School's out: Adolescent 'leisure time' activities, influences and consequences

Lillian M. Fawcett

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School’s Out: Adolescent ‘Leisure Time’ Activities, Influences and Consequences

Lillian M. Fawcett

A report submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy (Psychology), Faculty of Computing, Health and Science, Edith Cowan University.

Supervisor: Professor Alison Garton
Ass. Supervisor: Dr Justine Dandy
Submitted: February, 2007
USE OF THESIS

The Use of Thesis statement is not included in this version of the thesis.
The current study investigated the out-of-school activities in which adolescents participate categorised in terms of structure, type (creative, physical, passive) and level of interaction (individual, group), the developmental, psychological and social consequences of such involvement, and the factors influencing participation. Questionnaires completed by 1280, 12 to 17 year old Western Australian metropolitan, high-school students provided information on adolescents’ out-of-school time use, their perceptions of parental values and behaviours, friends’ behaviours and relationships and their own behaviours and beliefs. A model, based on the research literature, indicated that parent support and intrinsic motivation were the two factors contributing most to adolescent participation in structured ‘leisure’ activities. There was some support for the hypothesis that involvement in structured ‘leisure’ activities would be associated with higher levels of self-worth and life satisfaction, less boredom and less frequent engagement in risk behaviours. However, it was found that parent strictness and connectedness (as perceived by the adolescents) were the largest contributors to these outcomes. The findings provided support for the ‘positive psychology movement’ and suggest that the majority of this group of adolescents are living effectively in the demanding and changing environment of today’s society. In addition, this study endorses the continued influence of parents as per Individuation and Relatedness theory in which it is argued that individuals’ transition through adolescence is optimised if they remain connected to parents while concurrently developing their autonomy. Although peers are important in adolescents’ lives, peer relationships appear to be derived from characteristics of the parent-child relationship and the community should be careful not to over-estimate peer influence. Recommendations for supporting adolescent involvement in structured ‘leisure’ activities are discussed.
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Acknowledgements

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Adolescent use of out-of-school time, and the consequences of participating in different types of activities, is of growing interest and concern to parents, teachers, human service professionals, the government and even adolescents themselves. Data collected by various government departments indicate that adolescent involvement in criminal activities, illegal drug use and alcohol consumption increases through adolescence, peaking at around the 17 to 20 year age group (Drug and Alcohol Office, 2004; Fernandez & Loh, 2003). An increasing body of research (see Mahoney, Larson, & Eccles, 2005) indicates that adolescent involvement in particular out-of-school activities has important developmental consequences.

Hendry (1983) hypothesised that if individuals do not meet their social and individual developmental requirements, due to either external (accessibility and influence of others) or internal (self-motivation, interest) constraints, then progress through adolescence may be unsatisfactory and psychologically unhealthy. It is suggested that the type of activities in which adolescents participate outside school play an important role in helping to meet these requirements. Involvement in structured out-of-school activities may provide adolescents with a range of development enhancing opportunities that are not necessarily available in the more constrained domain of education. Conversely, some types of unstructured out-of-school activities may predict adolescent adjustment difficulties and negative outcomes.

Adolescence is a time of transition from childhood to adulthood, involving biological, cognitive/psychological and social changes. Recent theory (e.g., Beyers, Goossens, Vansant, & Moors, 2003; Grotevant & Cooper, 1998) suggests that obtaining a balance between increasing autonomy, whilst remaining connected to parents, is integral to this transition. In opposition to popular belief, it is theorised that continued
connectedness to parents throughout adolescence fosters autonomy, self-competence and positive peer relationships. In addition, ‘connected’ parents remain active and influential agents in adolescents’ lives generally and more specifically in adolescent use of out-of-school time.

The majority of research into adolescent out-of-school behaviours focuses on leisure activities. However, problems arise in conceptualising leisure and there are inconsistencies between and within studies with regard to how these activities are categorised. Adolescent leisure is often defined in terms of sport or other structured extracurricular activities. However, ‘leisure’ activities for adolescents may also encompass part-time employment and a range of unstructured and/or potentially negative activities (drug-taking, vandalism, ‘hanging out’). A wider perspective that encompasses all adolescent out-of-school activities and allows adolescents to make the decision on how the activities are categorised in terms of structure, type of activity (social, physical, creative, passive) and level of interaction (individual, group) may provide a better understanding of adolescents’ time use outside school and the associated developmental consequences.

Hendry (1983) postulated that adolescent involvement in structured out-of-school activities improves life-satisfaction and well-being (physically, psychologically and socially), contributes positively to development and smoothes the path to adulthood. Research has linked participation in structured leisure activities to high levels of desirable behaviours and low levels of undesirable behaviours (Harrison & Narayan, 2003). Possibly such activities provide a protective context in terms of involvement in risk behaviours, while encouraging a context endorsing a range of positive behaviours (e.g., Eccles, Barber, Stone, & Hunt, 2003).

Whilst research has linked adolescent involvement in structured out-of-school activities with a range of positive outcomes, relatively little attention has focused on the
factors predicting participation. Researchers need to explore the extent to which participation (and non-participation) in these types of activities is influenced by parental behaviours (including parenting style, support, expectations, values), adolescent-parent relationships, peer pressure and relationships, societal belief systems and a range of personal factors (motivation, self-concept, availability of resources).

It is also important to note that the vast majority of studies in the area of adolescent leisure have been conducted in the United States. These findings may not be directly applicable to other parts of the world, and Western Australia in particular. It is likely that unique cultural and environmental features shape adolescent behaviour in distinctive ways.

The purpose of the current research was to ascertain how Western Australian adolescents use their out-of-school time and to determine whether participation in particular types of activities (in particular, structured versus unstructured activities) impacts on their social and psychological development. In addition, this study aimed to explore the factors predicting participation (and non-participation) in particular types of activities and the influence of parental behaviours (including parenting style, support, expectations, values), adolescent-parent connectedness, peer pressure and relationships, societal belief systems and a range of “personal” factors (motivation, self-concept, availability of resources) on participation. Clarifying the determinants and identifying some of the benefits of adolescent participation in particular types of out-of-school activities, would provide a useful framework for developing youth policies and encouraging involvement in beneficial activities.

Adolescence: Balancing Connectedness and Autonomy

Adolescence is most commonly conceptualised as a period of transition from childhood to adulthood, involving biological, social and psychological changes. It commences with puberty at around age 11 and is associated with rapid physical growth
and sexual maturity (Chumlea et al., 2003). During this period the individual simultaneously moves from a state of dependency on adults for nurturing, support and protection to the establishment of self as an independent and contributing member of society.

The multitude and complexity of issues involved in this transition suggest that it is not a linear process from dependence to independence. The transition occurs in numerous domains (biological, social, psychological) and is seemingly affected by a range of factors, both external and internal to the individual. Consequently, the transition within each domain may occur at different speeds and difficulty in one domain is likely to impact on other domains (Hiebert & Thomlison, 1996). Thus, although the experience of adolescence may contain elements of similarity across all youth, it is presumably unique for each individual.

Coleman and Hendry (2000) suggested that adolescents need to make sense of their social world and find a comfortable place within it. On one hand it is important to conform to role expectations in a variety of social settings, following the prescribed rules, in order to remain connected to family and society. Yet it is equally important to differentiate self from others and develop autonomy of independence through a process of separation and self-assertion.

Recent research and theory (Beyers et al., 2003; Grotevant & Cooper, 1998; Shan & Blatt, 1994) suggest that the establishment of self as an independent and contributing member of society requires the development of both autonomy (or individuation) and connectedness (or interpersonal relatedness). Connectedness refers to the bonds between an individual and another person, group or institution. It requires conforming to role expectations in a variety of social settings, obeying the prescribed rules and is characterised by mutual trust, dependency and reciprocity. Autonomy refers to an individual’s sense of self and perception of separation (both physically and
emotionally) from others. Shan and Blatt argue that these two dimensions develop in a transactional, interrelated and dialectic manner. Therefore, the development of a mature sense of individuality and autonomy is contingent on effective interpersonal relationships and connectedness. Equally, the development of mature interpersonal relationships is contingent on increasing levels of individuation, autonomy and independence.

Research on attachment by Bowlby (1969) highlights humans’ intense and basic need to form bonds with others. A child’s strong attachment with a primary caregiver promotes a sense of psychological security. Bowlby argues that a secure child is free to explore and learn. However, as an individual develops, the bonds established in infancy with the primary caregiver widen to include multiple connections with others in society. The importance of social connectedness is illustrated in studies on loneliness (Blatt, Cornell, & Eshkol, 1993; Wildermuth, 1990), and the value of social support in increasing ego resilience and alleviating psychological distress (Rook, 1987).

Just as infants need a strong sense of attachment in order to develop, adolescents’ transition to individuation and autonomy may also occur more smoothly if they remain secure in their connection to family and concurrently develop bonds with others in the wider community. Not only do patterns of contact with others in society embed each person into a community providing them with support and a sense of belonging, it also confirms an individual’s identity and self worth. Lavoie (1994) believes that identity development is context specific and affected by everyday activities and interactions with others. Thus as adolescents engage in a variety of activities they are able to explore the options and alternatives of different identities as they make the transition, from low identity and confusion, to a coherent sense of self as an independent person.
Although Steinberg and Silverberg (1986) found a steady increase in all aspects of autonomy between the ages of 10 and 14, actual physical separation from families does not usually occur until late adolescence or early adulthood. For most adolescents autonomy of independence is eventually attained within the context of continued connectedness with their family (Grotevant & Cooper, 1998). In fact, Freeman and Newland (2002) argue that close parent-adolescent relationships may actually foster autonomy and individuation. Support for this thesis is provided by Lamborn and Steinberg’s (1993) research in which emotionally autonomous adolescents without parent support show negative adjustment and competency, while those with both emotional autonomy and parent support were best adjusted. Thus, rather than being a process of separation, achievement of autonomy involves the renegotiation of family relationships with the aim of obtaining greater equality and independence. This is frequently matched by an increase in disagreements and arguments (Allison & Schultz, 2004) as adolescents strive for autonomy. Consequently, the primary issue for parents and adolescents is finding a balance between levels of independence and connectedness (Montemayor & Flannery, 1991).

It is suggested that adolescence may be characterised, in social psychological terms, as a period when individuals engage in two processes: the gradual achievement of a personal identity along with increased autonomy; and the renegotiation of family bonds from one of dependence to one of equality and independence, while concurrently developing and strengthening connections with a network of other people, groups and institutions in the wider community. Therefore from this perspective, individuals’ transition through adolescence would occur more smoothly if they remain secure in their connection to family and concurrently develop connections to others in the wider community. Theoretically, the leisure context provides opportunities for this to occur.
Defining Leisure

The study of leisure is justified through the notion that participation in leisure activities promotes greater life satisfaction and well-being. Leisure is perceived primarily as a positive force that enhances the lives of individuals and society as a whole (see J. R. Kelly & Godbey, 1992). Life satisfaction and well-being are generally conceptualised and assessed in terms of happiness, satisfaction, morale, quality of life, self-esteem, and mental and physical health. Although there appears to be no consensual definition of leisure in the research literature, one or more of the following elements are commonly included: leisure as time, leisure as an activity, leisure as a state of mind, and/or leisure as a quality of action or experience. Thus leisure is operationalised either objectively as an external behaviour that can be defined and measured, or subjectively according to the individual’s internal psychological state.

A common approach in early research was to regard leisure as the unobligated or discretionary time which remained after subsistence, maintenance, rest and other necessities of life were subtracted (see Kraus, 2001; A. J. Veal & Lynch, 2001). However, there are problems with defining leisure as ‘time left over’, including the blurring of boundaries between work and leisure, distinguishing between maintenance and leisure, the destandardisation of work hours, the large amounts of unobligated time experienced by the unemployed and the multi-dimensional roles of women (see Roberts, 1999). In addition, this approach is limited by the fact that very little time is completely free of obligations or compulsions (Kraus, 2001). Work commitments often spill into ‘non-work’ hours and participation in many leisure organisations is bound by a system of routines, schedules and obligations to others.

Leisure researchers have also documented and classified the activities people engage in during their free time (Kraus, 2001). Yet defining leisure as an activity distinct from other life domains is also problematic. Is training every day in an elite
gymnastic squad, leisure? Stebbins (1992, 1997) attempted to address the problem by distinguishing between causal (or relaxing) leisure and serious leisure requiring perseverance, strong membership or identification with an activity and personal effort in the development of specific skills or knowledge. Similarly, Kleiber, Larson and Csikszentmihalyi (1986) proposed two categories of adolescent leisure: transitional leisure, which has some developmental benefit and demands some effort; and relaxed leisure. Yet, serious or transitional leisure is not what the majority of people do most of the time (J. R. Kelly & Freysinger, 2000).

Leisure has also been defined by attitude or the state of the mind: an activity primarily chosen for its own sake (J. R. Kelly & Freysinger, 2000). Neulinger (1981) identified three attitudinal dimensions: perceived freedom, intrinsic-extrinsic motivation and affect (final or instrumental) goals. External conditions are said to be irrelevant and thus theoretically, leisure can occur at any time, in any place so long as it produces a feeling of pleasure or enjoyment. The use of drugs, ‘hanging out’ or gambling in the school playground may all equally fit this criterion of leisure. Alternatively, participation in a leisure activity may not result in leisure if the individual’s attitude or mind set is essentially negative.

Leisure defined as a quality of action or experience asserts that leisure activities have self-contained meanings (J. R. Kelly & Freysinger, 2000). It involves freely choosing (despite limits and constraints) to participate in a ‘playful’ solitary or group activity, which may be mentally, imaginatively and/or physically stimulating. Kelly’s (1987) levels of interaction/action intensity model and Csikszentmihalyi’s (1990) concept of ‘flow’ fit this definition. Yet ‘flow’ can occur in a wide variety of activities and settings (Csikszentmihalyi & LeFevre, 1989), and activities occurring in other domains can be described by level of intensity. Thus defining leisure as a quality of
action may fail to account for the intertwining of, and reciprocity between, leisure and other domains such as work, family and education (J. R. Kelly & Kelly, 1994).

**Limits of Studying Leisure as a Theoretical Concept**

The difficulty of defining leisure, and distinguishing it from other aspects of a person’s life, have recently led some academics to question whether leisure is so special after all (J. R. Kelly & Kelly, 1994). It appears that most of the meanings found in leisure are also found in other domains of life. Research by Kabanoff and O’Brien (1986) suggested that similar attributes determine both work and leisure satisfaction. Discretion, spontaneity, creativity and involvement, said to characterise leisure, can be found in other domains (J. R. Kelly & Kelly, 1994). Similarly, people are more likely to experience ‘flow’ at work than in leisure (Csikszentmihalyi & LeFevre, 1989). This implies that leisure is not an isolated domain with exclusive functions and meanings.

The categorising of any particular activity as leisure is likely to differ by culture, subculture, gender, age and personality. Activities that constitute leisure for a researcher may be different to those of the individual being studied, especially if they are from a different group. In addition, the same individual may view an activity to be leisure on one day, or in one context, but not on other occasions (e.g., Shaw, 1984). A person may begin a leisure activity with pleasure and personal satisfaction, then gradually lose interest but continue participating through a sense of obligation. Alternatively, an activity undertaken for altruistic motives (for example volunteering time and services) may subsequently become a source of enjoyment and satisfaction.

Finally, in every day usage leisure (if the term is used) is conceived of only in terms of self-gratifying pleasure, idleness, lack of commitment and freedom (S. Parker & Paddick, 1993). Most people (Shaw, 1985), including adolescents (Kleiber, Caldwell, & Shaw, 1993), characterise leisure as relaxation and freedom from evaluation in terms of both time and choice. Consequently, many people will claim to
have very little or no leisure, even though they may participate in a variety of activities defined by researchers as leisure (A. J. Veal & Lynch, 2001). In addition, ‘freedom’ is relative, not absolute. Everyone, to varying degrees, is subject to restrictions from nature (climate, physiology, gravity), economic resources, personal inhibitions, and religious, political and cultural factors.

Arguably, if researchers and the individuals they are studying have different understandings of leisure, it calls into question the validity and generalisability of the data collected and the conclusions drawn. For example, many researchers have made the assumption that adolescents have large amounts of leisure time (Bartko & Eccles, 2003; Hendry, Shucksmith, Love, & Glendinning, 1993). In a Queensland study, Gordon and Caltabiano (1996) reported that adolescents spent on average 54.7 hours per week (32% of their time) on out-of-school ‘leisure’ activities. Yet, when questioned, adolescents define leisure as a condition of easy, unstructured, relaxed enjoyment, often spent socialising with friends, with little emphasis on action or challenge seeking (Kleiber et al., 1993; McMeeking & Purkayastha, 1995). Using this definition of leisure the adolescent in Gordon and Caltabiano’s study spent only 29.9 hours per week (16.4% of their time) in leisure. It could be that many out-of-school ‘leisure’ activities in which adolescents participate are not truly discretionary, enjoyable or intrinsically motivated, but rather are influenced by a variety of extrinsic forces, which makes them, according to many traditional definitions, not leisure.

An Alternative View

Given the difficulty of defining leisure and separating it from other domains of life, it may be more beneficial to investigate factors facilitating optimum lifestyle. Artificially segregating domains and defining them in monothematic ways fails to account for the multiple meanings and integration of activities, shifting availability of resources, and multidirectional flow of influences (J. R. Kelly & Kelly, 1994). Does it,
for example, change the benefits of participating in a particular type of activity, if the activity is construed as ‘work’ instead of ‘leisure’? Rather than categorising activities as leisure or not, it may be more useful to identify and consider dimensions that are fundamental to well-being.

Kelly and Freysinger (2000) proposed four central life dimensions: productivity (in the sense of doing something of worth to others); bonding (to others in real communities); learning (through the development of self and abilities); and expression (through experience-centred activities). Pierce (1980) suggested that the dimensions of intimacy, relaxation, achievement and power were particularly significant for life satisfaction. In a similar vein, Edginton, Jordan, DeGraaf and Edginton (1995) advocated that an optimal lifestyle requires the integration and balance of physical, mental, emotional, intellectual, social and spiritual aspects. Underpinning these ideas is the concept of balance, not only through leisure but in all of life. This balance may vary from person to person and over each individual’s life course. ‘Balance’ also presupposes elements of both, engagement and disengagement, activity and relaxation, social and solitary activity. Arguably, these fundamental dimensions can be satisfied through different combinations and types of activities, of which leisure activities are but one avenue.

