed that the numbers of hooligans and gangsters were growing. In summary, respondents felt that hooligans and gangsters had constrained their leisure activities but the activities of these groups were perceived to inhibit rather than block their leisure activities.

To conclude the examination of leisure constraints, profiles of typical venue users are explored to highlight the interplay between environmental factors (such as structural constraints) and respondents' individual characteristics (such as age and gender) in affecting leisure venue choices.

7.2.5 Typologies of Leisure Venue Users and Factors which shape Respondents' Choice of Leisure Venues

At the micro-spatial level, planners need to be aware of local constraint variations (including internal and external constraints) on the use of recreational amenities so that the delivery of recreational resources will match the needs of young shack dwellers. A stepwise multiple regression analysis was therefore conducted to ascertain which factors relating to respondents' personal characteristics and their social environment predicted the types of leisure venues they used.

Three typologies, based on the most common types of venues used by respondents which included: halls; friends houses and sports venues such as soccer fields, were developed of typical venue users. Factors in the social environment which were used as potential predictors included: whether respondents were living with their parents; respondents' main occupations; gender and age differences; the informal area in which the respondents lived; religious affiliation; respondents' amount of spare time available over the weekends and during the week; the amount of time spent in their main occupations on weekdays and over weekends; youth club membership; types of leisure activities respondents participated in and events which had affected respondents use of free time. The same set of independent variables (described above) were used for each venue type in the three regression analyses. The findings are shown in **Table 7.1 a, b and c, p 146.**

TABLE 7.1: STEPWISE MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS: PREDICTORS OF VENUE USAGE

A: TYPE OF VENUE = HALL Total Sample N = 330				
Order of Variable Entry		Simple R or Correlation	R SQ	R SQ Ch
1	Gender = Male	**-.3315	.1099	.1099
2	Main Occupation = Educational or Employed	**-.2760	.2026	.0927
3	Events which have affected free time use = Political Events	*.1179	.2210	.0183
4	Spare time available = Sunday/half a day or less	**-.1758	.2376	.0166
5	Events which have affected free time use = other	.0999	.2512	.0136
6	Type of Leisure Activities = Passive Leisure	-.0857	.2632	.0121
7	Who respondent lives with = both parents	.1078	.2739	.0107

B: TYPE OF VENUE = HOUSE Total Sample N = 330				
Order of Variable Entry		Simple R or Correlation	R SQ	R SQ Ch
1	Main Occupation = Educational or Employed	**-.2441	.0596	.0596
2	Gender = Male	**-.2246	.1200	.0604
3	Spare time during the week = half a day or less	**-.1977	.1367	.0167
4	Youth Club member	*.1085	.1480	.0114

C: TYPE OF VENUE = SPORTS VENUE Total Sample N = 330				
Order of Variable Entry		Simple R or Correlation	R SQ	R SQ Ch
1	Friends = Young people in my area	**-.2096	.0439	.0439
2	Attends School	**-.1558	.0628	.0188
3	Main Occupation = Other	-.0689	.0779	.0151
4	Sample area = Mgaga	-.1005	.0910	.0131

Level of significance:

* < .05

** < .01

a) A Profile of Hall Users:

The first multiple regression equation (see Table 7.1 a, p 146) suggested that predictors of hall usage, listed in order of importance, were: gender, main occupation, political events which had affected respondents free time usage, the type of leisure activities respondents were involved in, and who the respondents were living with. Gender predicted 10% of variance in the dependent variable *hall* (as shown in the *Rsq* values, Table 7.1 a, p 146). When main occupation was added to the regression equation, the two predictor variables accounted for 20% in the variance of this type of leisure venue.

It is worth noting that 20% of the variance in the dependent variable was accounted for by adding the first two independent variables, and that only 27% of the variance in the dependent variable was predicted by all seven variables. The first two variables, gender and main occupation, were therefore the most powerful predictors of whether respondents used halls for their leisure activities.

Personal characteristics of hall users:

The negative correlation between male respondents and the venue *hall* showed that hall users were mainly young women. Young people who used school halls were usually school students although some may have been employed. Hall-users also lived at home with their parents. In sum, the main occupations of hall users suggested that most of these respondents were adolescents who attended school (for supporting evidence also see Table 1, Appendix 3 showing respondents' main occupations). The majority of hall-users were also young women who resided with their parents.

Typical leisure activities and free time available to hall users:

Hall users were young people who engaged in *active* leisure pursuits. This is illustrated in Table 7.1 a, p 146 which shows a negative correlation between passive leisure activities (for example reading) and usage of a hall

for leisure purposes. Examples of *active* leisure included sporting activities, 'youth clubbing', dancing (disco and ballroom) and church activities. Halls were most frequently used over the weekends on a Sunday and when recreators had half a day or less of free time.

The social context which determined the use of halls:

Young people were influenced in the choice of this venue by political events which included political collective action and political reform. Examples of political collective action were: interparty violence; street marches and faction fighting. Political reform included the repeal of apartheid legislation and the unbanning of political parties. 'Other events' mentioned by respondents were strikes and boycotts and general acts of violence and criminality which may also have had a political motive. The impact of such events were discussed earlier in this chapter. Events such as noteworthy soccer matches were also included in this category.

b) A Profile of Home Users:

The findings from the second stepwise multiple regression equation (Table 7.1 b, p 146) showed that predictors of house usage as a venue for leisure included main occupation, gender, the amount of spare time available to the respondent during the week and youth club membership. Main occupation and gender predicted 12% of the variance in the dependent variable *house*. It should be noted that only 14% of the variance in the dependent variable is predicted with all four independent variables in the equation. It is therefore evident that the two most powerful predictor variables of home usage were main occupation and gender.

Personal characteristics and social context of home users:

Interestingly whereas hall users tended to be young women, respondents who used people's private homes for leisure purposes were predominantly young males. The negative correlation between respondents who were employed or involved in educational courses suggested that young people

who used private 'friends' homes for their leisure activities had other main occupations besides employment, attending school or educational programmes. These included domestic work at home or childcaring. A variety of other activities were also listed by this group and included: job hunting; waiting for supplementary exam results; visiting friends; reading; sitting at home and playing football. Some respondents indicated that they were unemployed. The main occupations of this group suggested that many of the home-users were older unemployed respondents in the 20-25 year old age cohort.

Typical leisure styles and free time available to home users:

These respondents had one day per week or more of free time¹ which suggested that many of the youth in this group had a surfeit of spare time. Youth club membership was also positively correlated with respondents who used private homes for their leisure activities.

c) A Profile of Sports Venue Users:

The third stepwise multiple regression analysis (Table 7.1 c, p 146) showed that predictors of sports venue usage included: young people who socialised with youth in their own area; youth who attended school and respondents who lived in the Amawoti survey area. The first two variables listed in the table ('youth from my area' and 'school students') predicted 6% of the variance in the dependent variable *sports venue*. With the inclusion of the remaining two variables, 9% of the variance in the dependent variable was predicted. The first two variables were therefore the most powerful predictor variables in the equation.

Personal characteristics and the social context of sports venue users:

Sports venue users were predominantly school-attending adolescents from Amawoti who socialised mainly with young people from their own area. The

1 In the regression equation, the independent variables relating to the amount of free time during the week consisted of two time categories: half a day or less per week of spare time and, one day or more per week of spare time.

presence of an informal sports field in Amawoti afforded Amawoti respondents the opportunity for playing sports in their own area. This factor may explain why Amawoti featured as a predictor variable of sports venue usage in the regression equation.

7.2.5.1 General Discussion of Findings from the Multiple Regression Analysis

Respondents who used a hall for their leisure activities can be identified as conformist youth because of their conventional lifestyles which included attending school and living at home with their parents. Hall users also participated in the most common types of leisure activities which were: socialising; "hanging-out"; "relaxing" and "doing nothing". Young women were the main users of halls for leisure. Leisure activities at these venues occurred after school hours and the most popular days were the weekends especially on a Sunday when school attenders had the most free time. 'Youth clubbers' (including gospel singers, church and choir members) were regular users of halls and school classrooms for their leisure activities. Other *active* leisure pursuits included (school) sports arranged outside school hours. With regard to Mgaga youth, it was pointed out earlier that the use of school amenities for leisure was restricted in KwaZulu-controlled schools. Political conflict (highlighted earlier in this chapter as a leisure constraint) was the major factor in the social environment which forced many young people to improvise by using makeshift venues (halls) in their own areas. Other more formal venues located outside respondents' own area often required travel through regions of political conflict. This safety factor inhibited access to such venues by recreators.

Respondents whose leisure activities were home-based were more marginalised and had fewer leisure opportunities than mainstream youth who attended school or who were employed. The surfeit of free time available to *house-users* (as shown in Table 7.1 b, p 146) may have been due to the fact that many of these youth were unemployed. Financial constraints were perhaps the main barriers which limited their range of leisure choices to home-based activities such as youth clubbing.

The use of sports venues for leisure activities reflected local opportunity differences in the two survey areas. Whereas in Amawoti the presence of an informal communal playing ground enabled respondents from this area to engage in sports activities in their own area (netball and soccer clubs used this venue), in Mgaga, youth often had to travel to neighbouring areas to use sporting amenities. In Mgaga, sports venues are located nearby or on school property (as shown in **Figure 4.2, p 59**, sketch map of Mgaga). The stricter rules which applied to KwaZulu schools in this area also resulted in young people who were not school students having to use amenities in neighbouring townships (for example Umlazi).

Sports venue users were therefore respondents from Amawoti who had better access to sports grounds within their own area in contrast to their counterparts from Mgaga.

To complete the inquiry into respondents leisure constraints, the next section uses case studies which highlight the resourcefulness of shack youth in the way they have overcome constraints to satisfy their leisure aspirations.

7.2.6 Youth Responses to Leisure Constraints

Two case studies from Folweni and Dassenhoek¹ are used to demonstrate the struggles of peri-urban youth to overcome leisure constraints. Despite the poverty and political unrest characteristic of many peri-urban settlements within the Durban Functional Region, the case studies illustrate the sense of community unity and residents' ability to mobilise available social and physical resources to overcome leisure barriers thereby satisfying common leisure needs.

¹ These two areas were included in phase one of the research, their location in the DFR is highlighted in Figure 1.1.

a) A youth festival in Folweni

The festival was held early in 1990 and was organised by the youth. Local businessmen sponsored the event and its purpose was to allow the young people to exhibit and develop their talents. Although youth from the neighbouring areas were invited, the festival was attended mainly by locals from Folweni. Young people from neighbouring areas were unable to attend because of transport and distance factors. The event was held at a soccer field in Folweni and spectators comprised all age groups. The organisers hoped that the festival would contribute towards community cohesion and illustrate to young people's parents that there was hope for the new generation and that their children would one day be successful adults. An aim of the festival was therefore to bridge the gap between parents and offspring.

A "stay soft day" (a day of peace) was declared for the event and the KwaZulu police were notified and asked not to interfere. Volunteers ensured that the day was peaceful and local businessmen assisted with the provision of transport to the festival and also provided a public address system free of charge. Folweni youth clubs were invited to show off their talents. Some staged plays and recited poems whilst others sang gospel music or danced to disco music. One youth club staged a play entitled "Going back to your roots". The theme reportedly emphasized the need for young people to "strive for excellence, to love one another and to build a better world". Other activities included performances by drum majorettes and speeches by church leaders, union officials, funeral insurers, local businessmen and, graduates living in the area. (Interview notes, Phase 1, interview date: 9.04.90)

b) The Dassenhoek civic organisation

Dassenhoek was informally divided into 'yards' and each yard had its own name and was controlled by people elected from that particular sub-area. A respondent reported that the establishment of the yard system was in reaction to the police and the South African Defence Force's presence in their area. It was alleged these forces tried to crush youth activities and meetings and prior to the establishment of the yard system young people met together at one venue. To reduce police control and make youth organisations and activities less conspicuous, the yard system was devised. Yard meetings were held three times a week but mass meetings attended by representatives from all the yards were arranged less regularly. Meetings were sometimes convened at a local church official's house. Although each yard functioned independently, an "executive committee" comprising representatives from all the sub-areas or yards presided over the area-wide structure.

A youth organisation comprising a number of sub-sections operated under the "executive committee". A "research committee" investigated newcomers and also monitored unrest in the area. An "entertainment committee" arranged sports activities, trips to the beach and the casino and other events such as beauty competitions and soccer tournaments. The "education committee" investigated school truancy, a case study of which

was cited in the previous chapter. The youth organisation also assisted at funeral services by collecting donations for the family of the deceased and singing hymns.

When inter-yard competitions were held, each yard contributed a sum of fifty rand which was used as prize money. Fund raising campaigns were organized by each yard's committee. Money was raised through events such as: Pick a box competitions, beauty contests, film and video shows. It was reported that one of these fund raising drives was so successful that residents from the respondents' yard managed to raise enough money to hire a grader for the leveling of a piece of land for a soccer ground.

Besides civic activities Dassenhoek youth also had other leisure interests including church involvement. Church groups included: Zionists, Roman Catholics, Methodists and the Zulu Congregational church. Examples of church-linked and gospel youth groups were: the 'Student Christian Movement', 'The Last Revelation' gospel group, and the 'Young Sisters'. Respondents also belonged to cultural and dance groups such as the 'Isimpantsula' dancing and cultural group and a drum majorettes group which performed at weddings and graduation ceremonies. Sports clubs (soccer and netball) also existed in Dassenhoek. (Interview notes, Phase 1, interview between: 16.07.90-19.07.90)

In summing up, the Folweni case study showed the way residents created the social space in which to engage in creative leisure activities for community development. The dynamic relationship between structure and agency was highlighted. Leisure was used as the forum to achieve a sense of community cohesion in spite of the pervasive socio-political constraints. Involvement in political activities was another form of leisure which enabled respondents to satisfy some of their aspirations as the Dassenhoek case study illustrated. Grass-roots political organisations also operated as important bases from which to organise spatial, financial and human resources for leisure and this broadened the range of leisure options available to peri-urban youth in Dassenhoek.

Civic control in Dassenhoek, created a stable social environment in which a range of leisure activities could be pursued. In contrast, in many informal and peri-urban areas within the Durban Functional Region on-going politically-linked violence and increased political activity has limited the leisure opportunities of residents of these areas. For young people not interested in political activities, this was an important factor which restricted their free movement and their range of leisure choices.

To sum up, the study showed that structural constraints relating to the unequal distribution of resources in the apartheid city had the greatest impact on the leisure styles of shack youth. The focus on **attitudes** towards leisure is the third strand of this holistic study of leisure in peri-urban and shack communities in the city of Durban. In the sections which follow, an analysis of respondents' leisure motivations and definitions of leisure is undertaken.

7.3 Leisure Motivations, Definitions and Meanings

The discussion of leisure constraints in the first half of this chapter provided a useful backdrop against which to explore an interrelated theme of **motivations** for leisure. Chapter Two highlighted the linkage between perceptions of leisure constraints and the nature of leisure motivations. Besides perceptions of environmental constraints, motivations for leisure are also shaped by individual factors relating to the actor including personality, lifecycle phase, gender and main occupation. The manner in which environmental and individual factors influence motivations, definitions and meanings of leisure is explored in this section.