For the purposes of this current study, adolescent out-of-school behaviour was investigated under the following broad categories: structured, adult-organised activities versus unstructured activities; solitary versus group activities; and social, physical, passive or creative activities. Adolescents chose for themselves the categories which best suited their understanding of their participation in a particular activity. Such a process is better able to account for the multiple meanings of activities and helps alleviate, for example, such inaccuracies as clustering adolescents involved in dance or callisthenics with inactive adolescents, simply because a researcher does not classify
Outcomes Associated with Participation in Out-of-School Activities

Adolescents participate in a wide variety of out-of-school activities, ranging from: solitary, passive activities such as watching television, playing on the computer and hobbies; to unstructured group activities such as ‘hanging out with friends’ and shopping; and highly structured activities such as sport and dance; through to family activities, chores, homework, volunteering and paid employment (Garton, Harvey, & Price, 2004; Gordon & Caltabiano, 1996). Some activities (for example, sport competitions) receive financial and community support, while others (such as graffiti art) are condemned by society (Mahoney & Stattin, 2000). Adolescent participation in these different types of activities has been linked to a range of physical and psychological consequences. In addition, longitudinal studies suggest the activity choices adolescents make may have lifelong implications (Mahoney, Cairns, & Farmer, 2003; Raymore, Barber, & Eccles, 2001; Zaff, Moore, Papille, & Williams, 2003)

Structured Activities

Adopting Larson and Verma’s (1999) definition, structured (as opposed to unstructured) activities are freely chosen, physically or mentally stimulating to the individual and contain some structural parameters (sport clubs, bands, drama groups). In addition, such activities are usually adult organised and directed, require a level of on-going commitment, include regular participation schedules and expectations regarding participation, emphasise skill development that is continually increasing in complexity and challenge, involve active performance requiring sustained attention and provide clear feedback on performance (Mahoney & Stattin, 2000).
Adolescent participation in structured out-of-school activities is often associated with positive behavioural outcomes implying that such activities directly shape adolescents’ development. For example, researchers have found positive associations between participation in structured activities and academic achievement (Bartko & Eccles, 2003), high school completion (Mahoney & Cairns, 1997), self-concept (Eccles & Barber, 1999), educational aspirations (Guest & Schneider, 2003), and social adjustment (Harrison & Narayan, 2003), and a negative correlation with tobacco use (Melnick, Miller, Sabo, Farrell, & Barnes, 2001), and alcohol consumption (Eccles et al., 2003). Further, longitudinal studies document positive associations with adult outcomes such as income, occupational status (Eccles et al., 2003; Hong, Milgram, & Whiston, 1993), continued sport engagement (Raymore, Barber, Eccles, & Godbey, 1999) and psychosocial adjustment (Iwasaki & Smale, 1998).

It is argued that structured activities provide adolescents opportunities to acquire and practise a range of social, physical and intellectual skills, develop a sense of agency as a member of one’s community, belong to a socially recognised and valued group, establish supportive networks of peers and adults, and experience and deal with challenges (Eccles et al., 2003). Interestingly, these features fulfil Kelly and Freysinger’s (2000) four central life dimensions discussed earlier. In addition, these benefits are enhanced by the presence of supportive adults, non-deviant peers, specific activity goals and clear structural parameters. This provides adolescents the opportunity to improve social and skill competencies and teach self control, promoting positive adjustment and providing a protective context against involvement in risk behaviours (Eccles et al., 2003; Mahoney & Stattin, 2000; Rice & Dolgin, 2002).
Adjustment and well-being.

Ragheb (1993) conceptualised overall well-being as comprising five main components: physical, mental, emotional, social and spiritual. Evidence is accumulating that adolescent out-of-school behaviours influence well-being and adjustment to life.

It is often postulated that increased participation in sport or physical exercise not only improves physical and mental health but also leads to increased life satisfaction. The health benefits of exercise include improvements in metabolism, reduction in sports related injuries (Sothern, Loftin, Susking, Udall, & Blecker, 1999), enhanced immune system (Nieman & Pedersen, 1999), increased serotonin levels (the chief ingredient in antidepressants), improved performance on mental tasks (Nash, 1996), and reduced anxiety (Berger & Motl, 2000), stress (Haugland, Wold, & Torsheim, 2003; Kimball & Freysinger, 2003) and depression (Field, Diego, & Sanders, 2001). In addition, adolescents participating in sport have a better relationship with their parents (including greater intimacy and more frequent touching), less drug use, higher grade point averages (Field et al., 2001), a healthier self-image and lower emotional distress (Harrison & Narayan, 2003).

These benefits are often attributed to the physical exercise underlying many of these activities. Yet, leisure is more than physical activity and physical activity takes place under a variety of conditions. It is possible that some of the benefits arise as a result of factors intrinsic to structured activities (as opposed to the activity itself) such as expectations regarding participation and on-going commitment, the need to collaborate with others, skill development and performance feedback. Some support for this is provided by Boyd and Hrycaiko’s (1997) experimental study in which the implementation of a physical activity intervention programme had no effect on the adolescents’ physical self-concept or global self-esteem. In addition, Caltabiano (cited
in D. Coleman, 1993) reported that adult participation in cultural and social activities is beneficial in reducing the impact of stress. Together, these two studies suggest that it is not physical activity that is beneficial per se but rather the commitment to a group activity.

Focusing exclusively on one dimension ignores the multi-dimensional nature of adolescents’ out-of-school behaviour as well as the interlinking processes that often operate when participating in activities. To illustrate, single dimension research is unable to take account of other potentially beneficial factors (outside those associated with physical exercise) that often accompany structured team sport involvement, such as social support, purpose and sense of belonging. Further research is required to establish the types of adolescent activities, as well as the factors within and between activities, that promote well-being. Consequently, a range of structured activities (and not just sport) may contribute to healthy outcomes.

Iso-Ahola and Crowley (1991) suggested that involvement in structured leisure activities acted as a deterrent to participation in anti-social activities by ‘filling’ free time, alleviating boredom and helping adolescents feel good about themselves. Furthermore, in structured programmes acceptable behaviours are usually clearly presented, and consistent positive reinforcement is provided for pro-social behaviour (e.g., Tremlow & Saccok, 1998). Adolescents who tend to conform to societal norms have less psychological distress, more well-being, and greater support from friends and family than those who rebel against accepted rules (Canetti, Bachar, Galili-Weisstub, De-Nour, & Shalev, 1997). Thus it could be concluded that involvement in structured out-of-school activities encourages conformity and hence better adjustment and health.

Participation in structured extracurricular activities has been associated with increased school satisfaction (Gilman, 2001), high academic performance (Bartko & Eccles, 2003) and lower school ‘drop-out’ rates (Mahoney, 2001; Mahoney & Cairns,
Structured activities may facilitate academic achievement and school satisfaction by enhancing adolescents’ identification with their school and school values, increasing their investment in education and promoting better academic attitudes and habits. However, the positive influence of extracurricular activities may become detrimental if identification with the activity displaces the broader school identity or the time invested in the activity imposes on homework commitments (Cooper, Valentine, Nye, & Lindsay, 1999).

Pro-social activity participation (defined as church attendance and/or involvement in volunteer and community service activities) predicts higher self-esteem (B. L. Barber, Eccles, & Stone, 2001). Conversely, anti-social activities with peers and little involvement in the community, family or neighbourhood correlate negatively with self-esteem and positively with stress, depression and avoidant coping strategies, such as drug consumption (Dumont & Provost, 1999; Raymore, Godbey, & Crawford, 1994). Maybe the discipline, self-direction and sense of competence that comes from participating, and achieving, in structured activities enhances self-esteem as adolescents build on existing skills and interests and are provided with opportunities to feel successful (see Mahoney & Stattin, 2000). In addition, the challenge, effort and concentration required in structured activities may provide a beneficial transitional pathway into adult work (Kleiber et al., 1986).

As most of the research in this area is correlational, it is difficult to ascertain whether well adjusted adolescents choose to be involved in structured after-school activities or whether participation in these activities improves adjustment and well-being. However, it is highly likely that the process is reciprocal in nature with each contributing to the other. Thus adolescents who rate themselves higher in social interest indeed report significantly overall higher life satisfaction than adolescents who report less pro-social dispositions (Gilman, 2001). Nevertheless, more recent research
indicates that introducing structured extracurricular activities into the lives of adolescents with high risk profiles leads to a reduction in antisocial outcomes later in life (e.g., Eccles et al., 2003; Mahoney, 2001)

_Sense of belonging._

Social identity theory (Tajfel, 1978) suggests that the construction of group membership is important for finding a place in society, defining a sense of self and giving meaning to everyday existence. The social experience of belonging to a group results in four linked concepts: social categorisation, social identity, social comparison and psychological group distinctiveness. The value of belonging to a group is the provision of a social identity which provides the basis for both validating and influencing the individual’s own values, attitudes and behaviours. Simultaneously, it provides social comparison with other groups and individuals by distinguishing differences between the groups and accenting similarities within the group. Group identification seems prevalent amongst adolescents as shown by studies in which adolescents readily group and label peers according to particular characteristics, such as ‘squares’ for those who are studious, ‘gothics’ for those who are anti-authoritarian, and so on (Denholm, Horniblow, & Smalley, 1992; Palmonari, Pombeni, & Kirchler, 1990).

Adolescent participation in structured out-of-school activities increases their access to the benefits of human, social and cultural capital (Eccles et al., 2003; McNeal Jnr, 1999). Social capital is one’s network of relationships and the values inherent in these relationships, and is seen as an important resource for promoting quality of life. Hirschi (cited in May, Vartanian, & Virgo, 2002) stated that strong connections to society and social institutions act as a deterrent to negative behaviours and increase levels of consciousness and morality. This is supported by Eccles, Barber, Stone and Hunt’s (2003) finding that adolescents involved in pro-social activities had fewer friends who used alcohol and drugs or truanted from school and more friends who were
succeeding at school and planning to attend college. According to Hirschi there are four elements of the connection: attachment, commitment, involvement and belief. A sense of connection is established through feedback and confirms an individual’s sense of belonging to and acceptance within society (Hawkins cited in Robertson, 1999).

Adolescents who develop strong connectedness to significant others and society feel better about themselves in a variety of areas of functioning (O'Koon, 1997). For example, Resnick, Harris and Blum (1993) in a survey of over 30,000 adolescents demonstrated that belonging to a ‘community of others’ was the strongest protective factor against both quietly disturbed behaviour, high levels of emotional stress, and acting out behaviours (such as drug use, school absenteeism or unprotected sex). In addition, participation in structured activities during adolescence establishes behavioural patterns and commitment to involvement in community, religious and political organisations during adulthood (Glanville, 1999; Schmidt & Padilla, 2003).

The social context of structured out-of-school activities involves guidance from adults who share a similar interest. The formation of relationships with these adults provides adolescents with valuable connections to the wider society, a source of emotional support, help in gaining access to jobs and the ability to navigate the adult world (see Dworkin, Larson, & Hansen, 2003). In fact, research indicates that adolescents involved in structured out-of-school activities have significantly greater access to teachers, counsellors, coaches and other adult leaders than other students (Eccles et al., 2003). Tremlow and Saccok (1998) argued that the philosophy of instructors is a key element. Adolescents need to respect instructors for a positive affiliation and sense of connectedness to develop. The important role of adult leaders is illustrated in Hultsman’s (1993) study in which 40% of the adolescents who had ceased participation in an organised activity attributed their decision to their relationship with the activity leader.
Frequently, participation in organised leisure activities results in a differentiated network of peer relationships consisting of classmates, other adolescents from the local neighbourhood and friends from leisure institutions (Zeijl, te Poel, du Bois-Reymond, Ravesloot, & Meulman, 2000). Over half the participants in Patrick et al.’s (1999) study of adolescents talented in sports or the arts reported making new friends, some from different grades, as a result of participating in their talent development activity. In addition, adolescents who participate in structured activities (compared to those who don’t) report the greatest number of peer relationships (Mahoney & Stattin, 2000). Involvement in structured activities provides a group of adolescents with shared experiences and goals they can discuss, effectively generating and reinforcing social networks. This contributes to their need for social relatedness and contributes to their identity as important, valued members of the community (Eccles et al., 2003).

Unlike informal peer groups, structured activities bring adolescents together who may not otherwise have developed a relationship (Dworkin et al., 2003; O'Koon, 1997; Roberts, 1997), providing opportunities to meet and learn about peers from different ethnic, racial and social class groups, and increasing empathy, loyalty and tolerance (Dworkin et al., 2003). For adolescents with marginal or low competence, participating in structured activities provides an opportunity to form relationships with more competent, non-deviant peers (Mahoney & Stattin, 2000).

Some adolescents have difficulty establishing meaningful relationships and peer networks, resulting in loneliness (Hoza, Bukowski, & Beery, 2000). These adolescents describe themselves as rejected, alienated and isolated. However, group participation has been shown to alleviate loneliness (Shaver & Buhrmester cited in O'Koon, 1997). It is argued that contributing members of a group can receive conditional positive regard and consequently obtain some degree of psychological intimacy. Thus structured out-of-school activities may provide a social context for lonely adolescents to develop a
network of relationships. To some extent this idea is supported by Chalip, Thomas and Voyle’s (cited in D. Coleman & Iso-Ahola, 1993) research. They reported that recently arrived migrant workers who became involved in sport and recreation developed larger networks of friends, received more social support and were more likely to socialise with other people. For isolated or lonely adolescents, engaging in regular social contact in a structured leisure environment may increase their likelihood of making friends and developing closer friendships. At the very least it may provide them with the perception of social support.

Skill development.

Structured activities provide adolescents the opportunity to acquire and practise a range of life skills, including learning to cooperate and work as a team, communicate effectively, regulate emotions and set and take responsibility for achieving goals, developing leadership skills, improving social competencies and time management, and acquiring strategies to manage stress (Dworkin et al., 2003). Larson (2000) argued that structured activities provide the context for developing initiative (important in adult life) as adolescents learn how to make plans, overcome obstacles and achieved desired ends. In Dwokin et al.’s study, youth discussed ‘trying harder’, ‘being disciplined’, and ‘staying focused’ in order to achieve their self determined leisure goals.

The ability to work with others is the basic principle for cohesion in the family, community and nation (Cassel, Chow, Demoulin, & Reiger, 2000). Similarly, the success of many structured activities (sporting teams, bands, drama productions, choirs) depends largely on the degree each member properly executes expected, clearly defined roles, in co-operation with other group members. In these activities each person is important and the process of achieving a common goal requires adolescents to work collaboratively, divide responsibility, respect each other and give and receive feedback. Even though everyone has a certain level of responsibility, adolescents recognise that
those in leadership positions carry greater responsibility (Dworkin et al., 2003). Adolescent leaders learn to delegate, take others into account when making decisions and ask for assistance. In Dobosz and Beaty’s (1999) study high school athletes outscored their non-athletic peers on a leadership ability measure.

In order to devote effort to their out-of-school activities, adolescents in Dworkin et al.’s (2003) study reported learning to manage their time. Many of them were extremely busy with school work, multiple out-of-school activities, family obligations and sometimes a job. As a result they learned to set priorities to ensure homework was completed, even if this required saying ‘no’ to social opportunities. This is consistent with Willits and Willits’ (1986) study in which the more adolescents were involved in obligatory activities, the more they participated in them. These authors suggested that commitment to a range of different activities makes adolescents more informed of available opportunities, increases social contact, expands interest areas and leads to more efficient time use. Thus commitment to activities leads to involvement in more activities.

Fredickson (2001) theorised that positive emotions can serve to ‘broaden and build’ personal resources. Many adolescents in Dworkin et al.’s (2003) study described learning to control anxiety, anger or fear and preventing emotions from interfering with attention and performance in their organised leisure activity. Along similar lines, these adolescents also described acquiring strategies for managing stress. Kimball and Freysinger (2003) in their study on collegiate student athletes reported a similar finding.

Arguably, adolescent involvement in structured out-of-school activities provides opportunities to acquire a range of skills relevant to successful participation in the workforce. For example, adolescents in Dworkin et al.’s (2003) study mentioned that as a result of participating in structured activities they learned how to communicate and listen effectively, skills integral to many careers. Similarly, adolescents in Patrick et
School’s Out

al.’s (1999) study reported gaining social skills and confidence in relating to peers and adults through their involvement in their talent development activity. These adolescents clearly recognised that they were agents of their own learning and actively contributed to the development of their own and the team’s skills.

**Self-concept and identity development.**

The development of a coherent and distinctive self-concept or identity is perceived as one of the major ‘tasks’ of adolescence (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1993). Self-concepts are acquired through interaction with significant others and it is argued that during adolescence the individual’s self-concept both changes and consolidates. The clothing adolescents choose to wear, their musical preferences and the activities in which they are involved all make a symbolic statement reflecting not only with whom they identify, but also their own identity and self-concept. Leisure activities in particular can provide a sense of identity through: distinctive clothes, badges or other visual aspects; specific roles, which in turn confer a particular status; and specific skills and competencies (Argyle, 1996). Some forms of leisure become so totally consuming that they become a way of life with their own rules, beliefs, rituals, social world and calendar of events (many ‘gangs’ would fit this criteria). In addition, the leisure context assists in self-concept development by providing adolescents opportunities for self-reflection (Hansen, Larson, & Dworkin, 2003), experimenting with roles, acquiring new skills, and obtaining feedback regarding their behaviour and experiences (Shaw, Kleiber, & Caldwell, 1995; Valentine, Cooper, Bettencourt, & DuBois, 2002).

Dworkin et al. (2003) suggested that participation in constructive activities enabled the adolescents in their study to try new things and in the process discover how these fitted with their developing self-concept. Through trial and error, these adolescents gained self-knowledge, learning from their mistakes and identifying their threshold in different situations. Consistent with this concept is Shaw, Kleiber and
Caldwell’s (1995) finding that adolescent sport participation (especially for females) was related to identity development, independent of any influence of self-esteem and even when sport participation was not considered to be a central part of their self-concept. The authors concluded that sport provides a challenging and involving leisure-time activity that confronts restrictive gender-based prescriptions about appropriate behaviour for women, but tended to reinforce traditional male gender roles. Thus it is claimed that sport functioned to expand female, and narrow male, adolescent possibilities for exploration of alternative identities. It would be interesting to determine if the reverse held true for male participation in ‘traditional’ female activities such as modelling or ballet.

Eccles and Barber (1999) found that adolescent identity is often associated with specific types of extracurricular participation. In fact, when asked to describe their personal strengths, adolescents often mention their involvement in a specific structured out-of-school activities (Williams & McGee, 1991). Israeli students rated leisure, especially ‘serious leisure’ such as politics, voluntary work, theatre music, team sports and religion, as important sources of identity (Shamir, 1992). The effect on identity was perceived to be greater if there was social commitment, investment of time and money, effort and skill were required and when it was enjoyed. Similarly, adolescents involved in sport in tenth grade who continued into twelfth grade started higher and increased their sports ability self-concepts, while those who discontinued started lower and declined in this self-concept (Eccles et al., 2003). These findings suggest that involvement in organised activities provides a mechanism for validating identity and self-concept.

Problems arise when there is a mismatch between identity and activity. Eccles et al. (2003) found that adolescents who placed a high value on sport in tenth grade, but were no longer involved in sport in twelfth grade, suffered the most dramatic decline in
attachment to school and the highest levels of depressed mood. Adolescents who did not identify themselves with sport in tenth grade, but were involved in sport only in twelfth grade showed similar results.

However, Guest and Schneider (2003) reported that activity based identity does not easily shift an adolescent’s core sense of place in the world. Although leisure pursuits may affect how people feel about themselves and add fine detail to their social identities, they do not tell themselves or others who they basically are. Rather, identities and attitudes are more strongly defined by family background, educational success and experiences in the labour market than to their use of leisure (Brynner & Ashford, 1992). Roberts (1997) argued that adolescents do not need leisure-based lifestyles to create identities for themselves. Although they may use leisure to develop and express their individuality, they are more likely to do this by ‘picking and mixing’ from a variety of ‘modules’ rather than adopting the complete package of one particular sub-culture.

Employment.

Between 40% to 50% of American adolescents are in paid part-time employment during the school year (Cooper et al., 1999; Largie, Field, Hernandez-Reif, Sanders, & Diego, 2001). In Cooper et al.’s study, 33% of employed students in grades six to nine and 81.4% of those in grades ten to twelve worked more than five hours per week. Positive (e.g., Shanahan, Elder, Burchinal, & Conger, 1996), negative (e.g., Largie et al., 2001) and no (Mortimer, Finch, Ryu, Shanahan, & Call, 1996) effects of part-time school year employment have been documented. However, these differential results may be related to work intensity, the variables studied and/or differential self-selection into the workplace.

For example, Steinberg, Fegley and Dornbusch (1993) reported a selection process whereby those students who entered the workforce earlier had weaker academic
histories and greater disengagement from school compared to those students who entered the workforce later or remained non-employed. High intensity work (20 plus hours per week) has been positively associated with using several illicit substances, psychological distress, dissatisfaction with amount of leisure time, slightly lower grades, school absence, tardiness (Weller, Kelder, Cooper, Basen-Engquist, & Tortolero, 2003) and alcohol use (Mortimer et al., 1996). For most variables there were no significant differences between non-workers and low-intensity workers, but at times low-intensity work manifested a protective effect.

Shepherd (1981) theorised that work serves to structure and organise time, providing social contacts, rewards and self-esteem. Employment provides adolescents with a readily available and highly valued way of ordering behaviour in an adult world and, according to Neulinger’s (1981) leisure paradigm, may be indistinguishable from structured leisure activities. For adolescents, paid-work and structured leisure activities may both provide a variety of satisfactions, including achievement, recognition, responsibility and intrinsic pleasure. Like structured leisure activities, participation in the work force requires a level of on-going commitment, adherence to regular schedules, meeting expectations and feedback regarding performance. But equally, like participation in structured leisure activities, the benefits of employment may become detrimental if work time imposes on educational commitments (e.g., Cooper et al., 1999; Weller et al., 2003), family relationships or social development (Shanahan et al., 1996). Most adolescents are employed in unskilled positions, consisting of routine tasks with little opportunity for growth or individual expression (Munson, 1993). Thus beyond an optimum number of hours, the benefits of engaging in part-time employment would be diminished by the lack of mental and physical stimulation.
Unstructured Activities

A range of adolescent out-of-school pursuits take place without formal rules or directions from adult leaders, feature few goals related to skill development and occur relatively spontaneously (e.g., watching television, ‘hanging out’ with peers). All adolescents engage in these sorts of unstructured activities to some degree. In fact, ‘hanging out’ with friends is nominated as adolescents’ preferred free time activity (van Roosmalen & Krahn, 1996). However, numerous studies have indicated that time spent ‘hanging out’ and lack of involvement in organised activities is predictive of delinquency (Yin, Katims, & Zapata, 1999), conduct problems, depression symptoms, poorer school grades (Bartko & Eccles, 2003; McHale, Crouter, & Tucker, 2001), substance use (Caldwell & Darling, 1999), and more frequent gambling (S. Moore & Ohtsuka, 2000).

Mahoney and Stattin (2000) suggested that anti-social behaviours are more likely to occur during unstructured leisure because adolescents have greater opportunity to engage in these behaviours. Activities that are low in structure tend to lack conventional social relationships and are often overrepresented by deviant adolescents (Osgood, Wilson, O'Malley, Bachman, & Johnston, 1996). As the proportion of deviant peers increases, the likelihood of anti-social behaviour being initiated, maintained and accelerated also increases. This is consistent with Mahoney and Stattin’s (2000) finding that adolescents who were mainly involved in low structured activities were also more likely to report that their peers ‘stayed out all night on the town’ and had been apprehended by the police. Thus in terms of anti-social behaviour it may be better to be uninvolved than to ‘hang-out’ with deviant peers.

Social activities.

Unstructured social activities constitute a large component of adolescents’ lives (Garton et al., 2004; Gordon & Caltabiano, 1996). Adolescents like to spend their free
time with peers, either face-to-face or via the telephone (Henry, 1998; McMeeking & Purkayastha, 1995; van Roosmalen & Krahn, 1996), discussing topics of interest such as behaviours of other group members, fashion, music and television programmes (J. C. Coleman & Hendry, 2000). In fact in several studies, (e.g., Csikszentmihalyi, Larson, & Prescott, 1977; McMeeking & Purkayastha, 1995), leisure for adolescents clearly meant socialising with friends. The social interaction underpinning many leisure activities serves as an important avenue for the development of friendship networks (M. L. Clark & Ayers, 1993; D. Coleman, 1993) and is a beneficial cue to engaging in activities (Tergerson & King, 2002). Through friendships, adolescents develop social competence (J. C. Coleman & Hendry, 2000), receive security and support, and feel happy (Cheng & Furnham, 2002).

Delinquent involvement has been perceived as self-presentation in which a message of defiance is conveyed to and consequently rewarded by delinquent peers (Blackburn cited in Carroll, Durkin, Hattie, & Houghton, 1997). In fact Carroll et al. found that delinquent and at risk adolescents attached significantly more importance to goals associated with developing a social image (e.g. delinquency, freedom-autonomy), while non-at-risk adolescents were more concerned with goals associated with academic image. Thus participation in unstructured ‘alternative’ activities with high risk appeal, such as skateboarding, train surfing or graffiti, may actually attract non-conforming adolescents. In addition, belonging to a ‘gang’ may satisfy needs (such as power, physical security, role models and purpose) which are not being met through more conventional avenues (Tremlow & Saccok, 1998).

Due to the spontaneous nature of unstructured out-of-school activities, frequent involvement in them may diminish parental monitoring efforts and knowledge of the adolescent’s actions and social affiliates. Evidence from Mahoney and Statin’s (2000) study supports this thesis. However, the reverse interpretation may also be true, in that
more effective parents guide their adolescent’s choice of leisure activities towards structured pursuits. It is possible that both processes may be interrelated as socialisation and selection tend to operate co-operatively rather than in conflict.

Passive activities.

Sedentary leisure (and work) is increasingly common in western societies and statistically adolescents spend more time involved in passive than active leisure activities (Gordon & Caltabiano, 1996). Research suggests that adolescents spend 19 to 20 hours per week engaged in ‘screen’ activities such as watching television and playing computer games (Garton et al., 2004), and it is their most common source of leisure (van Roosmalen & Krahn, 1996). It is reported that time spent watching television is negatively related to academic achievement (Cooper et al., 1999) and after watching television people state that they feel less relaxed, less happy and less able to concentrate, compared to how they feel after participating in sports or other leisure activities (Coleman cited in Leitner & Leitner, 1996).

However, although television watching is a frequent adolescent activity, in many cases it was not considered the activity of choice (Shaw et al., 1995; van Roosmalen & Krahn, 1996) and provided the least amount of satisfaction (Garton et al., 2004). Rather, adolescents watched television when there was nothing else to do and they were ‘stuck’ at home with nowhere to go. In addition, television watching is often combined with other activities (Pontinen cited in Roberts, 1999).

Although involvement in passive activities is often perceived negatively, there is an alternative perspective. For many individuals, adolescence is a time of stress and increased mental health problems. Not only do adolescents need to cope with developmental issues of identity, self-esteem, physiological changes and sexuality, but often their lives are dictated by a frenetic schedule of school, homework, extracurricular activities, paid work, social engagements and family obligations. Passive leisure may
allow for recuperation and provide a means of managing stress not available through participation in active and challenging activities (Trenberth, Dewe, & Walkey, 1999).

For example, reading books is a relatively popular adolescent activity, with 78% of the participants in Moffitt and Wartella’s (1992) and 51% in Nippold, Duthie and Larsen’s (2005) study reporting that they read for leisure.

Leisure reading is associated with academic achievement and purportedly used by some adolescents as a means of escape from social or school pressures (McHale et al., 2001). Similarly, adolescents spend on average 40 hours per week listening to music (Klein et al., 1993) to help them relax, improve their mood, pass the time and relieve boredom (Strasburger, 1995). This suggests that passive activities have a complementary role to play in an adolescent’s otherwise active and happy social life, providing time for private reflection, rest and renewal, creative thinking and space to concentrate on difficult tasks (Rice & Dolgin, 2002).

It has been theorised that we are born with the need both to be alone and to be connected with others (Buchholz & Catton, 1999). Consequently, it is necessary to distinguish between loneliness and solitude. Larson (1990) defines solitude as the objective, self-chosen condition of being alone, often used as a time of rest, reflection and renewal. Thus adolescents may voluntarily choose to spend time alone and those spending an intermediate amount of time alone (25% to 45% of their out-of-school time) appear to benefit from this solitude in terms of better psychological adjustment, higher school grades and less depression (Larson, 1997). Talented adolescents in particular spend more time in solitude and enjoy solitary activities more than average students (Csikszentmihalyi, Rathunde, & Whalen, 1993).

Solitude also seems to have a renewing effect on mood, increasing subsequent alertness and cheerfulness (Larson et al. cited in Buchholz & Catton, 1999). In addition, many solitary activities provide mental stimulation, invoking the processes of
perceptiveness, recall, problem solving and creativity (e.g., art, music production, playing cards, computer games, hobbies) (D. Coleman, 1997). In contrast, loneliness is a subjective condition which may or may not occur in physical separation from others (Larson, 1990), but is indicative of a discrepancy between an individual’s desired and achieved interpersonal relations. Research indicates that the quality of peer relations and peer intimacy were the most significant predictors of loneliness (Uruk & Demir, 2003). Arguably, adolescents require a balance of active and passive activities in their life, with each making a contribution to their overall well-being.

_Boredom._

Adolescent leisure boredom has been implicated in deviant activity involvement, particularly drug use and delinquency (Iso-Ahola & Crowley, 1991), frequency and quantity of alcohol consumption and smoking (see Gordon & Caltabiano, 1996). Explanations of boredom include: a lack of awareness of stimulating activities; lack of intrinsic motivation to act to alleviate boredom constructively; a mismatch between the skills and the challenge at hand; the inability to exercise autonomy; or being forced to use energy or expend effort on tasks (see Caldwell, Darling, Payne, & Dowdy, 1999). These authors found that adolescents with lower intrinsic motivation and lower levels of perceived parental monitoring were more likely to be bored. They argued that their results predicted that lack of choice (i.e., feeling pressured by external factors) or perceiving nothing to do (i.e., no optimal arousing options) were predictive of boredom. However, McHale et al. (2001) argued that ‘hanging out’ and involvement in other unstructured activities is something adolescents ‘fall back on’ when they have nothing more constructive to do. As these activities do not require the discipline, continuity of effort or team work demanded in many kinds of structured activities, it frequently leads to boredom (Larson, 2000).
Summary

In general the literature reviewed indicated that adolescent well-being (physical, mental and social) is enhanced through participation in structured out-of-school activities. Many of the studies were uni-dimensional which fails to capture the multiple processes operating in adolescent participation in particular activities. Thus there is a need to investigate a range of factors simultaneously to gain a better understanding of the impact of out-of-school activities.

The majority of the studies were conducted in the United States and their results may be limited to this context. For example, structured out-of-school activities appear to commonly take place as extracurricular activities under the umbrella of the school system. Yet, in Australia most structured out-of-school activities are provided by community based organisations, often drawing on students from a number of different schools. If it is found that the same benefits accrue for Australian adolescents involved in structured out-of-school activities, then the next step is to determine the factors influencing adolescents’ involvement in these types of activities.

Factors Associated with Participation in Out-of-School Activities

Given the evidence linking a range of social, psychological and physical benefits to adolescent involvement in structured out-of-school activities, it would appear beneficial for adolescents to engage in such activities. Yet, research indicates that adolescents spend the least amount of ‘leisure time’ involved in structured out-of-school activities (Garton et al., 2004; Gordon & Caltabiano, 1996; Powers, Conway, McKenzie, Sallis, & Marshall, 2002). Moreover, around 25% to 30% of adolescents are not involved in any type of structured activity (Feldman & Matjasko, 2005; Mahoney, Schweder, & Stattin, 2002).
In addition, participation in structured activities varies according to gender (Bartko & Eccles, 2003) and socio-economic status (McHale et al., 2001), and declines with age (Passmore & French, 2001). The question that remains to be answered is, how can adolescents’ participation in structured out-of-school activities be increased and a balanced lifestyle maintained?

*Parental Influence*

In order to understand the reasons underlying adolescent participation in particular out-of-school activities, it is necessary to look beyond the activity and the individual to the wider society. In Western society, the nuclear family is acknowledged to be the social institution that has the most significant influence on the development of the individual (Hendry et al., 1993). It is seen as the main agent of socialisation, responsible for children’s emotional and psychosocial development and for facilitating the transition through adolescence. Thus an understanding of family (and in particular parent-adolescent) dynamics is important to gain a better understanding of adolescent out-of-school behaviour.

Contrary to popular belief, researchers in psychology, sociology and education have demonstrated that parental influence does not necessarily decline as children mature, but rather continues to have a substantial impact during adolescence (e.g., Glasgow, Dornbusch, Troyer, Steinberg, & Ritter, 1997; Jodl, Michael, Malanchuk, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2001). The cognitive, affective and behavioural attributes of adolescents are determined and moulded by an assortment of familial and parental genetic and environmental factors. These influences contribute to both the stability and variations in the developmental patterns of adolescence (Neiderhiser, Reiss, & Hetherington, 1996). Parents influence their adolescents directly and indirectly, consciously and unconsciously, through modelling (J. C. Coleman, 1992), through the provision of guidance, advice, opportunities, constraints and reinforcement (Eccles,
Wigfield, & Schiefele, 1997), by their parenting practices (Baumrind, 1978) and through the values and beliefs they hold (Eccles & Harold, 1991).

**Parental values and beliefs.**

Miller (1993) defined values as deeply held and enduring standards about desirable and undesirable behaviour. They are abstract goals that apply across situations and serve as guiding principles in people’s lives in the selection and justification of actions, and in the evaluation of others and events (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001). Beliefs represent the individual’s construction of reality and, like values, influence decisions and behaviours (Sigel, 1985).

Family process theory proposes that the interlinking family environment results in parents and adolescents sharing similar cognitive styles, values, attitudes and emotions (Larson & Richards, 1994). As primary socialising agents, parents have an extended period of time and many opportunities to transmit their values and beliefs to their children. That value systems are successfully transferred from parents to their children is supported by research which shows parents’ values and beliefs directly predict adolescents’ values and beliefs (Canetti et al., 1997; Fredricks & Eccles, 2002; Garnier & Stein, 2002). Thus theoretically, the values and beliefs parents impart influence adolescents’ out-of-school behaviours.

Parents may transfer their values and beliefs to their adolescent children through their own actions as role models, through the communication of their values, through the monitoring and enforcing of family values (including the dispensing of rewards and punishments), through their role as interpreters of reality and through the provision (or denial) of experiences and opportunities (Hendry et al., 1993).

The effect of modelling has mainly been investigated with reference to substance abuse and physical activity. Regardless of whether parents encourage or discourage use of drugs, adolescents are more likely to be substance abusers if their
parents used drugs or alcohol (Anderson & Henry, 1994; Denton & Kampfe, 1994). Similarly, children of two active parents are significantly more likely to be active than children of two inactive parents (L. L. Moore et al., 1991). Such research suggests that parental role modelling represents a salient form of behaviour that adolescents may emulate, eventually adopting the underlying values. Conversely, parental role-modelling behaviours were not linked to children’s mathematical self-perceptions, success expectancies, or ability (Parsons, 1982), participation in soccer (Jambor, 1999), or involvement in moderate-to-vigorous physical activity (Dempsey, Kimiecik, & Horn, 1993). This implies that the transfer of values goes beyond parental role modelling.

Parents subtly and overtly communicate both the value they place on particular activities and their perceptions about their child’s ability in that domain. Eccles et al.’s (1983) expectancy motivation model proposed that parental values and belief systems (as opposed to parental role modelling per se) were instrumental in children’s participation, continued interest and success in a given domain. According to this theory, the amount of encouragement and opportunities provided by parents to assist children participate in particular activities varies according to their own values and beliefs about the child’s natural dispositions and capacities. Integral to the model is the idea that the children’s subsequent successes result in a favourable self-concept, continued interest and participation, and the adoption of the parents’ values and beliefs.

Generally the research has supported Eccles’ expectancy model. For example, parental perceptions have been associated with adolescents’ academic self-concepts and aspirations (Fedricks & Eccles, 2002; Jodl et al., 2001; Parsons, 1982), athletic self-concepts and participation levels (Dempsey et al., 1993), and degree of parental support (Jodl et al., 2001). Longitudinal studies show that parental disapproval of adolescent alcohol use deters later adolescent alcohol drinking (Ary, Tildesley, Hops, & Andrew, 1993; Reifman, Barnes, Dintcheff, Farrell, & Uhteg, 1998).
According to Eccles’ model, it is parents’ perceptions of their children’s ability that is the major determinant of adolescents’ competency beliefs and their participation in particular activities. However, it could be argued that if parents valued children’s participation in a particular activity, they would provide support and encouragement irrespective of ability. For example, parents may encourage their adolescent with no acting ability to join a drama club because of the perceived value of public performance skills. Parents who perceive health values in exercise may encourage their children to play a sport, irrespective of the child’s skill level. In Western Australia, with the exception of private schools, the majority of out-of-school sporting activities require registration with a non-school club and the overt policy of most organisations is to encourage participation irrespective of ability level. Consequently, competition and opportunities are provided at a range of levels, and policies are developed around the principle of equal participation for all. The impact of this factor requires further investigation.

Parents also transfer beliefs and values to their children through the experiences and support they provide. For example, parental endorsement, support and encouragement have been positively related to time in after-school extracurricular activities and participation in non-school clubs (Huebner & Mancini, 2003), and adolescent boys’ (and to a lesser extent girls’) attraction to physical activity (Brustad, 1996). Conversely, the most common reason given for discontinuing exercise was the absence of support (Field et al., 2001). Huebner and Mancini argued parental support and endorsement of structured out-of-school activities implies the parents value adolescent involvement in these activities. Therefore it is understandable that they actively ensure their children’s participation.