7.3.1 Respondents' Leisure Motivations

Intrinsically motivated leisure (leisure activities engaged in for their own sake) and extrinsically motivated leisure (where an outside force was the incentive to participate) were the two broad types of leisure motivation experienced by respondents. **Table 20, Appendix 3** shows that respondents' most important leisure needs were: personal safety¹, skill improvement, relaxation, the enhancement of social power, the need to escape from routine and the satisfaction of altruistic needs.

Political violence and unrest (albeit at relatively low levels when this study was undertaken) accounted for the top placing of the need for personal

1 This includes the need to participate in pro-social activities, i.e., activities that were not 'illegal' and the need to keep out of harms way in the context of violence and political unrest.

safety. Home and neighbourhood-based leisure activities for example, participating in youth clubs, playing board games, listening to the radio or reading a book satisfied this need. One of the most powerful forces which shaped respondents' leisure motivations was **environmental deprivation** including unemployment and a lack of education. Just under half the sample were not employed on a full-time basis in regular jobs and were also not attending school (see Table 1, Appendix 3). The popularity of semi-leisure activities, highlighted in previous chapters, was an indicator of the way such activities compensated for socio-economic deprivations. Hence, the need to improve abilities and skills (second most important need) was respondents' second most important leisure motivation. Despite the relative deprivation which shack youth experienced and the semi-leisure nature of their activities, the need for relaxation remained an important motivation for leisure. The corollary may also have been true, the need to relax (third most important need) was lower on the leisure motivation hierarchy because of antecedent constraints affecting leisure needs and hence preferences. Leisure for self-development therefore took precedence over the autotelic qualities which pure leisure provided.

Some semi-leisure activities such as participating in youth clubs satisfied more than one type of need. When respondents were asked to give reasons why they felt that joining youth clubs made them happier, a majority of responses (32%) focussed on the *enjoyment and self-fulfillment* derived from this activity. Examples of comments were: "its beautiful to sing for the people at church" and "I enjoy the club spirit". The *substantive benefits* of youth club participation accounted for 30% of responses. Such benefits included: "To obtain more knowledge, share ideas and develop one's talents"; "travelling to see new places"; "improving one's lifestyle"; "becoming fitter than those that don't play soccer"; "a way of saving money"; "always informed with the latest events and current news" and "a chance to be free". The need for *social interaction* accounted for 14% of responses. Examples included "to make new friends"; "to mix with other people" and "to relieve loneliness". The need for *personal safety* received 10% of respondent mentions and to get "*relaxed and recharged*" accounted for 7% of the responses.

In the light of economic, social, political and spatial marginalisation of shack youth, it is not surprising that the need to enhance personal esteem and a quest for social power (fourth most important need) also featured as important needs. Participation in political organisations as well as inter-area soccer competitions were activities which enhanced personal esteem and social power. An escape from routine and boredom was the fifth most important need and typical examples which would have satisfied this need were those activities usually confined to weekends such as: window shopping, going to the cinema, attending live sports events and going on picnics.

Altruistic needs (sixth most important need) were also important motivations for leisure. The development of a positive spirit and the control of youth delinquency were examples of such motivations. Sporting clubs were often used as vehicles through which some of these objectives could be achieved. For example, a soccer club in Amawoti, 'The Hot Leaders', was reported to have the following goals: "to create a feeling of brotherhood and solidarity, to prevent youth from taking drugs and to represent their area in soccer tournaments". The 'Mozambique gospel group' in Amawoti also had altruistic goals which included: "to promote a unified spirit amongst residents and to counter the threat of gangster harassment". The club also staged plays to promote community cohesion. One such play focussed on exposing the role of the 'shebeen queen' in contributing to conflict in the area by assisting tsotsi-gangs.

With respect to the **types of motivation**, it appeared that extrinsic self-determined motivation was the most common form of leisure motivation experienced. The marginalised position of shack youth in the apartheid city together with the lack of opportunities, for example in the realms of employment and education, was the incentive for respondents to participate in semi-leisure activities for purposes of self-development. The need *to improve skills and abilities; to enhance self-esteem and to escape from*

routine were examples of this kind of motivation for leisure. There was also evidence of non-self-determined extrinsic motivation, for example the need for *personal safety* in the context of political violence in peri-urban communities was respondents' most important leisure need. Leisure which was intrinsically motivated was also high on respondents' leisure need scale (see Table 20, Appendix 3). For example, the *need to relax and forget about work* was respondents' third most important reason for leisure.

To sum up leisure motivations were mainly influenced by political conflict and socio-economic deprivation at the time of the survey. The need to stay out of trouble and to improve skills were reflections of these factors. Notwithstanding environmental deprivation and the semi-leisure nature of activities engaged in by shack youth, *relaxation* was still an important reason for leisure. Respondents' definitions of leisure explored in the next section is a further sub-theme dealing with the attitude dimension of leisure.

7.3.2 Meanings Respondents Attached to Leisure

Respondents' definitions of leisure reflect those aspects of leisure which are most important to them and therefore their definitions also illustrate their needs and motivations for leisure. This section attempts to explore the way leisure was defined by shack respondents. In the questionnaire respondents were asked to describe what the word leisure meant to them. The findings are presented in Table 7.2, p 158.

The majority of respondents defined leisure in terms of its intrinsic qualities, free choice and enjoyment. Examples of descriptive words mentioned by respondents to indicate the discretionary nature of leisure included: '*To be free from work including school work, mental freedom, to enjoy oneself, to do things you like, to have fun, to be with your loved one in your place of choice*'.

The following comments from respondents highlight free choice and enjoyment qualities of leisure:

"Leisure means to be happy with your friend" (22 year old female, Mgaga).

TABLE 7.2: LEISURE DEFINITIONS:TOTAL SAMPLE
"Can you describe what the word leisure means to you?"

LEISURE DEFINITIONS	TOTAL SAMPLE
	%
Free choice/freedom	80
"Go to" activities	26
Socialize with friends	18
Resting/relaxation	10
Aesthetic activities	6
Shopping	2
Sports	2
Other activities*	7

N = 326

Note:

Free response question, respondents could give up to 2 responses
Percentages are based on respondents.

* Other activities: Examples included: to entertain oneself, to be alone, loitering around, make mischief, do not know.

"To be in a place that makes one happy, for example, the cinema, beaches, and a sportsfield" (17 year old male, Amawoti).

The second largest category of definitions were classified as 'going to' activities (escapist leisure). Examples included: '*visiting new places, parks and the zoo, the city, popular places, beautiful places and faraway places*', '*window shopping in town.*' This definition of leisure was highlighted by the comments of some respondents:

"Going to the beach or picnicking with my children somewhere quiet" (24 year old female, Mgaga).

"Visiting places like the beach or hotels. Some people refer to leisure as a time for meeting boys and girls" (15 year old female, Amawoti).

"Not having to do any housework, I go out visiting friends" (23 year old female, Mgaga).

Leisure was also defined in terms of socializing with friends. This included the following descriptive words: '*Being able to talk to people, being with boy or girlfriend, meeting other people, visiting friends*'. The following statements illustrate this definition of leisure:

"Leisure means to visit places with friends and make mischief" (23 year old female, Mgaga).

"Having free time and seeing my girlfriend and my friends" (18 year old female, Mgaga).

Some respondents included the terms resting and relaxation in their definitions. Key phrases were: '*Relaxing after work, to relax mentally, time to rest, a rest period after work, doing nothing*'. Smaller numbers of respondents defined leisure in terms of a range of other activities including: *Aesthetic* activities such as choir singing, listening to music, watching dancing and playing music. Some equated leisure with the sporting activities they participated in.

The most pleasurable activities listed in respondents' definitions of leisure corresponded closely with earlier findings. Many of the activities ranked highest in terms of enjoyment and frequency of participation were included

as substantive examples to define leisure. Examples of: playing sports, socializing with friends and singing were mentioned in respondents' definitions.

The definitions of leisure show that despite macro socio-economic and political constraints, leisure is intrinsically associated with perceived free choice. Escapist activities were frequently mentioned for a number of possible reasons. This may have been a reflection in part of the opening up of Durban to African youth with the repeal of discriminatory legislation. 'Go-to' activities may also have been a reflection of the need to escape from daily routines (including domestic and school work) and the physical conditions of deprivation in their own areas. The need to explore new environments is also a central interest of adolescent youth which may have explained why trips outside their own areas were so popular. Social leisure activities were also frequently mentioned by respondents in their definitions of leisure. Relaxation was another important quality defined by respondents as part of their leisure experience.

Attention is now turned to exploring the relationship between the person and the social context to illustrate the origins of respondents' definitions of leisure.

7.3.3 Definitions of Leisure in Context

The purpose of this section is to explore the context in which respondents defined their leisure activities. This interactionist perspective therefore investigates the relationship between the person and context in order to understand why respondents defined leisure in specific ways. Case studies highlight the leisure definitions of **school attenders** and respondents who were **unemployed**.

a) School attenders

A 16 year old high school student from Amawoti defined leisure time as "precious time to do activities of one's own choice". Such activities did not include domestic duties for example washing, fetching water and school homework. On Saturday she either just stayed at home or studied at the City Library with her school mates. On Sunday parental pressure made church activities obligatory. (Interview notes, Phase 1, interview: 2.11.90.

A 16 year old female high school student from Amawoti defined her leisure activities as "free time after school work". Leisure activities were spent playing netball for her club, 'Geneva'. The respondent distinguished between free time activities and community service activities which included assisting at funeral services and rendering first aid at soccer matches. Weekend activities were devoted to attending church services at the St. John's church and playing netball. (Interview notes, Phase 1, interview: 14.11.90).

b) Unemployed Youth

A former detainee who was active in the Dassenhoek youth organisation, defined leisure as a process whereby "people begin to think how they can counter the feeling of loneliness... my challenge of finding something to do comes only after work or school committee meetings". He noted further that for some, "this challenge results in their sleeping during the day.". The 23 year old respondent spent his spare time reading political books and newspapers. (Interview notes, Phase 1, interview between: 16.07.90 - 19.07.90).

A 26 year old unmarried mother from Dassenhoek who left school in Standard 7 as a result of politically linked unrest defined spare time as "time free for domestic work". Her parents were reluctant to support her children and to make ends meet she did crochet work and sold her finished products. Over the weekends she travelled to Pinetown to buy materials for her craft and continued with her crochet work on Sunday. Cultivating vegetables was also a spare time activity and whilst doing this activity she thought about ways of making money. Visiting friends and sharing ideas about her crochet work were counted as leisure activities. (Interview notes, Phase 1, interview: 16.08.90).

A 20 year old unemployed female who lived in Dassenhoek included looking after her small child and domestic work as her main occupations. Free time activities were spent reading novels and newspapers, doing crochet work and sometimes applying for jobs. Her other activities included collecting letters and messages for residents in her area at the local shop and writing songs. When she became bored, she slept. The grocery shopping was an activity assigned to Saturday whilst on Sunday she attended church. (Interview notes, Phase 1, interview: 8.08.90).

The case studies highlighting the definitions of leisure show the way in which main occupations influenced perceptions of leisure. Whereas school attenders perceived a clear division between their main occupations (school and domestic work) and leisure, the boundaries between these two spheres were not as clear for the unemployed.

School attending youth subordinated the leisure component of their lifestyles to time left over after school and domestic work. School attenders perceived leisure in terms of its restorative functions. Leisure activities provided a break from school work, were free choice activities and may also have included unplanned pursuits besides regular participation in sporting clubs or singing groups.

Mixed opinions were expressed about community service activities. For some respondents these activities were outside their proper leisure time whereas for others, such activities were perceived to be part of leisure. The decision as to whether such activities constituted leisure may have been based on the perceived obligation to participate in such activities. Assisting at funerals or administering first aid at soccer matches may have been perceived to be obligatory and therefore outside the domain of leisure.

For some school attending youth, semi-leisure activities occurred alongside pure leisure pastimes. For example, a respondent noted that on a Saturday she travelled to the main library in Durban to study with her friends. The social leisure component of the main activity added enjoyment value to this activity. In contrast, unemployed youth saw no clear distinction between their work and leisure spheres and some counted domestic work as part of their free time.

The uniform weekly work-leisure programme of unemployed respondents highlighted in the previous chapter may also suggest that their work and leisure spheres were less distinct. The case studies showed that self-employed respondents also combined leisure activities with work. A typical example listed above was the young woman who did crochet work as an informal sector job. Her social leisure activities included socialising with friends and topics of conversation mainly concerned her informal sector craft. The political activist also expressed no clear work-leisure distinction. For many unemployed youth, community service activities replaced formal main occupations. These were usually viewed as enjoyable activities which helped to fill the day.

Although some unemployed youth perceived their main occupations to be free time activities, others made the distinction between more general daily activities and their semi and pure-leisure pursuits such as sleeping and reading. Leisure activities were usually home-based and reflected respondents' limited opportunities.

The case studies highlighted that for some youth, once their main daily activities had been completed, the challenge was to try to occupy their leisure hours in the face of social and economic constraints on their leisure aspirations. A surfeit of free time resulted in boredom. Sleeping became the alternative to recreational pursuits for those faced with a dearth of viable leisure alternatives.

To sum up, respondents' occupational status as well as their social context were important forces which shaped their perceptions on the work or leisure quality of their daily activities.

7.4 General Conclusion

This chapter examined two interrelated themes: (a) leisure constraints and leisure needs and (b) leisure motivations and definitions. It was argued that these two main themes are interlinked to the extent that perceived constraints on leisure activities influence the quality of leisure motivation (i.e., whether leisure was intrinsically or extrinsically motivated).

The collective evidence from survey findings and case studies showed that distance to amenities and a shortage of leisure resources including amenities, equipment and human resources were the most powerful **constraints** on the leisure activities and aspirations of shack youth. Political violence, delinquent and criminal activities served as inhibiting rather than blocking constraints. Although politics was in some instances a leisure barrier, case studies showed that local civic structures were important organisational bases from which leisure resources (human and physical) could be mobilised. Youth participation in such bodies also provided channels in which leisure needs and other higher order needs could be

satisfied. Case studies also showed that despite relative deprivation experienced by shack respondents, some peri-urban communities showed unity and overcame constraints through their resourceful efforts.

Profiles of venue users highlighted the relationship between socio-spatial constraints and respondents' personal backgrounds. The use of particular leisure venues was influenced by different local constraint variations. A relationship between leisure venue needs and profiles of venue users emerged from the findings. Young women who attended school were the main users of halls (including school classrooms) for their leisure activities and the demand for a library with a study area which could be used after school hours, was the greatest amongst young adolescent women. Stricter parental control, domestic responsibilities and personal safety factors were factors which may have determined this need.

Young men also expressed a greater need for sporting amenities in their own areas in contrast to their female counterparts. Findings from the regression analysis showed that respondents who used friends homes for leisure activities were mainly young unemployed males. The need for sports amenities in their own areas was greater for unemployed respondents because of financial and transport constraints. Travelling to sports venues outside their own areas was costly and the public transport system is scheduled around the 'work-shifts' of employed people. For respondents who were unemployed, access to sports venues in other areas during the day may have been inhibited by this factor. The need for sports venues was also greater amongst Mgaga respondents. Amawoti respondents were the main users of sports venues in their own area. The presence of a communal sports ground in this area may have reduced the need for sports venues in Amawoti.