Although direct parental mediation in adolescent out-of-school activities diminishes with age, parental influence does remain. In Zeijl et al.’s (2000) study, 25%
of 10 to 12 year olds, compared to 17% of 14 to 15 year olds, reported parental ‘interference’ in their leisure activities, with girls experiencing greater influence than boys. However, the lack of explicit parental directives does not necessarily mean parents were not influential. Adolescents are still dependent upon parents (especially for transport and finance) if they wish to undertake structured out-of-school activities. In addition, coaching a child’s sporting team, sewing dance costumes, purchasing musical instruments and paying for tuition, or attending martial arts demonstrations, sends a clear message regarding the value parents place on adolescent participation. Melby and Conger (1996) suggested that parental support, characterised as investment of time and energy in encouraging their adolescents, acts as a causal mechanism that fosters and contributes to adolescent development in a range of domains. More importantly, this support has both concurrent and long-term effects.

Parents also exercise influence by discouraging participation in particular activities such as hanging around aimlessly, taking drugs, continuous television viewing (Bosma et al., 1996), alcohol use (Bogenschneider, Wu, Raffaelli, & Tsay, 1998) and even involvement in organised activities (Hultzman, 1993). The primacy of parental influence is supported in Howard and Madrigal’s (1990) study which revealed that mothers actively screen or qualify their adolescent’s involvement in activities and may refuse participation due to a range of reasons including insufficient family income, commitment overload and timing of the activity.

Arguably, the relative support and encouragement provided by parents differ according to the value placed on participation in particular activities. Parents who are aware that structured out-of-school activities provide unique opportunities for learning, and developing a range of social and other skills, urge their children to utilise their out-of-school time constructively. Conversely, unsupportive parenting is more likely to result in adolescent involvement in delinquent activities (Juang & Silbereisen, 1999).
Adolescent offenders in Robertson’s (1999) study believed that, after age 10, their parents provided no guidance or encouragement, and were not interested in assisting them to find meaningful leisure activities. In addition, these youngsters did not possess the ability to access socially acceptable and meaningful activities independently.

The importance parents attach to structured out-of-school activities appears to increase as socio-economic (Huebner & Mancini, 2003; Zeijl et al., 2000) and education levels (Schmidt & Padilla, 2003) increase. The researchers suggested that highly educated, affluent parents encouraged participation because they realised the social and cultural capital obtained from involvement in such activities. Parental support and encouragement also differs according to activity and gender. For example, in Brustad’s (1993) study, parents reported providing greater encouragement of physical activity for sons than daughters and, as expected, boys expressed greater liking of physical activity than girls. Brustad attributed these findings to parental values (and associated support and encouragement) regarding gender appropriate activities.

Much of the research on adolescent out-of-school activities neglects parental values. It can not be assumed that adolescent participation in structured out-of-school activities is valued equally by all parents, across all domains, ages and genders. Consequently research that does not take parental values and beliefs into account may misrepresent the reality of samples that are clustered together on only one variable, such as parenting style or adolescent-parent connectedness. If parents do not value adolescent participation in structured out-of-school activities then other factors such as parenting style, or adolescent-parent connectedness may have little influence on whether or not adolescents participate.

**Connectedness and autonomy**

Grusec and Goodnow (1994) proposed two steps in the transfer of values from parents to adolescents: perception and acceptance. In both steps, the greater the
connectedness between adolescents and parents, the more likely that adolescents will accept and interpret parental values accurately, especially if values are communicated (implicitly and explicitly) continually, clearly and consistently (Knafo & Schwartz, 2003). This theoretical perspective is consistent with research on group socialisation and influence which demonstrates that elevated cohesiveness produces increased conformity to group standards and norms (see Vaughan & Hogg, 1998).

The power of parent-adolescent connectedness in influencing adolescent behaviour (and the values underlying that behaviour) is supported by a range of research. Positive correlations have been demonstrated between adolescents’ perception of connectedness to parents and academic motivation and achievement (Field & Diego, 2002; Noom, Dekovic, & Meeus, 1999; Vingilis, Wade, & Adlaf, 1998; Wong, Weist, & Cusick, 2002), more frequent participation in exercise/sports (Field & Diego, 2002) and protection against involvement in high risk and problem behaviours (Field & Diego, 2002; Noom et al., 1999; Resnick et al., 1993). Conversely, adolescents who abuse drugs (see Denton & Kampfe, 1994) and offenders (Robertson, 1999) typically described their family environment as hostile, void of love, lacking cohesiveness and having closed patterns of communication with parents.

Time spent regularly in family activities is positively correlated with adolescents’ satisfaction with family (Zabriskie & McCormick, 2003), high quality parent-child relationships, greater intimacy (Field & Diego, 2002) and lack of involvement in delinquent activity (Farrington, Ohlin, & Wilson, 1986; Pabon, 1998; Robertson, 1999). Zabriskie and McCormick (2001) suggested that participation in core family activities (common, every day, low cost, relatively accessible and often home-based) may facilitate feelings of family closeness, cohesion and family identity as these activities provides significant opportunities for interaction between family members. Thus adolescent-parent connectedness and time spent with family may be a two-way,
interactive process, with each enhancing the other. Interestingly, parents from within higher social economic status classes are more likely to undertake regular leisure activities together with their children, emphasising the value of an active and purposeful life outside of school (Larson, Richards, Moneta, Holmbeck, & Duckett, 1996).

The family is neither a static nor a uniform institution. Therefore it is important to consider whether different family arrangements or change within families affect adolescent-parent connectedness and consequently value transference. A number of researchers (Resnick et al., 1993; Robertson, 1999; Sokol-Katz, Dunham, & Zimmerman, 1997; Vingilis et al., 1998) found that measures of caring and connectedness surpassed family structures (irrespective of how family was comprised or defined) as protective factors against high risk behaviours (such as acting out, delinquency and drug use), and in increasing interest and achievement in school. They concluded that being connected to at least one caring, competent adult in a loving, nurturing relationship is the single most influential factor in buffering adolescents from pressures to engage in antisocial behaviours.

Although the research indicates a positive correlation between adolescent-parent connectedness for the transference of parental values, it does not really explore the impact this has on adolescent out-of-school patterns of behaviour across a wide range of domains. However, because of the correlation between adolescent-parent connectedness and parental value transference, it appears that adolescent-parent connectedness may be a salient factor in predicting the types of out-of-school activities in which adolescents participate and therefore needs to be investigated further.

Paradoxically, along with a sense of connectedness to parents, adolescents require an increasing amount of psychological autonomy to control their own lives, form their own opinions and make their own decisions (Noller & Patton, 1990; Rice & Dolgin, 2002). Noller and Patton suggested that families who are able to provide the
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balance between connection and autonomy reduce adolescent-parent conflict, increase
intimate family relationships and increase the possibility of adopting the values of their
parents. In concordance with this theory, studies reveal that parents who fail to grant
increasing decision making opportunities, or to relax power and restrictiveness, have
adolescents who become extremely peer orientated at the expense of heeding parental
values (Fuligni & Eccles, 1993). Noller and Patton argued that trying to control
adolescents’ decision making alienates offspring, reduces communication and
diminishes parental influence.

In families where communication is positive and effective, adolescents receive
stronger support, are freer to express their own feelings and opinions and are able to
negotiate about plans and conflicts (Noller & Patton, 1990). Such an environment
increases both a sense of independence and simultaneously a strong sense of affection
and closeness between adolescents and parents (Beyers et al., 2003; Kandel & Lesser,
1969). It is suggested that this type of frequent, bi-directional and open communication
pattern also enables parents to express their concerns and worries, and helps the
adolescent consider the likely consequence of varied courses of action. Presumably, it
would also increase the adolescent’s motivation to attend to these messages.

Research shows that the successful communication of family values serves as a
strong protective factor and is associated with lower risk of adolescent drug use
(Harbach & Jones, 1995; K. J. Kelly, Comello, & Hunn, 2002), less delinquent
behaviour (R. D. Clark & Shields, 1997), later sexual debut, decreased adolescent
contended that discussions involving both the child’s and parents’ perspectives promote
the development of conventional standards of conduct, possibly because the adolescent
is less likely to view the standards as externally imposed and thus more likely to behave
in accordance with these norms. However, the extent to which open communication
influences adolescent participation in particular types of out-of-school activities is unclear.

**Parenting style.**

Parenting style usually refers to the characteristics or patterns of behaviour exhibited by parents in the rearing of their children. Research indicates that parenting style affects adolescent functioning (Brown, Mounts, Lamborn, & Steinberg, 1993), influences parents’ success in transmitting their values and beliefs (Glasgow et al., 1997; Jodl et al., 2001; Knafo & Schwartz, 2003) and moderates the level of adolescent autonomy and connectedness to parents (Canetti et al., 1997; Shucksmith, Hendry, & Glendinning, 1995). In addition, general parenting styles and specific parenting practices continue to shape an individual’s development through adolescence into adulthood (Baumrind, 1991; Glasgow et al., 1997; Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch, & Darling, 1992; Strage & Brandt, 1999).

Baumrind (1971) identified three qualitatively different patterns of parenting style based on authority: authoritarian, authoritative and permissive. Maccoby and Martin (1983) subsequently refined this typology by conceptualising parenting style along two dimensions: parental demandingness and parental responsiveness. Demandingness referred to the regulation of children’s behaviour through parental controls, supervision (monitoring) and demands for maturity. Responsiveness referred to parental acceptance and support of their children through expressions of affection, responsiveness to sensitivity, and adaptation to their needs and desires.

Demanding parents successfully limit, monitor and supervise their children’s behaviour, teaching them self-control and reducing adolescent involvement in risky, aggressive or norm-violating activities (Galambos, Barker, & Almeida, 2003). The consistent, fair and rational enforcement of rules is likely to result in stronger parent-child relationships as adolescents are more likely to accept and respect the parents’
authority (Baumrind, 1978). Conversely, low levels of parental action, characterised by weak levels of monitoring and enforcement of family policies increases the likelihood of alcohol misuse (Beck, Ko, & Scaffa, 1997) and other deviant behaviours (Robertson, 1999).

Parents often monitor their adolescents’ whereabouts as a means of controlling their behaviour (Pettit, Bates, Dodge, & Meece, 1999). It may include parent initiated conversations about the adolescent’s activity and friends, soliciting information from other children, parents and significant adults, or imposing and enforcing rules about where the adolescent can go and with whom (Laird, Petite, Bates, & Dodge, 2003). Parental monitoring is often operationalised as parental knowledge and has been linked to adolescent delinquency, with low levels of parent knowledge predicting increases in delinquent behaviour (Kerr, Stattin, & Trost, 1999; Kim, Hetherington, & Reiss, 1999; Laird et al., 2003; Pettit et al., 1999). Kim et al. suggested that lack of monitoring diminishes parental opportunity to intervene in peer friendships or antisocial behaviour before it escalates to more serious delinquent behaviours. In contrast, high parental knowledge has been linked to multiple measures of good adolescent adjustment (Kerr & Stattin, 2000). However, what needs to be determined is the extent to which parental demandingness is linked to adolescent participation in structured out-of-school activities.

Adolescents need both intrinsic support (encouragement, appreciation, trust and love) and extrinsic support (external expressions of affection such as hugging and providing special material desires) (Young, Miller, Norton, & Hill, 1995). By being warm and supportive, parents can build a relational base that makes their adolescents more likely to attend to, accurately understand (Knafo & Schwartz, 2003) and internalise their parents’ values (Jodl et al., 2001). Research indicates a positive correlation between parental warmth, endorsement and support of activities with
adolescent participation in structured out-of-school activities (Fletcher, Elder, & Mekos, 2000; Mahoney & Stattin, 2000). However, adolescents who participated in low-level structured activities (characterised by less adult supervision and a lack of skill building elements) tended to have less supportive parental relationships. Kerr and colleagues (Kerr & Stattin, 2000; Kerr et al., 1999) suggested that maintaining warm, trusting relationships increases adolescents’ spontaneous disclosure of information. The parental knowledge gained from such disclosure (as opposed to active parental monitoring) is a primary factor in minimising adolescent problem behaviours.

Although demandingness and responsiveness have independently been shown to influence value acquisition and adolescent behaviour, other research indicates that considering both these constructs simultaneously increases the accuracy and consistency of results (e.g., Adamczyk-Robinette, Fletcher, & Wright, 2002; Mahoney & Stattin, 2000). Maccoby and Martin (1983) combined the two dimensions of demandingness and responsiveness to create four categories of parenting: authoritative (high demandingness, high responsiveness), authoritarian (high demandingness, low responsiveness), indulgent or permissive (low demandingness, high responsiveness) and indifferent or neglecting (low demandingness, low responsiveness). Further research by Shucksmith, Hendry and Glendinning (1995) supported the existence of these four distinct parenting styles. Permissive parenting (followed by authoritative parenting) was the most common parenting styles in their sample of British youth. Authoritative and authoritarian approaches were more common with younger adolescents, whilst permissive and neglectful approaches were more common with older adolescents, reflecting the loosening of the control/demandingness dimension as adolescents matured (Freeman & Newland, 2002).

Indifferent or neglecting parents, who are neither demanding nor responsive, display a neglectful or uninvolved pattern of parenting. They are disengaged from
parental responsibilities and do not monitor their children’s behaviours or support their interests, often because they are preoccupied with their own problems (Glasgow et al., 1997). With this style of parenting, independence is thrust on the adolescent too early and in amounts that are too difficult to manage. Indifferent parenting reduces both the availability of parental values to adolescents (due to the lack of clear standards and expectations) and adolescents’ motivation to attend to parents (due to the lack of parental responsiveness), resulting in less accurate perceptions of parental value systems (Knafo & Schwartz, 2003). Supporting this thesis are Weiss and Schwartz’s (1996) results that adolescents from unengaged homes tend to be significantly more non-conforming and have higher levels of alcohol consumption than children from other family types.

In Garton et al.’s (2004) study, adolescents who perceived their families as neglecting spent most time with friends or in groups and the least amount of time with family. Robertson (1999) suggested that adolescents who perceive the family as not being interested in sharing leisure time or helping facilitate satisfaction of their leisure needs would seek satisfaction with peers, increasing the likelihood of participation in delinquent types of activities. In fact, Shucksmith et al. (1995) found that adolescent behaviour problems and poor adolescent-parent relations were associated with low levels of parental acceptance and control.

Parents characterised as indulgent or permissive engage in an indulgent style of parenting. They are tolerant, warm, accepting and committed to their children but exercise little authority and make few demands (Glasgow et al., 1997). Children of these parents are allowed considerable self-regulation. Although indulgent parenting is likely to limit the accessibility of parental values to adolescents because standards are not clearly articulated, parent responsiveness may increase adolescents’ motivation to attend to parental messages (Knafo & Schwartz, 2003).
In Garton et al.’s (2004) study, adolescents who perceived their parents as indulgent shared the most amount of leisure time with their families. Robertson (1999) claimed that the extent to which the family satisfies the adolescent’s leisure needs determines the leisure time shared with family. Adolescents who perceive their families as indulgent tend to lack independence or the ability to take responsibility (Foxcroft & Lowe, 1995). Consequently, it is likely that adolescents with indulgent parents who are readily able to satisfy the adolescents’ leisure needs, may rely on their parents rather than seeking leisure satisfaction elsewhere.

Authoritarian parents attempt to mould and control the behaviour and attitudes of their children according to an inflexible set of standards. They tend to emphasise obedience, respect for authority and order at the expense of warmth and tolerance, discouraging verbal debate and expecting rules to be followed without explanation (Glasgow et al., 1997). Making decisions without consultation denies adolescents the chance to learn self-reliance leading to a dependence on extrinsic motivation (Ginsburg & Bronstein, 1993) and less well-honed, self-regulatory abilities (Strage, 1998). In Western cultures authoritarian parenting is often accompanied by parental anger, love withdrawal, coerciveness and humiliation which may induce short-term compliance, but also produces guilt, anxiety and hostility leading adolescents to avoid their parents. Knafo and Schwartz (2003) found that this reduced both the availability of and adolescent motivation to attend to parental values and, consequently, inaccurate perceptions of parental value systems.

Garton et al. (2004) reported that adolescents who perceived their families as authoritarian spent more time in solitary leisure than in groups, with friends or with family, than adolescents from other family types. In such families adolescents may be restricted to spending time at home, but choose to be by themselves to avoid the high levels of conflict associated with controlling parents (Smetana, 1995).
Authoritative parents effectively balance high levels of demandingness and responsiveness. They establish, and firmly and consistently enforce using non-punitive methods of discipline, rules and standards of behaviour (appropriate to the child’s level of maturity). However, they are equally warm and supportive, encouraging bi-directional communication, validating the child’s point of view and recognising the rights of all (Glasgow et al., 1997). This type of parenting is believed to be the most successful in providing the necessary scaffolding to foster adolescent personal and social responsibility, while supporting their emerging autonomy and independence. In addition, adolescents with authoritative parents more accurately perceived parental values because they are more available and adolescents are more motivated to attend to parental messages (Knafo & Schwartz, 2003).

A range of studies have consistently reported advantages for children whose parents practise an authoritative parenting style. For example, supportive yet demanding parenting has been associated with intrinsic motivation for success at school (Ginsburg & Bronstein, 1993), attribution of achievement to internal causes (Glasgow et al., 1997), higher school integration and levels of mental well-being (Shucksmith et al., 1995), and with better self-regulatory skills and propensities (Strage, 1998). Strage and Brandt (1999) found that the more autonomy, demands and support parents provided, the more confident, persistent and positively orientated to their teacher were the students. These researchers argued that an authoritative home environment matches the values and expectations students encounter in educational institutions, reducing student confusion, equipping them better and consequently increasing their chances of academic success. The self-regulation, persistence and autonomy that are important for success in the school environment (and promoted by authoritative parents) may be the same elements required for success and enjoyment, and therefore continued participation, in structured out-of-school environments.
Authoritative parenting also appears to play a key role in protecting adolescents from involvement in problem behaviours (Necessary & Parish, 1995). Adamczyk-Robinette, Fletcher and Wright (2002) attributed lower levels of tobacco use amongst adolescents from authoritative homes to the tendency of authoritative parents to maintain high behavioural expectations, monitor their adolescents’ behaviour, exhibit high levels of trust and communicate openly. These authors suggested that as authoritative parents establish warm, positive bonds with their children, the likelihood that these adolescents will engage in behaviours that are not valued or supported by their parents is diminished. In addition, because authoritative parents are more likely to monitor and exert control over their children’s behaviour, adolescents have fewer opportunities for participating in problem behaviours and greater risks of consequences should they be caught.

The implicit assumption underlying much of the earlier work on parenting styles was that parental authoritativeness fostered the various positive child outcomes. However, it could be argued that parenting style is determined by child behaviours, or the two may have a reciprocal relationship. Longitudinal studies confirm the positive effects of authoritative parenting and the deleterious effects of less supportive, more restrictive parenting. Firm, supportive parenting is associated with student retention of good academic self concepts and halts the upward trajectory of externalising problems, whereas the work and school orientation of adolescents from neglecting families deteriorated over time (Galambos et al., 2003; Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts, & Dornbusch, 1994).

Garton et al. (2004) found no relationship between perceived parenting style and adolescent preference for particular leisure activities, based on five category types (sport/physical, social, screen, risk and miscellaneous). However, differences may exist between parenting style and adolescent participation in structured versus unstructured
out-of-school activities. For example, Mahoney and Stattin (2000) found a positive association between positive parent-adolescent relations, parental monitoring and trust, and adolescent involvement in structured activities. Whether involvement in structured activities facilitated positive parent-adolescent relations or more effective parenting guided adolescents’ choice of activities is open to interpretation. In any case, further investigation is required to explore this possible connection in more depth.

From the research it could be concluded that adolescents remain connected to their parents when there are open communication channels, an authoritative parenting style, provision of encouragement, warmth and structure, the involvement of adolescents in decision making and the provision of appropriate scaffolding enabling adolescents to become increasingly more autonomous. These adolescents are subsequently more likely to be influenced by their parents and hold similar values. However, research such as that conducted by Bogenschneider et al. (1998) implies that parental influence on adolescent development may be moderated by the value parents place on particular socialisation outcomes. The literature suggests that parents have an important role to play as leisure educators and in helping adolescents choose socially acceptable and beneficial leisure activities. Additional research is required to determine the links between adolescent-parent connectedness, parenting style, the value parents place on participation in structured activities and adolescent out-of-school behaviours.

Peer Influences

The process of socialisation not only involves the adolescent’s interaction with various adults (parents, teachers, youth leaders, coaches), but also peers, with particular types of relationship patterns coming into focus at different developmental stages (J. C. Coleman, 1974). Peer relationships gain primacy during adolescence and are positively implicated in social and psychological adjustment (Rubin, Bukowski, & Parker, 1998). Through peer networks, adolescents are able to practise the roles and rules implicit in
the setting, obtain resources that will help support their functioning, establish a sense of community, receive reassurance of their worth and confirm their identity (see Cotterell, 1996). Participation in a variety of social environments provides adolescents opportunities to widen their social network and to build connections with different social fields.

Traditionally, adolescence has been viewed as a period of life in which the peer group surpassed the influence of parents. However more recently, research has indicated that despite their increased interaction with peers, the majority of adolescents continue to rely on their parents for emotional support, and for these adolescents parents continue to be influential (e.g., Brown et al., 1993; Field & Diego, 2002).

Nonetheless, there is no doubt that peers play an important part in the complex socialisation process associated with adolescent development (Brown, 1990). The extent to which adolescents can identify with and integrate into a group determines the emotional support, assistance and social learning they receive from peers, which in turn impacts on their self-esteem and psychological adjustment (e.g., Laible, Carlo, & Raffaelli, 2000; Meeus & Dekovic, 1995). But adolescents are embedded in a wide social network that includes family and other social institutions. Thus the importance of an adolescent’s experience in one relationship system is likely to vary according to experiences in other systems (e.g., Colarossi & Eccles, 2000). Consequently, investigations of peer interaction and influence cannot realistically be separated from the complex interactions and influences of family and society.

*Time spent with peers.*

A major developmental task of adolescence is the establishment of satisfying and healthy relationships with peers. Through peer friendships, adolescents learn how to interact on the basis of equality and to make their own decisions (Meeus & Dekovic, 1995). The process of establishing peer social networks results in increased time spent
with peers and a halving of time spent with parents (Hendry et al., 1993; Larson et al., 1996; Zeijl et al., 2000). However, time with peers is not negatively correlated with time with parents (Fallon & Bowles, 1997) as diminished family time is often replaced by time alone, usually in the bedroom listening to music or playing computer games (Larson, 1997; T. Smith, 1997).

Similarly, decreased frequency of contact with parents does not necessarily mean lessened closeness or poorer quality relationships (Hendry et al., 1993; Larson et al., 1996; O'Koon, 1997). Rather, adolescents need to know their parents are available for them when and if required (Paterson, Pryor, & Field, 1995). Several researchers have reported a correlation between warm, supportive parenting and positive friendship qualities (Cook, Herman, Phillips, & Settersten Jr, 2002; Dekovic & Meeus, 1997; Field & Diego, 2002; Lieberman, Doyle, & Markiewica, 1999; J. S. Parker & Bensen, 2004). In contrast, low levels of adolescent-parent connectedness, incompetent discipline practices, and high levels of parental control/strictness may result in alienation from parents, leading adolescents to invest more time in, and attention to, their peer relationships (e.g., Dekovic & Meeus, 1997; Fuligni & Eccles, 1993). Thus high involvement with peers may be an indicator of lack of attention and concern at home, rather than a gauge of social competence (Dekovic & Meeus, 1997). Variations in time spent with friends versus family also exist between different cultures (Claes, 1998), genders, ages and socio-economic status groups (Zeijl et al., 2000). Arguably, time spent with peers and closeness to peers affects the amount of influence peers exert.

**Peer selection.**

Despite the traditional perspective that peer groups influence adolescents to change their values, beliefs and behaviours to conform with group norms (Brown, 1990), it is now recognised that adolescents tend to choose friends whose values, backgrounds and interests are similar to their own and there is often considerable
overlap between the values of parents and peers (Cairns & Cairns, 1995; Ennett & Bauman, 1996; Tolson & Urberg, 1993). Brown et al. (1993) argued that adolescents do not haphazardly fall into a crowd and then fall victim to normative pressures. Instead, adolescents’ dispositions direct them to a particular crowd that provides “the best fit” (Harris cited in Garnier & Stein, 2002). Thus adolescents tend to associate with others who have similar sociometric status. Consequently, rejected or aggressive children tend to form relationships with other rejected or aggressive children (Cairns, Cairns, Neckerman, Gest, & Gariepy, 1988), comparatively well adjusted children of authoritative parents tend to establish and maintain friendships with other well-adjusted peers (Adamczyk-Robinette et al., 2002), and students affiliate with others who have similar academic and motivational characteristics (Ryan, 2001). The greater the similarity, the higher the reciprocity between the group and individual, whereas when there is little similarity reciprocity is low (Kiesner, Cadinu, Poulin, & Bucci, 2002). This suggests that in many instances, rather than violating parental values, peer groups actually serve to reinforce them.

Jaffe (1998) identified five processes accounting for similarities among friends: socio-demographic conditions, providing proximity; differential selection, whereby individuals seek out similar friends; reciprocal socialisation, whereby peer similarity is increased through interaction; contagion effect, in which individuals in highly cohesive group are more likely to participate in an activity they would not do on their own; and selective elimination, whereby non-conforming members voluntarily or forcibly leave the group. These processes may operate simultaneously or at different times in the group’s existence and indicate the flexible nature of peer groupings. Even over the relatively short period of three weeks, close and coherent peer groups wax and wane in strength (Cairns, Leung, Buchanan, & Cairns, 1995).
Proximity between people is a potent factor in determining friendships, due to familiarity, availability and expectations of continued interaction (see Vaughan & Hogg, 1998). For adolescents, friendship choices are usually directed towards other students in the same school and this bond is strengthened by spending time together out-side of school (J. C. Coleman & Hendry, 2000). Vernberg (1990) suggested that adolescents may find it difficult to establish out-of-school friendships because they feel awkward meeting and joining established groups, although lonely adolescents may take up out-of-school activities or interests as a way of belonging (J. C. Coleman & Hendry, 2000).

Cotterell (1996) described adolescent groups as concentric circles which begin at the centre with close friends and widen outwards to exchange networks (people who provide support or cliques), then to interactive networks or Dunphy’s (1963) crowds (comprising local level groupings with whom the individual normally interacts). Using this concept the circles could be widened to include the widest category identified by Coleman and Hendry (2000) consisting of same age and gender peers, divided into broad category ‘types’ (such as ‘punks’, or ‘sporty’). These core groups are identified by dress, scholastic standing, extracurricular participation, social skills, socio-economic status, reputation and personality (Urberg, Degirmencioglu, Tolson, & Halliday-Scher, 1995) and are common across many different high schools (Brown, 1996).

At the personal level, friends provide support, companionship and reaffirm self-identity. Friendship networks range from three to four members and are remarkably stable across nationalities (Claes, 1998; Cotterell, 1996). Close friendship groups develop by choice and by mutual preference and their cohesiveness centres around a cluster of similar behaviours and attitudes such as hobbies, dress, leisure interests and attitudes to school (J. C. Coleman & Hendry, 2000). Girls’ friendships are based on affection, intimacy, companionship, satisfaction and frequent contact (Jones & Costin,
Particular parenting behaviours (monitoring, encouragement of achievement, joint decision making) have been associated with specific adolescent characteristics (academic achievement, self-reliance, drug use), which in turn predict the peer group with which adolescents associate (Brown et al., 1993) and the quality of that relationship (Garnier & Stein, 2002). It would appear that parenting practices influence adolescent orientation towards peers and that subsequent experiences in the parent and peer domain both influence adolescent behaviour (Bogenschneider et al., 1998). Adolescents who characterise their parents as authoritative are more likely to be oriented towards peer groups that reward both adult and peer supported norms. Boys characterising their parents as indulgent are more likely to be oriented towards groups with a ‘fun-culture’ (Durbin, Darling, & Steinberg, 1993). Parents perceived as uninvolved, indifferent, unresponsive (Bogenschneider et al., 1998; Burt, Cohen, & Bjorck, 1988; Freeman & Brown, 2001; Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986) or overly restrictive (Fuligni & Eccles, 1993) increase adolescent susceptibility to peer pressure, orientation towards peers who do not endorse adult values and the development of problem behaviours (Barnes & Farrell, 1992; Fuligni & Eccles, 1993; Pettit et al., 1999). Thus, seeking advice from and being influenced by friends may be a reflection of an unsatisfactory relationship with parents (Fuligni & Eccles, 1993). However it is worth noting that in van Beest and Baerveldt’s (1999) study, perceived peer support did not correlate with enacted support from peers and consequently peers do not compensate for lack of parental support.

By fostering certain traits in their children, parents essentially direct adolescents towards particular peer groups and consequently indirectly control the type of peer group influences to which their children are exposed. Parents’ influence on their
children’s peer relationships is illustrated in studies such as Black’s (2002) in which parallels were found between adolescent-mother and adolescent-best friend behaviours, level of support, conflict resolution styles and communication patterns. The norms of this peer group subsequently served to reinforce behaviours and dispositions to which parents (through parenting styles and family characteristics) had already contributed. Thus although direct parental influence over peer associations may diminish in adolescence, parental influence is still significant.

Adolescents make clear friendship choices in the knowledge that participation in different social networks will involve them in different specific behaviours (Shucksmith & Hendry, 1998). In addition, since a large part of adolescent consciousness and behaviour is centred on leisure experiences (Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1984), it seems reasonable to suggest that adolescent leisure preferences and participation patterns are important to the formation and evolution of peer groupings. Thus it is important to recognise adolescents’ self-agency and their competency to choose friends according to shared interests, values and beliefs.

Power of peer influence.

There is no doubt that during adolescence changes occur in relationship patterns and social contexts. Greater significance is given to peers as companions, models of behaviour, and sources of comparative information (J. C. Coleman & Hendry, 2000). But it could equally be contended that parental and peer influence reflect, reinforce and complement each other.

Acceptance by peers has been found to be equally important for both males and females at all stages of adolescence (Hendry et al., 1993). As a function of the desire to be accepted and to reinforce a sense of belonging, conformity often increases towards mid-adolescence and then gradually lessens as adolescents mature and became more confident in their independence and self-agency (Shucksmith & Hendry, 1998). It was
clear from comments made to Shucksmith and Hendry that many adolescents go through an experimental stage, in which participation in ‘risky’ behaviours is attributed to perceived peer pressure. Consequently, the benefits that accrue from being a part of a group may result in pressures to conform to group norms.

Deutch and Gerald (1955) proposed that peer groups modify adolescent behaviour through informational (sources of knowledge about behavioural patterns, attitudes, values and consequences) and normative (social pressure to conform) influences. It appears that parents and peers serve as different informational sources in different aspects of adolescents’ lives. Activities that are intrinsic to peer life, such as dress style, music, language, movies and dating customs seem to be peer influenced (Meeus & Dekovic, 1995; Rich, 2003). In addition, peers may exert more influence in the day-to-day context in which particular behaviours may occur. For example, on a daily basis adolescents may model the behaviour of their peers or encourage each other to engage or not engage in tobacco use (Adamczyk-Robinette et al., 2002). Similarly, peer gatherings in unstructured leisure settings may provide both a motive for, and increase exposure to, drinking (e.g., Stattin, Gustafson, & Magnusson, 1989; Wilks, 1987).

In contrast, parents remain more influential in future-orientated domains such as education and career (Hendry et al., 1993), with peer groups exerting limited influence on adolescents’ beliefs about the utility value of school and whether they will be successful (Ryan, 2001). Accordingly, if parents recognise the value of, and encourage participation in, structured out-of-school activities, they will be more influential in this domain, while peers may be more influential in non-structured out-of-school activities. However, little research appears to address this premise.

Abrams, Wetherell, Cochrane, Hogg and Turner (1990) claimed that normative influence only arises when people are subjected to interpersonal pressure.
Experimentally, normative influence and conformity to group norms increase in line with increases in the salience or importance of the reference group (Hogg & Turner cited in Vaughan & Hogg, 1998). Therefore conceivably, group pressure only has an effect on attitudes and behaviours when a person is consciously aware of his/her group membership. Consequently, when group identification is low, so too is peer influence (Kiesner et al., 2002).

Urberg, Shyu and Liang (1990) found that normative pressure was the only measure consistently related to adolescent smoking behaviour. Yet these researchers reported that few adolescents were willing to admit that their friends directly encouraged them to smoke. They concluded that the absence of perceived disapproval from friends (interpreted as tacit approval), rather than the presence of perceived encouragement, produced normative pressure to smoke. Similarly, in Smith’s (1985) survey, a large majority of British adolescents denied that they copied their friends or did things just because their friends did. He argued that most people find it difficult to accept that they may be influenced by conformity to group pressure, preferring to explain their behaviour in terms of intrinsic motives and personal reasons.

Kandel, Kessler and Margulies (1978) distinguished three kinds of interpersonal influence: direct influence, through example and reinforcement; indirect influence, through commonalities of interests and values; and conditional influence, whereby one source of influence modifies susceptibility to some other influence. Most research on peer pressure appears to focus on direct influence. For example, an 18 year longitudinal study by Garnier and Stein (2002) found that peer behaviours were by far the strongest predictors of adolescent problem behaviours. They argued that as drug use and delinquency are typically social behaviours, adolescents tend to become involved in these behaviours if their friends are involved. Furthermore, their involvement in one
type of problem behaviour significantly increases the likelihood of involvement in other problem behaviours.

Although Garnier and Stein (2002) attributed peer pressure to adolescents’ initial engagement in these behaviours, they argued that social selection and subsequent socialisation better explained these adolescents’ decision to participate in these activities. Members of friendship groups are similar to begin with and consequently influence each other in the direction of greater similarity (Mounts & Steinberg, 1995). Adolescents who perceive incongruity between their own and their friends’ attitudes and behaviour will end the friendship or modify their behaviour (Ryan, 2001; Tolson & Urberg, 1993).

At times, adolescents identify with, and are influenced by, reference groups to which they do not belong (Brown, 1990; Kiesner et al., 2002). Thus adolescents with marginal or rejected status are found to be more easily influenced than high status group members (Cotterell, 1996) and those with no reciprocated (compared to reciprocated) friendships are more strongly influenced to commence smoking by their nominated best friend (Aloise-Young, Graham, & Hansen, 1994). These researchers proposed that individuals may change their behaviour in order to initiate friendships and consequently peer influence may be more salient prior to the formation of reciprocating friendships. Thus adolescents may modify their behaviour in an attempt to increase acceptance from peer groups with whom they identify and seek membership.

Peer pressures to conform are more likely to be subtle and indirect, rather than overt attempts to control or manipulate. Gossiping about other adolescents, teasing and humour clearly communicate acceptable and unacceptable behaviour without direct confrontation (Eder & Sanford cited in Ryan, 2001). At times adolescents may be influenced by inaccurate perceptions of others’ behaviours and expectations. For example, adolescents’ own involvement in risk behaviours is more strongly related to
their perception of friends’ behaviour rather than actual behaviour (Bauman & Fisher, 1986). However, Prinstein and Wang’s (2005) research shows that adolescents are likely to over-estimate the frequency of deviant and risk behaviour especially when they do not have close connections with the peers they wish to emulate.

Adolescents are not all equally susceptible to peer influence and the degree of peer influence fluctuates at different times and under different conditions (Shucksmith & Hendry, 1998). Cotterell (1996) contended that strong ties between individuals enable greater influence to be exerted, especially if the ties are maintained through contact across different social settings. Thus to understand the influence of peers it may be necessary to assess the strength of the relationship. To determine the strength of peer ties requires distinguishing between adolescent involvement with peers (defined as the more superficial degree of participation in shared activities) and the quality of the relationship (Dekovic & Meeus, 1997). Thus the various levels of peer networks exert influence differently. For example, Urberg, Degirmencioglu and Pilgrim (1997) found that best friends influenced initial alcohol use, whereas peer groups influenced drinking to intoxication. Similarly, Hussong (2002) reported that although best friends appeared to be the strongest predictor of adolescent substance use, cliques and peer groups moderated this impact.

Researchers report that many adolescents belong to several groups, each containing different friends (Brown, 1996; Cotterell, 1996; Maffesoli, 1996), and each possessing unique values and behaviours, which exert different or even opposite effects on the individual (Kiesner et al., 2002). In addition, Ennett and Bauman (1996) found that less than half of the adolescents in their study belonged to a clique. About 30% had friends from several different cliques, but belonged to none. Even though these adolescents maintained a peripheral position (which many claimed to prefer), they were generally well thought of by their peers. Thus according to Cotterell’s (1996) argument,
adolescent involvement in a number of groups must dilute the influence of peers on an individual’s behaviour.

Peer influence also varies according to gender. Although male and female adolescents have similar numbers of peer relationships, females report stronger attachments to peers (Claes, 1998). Arguably a stronger attachment would be indicative of stronger peer influence. This is supported by Brown’s (1982) research in which adolescent girls showed greater conformity than boys, indicating that peer pressure was a more dominant and influential feature of girls’ lives. Adolescent females value social relations while males are more likely to regard conformity in behaviour, appearance and physical attributes as important (Hendry et al., 1993).

Parents who are responsive to their adolescents, available when needed and engage in bilateral discussions have children who are less peer oriented and consequently less influenced by their peers’ behaviours (Bogenschneider et al., 1998). Adolescents with good family support and connectedness appear to have less need to conform to peer demands, as they are better able to deal with stresses or inadequacies in the friendship domain (Gauze, Bukowski, Aquan-Assee, & Sippola, 1996), and when confronted with a decision, parental rather than peer opinions are accepted (Rice & Dolgin, 2002). Even when the influence of peers is significant, parental monitoring has been shown to act as a buffer, counterbalancing the negative influence of peers (Bogenschneider et al., 1998). Thus while some adolescent groups may support and sustain delinquent and high risk behaviours, Coleman and Hendry (2000) contended that peer influence for most adolescents may be frequently over-estimated.