A reflection of this variation in need difference between the two survey areas for sporting venues may have been the greater use by Mgaga youth of the neighbouring township (Umlazi) for leisure activities. By contrast fewer respondents from Amawoti used nearby townships such as KwaMashu, Phoenix and Ntuzuma for leisure activities. Other factors such as the

shortage of recreational venues in these townships; the existence of political boundaries between and within areas; a poor transport service; hooliganism and thuggery and a lack of awareness of the amenities available in other townships may also have been reasons which contributed to the different usage patterns between the two shack areas in the survey.

Research findings revealed that specific leisure activities satisfied multiple needs and broad generalisations were made regarding the types of leisure activities which satisfied different needs. The most important **motivations** for leisure were: personal safety, skill improvement, and relaxation. The increase in political tension experienced in South African urban and peri-urban areas in the early 1990's and the subsequent intensification of political violence in many shack areas on Durban's periphery was highlighted in Chapter Three. Such conflict restricted the freedom of movement of residents in these areas. In the context of social unrest, leisure pursuits which respondents had the easiest access to, satisfied their most important leisure motivation at the time, the need for personal safety.

The apartheid city reinforced the economic marginalisation of African residents and access to jobs, skills training and social infrastructure is poor for shack dwellers. It was therefore not surprising that the need to improve skills was a primary motivation for leisure amongst shack youth. Semi-leisure was the hallmark of the free time activities of shack respondents and their most frequently mentioned leisure aspirations also fell within the ambit of semi-leisure. In spite of respondents' emphasis on the opportunities to acquire skills which leisure provided, and the semi-leisure nature of their aspirations, the need for relaxation was nevertheless an important motivation for leisure. Escapist and social leisure activities often satisfied this need. Given that semi-leisure activities were channels for personal development, a rider is that respondents found such activities to be both enjoyable and discretionary and therefore inherently relaxing.

The marginalised urban status of shack residents promoted a need to increase self-esteem and improve their social power. For those interested in politics, participation in local civic structures satisfied some of these needs.

For the non politically-oriented, these needs were satisfied through participation in youth clubs, church groups and amateur sports clubs.

Findings on the **meanings** of leisure *supported the social interactionist perspective* on leisure advocated by Samdahl (1988). Leisure was usually defined in terms of its two intrinsic qualities, perceived free choice and enjoyment. Escapist activities were the main substantive examples used by respondents to describe leisure. These activities implied the temporary removal of role constraints associated with family life or the school context. The interactionist perspective reflected through the case studies also revealed the way leisure was defined differently according to personal background variables of respondents such as main occupation and the wider social context in which respondents defined leisure. For respondents who attended school, leisure time usually included pure leisure activities and was residual time *after* work. In contrast, the unemployed and homekeepers expressed no clear definition of leisure. This may have been an indicator that their (unpaid) work was closely intertwined with their free time activities.

Returning to the research questions outlined in the beginning of the chapter, structural constraints such as access to leisure resources (including venue, equipment and human resources) were the main leisure constraints perceived by shack youth to negatively affect their leisure opportunities. Objective findings showed that respondents' leisure activities were also influenced by a range of other constraints including political collective action; the influence of hooligans and gangsters; gender-role socialisation; main occupation and lifecycle stage. Intrapersonal factors such as a lack of knowledge and awareness of existing leisure opportunities were additional constraints.

Respondents' motivations for leisure included both extrinsic motivation (determined by outside factors-constraints) and intrinsic motivation (motivated from within for pure leisure purposes). A main reason for leisure was for self-development and to cope with the consequences of a deprived environment. Nevertheless, respondents also perceived opportunities for

pure leisure. This was born out by their definitions of leisure which focussed on the essential qualities of pure leisure, namely free choice and enjoyment.

Chapter Eight summarises the main findings of this study and answers the hypotheses set out in Chapter One. The policy implications of the present study's findings for the Reconstruction and Development Programme are then assessed.

CHAPTER EIGHT

A DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS, THEIR IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

8.1 General Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to summarise the main research findings and to test the hypotheses set out in Chapter One. Chapter Eight also assesses whether the research aims of this study have been achieved. Finally, the implications of the research findings are then examined against the backdrop of the human resource development goals of the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

8.2 The Goals of the Study and Research Hypotheses

The present study investigated the leisure styles of shack youth in Durban in a holistic way by focussing the research at three levels: The leisure setting; activity and leisure attitudes. The purpose for using a holistic approach was to begin to address the dearth of detailed knowledge about this segment of the apartheid city's population and thereby, achieve a better understanding of their lifestyles and leisure patterns. This information could be used to inform policy development and planning action. A second aim of the study was to investigate the way the apartheid city shaped the leisure choices of shack youth and the extent to which leisure was used as a tool for self-development in marginalised communities living on the peri-urban fringe. The role which leisure could play in the development of human resources was therefore tangentially explored.

The research method employed in this study complemented the holistic approach and comprised two phases. A qualitative wave (phase one), comprising informal interviewing, explored the social context of shack life; leisure activities and reasons and motives for leisure behaviour. Leisure events and actors' struggles to overcome constraints were also highlighted

thereby illustrating the dynamic relationship between structure and agency in shack life. Findings in phase one contributed towards the formulation of a questionnaire which was administered in phase two (the quantitative phase). This second wave of research explored the leisure activities, styles, motivations and constraints of a wider shack population.

The veracity of the hypotheses outlined in Chapter One are now explored by summarising the main research findings.

Hypothesis One: Shack youth should express negative perceptions about their social and physical environment and should have negative self-perceptions

The deprivation which shack youth experienced shaped their perceptions about the social and physical environment in which they lived. Subcultures which respondents perceived to exist in their areas were classified into two main categories: 'delinquent' and 'respectable' youth. The physical deprivation which respondents experienced influenced their self-perceptions and most respondents attributed their material deprivation as the most important reason for a perceived poor self-image. The deprivation which respondents experienced (this includes poor access to educational, employment and leisure opportunities) may also have been a reason why many respondents were dissatisfied and unhappy with their lifestyles and why shack respondents felt that they were not as good as township youth. Despite depressed self-perceptions resulting from their marginalised position in the apartheid city, respondents' aspirations did not reflect those of a 'lost generation' of youth. Respondents wished to improve their position in life through furthering their education and their career aspirations included skilled and professional occupations. For some respondents leisure was seen as the vehicle for the achievement of these aspirations.

To summarize, respondents expressed negative perceptions about their social and physical environment and had negative self-perceptions.

Hypothesis Two: Boredom and frustration as a result of respondents' deprived environment should influence their style of leisure. Delinquent leisure activities (such as youth gangsterism) should be more common than pro-social ones.

Respondents' perceptions of a high incidence of delinquent youth subcultures belied survey findings on their *actual* leisure activities which showed that pro-social activities were more common than delinquent alternatives.

Despite the low incidence of delinquency and the pro-social character of most of respondents' leisure, findings did show traces of anomic leisure. For example, some 28% of respondents reported spending their free time hanging around the streets whilst 12% of respondents consumed drugs. Average participation rates for both activities was on a weekly or daily basis. Poverty, the shortage of employment, educational and leisure opportunities and a breakdown in parental discipline may have been reasons for this mode of leisure. Interestingly, when respondents were asked what had been their most pleasant event over the past year, some 16% could think of no events which may have been a further indicator of leisure deprivation. Respondents' somewhat depressed assessments of their happiness with the current circumstances under which they live and relatively high levels of dissatisfaction with their lives may also have been a reflection of leisure deprivation and a shortage of opportunities in other spheres of their lives.

In summary, pro-social activities were more common than delinquent ones.

Hypothesis Three: In the light of socio-economic deprivation most common leisure activities should have some utilitarian value and semi-leisure activities should be more common than pure leisure alternatives.

Collective evidence showed that many activities which promoted the personal development of respondents were also their most enjoyable ones.

Examples included: playing sports, reading newspapers, helping others in the community, youth club and church activities. Most of respondents' leisure aspirations were of a semi-leisure nature and included: attending educational courses, informal sector activities and craftwork. Respondents' five most frequent activities were school homework, socialising with friends, reading newspapers, childcare and sporting activities. Frequency rates for these activities ranged between daily and weekly time intervals.

Hypothesis Four: Respondents' leisure activities should be neighbourhood based. 'Makeshift' venues should be their main spaces used for leisure given the dearth of leisure amenities and resources in peri-urban settlements and respondents' poor access to resources outside their shack settlements.

The most common leisure locales used by shack respondents for leisure purposes in order of frequency of use were: 'own area', 'the city' and 'formal townships'. Specific venues used for leisure were informal and the most frequent leisure venues were: 'friends private homes', 'halls' (which included church buildings and school classrooms) and 'playing fields'.

In sum, Leisure activities were concentrated in respondents' own areas and specific venues tended to be informal reflecting the lack of physical infrastructure for leisure in their areas.

Hypothesis Five: Access to leisure resources and a lack of awareness of available resources should be respondents' main constraints on their leisure activities.

Qualitative and survey findings showed that distance to amenities and a shortage of leisure resources (including financial resources; sports trainers; sports equipment and recreational amenities) were the most powerful constraints on the leisure activities and aspirations of shack youth. Leisure venue needs highlighted the spatial shortages in the two main study areas. Respondents perceived sporting venues; libraries with study areas and multi-purpose venues which could be used by different interest groups as the most important amenities they wished to see developed in their areas. Other

important structural constraints included: political violence; the influence of hooligans and gangsters and a lack of time due to informal sector work.

Research findings also revealed evidence of interpersonal constraints (for example for some respondents, parental control over their leisure activities restricted leisure to neighbourhood activities such as attending church services on a Sunday or belonging to youth clubs). Intrapersonal constraints (internal psychological constraints such as a lack of abilities, personal capacities and knowledge about activities) were also in evidence. For example, respondents who felt that they were rural at heart preferred the rural lifestyle and leisure activities associated with rural life. Their lack of interest and knowledge about urban leisure opportunities reinforced their negative perceptions about city life. Hanging around on the streets or sleeping were perceived as the only leisure opportunities available to them.

In sum, structural constraints relating to the unequal distribution of resources in the apartheid city were the major leisure constraints of respondents. Other constraints included violent and non-violent political collective action; the influence of hooligans and gangsters; a lack of time due to gender-role obligations in the family; informal sector work and intrapersonal constraints such as the impact of a traditional value system on leisure preferences.

Hypothesis Six: Respondents' main motivations for leisure should focus on ways of coping with the consequences of social and economic deprivation and their definitions of leisure are expected to be based on semi-leisure rather than the qualities of pure leisure.

Specific leisure activities participated in by respondents satisfied multiple needs as was illustrated in respondents' reasons for belonging to youth clubs. These included: *pure leisure* reasons such as the enjoyment and pleasure derived from participating in the activity itself and *semi-leisure* reasons including to develop talents and skills or to save money.

Respondents' most important leisure needs were personal safety, skill improvement, relaxation, the enhancement of social power, the need to escape from routine and the satisfaction of altruistic needs. Research findings therefore showed evidence of three kinds of motivation: *intrinsically motivated leisure* emphasising escapism and relaxation; *extrinsically self-determined motivation* focussing on the need to participate in semi-leisure activities for self-improvement in the context of environmental deprivation and; *non-self-determined motivation* stressing environmental constraints, for example, the need to avoid danger in the context of political violence. Research on respondents' definitions of leisure revealed that the majority of respondents defined leisure by describing its two intrinsic qualities, perceived free choice and enjoyment.

To recap, respondents' most important motivations for leisure focussed on ways of **coping with the consequences of poverty and relative deprivation**. Nevertheless, the pure enjoyment value and the need to relax was still high on respondents' list of reasons for engaging in leisure activities. This was born out by their **leisure definitions which emphasised the free choice and enjoyment value of leisure**. The self-development value ascribed to semi-leisure activities such as community service work, part-time studies and participating in youth clubs suggested that **definitions of leisure were influenced by respondents' personal backgrounds and the social context in which they lived**. Case studies of leisure definitions *in context* confirmed this finding.

The next section contextualises the research findings in the apartheid city analytic framework to understand the reasons for respondents' leisure styles.

8.3 General Discussion of the Research Findings

The first objective of this study, to explore the leisure patterns of shack youth holistically was achieved. The main findings presented above explored respondents' leisure activities from a multi-dimensional perspective by

focussing on the leisure setting; respondents' attitudes towards leisure and the nature of their leisure activities.

Understanding the way the apartheid city shaped the leisure styles of shack youth was the second aim of the study. The research findings revealed that at the macro-spatial level, the spatially marginalised position of informal settlements in the apartheid city adversely affected the employment, educational and leisure opportunities available to black youth living in these areas. Noteworthy was that just under half of the respondents in the survey were unemployed and not attending school. Research findings already highlighted in this chapter showed that respondents' leisure activities were self-organised and typically had a utilitarian (semi-leisure) value.

Few of respondents' activities were perceived to have been obligatory. Surprisingly, even work-related activities such as childcare and part-time studies were viewed as enjoyable and freely chosen. School homework was a borderline activity which was neither obligatory nor discretionary. The most binding activity was house-to-house job hunting. The opportunity for self-development which some work-related activities provided (for example part-time studies) was a possible reason why some of these activities were perceived to have the qualities of pure leisure (i.e., to be freely chosen and enjoyable).

The **low incidence of delinquency** was attributed to several factors: *Phase one* research findings illustrated that respondents benefited from community support groups (for example the local civics and church groups) which assisted with the control of young people's behaviour. Secondly, both main survey areas are relatively *established* shack settlements, most respondents had lived in the settlements for between one to five years and some respondents (approximately 12% from Amawoti and 8% from Mgaga) had been born in these areas. A sense of shared history may have contributed to a positive community spirit which reduced delinquent behaviour.

Low rates of delinquency in both areas may also have been a consequence of a sense of resourcefulness which residents from both areas developed as a result of their sense of 'illegality' and marginalisation in the city of Durban in the apartheid era. This resourcefulness may have promoted the growth of a network of youth clubs and support groups which reduced frustration and boredom resulting from unemployment, poverty and a lack of educational opportunities. Respondents were able to engage in pro-social rather than delinquent activities. Respondents' reasons for belonging to youth clubs supported this finding. Most listed the enjoyment and self-fulfillment value of such activities. Substantive benefits such as developing one's talents and gaining more knowledge were also cited as major reasons for belonging to youth clubs.

At the macro-spatial level, shack settlements on the urban fringe occupy hilly terrain where space for housing takes precedence over the need for recreational space. The use of different resources for leisure purposes in the two main survey areas (Amawoti and Mgaga) as well as the two areas' different leisure resource needs reflected variations in spatial opportunities for leisure *within* and *outside* respondents' own areas. For example the existence of a communal sports field in Amawoti may have reduced the need for a sports venue in this area. Similarly, findings also suggested that Mgaga respondents had easier access to halls and other venues for leisure located in the neighbouring township of Umlazi and this may have reduced their need for a hall. Survey findings revealed that respondents from Mgaga made greater use of the adjacent township of Umlazi for leisure in comparison to respondents from Amawoti who seldom used neighbouring formal townships for leisure purposes. Pressure on existing recreational venues in KwaMashu, Ntuzuma and Phoenix and the existence of political boundaries were possible reasons why respondents from Amawoti used neighbouring formal townships less frequently for recreational activities.

Distance and the affordability of using recreational amenities in other parts of the city was a major constraint on the leisure patterns of shack youth. This structural constraint was highlighted in the comparative analysis of the

frequency of leisure activities between township and shack respondents. Consumer-oriented leisure activities (for example going to the cinema) which are located closer to the city centre were more frequently participated in by township youth who arguably had better access to such opportunity spaces for leisure.

Access to venues in other townships to participate in leisure activities was influenced by distance factors as well as the **fragmented local authority structure** of the apartheid city which reduced the range of opportunity spaces for leisure. Different townships were administered by different local authorities with varying political allegiances. For example, it was alleged that KwaZulu controlled schools in the Mgaga area could not be used by ANC youth for leisure purposes. Strict regulations governing the use of physical infrastructure (for example school property) for recreational activities also made access to such amenities difficult for shack respondents.

At the micro-spatial level, the **lifecycle model** of leisure partially explained the leisure styles of shack respondents. Central needs associated with the two distinct lifecycle phases of respondents (the 15-19 year old adolescent group and the 20-24 year old young adult group), correlated with their most popular leisure activities. For example, activities in the peer group setting were more frequent amongst the adolescents than the young-adults. In contrast, activities involving one-to-one social interaction (for example sexual activities) were more common amongst the young adults. This corresponded with a central need of the older group to develop intimate relationships.

Although the lifecycle model assisted in explaining why *some differences* existed between the **two age groups** in the study, the similarities in leisure styles were not explained by this model. Young adults' continued participation in sports and cultural clubs, was attributed to environmental deprivation as a result of socio-economic marginalisation in the apartheid city. For young adults such clubs highlighted the way leisure was used to satisfy higher order needs in the context of a deprived socio-economic environment.

The interrelated variables of gender and main occupation also influenced the leisure styles of respondents. Male respondents participated in a wider range of leisure activities than their female counterparts. Gender differences in leisure styles showed that the family and local neighbourhood were the main leisure containers for young women who were more active in neighbourhood-based church and gospel singing clubs. Other home-centered leisure activities of young women included listening to music (such as records and tapes); socialising; doing nothing including sleeping; and handicraft activities. Young mens' leisure activities appeared to be less restricted to the home environment. Sporting activities; socialising; visiting shebeens; hanging around on the streets; playing video and arcade games were more frequent amongst male respondents.

The collective evidence from survey and qualitative findings revealed that young women were more restricted in their range of leisure activities for a number of reasons: Antecedent constraints included the **multiple role responsibilities of young women** which reduced their amount of free time for leisure. Whereas roughly equal proportions of both genders attended school, more young women had an additional main occupation of housework and childcaring as indicated by **Tables 1 and 10 in Appendix 3** showing respondents' main occupations and average activity frequency rates for domestic activities by gender.

The additional burden of household work on young women may be attributed to gender-role socialisation in the African family and therefore household chores were the responsibility of young women. Survey findings on the structure of respondents' families also showed just under half the respondents lived in single parent families. Young women may have had additional household responsibilities in the absence of a parent. The breakup of the family may in part be attributed to the social forces within the apartheid city. In this context, the elderly and children are frequently left at home whilst the breadwinner is employed in other areas closer to the urban core or looking for work in other urban centres. In addition violence caused

by poverty and political collective action has caused many deaths and robbed children of their parents.

Political violence and crime in shack areas may also have been a reason why the stricter control over the free time activities of young women was exercised by parents. Parents encouraged children (especially young girls) to keep off the streets and 'safe' activities such as attending church services on a Sunday were obligatory for some young women.

The **spatial restrictions** on young women were revealed in their leisure venue needs and the typologies of venue users developed from the regression analysis. School-attending young women who lived with their parents were the main users of halls (including school classrooms). The venue needs of this group corresponded with their largely indoor leisure pursuits and the demand for a library with a study area was greater for young women than young men.

The impact of main occupation on **leisure styles** and **spaces** used for leisure was partially addressed in the discussion on the relationship between gender and leisure. Survey findings showed that respondents who attended school and those who were in paid work had different work-leisure time schedules to unemployed respondents and homekeepers. Whereas school attenders and the employed spent on average 7-12 hours at work on weekdays, on weekends they had more free time for escapist leisure which may have been located closer to the core of the city. In contrast, unemployed youth and homekeepers (usually women) reported an equal distribution of time (approximately 1-4 hours) between work and leisure on weekdays and over the weekends. Domestic chores and homework were main *weekend* work activities. Findings therefore suggested that the work and leisure spheres for the unemployed and homekeepers were more closely integrated and occurred in the same socio-spatial containers which were usually close to the 'hearth and home'.

The regression analysis showed that respondents who used friends' homes for leisure were typically unemployed young males. Like their homekeeping

female counterparts, this group also suffered from leisure deprivation. Financial constraints and mobility problems, such as high transport costs and a poor public transport system which catered mainly only for the needs of the employed during working hours, were some of the constraints on this group's leisure activities. In view of their access problems to recreational amenities outside their own areas, male respondents expressed the need for sports venues to be developed in their own areas.

Leisure attitudes were shaped by the macro and micro spatial environment in the apartheid city. At the macro level the position of informal settlements on the urban fringe influenced respondents' perceptions of their urban identity. Both main study areas were sandwiched between formal townships and semi-rural areas. In addition the two areas contained mixed residential patterns comprising dense shack settlement and more sparsely settled semi-rural zones. These settlements were areas of rural-urban transition in which differences between traditional (rural) and modern (urban) values and lifestyles were pronounced. These value differences influenced respondents' leisure attitudes and activities. For some respondents their preference for a rural lifestyle and leisure styles reduced their range of perceived leisure options in the city. For example going to a disco was not perceived as a leisure option for these respondents. Their lack of knowledge about other leisure opportunities in the apartheid city resulted in boredom and anomic leisure. On the other hand the 'busy-ethic' (partially the product of the traditional value system in Zulu society which stressed that it was taboo to be idle) was also a feature of the lifestyles of many respondents which may explain why anomic leisure was seldom experienced by respondents.

At the micro-level, structural constraints such as material deprivation in respondents' own areas shaped their self-perceptions and attitudes towards leisure. It was pointed out earlier that respondents' leisure motivations frequently revolved around ways of coping with the consequences of living in marginalised shack communities where access to educational, employment and recreational opportunities is poor and where violence due to poverty and competition between political parties are major constraints on the leisure activities of young people. These factors influenced their

motivations for particular leisure styles. As already noted, respondents' major leisure needs reflected these environmental constraints which included the need for personal safety, skill improvement, relaxation and the enhancement of social power.

Economic marginalisation of shack youth coincided with their spatial marginalisation in the apartheid city and this influenced their definitions and perceptions of work and leisure. Main occupational differences shaped respondents' perceptions of leisure. Case studies in phase one highlighted the way leisure definitions between unemployed youth and school attenders differed. School attenders and respondents who were employed perceived a distinction between their work and leisure spheres and typically defined leisure in terms of its restorative functions. Leisure time was therefore free time after school and domestic work.

In contrast, unemployed youth expressed mixed opinions about the differences between work and leisure. For example some respondents counted domestic work as a free time activity whilst others did not. Interestingly, the leisure definitions of unemployed youth closely matched the traditional African interpretation of leisure which viewed leisure as not necessarily antithetical to work (Magi, 1986: 1991). It is suggested that for those young people who were unemployed, community service activities; participation in grass-roots political structures and; the existence of amateur sporting and artistic clubs to which they belonged were semi-leisure activities and replaced formal employment. For this group of respondents, the semi-leisure nature of many of their activities made it difficult to define their concept of leisure clearly.

The interactionist model of leisure proposed by Samdahl (1988) was helpful in understanding the way leisure definitions varied according to the immediate socio-economic context of respondents. For example, unemployed respondents and respondents with multiple role responsibilities may have had reduced opportunities for true self-expression (equated with intrinsically motivated leisure) and increased role constraints which negatively affected the quality of their leisure experience.

In summing up, it appeared from the findings that although shack respondents were spatially and materially marginalised in the apartheid city, their attitudes about leisure did not reflect those of a lost generation of youth. Respondents perceived leisure as a tool for self-development in the context of a shortage of educational and employment opportunities in marginalised shack settlements on the urban fringe.

The socio-psychological model proposed by Gunter and Gunter (1980) was a useful tool to classify the different leisure styles of shack youth. Shack respondents had unique leisure styles, **institutional** and **pure leisure** modes were closely intertwined. Activities which were structurally constrained within work (including school work), family, church and political contexts were perceived to be both largely enjoyable and discretionary. The instrumental value which some of these activities were perceived to have (i.e., they were alternative channels to satisfy higher order needs) offset their work-related context. Case studies of leisure definitions in context highlighted this aspect. There was some evidence of **anomic** leisure although for most respondents, leisure activities of this nature were rare. Findings indicated that an important reason for this was the availability of more meaningful self-organised leisure opportunities such as participating in youth club, cultural and political activities.

Traces of **alienated** leisure could also be found in some respondents' leisure styles, for example some youth were compelled by their parents to attend church services, other respondents felt trapped by daily household and work routines whilst others believed that participation in politics was obligatory and this activity consumed their free time which would have otherwise been used in more enjoyable leisure pursuits.

In order to link the research findings to social the transformation underway in South Africa, the implications of the present findings are related to the goals of the Reconstruction and Development Programme highlighted in the next section.

8.4 Implications of the Research Findings for the Reconstruction and Development Programme and Youth Development.

Findings from this study show that leisure is an important area which could assist in the development of human resources in marginalised shack settlements on the edge of the apartheid city. South Africa is currently in a period of transition and leisure may provide a channel in which to bring people together to promote a smooth transition. The Government of National Unity's Reconstruction and Development programme (1994) has also identified leisure as an area which could develop human resources and thereby assist in addressing the interrelated problems of poverty, violence, unemployment and an inadequate educational system. The provision of sport and recreational amenities accessible to all South Africans is an element of this plan.

The present study highlighted the resourceful spirit of young shack dwellers which was evident in their leisure styles. This spirit should be encouraged through the promotion of informal youth clubs and amateur sports clubs. Leisure education programmes (the use of discretionary time for educational projects such as life-skills training or the teaching of organisational skills helpful in starting an informal business or youth club) and education for leisure programmes (focussing on leisure as an actual learning goal) could be used to promote the development of such clubs.

With respect to the concept of education for leisure, youth clubs and other leisure opportunities available in shack areas and in other parts of the city could be advertised to increase young people's awareness of existing leisure opportunities. The present study's findings showed that shack youth frequently read the newspapers and a local newspaper or newsletter could circulate leisure information to shack youth. Young people from shack settlements could be trained to produce such a recreational newsletter which would form part of a leisure education project. Access to such leisure information would assist marginalised shack dwellers in overcoming the effects of accumulative deprivation as a result of years of deprivation. This

information would also be useful to recently urbanised youth who may not be aware of leisure opportunities available in the city.

Informal youth clubs could serve as vehicles for leisure education programmes. The informality and leisure context of youth clubs would be an ideal setting for such programmes which could be youth driven. The content of such programmes could include sports coaching (for example: soccer, netball and karate). Craftwork skills (for example hobbies which could later become informal businesses) could also be taught in youth clubs. Such programmes would be especially useful for those shack youth who have a surfeit of unstructured free time, for example unemployed youth and non-school attenders.

Respondents cited material deprivation as a reason for their poor self image. The poor quality of housing; cramped living conditions; a lack of basic infrastructure such as toilets, street lights, taps and schools were perceived as major problems in their areas. The planning of recreational amenities in marginalised peri-urban shack settlements should therefore take cognizance of these important needs which should take precedence over the provision of new recreational amenities. Planners should maximise the use of existing limited space for leisure usage. Findings showed that residents of shack areas already made maximum use of existing space for leisure. For example informal playgrounds doubled up as sports venues and political meeting places. Church buildings and school classrooms were also used by different interest groups for leisure purposes. Consideration should therefore be given to upgrading these existing sites for leisure in order to save space for housing and other needs.

The construction of new leisure amenities should be multi-purpose to service the diverse leisure needs of shack dwellers. For example, respondents in the present study identified the need for a library with a study area and a multi-purpose hall which could be booked by different interest groups. A multi-functional hall would also cater for less structured leisure activities which were popular amongst shack youth, for example, hanging out with friends.

Youth would be encouraged to stay off the streets during their free time providing such venues had a warm and friendly atmosphere and were not over-regulated by adults.

The planning of new recreational amenities should also take into account the way gender, main occupation and age influence leisure needs and leisure choices. Respondents who experienced leisure deprivation were most affected by structural constraints such as financial costs and distance from recreational amenities. The typologies of typical venue users developed from the regression analysis showed that the unemployed and young women were subject to the most leisure constraints. The impact of multiple institutional obligations on young women and the financial constraints of the unemployed were factors which limited their range of leisure activities. Mobility problems (for example, a lack of cheap public transport during working hours) and personal safety issues (relating to increased political violence, criminal activities and youth delinquency) also inhibited the range of leisure activities.

Recreational centres should be geographically close to the shack settlements they are meant to service. The cost of using such venues should be low and they should be open throughout the day, on every day of the week. This would enable unemployed youth to use the amenities during normal working hours. Decentralised venues would give young shack dwellers (especially young women) easier access to leisure activities during the week. Escapist leisure therefore need not be restricted mainly to weekends. Community elders or unemployed youth could supervise such venues and ensure the safety of users and to prevent vandalism.

In view of the limited amount of space for leisure in shack settlements, regional leisure centres could be built. These would service the leisure needs of a number of shack settlements in a defined area, for example the complex of informal settlements in Inanda's Released Area 33. Although schools are already used as venues for leisure by shack youth, access to these amenities could be improved. Such venues could be open after school hours and over weekends and control over the use of school property for

leisure purposes could be devolved to the community level facilitating easy access. The present study found that schools within the former homeland of KwaZulu only permitted young people who had submitted a formal application to the central authority in Ulundi, to use such amenities for leisure purposes. Applications took a long time to process and were complicated. In addition, some youth alleged that they were denied access to such venues for political reasons. Recreational venues should be monitored by joint community structures to ensure that all youth from a particular area regardless of political allegiance could use such amenities.

Although the above recommendations placed an emphasis on the devolution of leisure venues and programmes to the periphery of the city where shack youth lived, better access to inner-city areas for leisure activities also needs to be promoted. Findings revealed that shack youth liked to escape from the poverty and drudgery of their everyday lives in shack settlements and enjoyed trips to the central city to engage in other kinds of leisure such as going to the cinema or even window shopping. A cheap and efficient public transport system giving shack dwellers better access to core city areas would increase their range of leisure opportunities.

Finally, the research findings showed that shack youth from Amawoti and Mgaga have begun to identify their (leisure) needs. As a strategy to empower inhabitants of marginalised informal settlements in Durban, consultation with these communities should take place to prioritise their needs.

The broad policy objectives of the Reconstruction and Development Programme could then be converted into practical development programmes to address the specific needs of this large and neglected segment of the urban population.

8.5 General Conclusion

Leisure is an essential human need which adds to the quality of life and in many Western industrialised societies where unemployment is high, social analysts have recognised the meaningful role which leisure plays in unemployed people's lives. The value of leisure and its interest to human scientists has therefore increased (Kraus, 1978).

In the South African context, the interest in leisure as a tool for social development is also increasing. The present study showed that leisure can play a role in the development of youth through the promotion of 'pro-social' activities which encourage young people to make use of existing opportunities such as informal youth clubs.