The examination of peer influence on adolescent behaviour has tended to focus on deviant or high risk behaviours such as drug use and delinquency. Yet, peer influences are not predominantly antisocial and most adolescents report positive as opposed to negative peer pressures (Brown et al., 1993). Research investigating
positive peer influences has generally concluded that peers model and reinforce parental behaviours and values (Fuligni & Eccles, 1993). Peers, like parents, do encourage pro-social behaviour such as academic achievement and aspiration (Stein & Newcomb, 1999) and protect adolescents from risk behaviour involvement (Maxwell, 2002). Therefore, conformity can be a helpful, positive influence as much as a negative one, depending on the friendship group and its values.

Given the variability of peer influence, to what extent do peers affect participation in structured out-of-school activities? Huebner and Mancini (2003) found friend and parent endorsement were important for American adolescents’ participation in after-school extracurricular activities, but peer pressure and parental endorsement were important for participation in non-school clubs. In Hultsman’s (1993) study, 27.3% of adolescents surveyed indicated that they had not joined an activity in which they were interested due to perceived influence of peers (as opposed to 76.1% indicating perceived parental influence). Similarly, only 12.8% ceased an activity due to peer influence. In an Australian study (Clough, Traill, & Thorpe, 1995), only 22% of adolescent females claimed they would be discouraged from participating in a sport because their friends were not interested. Likewise, Brown (1982) discovered that adolescents generally reported little peer pressure with regard to time spent in extracurricular activities. These studies indicate that peers do not play a prominent role in determining adolescent initial participation in structured out-of-school activities.

Although adolescents may not initially choose an activity for social reasons or because of friend participation, peer relationships are often a significant factor in their continued involvement and commitment (Patrick et al., 1999). Adolescents in Patrick et al.’s study commented on the intensive nature of friendships formed within the activities and over half said their involvement provided a significant opportunity to make different and a greater number of friends. This was viewed as a considerable benefit
and widely valued across all activity types. The role of peers in supporting continued participation in structured activities has also been noted in adherence to exercise programmes (Duncan, Duncan, & McAuley, 1993) and was a major factor in determining musical success (D. G. Moore, Burland, & Davidson, 2003). This suggests that a key factor in keeping adolescents involved in structured activities may require matching individuals to groups with similar values and attitudes.

It was interesting to note in Patrick et al.’s (1999) study that adolescents who were involved in activities not offered at school (compared to school sponsored activities) were more likely to feel that they had to make a choice between continuing their talent development activity in sport or the arts and a satisfying social life. This may have resulted from the disconnectedness these adolescents experienced between school friendships and the increasing time and energy demands of their talent development activity. Further investigation is required to determine if this is also a dilemma for Australian adolescents where the majority of structured out-of-school activities are separated from educational institutions.

The role of peers in supporting or hindering adolescent participation in structured out-of-school activities has received little research attention, despite the importance of peers in adolescents’ lives. In addition, research into this area needs to take account of the complex web of interactions, obligations, patterns of identification, support and affiliation that adolescents have with parents, peers and other significant people in their lives.

Motivation

Perusal of the leisure studies literature prior to the 1990s highlighted that the majority of researchers focused on ‘positive’ leisure activities. Leisure was defined as activities individuals chose to participate in during their ‘free time’ which optimally provided such benefits as stimulation, companionship, fitness and enjoyment.
Researchers then investigated what it was that motivated individuals to participate in leisure activities. This resulted in a range of motivational theories such as Deci and Ryan’s (1985) self-determination theory, Csikszentmihalyi’s theory of flow (1975) and Neulinger’s (1981) model which examined the interaction between perceived freedom/constraints and intrinsic/extrinsic motivation. Other researchers investigated factors constraining such leisure participation (e.g., Hultzman, 1995), and the impact of personality (e.g., Eysenck, Nias, & Cox, 1982), self-esteem (e.g., Schmidt & Padilla, 2003), self-efficacy (e.g., Bandura, 1986) and societal influences (e.g., Hendry, 1983) on leisure choices and leisure participation. However, activities individuals freely choose to participate in during their ‘free time’ are not always regarded positively by the wider community (e.g., vandalism, drug use, gambling), and in addition may not be intrinsically satisfying or optimally arousing.

\textit{Intrinsic motivation.}

Manfredo, Driver and Tarrant (1996) argued that understanding leisure motivations is the key to determining why people engage in leisure activities. However, Argyle (1996) noted that many people are either unwilling or unable to express their motives. In addition, leisure takes many forms, with different leisure activities being stimulated by different desires. Thus marathon runners report challenge, health and fitness as being primary motives. Campers and hikers discuss enjoying nature and escaping civilisation. Those involved in artistic endeavours report creativity factors, while those in adolescent sport programmes nominate fun and skill development (see Argyle, 1996; H. Barber, Sukhi, & White, 1999). Research also indicates that individuals’ motives for initial participation may not be the same as for continued participation (M. R. Weiss & Petlichkoff, 1989) and may change or be dependent on factors such as age (Piper, 1994), gender (Passmore & French, 2001) and perceived ability (James, 2001).
In an attempt to explain this phenomenon, Iso-Ahola (1980) developed a triangular model divided in two with a dotted horizontal line. Factors contained in the peak above the dotted line represented ‘open’, easily accessed causes of leisure behaviour (such as “I enjoy it”, “I’m good at it”, “I like the social side of it”). Factors in the larger area below the dotted line represented the ‘hidden’ causes (such as inherited traits, early social learning, societal influence). Given people’s inability to determine accurately all the factors underpinning their participation in particular leisure activities, care must be taken in making assumptions and generalisations about adolescents’ participation or non-participation in different out-of-school activities based on their own self assessments.

Motivation can be conceptualised as a continuum moving from high to low self-determination as one proceeds from intrinsic motivation, to extrinsic motivation and then amotivation (Deci & Ryan, 1985). Amotivation is the relative absence of motivation, while intrinsic motivation is the engagement in an activity for its own sake (Argyle, 1996). Deci and Ryan held that the convergence of interest, enjoyment and excitement signalled the presence of intrinsic motivation. Research demonstrates that enjoyment is the most frequently mentioned characteristic of leisure experiences and is a positive predictor of frequency of participation (Alexandris & Grouios, 2002; Passmore & French, 2001; Tinsley, Hinson, Tinsley, & Holt, 1993).

This positive state of intense interest and enjoyment has been conceptualised as ‘flow’. Csikszentmihalyi’s (1975) ‘flow’ theory predicted that experiences will be positive when an individual perceives that both the challenge provided by the environment and personal skill level are high, resulting in an agreeable state of absorption and loss of self-awareness. His study of rock climbers and serious chess players supported this theory. Yet, later research by Csikszentmihalyi and LeFevre (1989) showed that in the lives of adults (whether they be blue-collar workers or
professionals), the majority of ‘flow-like’ experiences occurred in the work environment. Similarly it is activities in which adolescents perceive little freedom of choice and affect that offer them the greatest levels of concentration and challenge (Kleiber et al., 1986; Passmore & French, 2001). Activities providing ‘flow’ require high levels of involvement, are often competitive and include achievement oriented endeavours such as sport, playing music, dance, and creative art. Similarly, talented adolescents experience ‘flow’ when engaged in developing their talent (Patrick et al., 1999), as do adults engaged in seriously committed leisure activities (Stebbins, 1992).

This research suggests that adolescents (and the general population) experience the most ‘flow’ in work-like, structured activities. Yet, most adolescents spend substantially more time watching television and engaged in other screen activities (which they perceive as less enjoyable) than in active leisure (Garton et al., 2004). In addition, adolescents report that ‘hanging out’ with friends is their most preferred and enjoyable leisure activity (Passmore & French, 2001). Csikszentmihalyi and LeFevre (1989) postulated that obligatory work (and presumably participation in other structured activities) masks the positive experience it engenders, as individuals tend to judge their desires by social conventions rather than the reality of their feelings. In fact, adolescents who claim that they do not enjoy participating in adult-organised, structured activities may make this claim based on perceived peer norms rather than the actual positive experiences they gain from participation.

Adolescents who actively participate in structured out-of-school activities consistently report experiencing both high motivation and concentration (Larson, 2000). Larson argued that participation in these types of activities increased initiative and intrinsic motivation. Alternatively, competent, intrinsically motivated adolescents participate more, are more committed to participation in structured leisure activities (Munson, 1993).
It could be contended that low intensity activities (‘hanging out’, watching television) provide opportunities to relax and recuperate from the mental tensions of school work and conforming to adult authority and structures. Yet examination of cross cultural studies by Csikszentmihalyi and LeFevre (1989) showed that in some traditional societies where the work day is long and physically demanding, free time was spent in ‘flow’ like activities such as weaving, carving and playing musical instruments. These authors suggested that Westerners’ over-reliance on television and other ‘non-flow’ activities may be due to cultural factors and an inability to organise one’s energy in unstructured free time.

Interestingly, Rathunde (1988) found that the adolescents who experienced ‘flow’ in a range of situations were mostly from homes where five conditions existed: a feeling of choice and control; clarity or rules and structures; recognition of the value of focusing attention; encouragement of task commitment; and provision of meaningful challenges. In their study, Caldwell et al. (1999) noted a positive correlation between perceived parental monitoring and intrinsic motivation for those adolescents engaged in desired extracurricular activity. Similarly, Hoyle and Leff (1997) reported that adolescents’ enjoyment of tennis was positively associated with parental support. These attributes are similar to those described by Baumrind (1978) in identifying authoritative families.

Researchers such as Coleman and Iso-Ahola (1993) have emphasised the importance of perceived freedom as a defining component of leisure and as integral to intrinsic motivation. They argued that activities inducing high levels of perceived freedom (and consequently intrinsic motivation) are more likely to assist people maintain a sense of control and mastery, fostering ‘hardy’ personalities. In Passmore and French’s (2001) study, adolescents rated freedom to make choices as an important determinant in their leisure participation. Yet in an experimental design, Mannell
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(1979) discovered that although participants in the high choice/high competitiveness condition experienced the most ‘flow’, those in the high competition/low choice condition also exhibited high levels of involvement and focus. This suggests that competitiveness may compensate for low choice.

The transitory nature of mood experienced during leisure has also been investigated (e.g., B. Lee & Shafer, 2002). Although people may positively define and experience leisure as, among other characteristics, fun, physically stimulating, intellectually cultivating and providing social bonding, their immediate recall of leisure participation activity includes feelings of apprehension, nervousness, disappointment, frustration and guilt (Y. Lee, Dattilo, & Howard, 1994). This raises the question: How capable are we (and adolescents in particular) at determining our real emotional experiences and distinguishing them from the cognitive schemas developed around participation in a particular activity?

Larson and Richard (1991) found that adolescents were bored 30% of the time during extracurricular activities. Caldwell et al. (1999) attributed such boredom to the reduced autonomy adolescents were able to exercise in such obligatory activities. They argued that this boredom response occurs in adolescents when parents, teachers or coaches force them to expend effort and energy on obligatory routine practice tasks. In contrast, self-determination in activity choice was strongly associated with being involved (and not bored). Yet, according to Larson and Richard’s statistics, 70% of the time, adolescents are not bored during extracurricular activities. In fact, it is those adolescents not participating in structured out-of-school activities who are most bored, leading them to engage in substance abuse, extreme forms of sensation-seeking and antisocial behaviour like burglary and vandalism (Sommers & Vodanovich, 2000).

Ragheb and Merydith (2001) established four factors of free time boredom: the lack of meaningful involvement, the lack of mental involvement, the lack of physical
involvement and the slowness of time. Thus boredom may actually be the result of an inability to cultivate a wide range of interests that can be converted into enjoyable activities (Hunter & Csikszentmihalyi, 2003). People do not develop interests in a vacuum, but require the support of a social system and cultural resources. As Renniner (2000) detailed, the development of children’s interests often requires adults to adjust the level of challenge or to assist in the development of goals or skills before children can achieve success independently. Adolescents too may still require some level of scaffolding until their interests are well developed and self-sustaining.

In the field of music, repetitive practice is one of the most important factors in determining musical success as a child, and as an adult (Sloboda, Davidson, Howe, & Moore, 1996). However, the intrinsic motivation required to develop musical competency is most likely to be a product of early social support from parents and teachers and opportunities to play in a social context (D. G. Moore et al., 2003). Such experiences may lead to the adoption of an emotional engagement with music and subsequently engender intrinsic motivation. Given the complexity and dynamic nature of motivational processes, many adolescents may require the structure of an adult organised activity to keep them involved and to help guide them through the potentially boring and less stimulating aspects of learning a new skill until they are able to reach a level of competence that allows participation in the activity to be self-satisfying and consequently self-sustaining.

Personality factors also appear to impact on interests and intrinsic motivation. In 1982, Eysenck et al. (1982) illustrated how different sports, and even different positions within the same sport, attracted different types of people. The decision to participate in particular activities and the sensations experienced are dictated to some extent by stable individual differences (Courneya & Hellsten, 1998; Kleiber & Dirkin,
Thus it seems likely that personality may shape adolescents’ preferred activities and facilitate (or impede) overall leisure participation.

**Extrinsic motivation.**

Deci and Ryan (cited in Mannell & Kleiber, 1997) suggested that extrinsic motivation can be divided into external regulation (external rewards and punishments), introjected regulation (internally controlling imperatives) and integrated regulation (internalised and integrated extrinsic regulation). It is common for people to strive for external rewards and they often form an integral part of leisure activities with trophies and prizes awarded for participation and good performance. Parents frequently use rewards to encourage their children to participate in particular leisure activities (Mannell & Kleiber, 1997), or punishments to decrease the likelihood of the child engaging in a particular behaviour (Woolger & Power, 1993). Rewards can include both social (praise, affection) and non-social (material goods, money, special privileges) consequences and vary considerably in their salience (from a smile or a pat on the back, to $15 for every goal scored). Conversely, parents can punish children for their participation through their criticisms, emotional abuse and ‘pushing’ beyond natural limitations (R. E. Smith & Smoll, 1996). The resulting levels of stress and anxiety have proved to be a major reason for adolescents’ withdrawal from sports (White, 1998).

The problem with rewards is that people come to construe their participation in an activity as due to receiving the reward, undermining their experience of self-determination and subsequently reducing intrinsic motivation. The more salient the reward, the more likely it is to undermine intrinsic interest in the activity (Woolger & Power, 1993). This over-justification effect has been demonstrated in numerous experiments (e.g., Deci & Ryan, 1985) and can have serious implications for adults in encouraging and maintaining adolescent participation in structured out-of-school activities. For example, Wagner, Lounsbury and Fitzgerald (1989) found that...
scholarship athletes were less likely to derive satisfaction and enjoyment from sport involvement and more likely to perceived it as work, motivated by extrinsic rewards, than did non-scholarship athletes. Similarly, amateur musicians in Juni, Tedrick and Boyd’s (1996) study viewed rehearsals and performances as leisure motivated by intrinsic factors, while professional musicians perceived the same activities as work, motivated primarily by their salary. The unpaid (compared to the paid) soccer players in Roadburg’s (1983) study were more likely to perceive soccer as enjoyable and fun, but they were also less likely to tolerate the boring and repetitive tasks.

Introjected regulation refers to activities that are motivated by internal pressures and describes a form of motivation in which actions are controlled or coerced by internal needs other than competence, self-determination or relatedness (Deci & Ryan cited in Mannell & Kleiber, 1997). For example, individuals may run because they believe it is healthy rather than for any real interest or enjoyment. Consequently, it could be argued that individuals who value the health benefits of participating in physical activities will be more likely to participate in such activities than those who perceive costs (such as loss of time, energy requirement, anxiety) to be a greater consideration. However, Kimieik, Horn and Shurin (1996) found that the value children placed on fitness participation (compared to participation in other activities) was not at all related to their level of moderately vigorous physical activity. They speculated that children (unlike adults) are probably not motivated by the utility of a task for achieving a future goal. Given that adolescents are portrayed as present orientated, introjected regulation possibly plays a minor role in motivating their participation (or non-participation) in particular types of activity.

There is, however, evidence for the positive influence of extrinsic motivation on the frequency of participation in recreational sport (Alexandris & Grouios, 2002). It is suggested that externally prompted behaviour sometimes becomes self-determined
through a process of identification (Iso-Ahola, 1999) or integrated regulation (Deci & Ryan cited in Mannell & Kleiber, 1997). Support for this thesis is provided by Mannell and colleagues’ (Mannell, Zuzanek, & Larson, 1988) study, in which it was found that older adults more frequently experienced ‘flow’ in activities that were extrinsically, rather than intrinsically, motivated. These researchers argued that although there are many benefits in participating in leisure activities requiring obligation and commitment, individuals often need an external ‘push’ to induce involvement.

Rigby and colleagues (Rigby, Deci, Patrick, & Ruyan, 1992) proposed that individuals are able to experience intrinsic interest in externally controlled circumstances through a process of internalisation and integration. This process allows people to expand their sense of freedom and control over their social environment even in the face of potentially controlling factors, so that the activity becomes personally important and people do not feel they are controlled by extrinsic rewards and regulations. Stebbin’s (1992) notion of serious leisure provides an example of leisure behaviour that is often motivated by integrated extrinsic regulation.

Competence and self-concept.

Different types of activity contexts are associated with different values (Eccles & Barber, 1999). Thus involvement in particular types of activities structures the kinds of values and norms to which adolescents are exposed. In turn, these characteristics influence subsequent activity choices. Participants in Haggard and William’s (1992) study ascribed distinctive attributes to different groups of people such as guitarists, backpackers and chess players. Consequently, as individuals move through adolescence they become identified with a particular group of friends or crowd, partly as a result of the activities in which they choose to participate (Brown et al., 1993).

Likewise, people choose not to participate in particular activities due to their self-concept. Culp (1998) found that the strongest influence constraining adolescent
girls from participating in outdoor sports and recreational activities was their own self-concept. Similarly, one of the biggest constraints against adolescent female use of public swimming pools was the critical gaze of others (James, 2000). These girls were embarrassed to be seen in their swimming attire and were concerned that their behaviour would attract the derision of others. James developed the notion of ‘situational body image’ to describe how body image depends on the audience to the activity and the physical characteristics and rules affecting exposure to that audience. This concept may also be true of other aspects of identity and not just body image. Thus participation, or non-participation, in particular activities indicates something about individuals’ identity and self-concept.

Researchers have contended that there is a strong correlation between competence at a leisure activity and degree of participation (see Argyle, 1996). Bandura (1986) proposed that the perception that one has the ability to perform a skill at a certain level (i.e., self-efficacy) acts as a motivator. He purported that self-efficacy had four sources: past successes, vicarious experience, persuasion and a positive psychological state. Self-efficacy has been successful in predicting success in gymnastic competitions, hockey teams (Feltz cited in Argyle, 1996), fitness competency of children (Kimiecik et al., 1996), and academic performance (Eccles et al., 1997). Conversely, perceived lack of ability has been attributed to individuals giving up an activity or even failing to try (Fedricks & Eccles, 2002; Hands, Parker, Glasson, Brinkman, & Read, 2004). Thus many adolescent girls avoid ‘active’ spaces such as the school basketball courts fearing ridicule of their athletic incompetency or injury concerns (James, 2001).