Research findings in this study indicated that leisure research provides another window from which to study the lifestyles and needs of people. When the study was undertaken (1990-1991), the apartheid era was drawing to a close and South African society was beginning a process of fundamental change. The leisure styles of shack youth reflected the social instability which increased as social change accelerated. The 'accumulative' impact of the apartheid era also continued to shape the leisure styles and needs of shack youth. Shack youth have developed unique leisure styles to cope with socio-economic deprivation and their geographically marginalised position in the apartheid city. Leisure research is therefore a useful way to monitor social change and the changing needs and lifestyles of marginalised populations. In addition, leisure research can make a meaningful contribution in the formulation of social policy aimed at the development of human resources in South Africa.

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APPENDIX 1

a) Topic-focussed Interview Guide Used in Phase One:

Biographical questions:

Where does the respondent live?

Respondent age and gender?

Main occupation of respondent?

If attending school, what academic standard has the respondent achieved? What is the name of the school? In which area is the school located?

If not attending school, reasons? What is the respondent's main occupation?

Family Structure and Residential Patterns:

- Does the respondent have siblings?
- How many?
- Genders and age?
- Where do they live?
- What are their main occupations?
- Occupation of parents?

- With whom does the respondent live?
- With parents, mother and/or father?
- If not living with immediate family, reasons and, with whom does the respondent live?
- Where does the respondents' immediate family live?
- How long has the respondent lived in this residential area?
- If the respondent had previously lived in another residential area, what were the reasons for moving to their current area?

Respondents perceptions of their environment and self-perceptions:

- What do other youth in the respondent's area do with their free time?
- Do hooligans and gangsters influence the way respondents use their leisure time?
- Does the older generation perceive any differences in today's township and shack youth?
- What kind of local political authority structure exists in respondents' areas?

Questions pertaining to leisure behaviour:

- What are respondents' leisure activities?
- When do respondents engage in leisure activities?
- Which of their daily activities are most and least enjoyable?
- How spontaneous are respondents' leisure activities?
- What activities are perceived to be obligatory and are such activities also perceived to be leisure? For example are church activities and extra school studies considered to be leisure activities.
- What makes some free time activities more spontaneous than others?
- Do non-spontaneous leisure activities occur on set days and at set times?
- What are the major constraints on respondents' use of free time?
- How committed are young people to community service activities?

- Are these activities considered to be leisure activities?
- What motivates young people to participate in such activities?
- How do respondents define their leisure activities?

Enquire into social leisure activities:

- Who do respondents socialise with, for example: members of same interest group or youth club, people from the same residential area, formal township dwellers, family members?
- Do respondents belong to youth clubs, sports clubs or other organisations including church groups?
- What are the aims of their clubs and why did they join such clubs?

Amenities and spaces used for leisure activities:

- What are the amenities respondents use for leisure?
- Which geographic areas do they use in their leisure time?

Questions particularly applicable to formal recreational venues:

- What facilities do venues offer, for example: changerooms; toilets; sporting equipment; telephones; just space?
- What kinds of activities are held at the venue?
- What are the attendance patterns at the venue; individual versus group attendance, casual or organised attendance?
- What are the opening and closing hours at the venue?
- Who manages the venue?
- Who own or sponsors the venue?
- Who attends the venue; age, gender, occupational status?

b) A Research Diary of Phase One

This description is based on field notes and weekly debriefing sessions.

The qualitative phase commenced in February 1990. Research began in Malukazi, a dense shack area on the Southern boundary of the Umlazi township, with a field trip by members of the Youth Centre Project (Valerie Møller, Theresa Mthembu, Robin Richards and Aubrey Simamane). The community organiser, Theresa Mthembu introduced the team to key figures in the area who had contacts with youth clubs. This included the founder and trainer of a karate club whose members were young people from Malukazi. The leader of 'The Malukazi Football Club' was also interviewed during this field trip.

Informal interviewing had to be suspended in Malukazi due to reports of increasing conflict between the comrades and the vigilantes. The shack area of Mgaga was selected as a safe alternative interviewing site in which to continue with the research.

By **Week 5** it was decided to expand the geographical focus of the research and investigate leisure patterns in other peri-urban areas within the DFR. Aubrey accompanied the Youth Centre Project's community organiser to Folweni (a housing scheme on the Southern side of Durban) to assist her with community work and make contacts with young people in this area. Between **Weeks 6-8** interviewing continued in Mgaga and Folweni and to cope with the increase in new leads and contacts, an additional interviewer (Rose) was recruited. In **Week 12**, following a police raid on Mgaga in search of weapons and drugs which increased the tension in this area, the interviewing was suspended. Dassenhoek (situated in the Western part of the city) was selected as an alternative interviewing site. Rose's husband, a sub-editor of a newspaper in Dassenhoek, was able to facilitate access to this area by introducing the interviewers to locals including the principal of a school.

To facilitate the interviewing process, the researchers requested a weekly allowance for refreshments which they shared with respondents. A sub-theme on leisure venues produced many new leads which needed further

investigation. An additional interviewer, Sizakele, was drafted into the team to follow up these leads. Sizakele, a trained community worker, also assisted interviewees with problems they may have been experiencing in their clubs or with their leisure activities. For example, she was able to advise respondents how to draft project proposals to apply for funding for their activities.

In **Week 21** research in Dassenhoek was suspended because of unrest. Between **Weeks 22-25** researchers investigated a number of other areas including St Wendolins (adjacent to Dassenhoek); Nhlungwane (located in Inanda on the Northern side of Durban); Georgedale (on the Western fringe of the DFR) and, Malukazi. Some interviews were conducted in these areas but for a variety of reasons including violence and cost factors in travelling to less accessible areas, for example Georgedale, research was discontinued.

The interviewing team consulted YCP's community organiser for advice on alternative interview areas. It was recommended that they investigate the possibility of continuing with the research in Amawoti. Between **Weeks 25-34** the team conducted interviews in this area. By mid November 1990 the qualitative phase was completed.

APPENDIX 2

Youth Lifestyle Questionnaire : Informal Areas 1990

Introduction

Good/morning/afternoon/evening. My name is _____. I am from the Centre for Social and Development Studies at the University of Natal. We are conducting a survey to find out about what young people do in their free time. We would appreciate it if you would help us by answering some questions.

Sawubona. Igama lami ngingu _____. Ngiphuma emnyangweni wezentuthuko yomphakathi. Enuyvesi yaseNatal Ethusini. Senza uphenyo ukuzama ukuthola ukuthi intsha yenzani ngesikhathi sayo esikhululekile siyothokoza uma ungase usisize ngokuphendula lembuzo.

Questionnaire Number

--	--	--

1
2
3
4

Mgaga
Folweni
Dassenhoek
Amawoti

Interview Area : _____

Cluster Number : _____

Interview Date : _____

Time of Day : _____ am _____ pm

Interviewer's Name : _____

1. Respondent selection process: list all of the members living in this household, this includes tenants and lodgers. (Respondent is always listed first)

Name	Position in household *(Relationship to H.H.)	Sex	Age	*Home language	*Education
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					
7.					
8.					
9.					
10.					
11.					
12.					
13.					
14.					
15.					

* Respondent chosen for the interview, full details up to education.

Relationship to H.H.	Sex	Age	Language	Education
1. Head	1. Male	(Raw figure)	1. Zulu	1. None
2. Son	2. Female		2. Xhosa	2. Substandards
3. Son-in-law			3. Tswana	3. Stds 1-3
4. Parent			Other	4. Stds 4-6
5. Grandchild				5. Stds 7-8
6. Lodger				6. Std 9
7. Spouse				7. Matric
8. Daughters				8. College/Tech.
9. Daughter-in-law				9. University
10. Grandparent				
11. Other relative				
Other _____				

2. Are you:

- 1 Single with no steady girl/boyfriend
- 2 Single with a steady girl/boyfriend
- 3 Married or living together
- 4 Divorced or separated from spouse
- 5 Widowed

3. With whom are you living? Multiple response.

- 1 Own parents
- 2 Grandparents
- 3 Parents in-law
- 4 Spouse/fiance boy/girlfriend
- 5 Own children
- 6 Siblings blood brother/sister
- 7 Strangers
- Other (specify)

.....

4. If no longer living with parents, are there any reasons for this?

5. For how long have you been living away from your parents? Specify years, months, weeks.

6. How many children of your own do you have?

7a What is your main occupation at present?

- 1 School
- 2 Technikon
- 3 *Training course
- 4 Regular full time job
- 5 Temporary/Casual job
- 6 Own housework/domestic chores
- 7 Own child caring
- 8 Self employed (specify) _____
- Other (specify) _____

* If training course specify type and duration of course. (Opend ended)

b. If self-employed, what kinds of income earning work do you do?

c. If you are employed in a full time or temporary job, describe the kind of job you do?

8. What do your mother and father do now? Please describe their occupations.
If pensioners what was the last job held?

	Occupation	Mother	Father
1. Regular full-time job (specify)	Mother Father	1	2
2. Temporary casual job		1	2
3. Self-employed (specify)	Mother Father	1	2
4. Own housework/domestic chores		1	2
5. Own child caring		1	2
6. Pensioner (specify last job)	Mother Father	1	2
7. Unemployed		1	2
Other (specify)	Mother Father	1	2

9. On average, how many hours do you spend in your main occupation?

- 1 Hours spent on a weekday.....
2 Hours spent on a weekend day.....

10. Think of your last week, how much spare time did you have on average for that week?

- 1 Less than one hour per week
2 Approximately 1 hour per week
3 Approximately 2 hours per week
4 Approximately 3-4 hours per week
5 Approximately half a day per week
6 Approximately a whole day per week
7 More than one day a week
8 Had no spare time
Other (Specify)

11. On average how many hours on Saturday are your spare-time? And on Sunday? (to the nearest hour)

- a Saturday
b Sunday

12. Which religion do you belong to?

- 1 Roman Catholic church
2 Regular Christian church (e.g. Anglican; Methodist)
3 Pentecostal and Zionist churches
4 Islam
5 Traditional African Religion
6 None
Other (specify)

13. Where were you born, and where did you grow up?

Where?
(Specify the name of the
area and say whether in town
or countryside)

When?
(Say how old you were
when you moved to
this area)

1. Where are you living
now?

Why? (Specify the reason/s for moving to this area)

2. Where were you living
before this?

Why? (Specify the reason/s for moving to this area)

3. And before this?

Why? (Specify the reason/s for moving to this area)

4. And before this?

Why? (Specify the reason/s for moving to this area)

5. Where were you born?

14. Are there any activities which you enjoy doing and which you do in your free time?

NB The 1st and 5th item MUST be completed

15. For each of the activities listed below answer the following questions

		(i) How often do you participate in the following activities?							(ii) How much do you like/ dislike these activities?			(iii) How much pressure/ obligation-free choice do you have participating in these activities?	
ACTIVITY LIST		Daily	Weekly	Fortnightly	Monthly	2-3 times a year	Less often	Never	Like very much	Neither like nor dislike	Strongly dislike	Some or a lot of pressure	Free choice
1.	Visiting shebeens	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
2.	Homework	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
3.	Maskanda dancing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
4.	Church activities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
5.	Socializing with friends	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
6.	Hanging around in the streets	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
7.	Attending music or pop concerts	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
8.	House to house job hunting	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
9.	Pantsula dancing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
10.	Participating in street gang activities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2

15. continued

		How often do you participate in the following activities?							How much do you like/ dislike these activities?			How much pressure/ obligation-free choice do you have participating in these activities?	
ACTIVITY LIST		Daily	Weekly	Fortnightly	Monthly	2-3 times a year	Less often	Never	Like very much	Neither like nor dislike	Strongly dislike	Some or a lot of pressure	Free choice
11.	Singing in a Gospel group	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
12.	Participating in school sports activities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
13.	Participating in youth club activities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
14.	Watching films	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
15.	Watching videos	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
16.	Playing video or arcade games	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
17.	Attending cultural events and ceremonies	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
18.	Visiting unemployed friends	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
19.	Attending cultural or youth festivals	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2

Continued

15. continued

How often do you participate
in the following activities?How much do
you like/
dislike these
activities?How much
pressure/
obligation-free
choice do you have
participating in
these activities?

ACTIVITY LIST

	Daily	Weekly	Fortnightly	Monthly	2-3 times a year	Less often	Never	Like very much	Neither like nor dislike	Strongly dislike	Some or a lot of pressure	Free choice
20. Reading the newspapers	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
21. Attending parties and/or braais	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
22. Reading fictional novels	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
23. Participating in youth league committee/activities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
24. Helping other people in the community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
25. Part-time studies	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
26. Playing a musical instrument	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
27. Talking politics with friends, neighbours, relatives	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
28. Attending formal political meetings	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
29. Ballroom dancing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
30. Looking after small children	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2

15. continued

How often do you participate
in the following activities?How much do
you like/
dislike these
activities?How much
pressure/
obligation-free
choice do you have
participating in
these activities?

ACTIVITY LIST

	Daily	Weekly	Fortnightly	Monthly	2-3 times a year	Less often	Never	Like very much	Neither like nor dislike	Strongly dislike	Some or a lot of pressure	Free choice
31. Watching live sports events	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
32. Smoke dagga/sniff glue	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
33. Attending funerals	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
34. Bunk school/take french leave	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
35. Toyi-toying and composing political songs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
36. Singing or playing an instrument for a pop or musical group	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
37. Have sex with boy/girlfriend	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2
38. Playing sports, specify the type of sport	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	1	2

16. What else would you very much like to do in your free time but that you are unable to do at present for some reason or other?

17. Can you describe what the word "leisure" means to you?

18. Which of the following statements best describe the way you feel about your leisure activities? Say whether you agree or disagree with the following statements.
1. Only those activities which I feel for me are optional free choice activities, meaning that I can participate in them whenever I wish to are my leisure activities.
- | | | | | |
|----------|-------|-----------|--------|----------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| Strongly | Agree | Uncertain | Do not | Strongly |
| Agree | | | Agree | Disagree |
2. There is no difference between my work activities and my leisure activities
- | | | | | |
|----------|-------|-----------|--------|----------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Strongly | Agree | Uncertain | Do not | Strongly |
| Agree | | | Agree | Disagree |
3. Only those activities which I enjoy doing are my leisure.
- | | | | | |
|----------|-------|-----------|--------|----------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Strongly | Agree | Uncertain | Do not | Strongly |
| Agree | | | Agree | Disagree |
4. Leisure activities mean to me at least on of these: A rest period, a break from work, a leisurely rest or leisureliness.
- | | | | | |
|----------|-------|-----------|--------|----------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Strongly | Agree | Uncertain | Do not | Strongly |
| Agree | | | Agree | Disagree |
5. Whilst one's work may sometimes be seen to have aspects which are enjoyable and unenjoyable, the same is not true for one's leisure activities as these activities are participated in mainly for the purposes of pleasure and enjoyment.
- | | | | | |
|----------|-------|-----------|--------|----------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Strongly | Agree | Uncertain | Do not | Strongly |
| Agree | | | Agree | Disagree |
6. Those activities which I feel obligated or pressured to participate in are not my leisure activities
- | | | | | |
|----------|-------|-----------|--------|----------|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| Strongly | Agree | Uncertain | Do not | Strongly |
| Agree | | | Agree | Disagree |

19. **Who are your friends?** (Read 1-8 out aloud) Interviewer to circle the appropriate response category/ies

- 1 Other young people who are unemployed
 - 2 My brothers and sisters
 - 3 Young people at my school
 - 4 Young people from my area
 - 5 Young people from the formal townships
 - 6 Have no friends
 - 7 Other young people who attend the same club, organization, cultural group or church as me
- Other (Specify)

20. **Young people participate in leisure/free time activities for many different reasons, the following statements below represent some of these reasons. Which of these statements are most applicable to young people living in your area? Rank order statements a-l on a scale of 1-12, "1" being the most important reason and "12" being the least important reason.**

Interviewer instructions:

Show interviewee showcard 1 (statements a-l). Allow the interviewee not more than two minutes to number the statements in order of priority. Record the order on the questionnaire.

Young people I know in my area.....

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | a. Become involved in leisure activities to help them to relax and to forget about work. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | b. Use their leisure activities as a way to fill the day, especially when they either don't attend school or are unemployed. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | c. View their leisure activities as a way to improve their own position and status within their area. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | d. See their leisure activities as a means of achieving fame or recognition. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | e. Participate in certain leisure activities to prove that they are as good as if not better than youth from other areas. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | f. See their involvement in leisure activities as a way to improve the community spirit amongst people in their area. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | g. Believe that their participation in leisure activities will help to keep them out of trouble. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | h. Prefer the discipline involved in regular participation in their leisure activities. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | i. Become involved in leisure activities to improve their skills and abilities. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | j. Like to participate in leisure activities because their friends also participate in such activities. |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | k. Participate in leisure activities as a way of acquiring new friends |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | l. Only participate in leisure activities which are popular in their area. |

21. Here are some things some young people say about their leisure activities, do you agree or disagree with their statements?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Do not agree	Strongly disagree
a) Young people cannot participate in leisure activities in my area because of the shortage of recreational space (venues for playing sports, etc).	1	2	3	4	5
Give reasons for your _____					
answer _____					
b) Young people in my area who belong to large families and who live with their families don't feel the need to pursue leisure activities outside their family unit because much of their free time is taken up with socialising with their own brothers and sisters at home.	1	2	3	4	5
Give reasons for your _____					
answer _____					

Question 21 continued

	Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Do not agree	Strongly disagree
c) Political activities in my area limits the choice of young people's leisure activities.	1	2	3	4	5
Give reasons for your _____					
answer _____					
d) Being self-employed means that you have no time for leisure activities.	1	2	3	4	5
Give reasons for your _____					
answer _____					
e) Your parents decide what leisure activities you may or may not become involved in.	1	2	3	4	5
Give reasons for your _____					
answer _____					

Question 21 continued

		Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Do not agree	Strongly disagree
f)	Some young people who live in my area are jealous of my leisure activities, this jealousy causes them to act in a way to prevent me from participating in these activities.	1	2	3	4	5
Give reasons for your _____						
answer _____						

g)	The more conservative youth in my area whose lifestyles reflect the traditional African culture do not participate in the same leisure activities as other youth who no longer follow the traditional lifestyle.	1	2	3	4	5
Give reasons for your _____						
answer _____						

Question 21 continued

		Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Do not agree	Strongly disagree
h)	Distance from recreational amenities together with high transport costs are two major reasons why youth don't participate in leisure/free time activities.	1	2	3	4	5
Give reasons for your _____						
answer _____						

i)	Youth from my area are prevented from using facilities and amenities in other areas, such as in the formal townships, because of bad relations with residents from these areas.	1	2	3	4	5
Give reasons for your _____						
answer _____						

22. What has been the most pleasant event for young people living in your area during the past year?

23a. Can you think of any events either in your own community or in South Africa which have occurred within the last year and which you feel have affected the way you use your free time?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

b. If yes, what are these events?

c. How have they affected your leisure activities?

24. Do your weekend activities differ from your weekday activities?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

a. If yes, in what way do they differ?

25a. If attending school, do you participate in any sporting or extra mural activities besides your formal lessons?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

b. If yes to 25a, do you find that your school sports and other extra mural activities are more or less enjoyable than other free time activities away from school.

- 1 I enjoy these activities more than my free time activities which are after school hours.
- 2 I enjoy these activities less than my free time activities which are after school hours.

c. Do you think you will continue with these activities once you have completed your school career.

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 Uncertain

Give reasons for your answer

26a. Where do you spend most of your leisure/free time?
(Choose not more than 2 from below) multiple response

- 1 In a rural area (specify where) _____
 - 2 In a formal township (specify where) _____
 - 3 In my own area _____
 - 4 In the city (specify) _____
 - 5 Not applicable (don't participate in leisure activities)
- Other (Specify) _____

b. Can you say why you choose to participate in these activities in the area/s you specified above?

c. Which of the following venues do you most often use in your leisure time, choose not more than three from the list below?

- 1 A school hall or classroom
 - 2 A church hall
 - 3 A friend's house
 - 4 A hotel
 - 5 A shebeen
 - 6 A tearoom which has video and arcade games
 - 7 A soccer field
 - 8 A street corner
 - 9 Not applicable (don't participate in leisure activities)
- Other venue (specify) _____

d. Which of the following amenities/facilities would you most like to see developed in your area? Choose not more than two from the list below.

- 1 A public bar (where alcohol would be sold)
 - 2 A soccer field
 - 3 A library with a study area
 - 4 A large hall which could be booked by different interest groups and clubs
 - 5 A tennis court
- Other (specify) _____

27. Which is true of your current situation. Do you find it difficult to fit in all the things you need or wish to do in the day, or do you find the days drag on and you have too little really worthwhile to do?

- 1 difficult to fit things into the day
- 2 the day drags on

28. How do you feel about the amount of spare time you have. Do you have too much, too little or just about the right amount of time to do as you like?

- 1 Too much spare time
- 2 Too little spare time
- 3 Just about right amount of spare time

29. With whom do you socialize at school? (for those attending school).

- 1 Only youth from my area
 - 2 Only youth from the neighbouring townships
 - 3 A combination of the above two groups
 - 4 Youth who belong to my interest group or club
 - 5 No-one
 - 6 Anyone, it doesn't matter
- Other, specify

30. Taking all things together how would you say things are these days? Would you say you are (tick one of the alternatives below)

- a very happy
- b somewhat happy
- c not too happy

31a. Do you know of any young people who live in your area who follow a way of life which is different to yours?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

b. If yes, in what way do their lifestyles differ?

c. What name/s are given to these youth which share this different lifestyle?

32. Here are some groups of youth, which young people have told us about. Which of the following groups of youth do you feel are most like you, say why you think this way?

		Are very much like me	Are not at all like me	Uncertain
a)	Dudes:	1	2	3
	Why do you think this way?	<hr/>		
		<hr/>		
		<hr/>		
b)	Cats:	1	2	3
	Why do you think this way?	<hr/>		
		<hr/>		
		<hr/>		
c)	Pantsulas:	1	2	3
	Why do you think this way?	<hr/>		
		<hr/>		
		<hr/>		
d)	Abashoza:	1	2	3
	Why do you think this way?	<hr/>		
		<hr/>		
		<hr/>		
e)	Tsa, Tsa, Tsa's:	1	2	3
	Why do you think this way?	<hr/>		
		<hr/>		
		<hr/>		
f)	"Surpris":	1	2	3
	Why do you think this way?	<hr/>		
		<hr/>		
		<hr/>		

33. Do you think the young people who live in the formal townships think that they are better than the young people who live in your area?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 Uncertain

Give reasons for your answer:

34. Are you a member of a club or association of any kind?

a. If yes, which of the following?	Yes	No
Church youth group	1	2
Other youth club, specify	1	2
Sports club	1	2
Women's club	1	2
Savings/stockvel club	1	2
Burial society	1	2
Co-operative	1	2
Unemployment club	1	2
Other self-help club	1	2
Youth committee	1	2
Trade union	1	2
Street committee	1	2
Civic organisation	1	2
Political organisation	1	2
"Cultural" group, specify	1	2
Other type of club or organisation	1	2
(Specify)		

b. Are you an office bearer in any of these clubs or associations you belong to?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

c. Do you feel that by belonging to a youth club, or association, you are happier than young people who don't belong to any clubs or associations?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 Uncertain

Give reasons for your answer:

d. Do you feel that some of those youth who don't belong to any of the above youth clubs or associations could be called gangsters or hooligans?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 Uncertain

Give reasons for your answer:

35. How do youth living in your area feel about the hooligans or gansters?
State whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

	Agree	Disagree	Uncertain
a) The youth from my area feel that the hooligans and gansters disrupt their leisure activities.	1	2	3
b) The gansters comprise such a small part of the population in my area that they are not worth worrying about.	1	2	3
c) Hooligans and gansters are bored youth who have lost all meaning in their lives.	1	2	3
d) The numbers of hooligans and gansters are growing in my area.	1	2	3
e) The informal political structures in my area have no control over the gansters and hooligans.	1	2	3
f) If there were more jobs for young people in my area there wouldn't be any hooligans and gansters.	1	2	3

Comments: Would you like to say anything more about these groups of youth?

36. How do you see yourself? As...

- 1 A person who lives in the urban areas but is a rural person at heart (still feels like a rural person).
 - 2 A person who has always lived in the city and whose life and future is in the city.
 - 3 A person who is changing from being a rural person to being a city person.
- Say why you feel this way:

37. Do young women have more or less free time than young men?

- 1 More free time
- 2 Less free time
- 3 About the same amount of time
- 4 Don't know

If more or less free time, give reasons for your answer (open-ended)

38. Do you think most young people living in your area accept the authority of community elders and leaders?

- 1 No, they never accept their authority
- 2 Yes, they always accept their authority
- 3 Only sometimes do they accept their authority
- 4 Sometimes they don't accept their authority

Please give reasons for your answer:

39. Taking all things together, how satisfied are you with your life on the whole these days? Generally speaking would you say you are very satisfied, satisfied, dissatisfied or very dissatisfied? (Read out)

- 1 Very satisfied
- 2 Satisfied
- 3 Neither satisfied or dissatisfied
- 4 Dissatisfied
- 5 Very dissatisfied
- 6 Don't know

40. Do you think young people listen to their parents more or less often than they did 10 years ago?

- 1 More often
 - 2 Less often
 - 3 Don't know
- Give reasons for your answer:

41. Do you see yourself as a young person?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

APPENDIX 3

TABLE 1: MAIN OCCUPATION OF RESPONDENTS BY AREA, GENDER AND AGE.							
MAIN OCCUPATION		AREA		GENDER		AGE	
	TOTAL	MGAGA	AMAWOTI	MALE	FEMALE	15 - 19	20 - 24
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Educational Studies	49	52	46	48	50	72	22
Employment (including self employment)	20	16	25	26	14	6	37
Housework and childcaring	23	18	27	13	35	13	35
Other*	26	33	19	35	15	14	39
NOTES:							
* Other examples included: the unemployed and job seekers.							
Multiple response question							
Table based on number of respondents							
Number of valid cases N = 314							

TABLE 2: RESPONDENTS' PLACE OF BIRTH		
"Where were you born?"		
AREA	N	%
Formal townships within the Durban Metropolitan Transport Area (DMTA)	111	34
Rural areas outside the Durban Functional Region (DFR)	94	28
Shack areas within the Durban Metropolitan Transport Area (DMTA)	70	21
Settlements between the DFR and Durban Metropolitan boundaries	26	8
Other Provinces or former "Independent States"	19	6
Residual category*	10	3
TOTAL	330	100
NOTES:		
* Areas which could not be located on a map		

TABLE 3 CONTINUED: ACTIVITIES BY PARTICIPATION RATES, ENJOYMENT AND						
FREE CHOICE SCALES: TOTAL SAMPLE						
Note: Respondents mean scores are based on the scales below.						
ACTIVITY	FREQUENCY (a)		ENJOYMENT		FREE CHOICE	
	OF PARTICIPATION					
		N		N		N
	MEAN	CASES	MEAN	CASES	MEAN	CASES
AESTHETIC AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES						
Maskanda dancing	74.8	42	2.14	254	1.93	57
Playing/singing for a musical group	67.6	82	1.34	247	1.92	106
Gospel singing	63.0	172	1.35	297	1.96	172
Pantsula dancing	59.1	111	1.83	259	1.98	114
Playing a musical instrument	57.3	50	1.40	247	1.94	52
Church activities	46.3	216	1.41	294	1.86	210
Youth league activities	20.0	121	1.73	270	1.83	122
Attending formal political meetings	17.3	178	1.79	287	1.71	160
Ballroom dancing	14.9	39	1.67	270	1.89	39
Attending pop and music concerts	12.7	210	1.40	296	1.88	207
Toyi-toying/street marches	10.7	141	2.04	269	1.69	150
Attending funerals	9.9	256	1.72	283	1.60	227
Attending cultural events and ceremonies	9.4	151	1.67	273	1.80	141
Attending cultural or youth festivals	8.3	153	1.53	275	1.90	152
DELINQUENT ACTIVITIES						
Smoking dagga and sniffing glue	220.5	39	2.61	270	1.76	43
Participating in street gang activities	37.4	59	2.51	268	1.79	59
Bunking school (playing truant)	14.0	48	2.42	195	1.56	64
NOTES:						
(a) Mean scores for frequency of participation are based only on respondents who participated in an activity. The same rule applied to the free choice-obligation scale.						
N = Number of participants for each activity.						
SCALES:						
Participation scale weighted by days in the year:						
Once a year = 1						
Twice a year = 2						
Monthly = 12						
Fortnightly = 26						
Weekly = 52						
Daily = 364						
Enjoyment scale:			Free choice vs obligation scale:			
1 = like very much			1 = some or lot of pressure			
2 = ambivalent			2 = free choice			
3 = strongly dislike						

TABLE 4: FREQUENCY RATES FOR 15 MOST PARTICIPATED IN ACTIVITIES: TOTAL SAMPLE								
	Daily	Weekly	Fortnightly	Monthly	2/3 times yearly	Less often	Never	*Total
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Homework	45	12	0	0	0	6	37	299
Socialising with friends	40	32	2	1	0	16	9	327
Reading newspapers	21	37	4	4	0	24	10	330
Childcare	24	10	1	2	1	16	46	329
Visiting unemployed friends	16	17	1	3	1	21	41	329
Playing sports	6	39	3	4	2	10	36	318
School sports	8	25	1	2	1	8	55	284
Hanging around the streets	11	1	1	1	0	14	72	324
Reading fiction	7	18	5	8	4	25	33	330
Helping others in the community	8	12	3	9	6	41	21	328
Talking politics with friends	8	9	2	4	1	25	51	328
Singing in a gospel group	4	34	2	3	0	9	48	328
Church activities	2	43	3	4	2	12	34	328
Watching films	4	15	7	10	3	21	40	329
Smoking dagga and sniffing glue	7	1	0	0	0	4	88	329
NOTE:								
* = Number of cases responding to each item								

TABLE 5: MEMBERSHIP OF YOUTH CLUB OR ASSOCIATION BY AREA, GENDER AND AGE							
CLUB TYPE		AREA		GENDER		AGE	
	*TOTAL	MGAGA	AMAWOTI	MALE	FEMALE	15 - 19	20 - 24
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	N = 269	N = 155	N = 114	N = 151	N = 118	N = 148	N = 121
Sports club	60	61	59	76	40	67	52
Church club	54	60	45	34	78	57	49
Political interest group	51	41	64	63	36	49	54
Self-help group	26	23	30	19	35	10	46
Other youth clubs**	14	16	11	11	17	18	9
Cultural/Creative art club	7	4	12	11	3	7	7
NOTES:							
Free response categories, respondents could choose more than one option.							
Percentages are based on respondents							
* Total number of cases							
** These are youth clubs whose activity programmes have not been specified.							