Harter’s (cited in Kimiecik et al., 1996) model of competence motivation contends that individuals who perceive they are competent and in control of consequences (in a particular domain) are less anxious, more persistent, more
intrinsically motivated and consequently more successful. Possibly successful performance or achievement provides a sense of mastery which in turn enhances self-efficacy (Schmidt & Padilla, 2003). However, in Patrick et al.’s (1999) study, adolescents’ decision to commit to their talent activities appeared to be related less to their actual level of competence or ability and more to individual motivational characteristics. Similarly, adolescent females in both Australia and Britain were relatively unconcerned about their team losing all the time (Clough et al., 1995).

Other research suggests that level of involvement, rather than level of self-efficacy, is a better indicator of continued participation. Frequency of participation, rather than self-efficacy, has been linked with positive motivation towards sport involvement (Alexandris & Grouios, 2002), rock climbing (McIntyre, 1992), and children’s satisfaction with soccer (Green & Chalip, 1997). In addition, highly involved aerobic dancers were more likely to continue participation than less involved dancers (McCarville, Crompton, & Sell, 1993). These findings suggest that adolescents may be withdrawing from structured out-of-school activities, not because of their perceived self-efficacy, but rather because they perceive they are not given an equal opportunity to participate compared to their peers. This may be especially true in sporting teams where coaches are focused on winning, inducing them to give the best players maximum game time and marginalising those of lesser ability. However, this thesis would need to be tested.

**Social motivation.**

Interpersonal facilitators are those individuals or groups that enable or promote the formation of leisure preferences and encourage or enhance participation in leisure (Raymore, 2002). Samadahl and Jekubovich (1997) found that the most influential factor for shaping leisure time was social relationships. People do not just want to participate in leisure. They want to share leisure with someone, and members of a
leisure group will often spend large amounts of time in conversations which have
nothing to do with the group’s activities (Argyle, 1996). The participation of friends,
encouragement from friends and the sharing of leisure activities is equally important for
adolescents (Culp, 1998; Hendry et al., 1993; Passmore & French, 2001).

Many leisure activities require the cooperation of others. In addition, the
affiliative rewards associated with belonging to a leisure group may be a powerful
source of motivation. In fact, Moore et al. (2003) speculated that participating in music
alongside peers, in less formal and more sociable settings, may be a critical component
of musical success. The relaxed and cooperative atmosphere associated with concerts
and rehearsals provides a forum in which peers can discuss their music with interested
others and develop a sense of their musical self. These authors concluded that
professional adult musicians maintained their motivation during their younger years as a
consequence of these supportive peer groups. In comparison, the lack of social and peer
support, combined with isolated practice, served to de-motivate childhood musicians.

Resources

Crawford, Jackson and Godbey (1991) proposed three hierarchical levels of
constraints: intrapersonal (individual psychological states and attributes), interpersonal
(interactions with others) and lastly structural (the availability of resources). Structural
constraints intervene between existing leisure preferences and activity participation and
commonly include factors such as time, cost, accessibility of facilities and opportunity
(Hultzman, 1995).

Resources, and accessibility of resources, are needed for many forms of leisure:
you cannot go horse riding without a horse and space to ride. People are very sensitive
to the availability and proximity of resources with attendance at swimming pools and
sport/leisure centres (Veal cited in Argyle, 1996) and participation in structured
activities (McMeeking & Purkayastha, 1995) diminishing as distance of residence from
the facility increases. Public transport (especially in Western Australia) is often not a viable option due to limited routes and scheduling. Thus it is expected that adolescents would place a heavy reliance on parents to transport them to and from leisure activities, requiring the coordination of family timetables and potentially resulting in inconvenience and frustration.

Lack of information, in terms of what is available, benefits of participating and stereotypical images associated with particular types of activities may also act as constraints to participation (Raymore et al., 1994). This was particularly true for the adolescents in McMeeking and Purkayastha’s (1995) study. Even the researchers experienced difficulty in obtaining information about available recreational activities. Most of the information concerning adolescent leisure activities was communicated by word of mouth. There is often a perception that more leisure possibilities exist for boys than girls due to lack of opportunity (e.g., Culp, 1998) and conventions regarding the use of space (James, 2001).

Insufficient money and the cost of equipment, material, supplies, fees, transport and other associated charges, are often thought to be barriers to adolescent participation in structured out-of-school activities (e.g., McMeeking & Purkayastha, 1995). However, in other studies (e.g., Coalter, 1993; Samdahl & Jekubovich, 1997) money appeared to be a hypothetical rather than a true barrier, and in reality made very little difference to participation in organised recreational activities. Time constraints, especially the lack of large blocks of time, may prevent some people participating in preferred activities. For example, among female adolescents, “have no time” was reported as the most common barrier to exercising (Tergerson & King, 2002) and 18% of adolescent males in Hands et al.’s (2004) study indicated that they didn’t have enough time for physical activities. Yet, even the busiest people purposively set aside time for themselves on a regular basis (often rearranging work and social schedules) to
ensure that their personal needs are met (Samdahl & Jekubovich, 1997). Henderson (1997) argued that time is not a constraint as the underlying issue is the scheduling of priorities. Thus in Tergerson and King’s study “wanting to do other things with my time” was reported by males as the most common barrier to exercising. In Willits and Willits’ study (1986) adolescents most involved in work and other obligatory activities tended to have greater leisure participation, while less work time was related to more time spent watching television. So, although adolescents may cite lack of time as a barrier to participation in structured out-of-school activities, more detailed investigation may reveal that this is more an excuse than a genuine constraint.

Jackson, Crawford and Godbey (1993) suggested that participation in leisure results from the successful negotiation of constraints, rather than their absence. Humans are not passive responders, but interact creatively with their environment to construct their daily life experiences, balancing external demands against personal desires and interests. Even adolescents negotiate around constraints, soliciting rides from friends and other adults when parental transport is unavailable and using structured activity time for socialising with friends, when ‘hanging out’ is a denied option (McMeeking & Purkayastha, 1995). In addition, people seldom used a word comparable to ‘constraints’ when speaking freely about factors influencing their leisure choices. Thus rather than preventing leisure from occurring, structural constraints may just alter the shape of the activity (Samdahl & Jekubovich, 1997).

Societal Influences

From a macro perspective, societal belief systems (ethnic stereotyping, socio-economic status, gender) and norms constrain individuals’ participation in particular activities by the granting of certain rights and privileges to members of some groups and also designating ‘appropriate’ activities in which particular people can participate (Raymore, 2002). Thus the decision to participate in an activity includes the conscious
or unconscious passing of the idea through a range of ‘social’ filters (Roberts cited in Hendry et al., 1993).

Societal belief systems are perpetuated through social institutions (schools, families), organisations’ policies and the mass media. Schools are a significant socialising institution in the lives of adolescents and the ethos of a school can have a considerable impact on adolescent participation in particular types of out-of-school activities (Hendry et al., 1993). Physical education teachers’ perceptions of certain social and physical characteristics of students have been found to influence immediate and long-term sports attitudes and performances. Students who succeed academically and assess their school experience positively are more likely to take part in extracurricular activities, conceivably because they have similar values to their teachers and coaches (Hendry, 1992). The scaffolding (through appropriate levels of support and encouragement) provided by instructors assists adolescent development and influences future involvement in, or cessation of, the activity (e.g., Clough et al., 1995; Hultzman, 1993; D. G. Moore et al., 2003).

The media, and television in particular, can have a significant impact on the formation and consolidation of adolescent value systems and behaviours (Rice & Dolgin, 2002). For example, more than a thousand separate studies have linked television viewing with adolescent anti-social activity (Strasburger, 1995). In the print media, the lack of female sport images (Whannel, 1995) and role models is seen to constrain adolescent female participation in particular activities (e.g., Culp, 1998). Yet in Clough et al.’s (1995) study, for both Australian and British adolescents “being like my sporting hero/heroine” was ranked as the least likely reason to influence their participation in sport. Similarly, when asked which sport star or celebrity they would like to be, around 80% of the adolescents in Whannel’s study refused the question with answers like ‘none of them’ or ‘I just want to be me’. We should be careful not to
underestimate the ability of adolescents to think and act independently in their own best interests.

There are indicators that socio-economic status impacts on adolescents’ leisure participation. In Britain, middle-class adolescents are more likely to participate in adult-organised leisure pursuits and less likely to participate in peer oriented casual leisure (Hendry et al., 1993). Similarly, time spent ‘hanging out’ and watching television is associated with higher socio-economic status (McHale et al., 2001). Socio-economic stratification also results in different patterns of participation in structured and unstructured activities in both rural and suburban America (McMeeking & Purkayastha, 1995).

Most research indicates differences between adolescent male and female types and patterns of leisure participation (Gordon & Caltabiano, 1996; Passmore & French, 2001). By the time adolescence is reached activities are identified as ‘male’ or ‘female’ (Archer & McDonald, 1990), limiting ‘possible’ leisure time activities (Gibbon, Lynn, & Stiles, 1997). Although there have been changes in the leisure patterns of adolescent girls, gender still remains a strong predictor of participation in particular pursuits. For example, adolescent males are over-represented in sport, passive and unstructured activities (Bartko & Eccles, 2003; Hendry et al., 1993), certain outdoor activities (hunting and fishing) are rarely introduced to girls (Culp, 1998), females are more likely to participate in ‘social’ leisure activities, school based clubs and activities and volunteering (Bartko & Eccles, 2003; Passmore & French, 2001), and female leisure opportunities are often constrained by unwritten social conventions governing the use of space (James, 2001; Prosser, 1995).

Although adolescents seldom feel they are subjected to ‘blatant discrimination’ based on gender (Culp, 1998), stereotypical roles subtly shape their leisure patterns (Philipp, 1998). Thus participation in sport may be constrained because this activity is
congruent with the masculine role, but threatens images of femininity (Coakley & White, 1992). Or it could be that in some communities (e.g., Britain) there is a lack of out-of-school organised sport for females (see Clough et al., 1995). Similarly, although girls may believe they freely choose their bedroom as a leisure site, they may actually be constrained by a range of factors (including greater limits on their freedom, fear of physical and verbal abuse, domination of space by boys) over which they have little control (James, 2001). Similar gender limitation may well apply to participation in other types of structured activity (such as drama, music, modelling). In addition, it must be acknowledged that differences in leisure constraints are often as great within genders as between genders (E. L. Jackson & Henderson, 1995).

*Research Questions and Hypotheses*

In trying to determine the reason adolescents participate in particular out-of-school activities, it is necessary to consider a range of interrelated factors. At the macro level socio-economic status, ethnicity, gender and other structures and societal institutions appear to establish initial constraints on participating in particular leisure activities. These in turn are compounded by micro-level characteristics of family, peers, other significant adults, and intrinsic and extrinsic motivators. These factors have been separately shown to affect adolescents’ choice of, involvement in and satisfaction obtained through participation in structured out-of-school activities, in various communities around the world. However, missing from the research was a multivariate study of a wide range of relevant influences on adolescent leisure in an Australian context. From this perspective, the current study addressed the following research issues:

1. How do adolescents (between the ages of 12 and 17) spend their time out of school hours, and in particular what are the structured and unstructured ‘leisure time’ activities in which they are involved?
2. What factors predict participation in structured and unstructured out-of-school activities (including personal motivation, the influence of parents, friends, peers and other adults, parenting style and expectation)?

3. What is the relationship between adolescent participation in structured versus unstructured out-of-school activities, health outcomes (emotional, social, physical) and engagement in high-risk activities (drug use, graffiti, stealing)?

4. The literature seems to suggest that parents, intrinsic motivation and perhaps peers are the major determinants of adolescent participation in structured after-school activities, which in turn predicts positive (self-worth, life satisfaction, social acceptance, lack of boredom) and negative (risk behaviours) health consequences.

This study aimed to test this model, as illustrated in Figure 1.
Figure 1.
Proposed model of adolescent structured out-of-school activities, influences and outcomes
It was hypothesised that:

- Adolescents are likely to have higher self-worth and life satisfaction, participate in fewer risk behaviours, have a good peer network, higher satisfaction with friends, and less boredom if they participate in structured out-of-school activities.
- A range of structured activities (not just those with a physical orientation and including part-time work) will contribute to high self-concept, well-being, peer networks, friend satisfaction, reduced risk behaviours and less boredom.
- Adolescents are more likely to participate in structured activities if they remain connected to their parents and their parents value and support participation in structured out-of-school activities.
- Peers will have minimal influence on adolescent participation in structured out-of-school activities.
- The out-of-school activities that adolescents enjoy most are self-determined and intrinsically motivated and this becomes a more salient factor later in adolescence in determining participation in particular types of activities and on-going involvement.
- The model will indicate that strict, supportive parents who value structured out-of-school activities and remain connected to their child and intrinsic motivation (but not peers) will be the major contributors to adolescent participation in structured out-of-school activities, which in turn will be associated with positive health outcomes (high self-worth, life satisfaction, social acceptance, lack of boredom) and low involvement in negative outcomes (a range of risk behaviours).
Method

Participants

Ethics approval from Edith Cowan University Humans Resources Ethics Committee was obtained prior to obtaining permission from school principals and parents to recruit 12 to 17 year old students, from one state and one private co-educational metropolitan high school in Perth, Western Australia. Although 1506 students opted to participate, only 1434 students completed all key items in the questionnaire. Of this sample, 44.1% attended the state school, 46.8% were female, 79.5% lived with both parents, 85.5% were born in Australia and 98.1% primarily spoke English at home. There was a fairly even distribution of students from Years 8 to 10 (Year 8: 26.01%, Year 9: 24.34%, Year 10: 26.08%) and a smaller percentage of Year 11 (11.16%) and Year 12 (12.41%) students. The schools were in neighbouring suburbs and drew on similar middle-class socio-economic populations as reflected by mothers’ education level set out in Table 1.

Table 1

Highest Level of Education Obtained by Mothers as a Percentage of School Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education Level</th>
<th>State School</th>
<th>Private School</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yr 7</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yr 10</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yr 12</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAFE*</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>42.4</td>
<td>50.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Technical and Further Education institutions providing trade, certificate and diploma qualifications.

Materials

Each participant completed an 18 page questionnaire, consisting of 13 sections designed to collect information on adolescent out-of-school time use, and to measure their well-being, self-esteem, leisure motivation and satisfaction, connectedness to
parents, perceived parents’ parenting style, peer networks and influence, and participation in high risk behaviours.

Section 1 asked participants to supply demographic information (gender, age, school attended, year level, family structure and education level of mother).

Section 2 asked participants to indicate the types of leisure activities in which they participated, time spent per week on each activity, whether the activity was provided by a school or club, the number of years involved in the activity and whether a parent currently also participated in the same activity. Participants were required to classify their activities according to the following categories:

- Organised physical team activities: football, soccer, hockey, netball, basketball, rowing, dance, etc;
- Organised physical individual activities: aerobics, athletics, running, triathlons, swimming, gymnastics, cycling, tennis, squash, horse riding, martial arts, umpiring, etc;
- Unorganised physical activities: skating, jogging, cycling, golf, surfing, shooting goals, etc;
- Organised social activity: youth group, scouts, guides, etc;
- Unorganised social activity: ‘hanging out’, parties, talking on phone, movies, card/board games, shopping with friends, LAN (Local Area Network) computer parties, discos, etc;
- Organised creative group activity: band, orchestra, drama, modelling classes, choir, etc;
- Organised creative individual activity: music lessons, cooking classes, drawing/art classes, singing lessons, etc;
- Unorganised creative activity: hobbies, painting, playing instruments, writing, reading, cooking, designing web pages, training dog, etc;
• Individual passive activities: watching television, playing computer games, using the internet, listening to music, etc;
• Volunteer work on a regular basis;
• Part-time paid work.

Section 3 explored influences and motivations for adolescent participation in different types of structured activities. Motivation was measured using a modified version of Baldwin and Caldwell’s (2003) Free Time Motivation Scale for Adolescents (FTMSA-A). This scale measures five forms of free time motivation (amotivation, external, introjected, identified and intrinsic motivation), based on self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985). In the original format, reliability of each of the motivation type sub-scales demonstrated reliability coefficient alpha scores ranging from .69 to .72. For the purposes of this study, one statement or statement stem representative of the motivation type was taken from each subscale. Respondents were required to select the one statement that best explained why they participated in a particular type of structured out-of-school activity.

To provide an indication of other influences, respondents were asked to check who influenced them to participate (parents, peers, other adult, someone famous, own decision) in their structured activity, amount of parental support on a 5-point Likert type scale (not at all supportive to very supportive), adolescents’ perceived ability in the activity compared to peers (way below average, below average, average, above average, way above average), level of parental involvement (spectator, committee, practice, leader, etc) and whether or not respondents believe they would continue to participate in the activity after leaving high school. Adolescents who were not involved in any structured out-of-school activities were asked to explain why they did not participate.

Section 4 was designed to determine adolescents’ reasons for ceasing participation in structured out-of-school activities, the perceived importance parents
placed on participation, level of boredom (never, rarely, sometimes, often, most of the
time), and participation in family leisure activities (not at all true, not really true, largely
true, entirely true).

**Section 5** and **Section 11** consisted of a modified version of Armsden and
Greenberg’s (1987) Inventory of Parent and Peer Attachment (IPPA). This inventory is
designed to assess the cognitive-affective dimensions of attachment, defined as the
quality of affect towards parents and peers as perceived by adolescents. It is a self-
report questionnaire using a 6-point Likert type scale response format (almost never,
never, seldom, sometimes, often, almost always) with 28 items in the parent section and
25 items in the peer section. From participants’ responses three sub-scales (trust,
communication and alienation) can be obtained for parents and peers. In the parent
scales, Armsden and Greenberg obtained alphas of .91 for trust, .91 for communication
and .86 for alienation. For the peer scale they reported alphas of .91 for trust, .87 for
communication and .72 for alienation. In the current study, the four items with the
highest factor loadings were chosen from each of the original subscales resulting in a
total of 12 items for each of the parent and peer scales. When completing the parent
scale, adolescents were instructed to respond to the items for the parent who most
influenced them. Both the full version and shortened versions have been used
successfully in a number of adolescent studies (e.g., Laible et al., 2000; Paterson et al.,
1995; Wong et al., 2002).

**Section 6** assessed susceptibility to peer pressure by summing responses to three
statements on a 5-point Likert type scale (never, rarely, sometimes, often, very often).
Huebner and Mancini (2003) obtained an alpha of .65 for European American
adolescents and .60 for African Americans.

**Section 7** and **Section 8** measured adolescent assessment of social acceptance
and global self-worth using these two sub-scales from the Harter Self-Perception Profile
School’s Out 86

for Adolescents (1988). The scales each consisted of five items utilising a ‘structured alternative format’ in which adolescents are presented with two contrasting sentences. Adolescents select the statement most true of themselves then indicated whether this is ‘Sort of true for me’ or ‘Really true for me’. Each item is scored on a scale from 1 to 4, where a score of 1 indicates low perceived competence and a score of 4 reflects high perceived competence. Three of the items are keyed positive and the other two negative. Harter reported alpha reliabilities of .78 to .90 for social acceptance and .80 to .89 for self-worth. These scales has been used extensively in adolescent studies (e.g., Dekovic & Meeus, 1997; Dumont & Provost, 1999; Wong et al., 2002).