Area	Gender	Age Group	Activity	Percentage
North East	Male	18-24	Football	45%
			Video Games	30%
			Shopping	25%
	Female	25-34	Shopping	40%
			Reading	35%
			Walking	25%
North West	Male	18-24	Football	40%
			Video Games	35%
			Shopping	25%
	Female	25-34	Shopping	35%
			Reading	30%
			Walking	25%
Yorkshire and the Humber	Male	18-24	Football	45%
			Video Games	30%
			Shopping	25%
	Female	25-34	Shopping	35%
			Reading	30%
			Walking	25%
West Midlands	Male	18-24	Football	40%
			Video Games	35%
			Shopping	25%
	Female	25-34	Shopping	35%
			Reading	30%
			Walking	25%
East of England	Male	18-24	Football	45%
			Video Games	30%
			Shopping	25%
	Female	25-34	Shopping	35%
			Reading	30%
			Walking	25%
South East	Male	18-24	Football	40%
			Video Games	35%
			Shopping	25%
	Female	25-34	Shopping	35%
			Reading	30%
			Walking	25%

"Are there any activities which you enjoy doing and which you do in your free time?"

ACTIVITIES		AREA		GENDER		AGE	
(With over 2% mention)	TOTAL	MGAGA	AMAWOTI	MALE	FEMALE	15 - 19	20 - 24
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	N = 323	N = 171	N = 152	N = 168	N = 155	N = 175	N = 148
Soccer	27	25	21	42	3	26	20
Other sports	23	9	5	10	5	7	6
Listening to music including records and tapes	19	15	7	7	16	12	11
Socialising, including "hanging out"	16	8	7	5	10	9	6
Singing: gospel and choir	12	6	10	2	14	8	7
Dancing	8	3	5	4	3	3	5
Doing nothing, including sleeping	8	4	11	4	10	5	10
Handicrafts	8	7	5	2	9	4	8
Going to cinema	7	1	5	2	3	2	4
Reading books and magazines	7	3	7	3	7	4	6
Work related/or semi-leisure activities (a)	7	1	6	4	2	4	1
Table Tennis	6	2	1		4	3	
Games, other than sports (b)	4	2	2	3	1	3	2
Shopping/going to town	3	2	2	1	2	1	3
Karate	3	3	1	3	1	2	2
Watching television	2	1	1		2	1	1
NOTES:							
This was a free response question, respondents could give up to three responses.							
Table based on respondents							
(a) Examples included: studying, modelling, domestic work, digging sewer holes, learning about electricity, photography.							
(b) Examples included: playing cards, playing snooker, using swings at the park.							

TABLE 7 CONTINUED: ACTIVITIES BY FREQUENCY BY AGE: COMPARISON OF MEAN/AVERAGE SCORES					
Note: Participation frequencies for each activity are based on means (average) scores.					
See weighted participation frequency scale below.					
ACTIVITY	AGE CATEGORIES				
	15 - 19 years		20 - 25 years		
	N	Mean	N	Mean	t Value
AESTHETIC AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES					
Maskanda dancing	176	10.1	150	9.0	0.17
Playing/singing for a musical group	175	18.8	152	14.7	0.58
Gospel singing	176	34.1	152	31.7	0.30
Pantsula dancing	174	22.9	151	17.0	0.71
Playing a musical instrument	165	5.9	149	12.6	-1.16
Church activities	176	30.8	152	30.1	0.12
Youth league activities	175	6.5	151	8.4	-0.52
Attending formal political meetings	177	10.8	151	7.7	0.78
Ballroom dancing	178	1.2	152	2.3	-1.03
Attending pop and music concerts	178	8.2	150	8.1	0.05
Toy-toying/street marches	173	6.9	151	2.0	***2.10
Attending funerals	171	7.8	148	8.2	-0.22
Attending cultural events and ceremonies	174	3.0	151	5.9	-1.10
Attending cultural or youth festivals	177	2.4	149	5.6	-1.23
DELINQUENT ACTIVITIES					
Smoking dagga and sniffing glue	177	20.8	152	32.2	-1.10
Participating in street gang activities	178	4.9	151	8.8	-0.77
Bunking school (playing truant)	157	3.7	117	0.7	1.25
* = Significant p < 0.001 level.					
** = Significant p < 0.01 level.					
*** = Significant p < 0.05 level.					
N = Number of participants for each activity.					
SCALE:					
Participation scale weighted by days in the year:					
Never = 0					
Once a year = 1					
Twice a year = 2					
Monthly = 12					
Fortnightly = 26					
Weekly = 52					
Daily = 364					

TABLE 8: PARTICIPATION RATES BY AGE: FOR THOSE ACTIVITIES WHICH SHOW SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BY AGE									
Note: Only those activities whose average scores differ significantly by age are shown (Refer to Table 7).									
	AGE	DAILY	WEEKLY	FORTNIGHTLY	MONTHLY	2/3 X YEARLY	LESS OFTEN	NEVER	TOTAL*
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Homework	a	58.6	16.2	0.6	0.6	0.0	4.8	19.2	167
	b	27.3	05.3	0.0	0.0	0.8	7.6	59.0	132
Watching live sports	a	01.4	42.4	3.5	13.4	3.4	18.4	17.5	178
	b	00.7	28.3	3.9	6.6	4.6	20.4	35.5	152
Playing sports	a	07.0	50.3	2.3	5.3	2.3	5.8	27.0	171
	b	04.8	27.2	4.1	2.0	0.7	15.0	46.2	147
Sexual activities	a	01.2	11.6	7.6	16.9	2.9	23.3	36.5	172
	b	03.4	31.3	8.8	23.8	1.4	24.5	6.8	147
School sports	a	10.0	33.8	1.9	3.8	1.8	9.4	39.3	160
	b	04.8	12.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.5	75.8	124
Toy-toying and street marches	a	00.6	05.2	2.9	8.7	2.9	32.9	46.8	173
	b	00.0	01.3	1.3	6.6	0.8	22.5	67.5	151
Childcare	a	07.1	08.1	1.7	1.2	0.0	20.9	61	172
	b	42.0	12.0	0.0	3.8	1.3	11.5	29.3	157
Key: a = 15-19 years									
b = 20-25 years									
* = Number of cases responding to each item									

TABLE 9: ACTIVITIES BY ENJOYMENT BY AGE: COMPARISON OF MEAN/AVERAGE SCORES					
NOTE: Enjoyment mean scores are averages calculated from the scale below.					
ACTIVITY	AGE CATEGORIES				
	15 - 19 years		20 - 25 years		
	N	Mean	N	Mean	t Value
PASSIVE ACTIVITIES					
Reading newspapers	173	1.2	146	1.2	-0.84
Reading fictional novels	158	1.4	136	1.3	0.66
Watching films	152	1.3	143	1.5	-1.83
Watching videos	142	1.2	136	1.4	-1.79
SPORTS ACTIVITIES					
School sports	136	1.3	104	1.7	*-5.17
Playing sports	144	1.1	118	1.2	***-2.38
Watching sports events	161	1.1	142	1.4	*-3.92
SOCIAL-INTERACTIVE PURSUITS					
Socialise with friends	165	1.1	150	1.3	***-1.97
Hanging around the streets	144	2.2	125	2.5	**3.08
Visiting unemployed friends	156	1.7	146	1.6	0.38
Talking politics with friends and relatives	152	1.7	133	1.8	-0.93
Playing video and arcade games	134	1.7	125	2.1	*-3.96
Youth club activities	147	1.4	129	1.6	**3.18
Visiting shebeens (taverns)	144	2.4	127	2.4	0.59
Sexual activities	150	1.7	138	1.3	*5.32
Attending parties and braais (barbeques)	163	1.4	140	1.6	-1.7
WORK RELATED ACTIVITIES					
Homework	155	1.4	112	1.7	*-3.82
Looking after small children	157	1.8	136	1.6	1.39
Part-time studies	122	1.6	113	1.6	-0.58
Helping other people in the community	162	1.2	135	1.3	-0.46
House to house job hunting	138	2.1	130	2.3	-1.85
AESTHETIC AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES					
Maskanda dancing	135	2.1	119	2.1	-6.8
Playing/singing in a musical group	131	1.2	116	1.4	***-2.23
Gospel singing	154	1.3	143	1.3	0.2
Pantsula dancing	134	1.6	125	2.0	*-3.69
Playing a musical instrument	124	1.3	123	1.4	-0.71
Church activities	157	1.3	137	1.4	-1.05
Youth league activities	141	1.6	129	1.8	-1.82
Attending formal political meetings	153	1.7	134	1.8	-1.35
Ballroom dancing	142	1.6	128	1.6	0.42
Attending pop and music concerts	155	1.3	141	1.4	-1.81
Toyi-toying/street marches	142	1.9	127	2.1	**2.82
Attending funerals	148	1.8	135	1.6	***2.46
Attending cultural events and ceremonies	141	1.6	132	1.7	-0.71
Attending cultural or youth festivals	143	1.4	132	1.6	-1.79
DELINQUENT ACTIVITIES					
Smoking dagga and sniffing glue	140	2.7	130	2.5	**2.71
Participating in street gang activities	140	2.4	128	2.6	-1.94
Bunking school (playing truant)	119	2.4	76	2.3	1.82
NOTES:					
* = Significant p <0.001 level					
** = Significant p < 0.01 level.					
*** = Significant p < 0.05 level.					
Enjoyment Scale:					
1 = like very much					
2 = neither like nor dislike					
3 = strongly dislike					

TABLE 10: ACTIVITY FREQUENCIES BY AREA AND BY GENDER

Note: Participation frequencies for each activity are based on mean (average) scores.

See weighted participation frequency scale below.

		AREA					GENDER			
ACTIVITY	MGAGA		AMAWOTI			MALE	FEMALE			
	N	MEAN	N	MEAN	t Value	N	MEAN	N	MEAN	t Value
PASSIVE ACTIVITIES										
Reading newspapers	173	122.4	157	68.6	*3.61	172	116.1	158	75.1	**2.76
Reading fictional novels	173	25.8	157	52.1	***2.52	172	41.9	158	34.4	0.74
Watching films	173	25.8	156	29.3	-0.41	172	29.6	157	25.1	0.53
Watching videos	171	17.1	155	20.9	-0.52	171	18.6	155	19.3	-0.10
SPORTS ACTIVITIES										
School sports	135	49.3	149	34.6	1.27	155	43.0	129	40.0	0.26
Playing sports	169	36.4	149	52.0	-1.61	165	66.1	153	19.6	*5.23
Watching sports events	173	20.7	157	29.4	-1.90	172	33.8	158	15.2	*4.33
SOCIAL-INTERACTIVE ACTIVITIES										
Socialise with friends	171	161.9	156	162.8	-0.05	172	200.9	155	119.5	*4.60
Hanging around the streets	171	46.4	153	31.4	1.22	171	67.7	153	7.6	*5.24
Visiting unemployed friends	173	67.1	156	67.1	0.00	172	92.0	157	39.8	*3.76
Talking politics with friends and relatives	171	38.7	157	28.7	0.95	171	52.9	157	13.2	*3.92
Playing video and arcade games	169	6.4	154	7.8	-0.28	169	13.1	154	0.5	**2.64
Youth club activities	172	11.3	156	19.6	-1.38	172	16.0	156	14.5	0.25
Visiting shebeens (taverns)	173	7.4	156	4.2	0.82	172	10.0	157	1.3	***2.31
Sexual activities	170	21.8	149	25.4	-0.57	168	31.2	151	15.0	**2.75
Attending parties and braais	173	12.7	157	11.2	0.41	172	14.6	158	9.1	1.54
WORK RELATED ACTIVITIES										
Homework	149	196.7	150	141.8	**2.72	161	156.3	138	184.3	-1.37
Looking after small children	173	73.2	156	113.2	***-2.38	172	30.4	157	159.9	*-8.27
Part-time studies	145	13.8	157	9.0	0.87	160	12.2	142	10.1	0.38
Helping others in the community	172	35.2	156	41.7	-0.59	170	46.7	158	29.3	1.60
House to house job hunting	168	8.9	157	12.5	-0.61	170	14.8	155	6.0	1.51
AESTHETIC AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES										
Maskanda dancing	171	7.3	155	12.1	-0.80	170	14.9	156	3.8	1.95
Playing/singing for a musical group	173	25.3	154	7.5	**2.61	170	13.6	152	20.4	-0.96
Gospel singing	173	38.1	155	27.4	1.37	172	25.6	156	41.2	-1.97
Pantsula dancing	169	21.8	156	18.3	0.43	172	26.6	153	12.9	1.69
Playing a musical instrument	160	8.6	154	9.6	-0.17	165	14.7	149	2.8	***2.16
Church activities	172	30.7	156	30.3	0.07	172	28.8	156	32.3	-0.62
Youth league activities	170	6.1	156	8.7	-0.75	170	8.5	156	6.1	0.68
Attending formal political meetings	172	7.5	156	11.5	-0.97	171	11.8	157	6.8	1.23
Ballroom dancing	173	1.3	157	2.2	-1.00	172	1.6	158	1.8	-0.23
Attending pop and music concerts	171	11.2	157	4.8	***2.45	171	7.9	157	8.4	-0.17
Toyi-toying/street marches	171	3.3	153	6.2	-1.11	168	3.2	156	6.2	-1.15
Attending funerals	167	7.9	152	8.0	-0.30	170	9.2	149	6.5	1.58
Attending cultural events and ceremonies	170	2.8	155	6.0	-1.23	170	4.3	155	4.5	-0.08
Attending cultural or youth festivals	173	4.4	153	3.2	0.54	170	3.7	156	4.0	-0.13
DELINQUENT ACTIVITIES										
Smoking dagga and sniffing glue	172	30.5	157	21.2	0.91	171	50.0	158	0.3	*5.22
Participating in street gang activities	172	11.2	157	1.7	2.00	172	12.7	157	0.8	**2.70
Bunking school (playing truant)	132	6.0	142	4.1	-1.35	146	1.3	128	3.7	-0.83
NOTES:										
		SCALE:								
* = Significant P < 0.001 level.		Participation scale weighted by days in the year:								
** = Significant P < 0.01 level.		Never = 0								
*** = Significant P < 0.05 level.		Once a year = 1								
		Twice a year = 2								
N = Number of participants for each activity.		Monthly = 12								
		Fortnightly = 26								
		Weekly = 52								
		Daily = 364								

TABLE 11: PARTICIPATION RATES BY GENDER: FOR THOSE ACTIVITIES WHICH SHOW SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BY GENDER

Note: Only those activities whose average scores differ significantly by gender are shown.

ACTIVITY LIST	GENDER	DAILY %	WEEKLY %	FORTNIGHTLY %	MONTHLY %	2-3 TIMES YEARLY %	LESS OFTEN %	NEVER %	*TOTAL %
Reading	a	26	38	6	2	0	17	11	172
newspapers	b	15	35	3	6	1	32	8	158
Playing video and arcade games	a	3	3	1	5	2	18	68	169
	b	0	1	0	1	0	4	94	154
Playing sports	a	10	52	4	3	1	10	20	165
	b	1	26	2	5	2	10	54	153
Sexual activities	a	4	26	9	18	1	22	20	168
	b	1	15	6	22	3	26	27	151
Child care	a	7	8	2	1	0	21	61	172
	b	42	12	0	4	1	12	29	157
Hanging around on streets	a	18	2	2	2	1	18	57	171
	b	2	1	0	1	0	10	86	153
Smoking dagga and sniffing glue	a	13	2	0	1	0	6	78	171
	b	0	1	0	0	0	1	98	158
Visiting shebeens (taverns)	a	2	5	3	2	1	17	70	172
	b	0	3	0	0	0	4	93	157
Socialising with friends	a	50	31	1	1	1	11	5	172
	b	28	34	3	1	0	21	13	155
Visiting unemployed friends	a	22	20	1	5	1	19	32	172
	b	9	13	0	2	1	23	52	157
Talking politics	a	12	12	4	6	1	27	38	171
with friends/relatives	b	3	6	1	2	1	22	65	157
Participating in street gang activities	a	3	3	1	3	1	18	71	172
	b	0	0	0	0	1	6	93	157
Playing a musical instrument	a	3	7	0	1	1	12	76	165
	b	1	1	0	0	1	5	92	149
Watching live sports events	a	1	52	5	10	6	16	10	172
	b	1	20	3	10	2	22	42	158
Key: Gender a = Male b = Female		* Total = Number of cases responding to each item							

TABLE 12: ACTIVITIES BY ENJOYMENT BY GENDER: COMPARISON OF MEAN/AVERAGE SCORES					
Note: Respondents' means are average scores based on the enjoyment scale below.					
	MALE		FEMALE		
	N	MEAN	N	MEAN	t Value
PASSIVE ACTIVITIES					
Reading newspapers	167	1.2	152	1.3	-1.67
Reading fictional novels	152	1.3	142	1.3	0.32
Watching films	160	1.3	135	1.5	*-3.63
Watching videos	152	1.3	126	1.4	-1.27
SPORTS ACTIVITIES					
School sports	137	1.5	103	1.4	1.28
Playing sports	147	1.1	115	1.2	** -3.05
Watching sports events	169	1.1	134	1.5	*-4.97
SOCIAL-INTERACTIVE PURSUITS					
Socialise with friends	171	1.1	144	1.3	***-2.27
Hanging around the streets	151	2.2	118	2.6	*-4.39
Visiting unemployed friends	166	1.6	136	1.8	***-2.30
Talking politics with friends and relatives	160	1.6	125	1.9	*-2.70
Playing video and arcade games	142	1.7	117	2.1	*-4.49
Youth club activities	148	1.5	128	1.5	-0.60
Visiting shebeens (tavern)	149	2.3	122	2.6	*-2.21
Sexual activities	157	1.3	131	1.7	*-5.23
Attending parties and braais (barbeques)	166	1.4	137	1.6	-1.66
WORK RELATED ACTIVITIES					
Homework	145	1.5	122	1.4	1.13
Child care	147	1.9	146	1.5	*4.65
Part-time studies	131	1.6	104	1.5	1.05
Helping other people in the community	160	1.2	137	1.3	-1.54
House to house job hunting	148	2.1	120	2.3	-1.62
AESTHETIC AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES					
Maskanda dancing	137	2.0	117	2.2	-1.21
Playing/singing for a musical group	136	1.3	111	1.3	0.85
Gospel singing	154	1.5	143	1.1	*4.90
Pantsula dancing	142	1.6	117	2.0	*-3.77
Playing a musical instrument	135	1.2	112	1.5	** -3.05
Church activities	153	1.6	141	1.2	*5.92
Youth league activities	145	1.6	125	1.8	-1.47
Attending formal political meetings	159	1.6	128	1.9	** -3.00
Ballroom dancing	143	1.8	127	1.5	**3.16
Attending music and pop concerts	157	1.3	139	1.4	-1.94
Toy-toying/street marches	152	1.9	117	2.2	** -3.07
Attending funerals	155	1.7	128	1.7	0.22
Attending cultural or youth festivals	150	1.4	125	1.6	-1.73
Attending cultural events and ceremonies	147	1.6	126	1.7	-1.78
DELINQUENT ACTIVITIES					
Smoking dagga and sniffing glue	149	2.4	121	2.8	*-6.53
Participating in street gang activities	146	2.4	122	2.6	** -2.74
Bunking school (playing truant)	106	2.3	89	2.5	***-2.18
NOTES:					
* = Significant P < 0.001 level.					
** = Significant P < 0.01 level.					
*** = Significant P < 0.05 level.					
Enjoyment Scale:					
1 = like very much					
2 = neither like nor dislike					
3 = strongly dislike					

TABLE 13: TOWNSHIP/SHACKLAND COMPARISON OF ACTIVITY PARTICIPATION RATES (based on means)

[illegible]

TABLE 14: LEISURE NEEDS BY AREA, GENDER AND BY AGE							
"What else would you very much like to do with your free time but are unable to for one reason or another?"							
ACTIVITY TYPE		AREA		GENDER		AGE	
	TOTAL	MGAGA	AMAWOTI	MALE	FEMALE	15 - 19	20 - 24
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	N = 314	N = 170	N = 144	N = 166	N = 148	N = 169	N = 145
Semi - leisure*	54	51	57	45	63	53	54
Sports and games	34	39	27	39	28	39	28
Consumer leisure	4	3	4	4	3	2	6
Escapist	6	8	5	7	5	5	8
Social leisure	7	5	9	7	7	8	6
No other activities	12	8	18	12	11	15	10
Other activities**	7	14	1	11	5	4	12
NOTES:							
This was a free response question, respondents could give up to two responses.							
The table is based on respondents.							
Valid cases = 314							
* Semi-leisure activities included:			**Examples of other activities:				
Attending educational courses.			Driving a car.				
Informal sector activities.			Looking at girls/boys.				
Craftwork, for example: woodwork, crochet work, drawing and sewing.			Just playing.				
Cultural and religious activities.			Nothing.				

TABLE 16: WHAT YOUNG PEOPLE SAY ABOUT THEIR LEISURE ACTIVITIES:				
TOTAL SAMPLE				
	TOTAL SAMPLE (%)			
	AGREE	DISAGREE	UNCERTAIN	TOTAL
Cannot participate in leisure activities because of the shortage of recreational space.	89	6	5	100
Distance to recreation sites and high transport costs are the main reasons why youth do not participate in leisure activities.	82	11	7	100
Self-employment means no time for leisure.	56	28	16	100
Traditional youth do not participate in the same leisure interests as Westernized youth.	45	33	22	100
Political activities in my area limits the choice of young people's leisure activities.	40	48	12	100
Youth from large families participate in more family oriented leisure activities than activities outside the family unit.	36	50	14	100
Other young people who are jealous of my leisure activities try to prevent me from participating in these activities.	27	57	16	100
Parents decide what leisure activities you can participate in.	26	72	2	100
Bad relations with residents in formal townships prevents shack youth from using recreational facilities in the townships.	19	65	16	100
NOTES:				
N = 330				
Fixed response question.				
Table based on respondents.				

TABLE 17: THINGS YOUNG PEOPLE SAY ABOUT THEIR LEISURE ACTIVITIES:					
COMPARISON OF RANKED MEAN (AVERAGE) SCORES BY AREA					
	MGAGA		AMAWOTI		
	N	MEAN*	N	MEAN*	t value
Cannot participate in leisure activities because of the shortage of recreational space.	173	1.8	157	1.7	0.99
Distance to recreation sites and high transport costs are the main reasons why youth do not participate in leisure activities.	173	2.0	157	1.9	0.43
Self-employment means no time for leisure.	173	2.8	157	2.4	**3.06
Traditional youth do not participate in the same leisure interests as Westernized youth.	173	2.8	157	2.8	0.37
Political activities in my area limits the choice of young people's leisure activities.	173	3.2	157	2.7	***3.29
Youth from large families participate in more family oriented leisure activities than activities outside the family unit.	173	3.3	157	2.9	**3.12
Other young people who are jealous of my leisure activities try to prevent me from participating in these activities.	173	3.3	157	3.4	-0.31
Parents decide what leisure activities you can participate in.	173	3.6	157	3.5	0.44
Bad relations with residents in formal townships prevents shack youth from using recreational facilities in the townships.	173	3.7	157	3.3	**3.01
NOTES:					
N = Number of valid cases for each item					
* Likert type scale					
1 = Strongly agree					
2 = Agree					
3 = Uncertain					
4 = Do not agree					
5 = Strongly disagree					
** Significant P < 0.01 level					
*** Significant P < 0.001 level					

TABLE 17: THINGS YOUNG PEOPLE SAY ABOUT THEIR LEISURE ACTIVITIES: COMPARISON OF RANKED MEAN (AVERAGE) SCORES BY AREA					
	MGAGA		AMAWOTI		
	N	MEAN*	N	MEAN*	t value
Cannot participate in leisure activities because of the shortage of recreational space.	173	1.8	157	1.7	0.99
Distance to recreation sites and high transport costs are the main reasons why youth do not participate in leisure activities.	173	2.0	157	1.9	0.43
Self-employment means no time for leisure.	173	2.8	157	2.4	**3.06
Traditional youth do not participate in the same leisure interests as Westernized youth.	173	2.8	157	2.8	0.37
Political activities in my area limits the choice of young people's leisure activities.	173	3.2	157	2.7	***3.29
Youth from large families participate in more family oriented leisure activities than activities outside the family unit.	173	3.3	157	2.9	**3.12
Other young people who are jealous of my leisure activities try to prevent me from participating in these activities.	173	3.3	157	3.4	-0.31
Parents decide what leisure activities you can participate in.	173	3.6	157	3.5	0.44
Bad relations with residents in formal townships prevents shack youth from using recreational facilities in the townships.	173	3.7	157	3.3	**3.01
NOTES:					
N = Number of valid cases for each item					
* Likert type scale					
1 = Strongly agree					
2 = Agree					
3 = Uncertain					
4 = Do not agree					
5 = Strongly disagree					
** Significant P < 0.01 level					
*** Significant P < 0.001 level					

TABLE 18: LEISURE VENUE NEEDS BY AREA, GENDER AND BY AGE							
"Which of the following amenities would you most like to see developed in your area?"							
VENUE TYPE	TOTAL	AREA		GENDER		AGE	
	%	MGAGA	AMAWOTI	MALE	FEMALE	15 - 19	20 - 24
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
	*N = 327	N = 170	N = 157	N = 171	N = 156	N = 177	N = 150
Sporting amenities	87	92	81	98	74	89	84
A library with a study area	55	51	59	48	62	61	48
A large hall which could be booked by different interest groups	47	41	54	46	49	41	55
A public bar	5	6	4	8	2	5	5
Other**	5	5	6	6	5	6	4
NOTES:							
This was a fixed response question, respondents could choose up to two options.							
Percentages based on number of respondents.							
* Total number of cases							
** Other: Examples included: a cinema, toilets, telephones, schools and colleges, creches.							

Area	Very good	Good	Not good	Very bad	Don't know
London	10	20	30	30	10
North East	10	20	30	30	10
North West	10	20	30	30	10
Yorkshire and the Humber	10	20	30	30	10
West Midlands	10	20	30	30	10
East Midlands	10	20	30	30	10
East of England	10	20	30	30	10
South East	10	20	30	30	10
South West	10	20	30	30	10
Wales	10	20	30	30	10
Scotland	10	20	30	30	10
Northern Ireland	10	20	30	30	10
England and Wales	10	20	30	30	10

"How do youth living in your area feel about the hooligans and gangsters?"

		AGREE		DISAGREE			UNCERTAIN			N*
	Total	Mgaga	Amawoti	Total	Mgaga	Amawoti	Total	Mgaga	Amawoti	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
If there were more jobs in my area, there would not be any hooligans and gangsters.	91	95	88	5	2	8	4	3	5	325
They are bored youth who have lost all meaning in life.	90	91	89	5	4	5	5	5	6	325
They disrupt their leisure activities	55	54	56	29	36	22	15	10	21	327
They comprise such a small part of the population in my area that they are not worth worrying about.	48	54	41	35	30	40	17	16	19	327
Informal political structures have no control over these groups.	39	39	39	48	53	43	13	8	19	326
The numbers of hooligans and gangsters are growing in my area.	38	35	41	49	56	41	14	9	18	327
* N = Number of cases responding to each item.										
Note: This was a fixed response question, respondents had to answer each statement.										

TABLE 20: LEISURE NEEDS AND ITEMS USED TO MEASURE NEEDS: TOTAL SAMPLE					
	Young people participate in leisure activities for the following reasons:				
SCALE	LEISURE NEEDS*	ITEMS COMPRISING NEED SCALE	N	MEAN (Average Score)	STANDARD DEVIATION
1	Personal safety	To keep out of trouble	314	4.4	3.12
2	Improve skills	To improve skills and abilities	312	5.0	3.19
3	Relaxation	To relax and help forget about work	314	5.7	3.47
4	Esteem/social power	To improve position and status	306	5.8	3.24
5	Escape from routine	To help fill the day, especially when unemployed or not attending school	315	6.2	3.44
6	Altruistic needs	To improve the community spirit	306	6.4	3.44
7	Structure and discipline	Prefer discipline involved in regular participation in leisure activities	309	6.5	3.53
8	Interaction	To acquire new friends	305	6.9	3.17
9	Interaction	Because friends also participate	309	6.9	3.15
10	Social power	To achieve fame and recognition	302	7.3	3.66
11	Competition	To prove that they are as good as youth from other areas	300	7.5	3.38
12	Conformity	Only participate in leisure activities which are popular	304	7.5	3.28
NOTES:					
The scale ranges from 1 - 12					
1 = most important need					
12 = least important					
Mean scores are based on the above scale.					
* These have been partially derived from Crandall, 1980 and Kabanoff,1982. The needs represent reasons for choosing leisure activities.					
N = number of valid cases for each item.					

TABLE 21: LEISURE NEEDS: MEAN SCORES BY AREA.

Young people participate in leisure activities for the following reasons:

LEISURE NEEDS	ITEMS COMPRISING NEED SCALE	MGAGA		AMAWOTI		t value
		N	MEAN	N	MEAN	
Stimulation/ personal safety	To keep out of trouble	167	4.2	147	4.7	-1.37
Improve skills	To improve skills and abilities	166	4.7	146	5.3	-1.72
Relaxation	To help to relax and forget about work	166	6.1	148	5.1	**2.51
Esteem/social power (local)	To improve own status and position	164	6.4	142	5.1	**3.49
Escape routine/ boredom	To help fill the day especially when not attending school or when unemployed	167	6.6	148	5.7	*2.25
Altruistic needs	To improve community spirit amongst young people.	165	6.8	141	6.0	1.85
Structure and discipline	Prefer the discipline involved in regular leisure activities	167	6.3	142	6.6	-0.83
Interaction/ conformity	Because friends also participate in these activities	165	6.4	144	7.5	*-2.95
Esteem/social power	To achieve fame and recognition	164	7.5	138	7.1	0.93
Interaction	To acquire new friends	165	6.5	140	7.4	*-2.47
Conformity	Only participate in those leisure activities which are popular	166	7.8	138	7.2	1.66
Competition/ self worth	To prove that they are as good as youth from other areas	163	8.0	137	7.0	*2.45
NOTES:						
The scale ranges from 1 - 12						
1 = most important need						
12 = least important need						
N = Number of valid cases for each item						
Means = average scores for each item and are based on the scale above						
* = significant P < 0.05 level						
** = significant P < 0.001 level						