**Section 9** was the Satisfaction With Life Scale (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). This scale consists of five statements designed to measure the present level of life satisfaction and the person’s global assessment of subjective well-being to which participants respond on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (representing strongly disagree) to 7 (representing strongly agree). Scoring consists of summing all items which produced a satisfaction with life score from 5-35. The scale has demonstrated acceptable psychometric properties including evidence of construct validity, internal consistency (coefficient alpha=.87) and a two month test-retest reliability correlation of .82.

**Section 10** asked respondents to indicate on a 6-point Likert type scale (never, over 1 year, less than monthly, about monthly, about weekly, daily) their involvement in a range of risk behaviours including drug use, vandalism, stealing and fighting. Respondents were also required to rate their best friend’s involvement in the same activities. The WA Child Health Survey (Zubrick, Silburn, & Garton, 1993) used similar questions and the same scale.

**Section 12** was a parenting style index developed by Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg and Dornbusch (1991). It identifies four types of parenting (authoritarian,
authoritative, indulgent and neglectful) in terms of demandingness and responsiveness. It comprises two scales. The first scale consists of 15 items and measured parental warmth/involvement. The first five items refers to fathers’ behaviours and the second five items replicated the items but refers to mother’s behaviours. Respondents indicate whether statements such as “I can count on him/her to help me out, if I have some kind of problem” are ‘usually true or usually false’. The mean of these 10 items is used to provide a composite indicator of overall parental support (alpha=.72). The remaining five items relate to parental support for school endeavours (never, sometimes, usually), knowledge of friends (don’t know, know a little, know a lot) and spending time together (almost every day, few times a week, few times a month, almost never).

The second scale consists of nine items and indicates parental strictness/supervision (alpha=.76). The first three items ask respondents how late they stayed out at night during the week and on weekends and parent knowledge of their whereabouts after school. The remaining six items assess how much parents ‘try to know’ and ‘really know’ on a 3-point Likert type scale (don’t, a little, a lot). As items use different measurement formats, items are weighted before composite indices are computed.

The four parenting categories are defined by trichotomising the sample. Scores on the upper third on both scales are defined as authoritative. Scores in the lowest third on each scale are defined as neglectful. Scores in the top third on strictness and the bottom third on acceptance are defined as authoritarian, while scores in the bottom third on strictness and the top third on acceptance are defined as indulgent/permissive. Families who score in the middle tertile on either of the dimensions are excluded from the analysis. Lamborn et al. (1991) argued that this procedure increases the likelihood of the four parenting categories representing qualitatively different types of family environments.
Section 13 required participants to complete a timetable indicating how they spent their time over the preceding week.

Procedure

A pilot study was conducted with four, teacher selected, focus groups (Year 10 males, Year 10 females, Year 8 males, Year 8 females), each consisting of seven private school students. During a single 40 minute session the students responded to a series of open-ended questions and reviewed the questionnaire in order to validate the comprehensibility of the questionnaire and to tease out other issues that would enhance the research design. Feedback obtained during this session indicated no difficulties with the questionnaire design or vocabulary.

The questionnaire was subsequently administered, by teachers, to groups of students (meeting parental consent requirements) in their classrooms, at times determined by school staff. All participants were provided with the questionnaire booklet and a debriefing form and informed of their rights regarding participation. Teachers read out a prepared statement briefly highlighting the aims of the study, providing information regarding the researcher’s background, and explaining the contents of the questionnaire. In addition, teachers were provided information on how to address any potential questions or issues that students may have raised. A single 40 minute session was allocated for completion of the questionnaire.
Results

Preliminary Analyses

Seventy-two (4.8%) of the questionnaires were not included in the initial data set due to invalid or non-completion of the booklet. Participants not recording hours involved in out-of-school activities or with more than 25% missing data (Byrne, 2001) over the remaining variables (excluding demographic information and information relating to involvement in specific activities) were excluded (116 cases, 8.1%).

Outliers for hours spent participating in each type of out-of-school activity were recoded as three standard deviations above the mean\(^1\). The recalculated mean was substituted for all cases with missing data in the non-structured activities and for those participants who had indicated in other sections of the questionnaire that they participated in particular structured activities. The total hours spent in structured and unstructured activities were calculated and extreme outliers (\(3SD+M^2\)) removed (16 cases for each). All hours spent in out-of-school activities were then totalled and extreme outliers (\(3SD+M^3\)) deleted (6 cases).

The final data set consisted of 1280 cases. Where there were only one or two items missing from a particular sub-scale, the mean of the existing data for each individual case was calculated and inserted (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). All remaining missing data (except demographics and information relating to involvement in specific activities) were replaced with the expectation maximization procedure available in SPSS 10.1. Little’s statistic was not significant. Therefore, it may be assumed that the remaining data were missing completely at random (Little & Rubin, 1987). Given the large number of analyses conducted, significance was set at \(p \leq 0.01\) for all analyses of

\(^1\) 3 \(SD + M\) for each type of structured hours - physical team: 13, physical individual: 14, social: 9, creative group: 7, creative individual: 3, volunteering: 11, part-time work: 22; and unstructured hours - physical: 20, social: 39, creative: 18, passive: 60, ‘hanging out’: 31, phone: 23, television: 41, computer: 30, listening to music: 17, x-box: 16.

\(^2\) 3 \(SD + M\) for total structured hours: 26, total unstructured hours: 89

\(^3\) 3 \(SD + M\) for total hours: 92
variance and chi square analyses to reduce the occurrence of a Type I error (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996).

Adolescent Use of Out-of-School Time

In addition to the main questionnaire, 365 students (55.5% females, mean age 14.6 years) had sufficient time to complete a timetable indicating their out-of-school time usage during the previous week. The time spent engaged in key activities during the school week is indicated in Table 2.

Table 2

| Hours Spent During the School Week in Key Activities and Percentage of Sample Considering the Activity ‘Leisure’ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Sleep | Homework | Structured Activities | Screen | Free Time | Work |
| Total M | 43.30 | 6.34 | 4.09 | 12.61 | 17.03 | 0.99 |
| SD | 4.56 | 5.03 | 1.78 | 7.60 | 7.85 | 2.64 |
| Per day M | 8.66 | 1.27 | 0.82 | 2.52 | 3.41 | 0.20 |
| %* | 35.83 | 5.29 | 3.42 | 10.50 | 14.21 | 0.83 |
| % Leisure** | 34.40 | 0.00 | 63.10 | 78.80 | 16.90 |  

* Average time each day as a percentage of a 24 hour day  
** Percentage of participants indicating they considered the activity ‘leisure’

ANOVAs indicated significant interactions between hours spent on homework and year, Brown-Forsythe: $F(4,360)=22.86$, $p<.001$, and school, Brown-Forsythe: $F(1,363)=55.45$, $p<.001$. Year 11 and 12s and private school students spent the most time on homework. A similar significant interaction was found between hours of free time and year, Brown-Forsythe: $F(4,360)=13.72$, $p<.001$, and school, Brown-Forsythe: $F(1,363)=55.49$, $p<.001$, but not gender. In this analysis, Year 11s and 12s and private school students reported having the least hours of free time.

Structured Activities

Adolescents in this study reported involvement in 154 different types of out-of-school leisure activities: 77 physical activities (51 structured), 47 creative activities (19

---

4 In cases where Levene’s statistic was significant, the Brown-Forsythe statistic was used as it is a more robust test when the error variance of the dependent variable can not be assumed to be equal across groups.
structured), 19 social activities (11 structured), and 11 passive activities. The majority (88.8%) of participants were involved in some type of structured out-of-school activity ($M=8.40$ hours per week, $SD=5.22$, range = 0.5-25), including part-time work and volunteering.

It was found that adolescent involvement in part-time work was uniquely different to other types of structured out-of-school activities. Consequently, the decision was made to separate employment from structured leisure activities. Using this criteria, 85.4% of adolescents participated in a structured out-of-school leisure activity ($M=6.60$ hours per week, $SD=3.97$, range = 0.5-25) during the second school term (May-July). A Chi Square analysis indicated a significant difference between year levels in participation versus non-participation, $\chi^2(1, N=1280)=27.37$, $p<.001$, and in hours spent participating Brown-Forsythe: $F(4,1076)=3.80$, $p<.001$. Rates of participation and hours of involvement peaked in Year 9 (89.6%, $AR=2.9^5$, $M=7.21$, $SD=4.16$) and gradually declined through to Year 12 (75.9%, $AR=-3.2$, $M=5.69$, $SD=3.97$). There were no significant differences in participation rate or hours of involvement on the basis of gender, type of school or family structure$^6$.

Almost two-thirds (63.1%) of the adolescents participated in a structured out-of-school team physical activity$^7$ ($M=4.78$ hours per week, $SD=2.70$, range = 1-13) and almost a third (28.8%) in a structured individual physical activity ($M=3.72$ hours per week, $SD=2.95$, range = 0.5-14). Netball (15.5%), football (15.1%), soccer (12.2%) and dancing (10.8%) were the most common structured physical activities in which adolescents participated.

$^5$ Haberman (1973; 1978) suggests that adjusted residuals greater than ±2 indicate significant deviations from the equiprobability model.

$^6$ Two participants indicated they lived with a guardian and they were eliminated from all analyses involving family structure. A further 14 participants did not indicate with whom they resided.

$^7$ Graphs providing a more detailed overview of adolescent involvement in specific activities for each type of activity are located in Appendix A.
A quarter (25.1%) of the adolescents participated in a structured out-of-school group creative activity ($M=2.39$ hours per week, $SD=1.51$, \textit{range}=.5-7) and 19.5% in a structured individual creative activity ($M=1.08$ hours per week, $SD=.61$, \textit{range}=.5-3.0). Learning a musical instrument (24.2%), playing in a band or orchestra (13.3%) and singing/choir (9.3%) were the most prevalent structured creative activities in which adolescents were involved.

A small percentage (16.9%) of the adolescents participated in a structured out-of-school social activity ($M=3.00$ hours per week, $SD=1.83$, \textit{range}=1-9) of which attending youth group (7.8%) was the most popular. Six percent of the adolescents participated in one of 19 different types of structured out-of-school volunteer activities ($M=2.87$ hours per week, $SD=2.09$, \textit{range}=.5-11).

Just over a quarter (27.7%) of the adolescents were involved in 32 different types of part-time work. On average, adolescents who had part-time jobs worked 6.80 hours ($SD=4.08$, \textit{range}=.5-20 hours), two days ($SD=1.03$) per week. Adolescents were most commonly employed as shop assistants, paper deliverers and in the fast food industry.

Tables 3 and 4 summarise significant participation rates and hours of involvement in each type of structured activity on the basis of gender, school and year level (see Appendix B for percentages, adjusted residuals, means and standard deviations). Compared to males, more of the females worked and were involved in creative group and creative individual activities. Although participation rates were not statistically different between genders, males spent longer in physical team activities. More of the private school students worked, and worked longer hours. However, fewer private school students were involved in structured social activities. Although participation rates in creative group activities were not statistically different, private school students were involved for more hours. The percentage of students working
increased with year level from a low of 10.45\% (\textit{AR}=-8.3) in Year 8 to a high of 50.7\% (\textit{AR}=6.6) in Year 11. Family structure or mother’s education had no effect on adolescent participation or hours of involvement in any of the structured activities.

Table 3

\textit{Chi Square Analyses of Adolescent Participation in Different Types of Structured Leisure Activities on the Basis of Three Demographic Variables}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Team Physical</th>
<th>Social</th>
<th>Group Creative</th>
<th>Individual Creative</th>
<th>Volunteer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>df</td>
<td>( \chi^2 )</td>
<td>df</td>
<td>( \chi^2 )</td>
<td>df</td>
<td>( \chi^2 )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.88*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>28.77**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.00*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.36*</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>29.81**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50.75**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>177.32**</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>23.91**</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>16.39*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( N=1280 \quad * p<.01 \quad ** p<.001 \)

Table 4

\textit{ANOVA}s of Hours Adolescents Actually Involved in Different Types of Structured Leisure Activities by Three Demographic Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Team Physical</th>
<th>Social</th>
<th>Group Creative</th>
<th>Individual Creative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>df</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>df</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>806</td>
<td>22.46(^{\Delta*})</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>352</td>
<td>7.58*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>349</td>
<td>20.65**</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{*} p<.01 \quad ** p<.001 \quad \(^{\Delta}\)=Brown-Forsythe statistic

Table 5 indicates the percentage of adolescents (limited to those actually participating) who accessed their structured activity through their school or a community organisation. Totals are greater than 100\% as some adolescents were involved in both school and community based activities.
Table 5

Percentage of Adolescents Participating in Community and School Provided Structured Out-of-School Leisure Activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
<th>COMMUNITY</th>
<th>SCHOOL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Team Physical</td>
<td>78.5%</td>
<td>45.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual Physical</td>
<td>85.5%</td>
<td>20.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>80.3%</td>
<td>21.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group Creative</td>
<td>30.1%</td>
<td>79.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual Creative</td>
<td>59.7%</td>
<td>45.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteering</td>
<td>70.2%</td>
<td>24.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participation rates in school, $\chi^2(1, n=785)=22.70, p<.001$, and club, $\chi^2(1, n=785)=78.00, p=.001$, team physical activities and in individual physical activities provided by schools, $\chi^2(1, n=352)=9.43, p<.01$, and clubs, $\chi^2(1, n=351)=8.49, p<.01$, differed significantly by type of school attended. More of the state, compared to private, school students belonged to a club for both physical team and individual activities, while the reverse was true for participation in the same types of school provided activities (percentages and adjusted residuals provided in Appendix C). There were no significant differences in participation rates in any of the other types of activities on the basis of whether it was provided by a club or the school.

Unstructured Activities

A large majority of adolescents engaged in a range of unstructured activities, as illustrated in Table 6. The most common unstructured physical activities included running (19.1%), surfing (14.3%), cycling (14.2%), walking (10.3%), shooting goals (10.2%), and skating (9.3%). Prevalent unstructured social activities encompassed phone calls, messaging or msn (60.5%), ‘hanging out’ with friends (46.3%), shopping with friends (19.6%) and parties (18.3%). The most frequently cited unstructured creative activities were reading (22.9%), cooking (11.3%) and painting or drawing (8.6%). In addition, 19.9% of the students practised a musical instrument for a weekly average of 4.18 hours ($SD=2.94$, $range=.5-20$ hours) and five sessions ($SD=2.12$).
Unstructured passive activities included watching television (93.7%), using the computer (76.8%), listening to music (30.1%) and playing electronic games (18.4%).

Table 6

*Adolescent Participation in Unstructured Out-of-School Activities*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Physical</th>
<th>Social</th>
<th>Creative</th>
<th>Passive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>% Involved</td>
<td>70.7</td>
<td>79.7</td>
<td>62.0</td>
<td>98.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$M^*$</td>
<td>4.96</td>
<td>10.45</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>20.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$SD$</td>
<td>4.94</td>
<td>7.95</td>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>10.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>.3 – 3.0</td>
<td>.3 – 39</td>
<td>.5 – 18</td>
<td>1 – 60</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Hours per week

Tables 7 and 8 provide an overview of participation rates and hours of involvement in each type of unstructured activity on the basis of gender, school and year level (see Appendix D for percentages, adjusted residuals, means and standard deviations). More of the females (71%, $AR=6.3$) and Year 9s (67.9%, $AR=2.5$) participated in unstructured creative activities, while more of the males (74.1%, $AR=2.8$) and Year 9s (75.5%, $AR=2.2$) engaged in unstructured physical activities. Males also spent longer ($M=6.02$ hours, $SD=5.92$) in this type of activity. Although participation rates in passive activities did not vary significantly between genders or year levels, females ($M=19.31$, $SD=9.99$) and Year 11s ($M=18.65$, $SD=8.68$) and Year 12s ($M=19.4$, $SD=9.82$) spent the least hours on such activities. More females were involved in unstructured social activities (86.8%, $AR=5.9$), but Year 12s spent the most time on such activities ($M=12.11$, $SD=8.04$). Analyses involving mother’s education or family structure were not significant for either participation rates or hours of involvement.
Chi Square Analyses of Participation in Different Types of Unstructured Activities on the Basis of Three Demographic Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Physical df</th>
<th>( \chi^2 )</th>
<th>Creative df</th>
<th>( \chi^2 )</th>
<th>Passive df</th>
<th>( \chi^2 )</th>
<th>Social df</th>
<th>( \chi^2 )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
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<td>39.94**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>35.29**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9.82**</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.54*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14.65*</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>21.63**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\( N=1280 \)  * \( p<.01 \)  ** \( p<.001 \)

ANOVAs of Hours Adolescents Actually Involved in Different Types of Unstructured Activities by Three Demographic Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Physical df</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>( F )</th>
<th>Creative df</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>( F )</th>
<th>Passive df</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>( F )</th>
<th>Social df</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>( F )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>903</td>
<td>62.07**( \Delta )</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1264</td>
<td>30.12**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td></td>
<td>791</td>
<td>11.80**( \Delta )</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1264</td>
<td>26.81**( \Delta )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td></td>
<td>1261</td>
<td>4.25*</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1015</td>
<td>8.07**( \Delta )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* \( p<.01 \)  ** \( p<.001 \)  \( \Delta \)=Brown-Forsythe statistic

Involvement in Structured Versus Unstructured Activities

Table 9 highlights the correlations between structured and unstructured activities. Involvement in volunteer activities showed no significant correlations with any unstructured activity.

---

1 See Appendix E for separate analyses of hours watching television and using the computer

2 See Appendix F for separate analyses of hours on the phone and ‘hanging out’
Table 9

*Pearson’s Correlation Co-efficients of Structured and Unstructured Activities*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not Structured</th>
<th>Team Physical</th>
<th>Indiv. Physical</th>
<th>Social</th>
<th>Group Creative</th>
<th>Indiv. Creative</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Total Structured</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creative</td>
<td>-.08*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>-.10**</td>
<td>-.11**</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.11**</td>
<td>-.11**</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.15**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=1280  *p<.01  ** p<.001

Factors Associated with Participation in

*Out-of-School Activities*

**Structured Activities**

*Motivation and influence.*

The majority of the adolescents involved in structured out-of-school activities reported being intrinsically motivated (physical: 85.9%, creative: 67.7%, social: 72.4%, volunteer: 70.2%) and having made their own decision to participate (part-time work: 51.6%, physical: 52.6%, creative: 49.4%, volunteer: 48.1%, social: 34.1%). Parents were the second most commonly reported influence (physical 26.7%, creative 22.1%, volunteer 20.8% and part-time work 36.5%), with the exception of structured social activities in which peers were more influential (40.7%). It is worth noting that external motivation (to earn money) was the main reason (81.8%) adolescents reported engaging in part-time work.

Chi square analyses indicated significant differences between type of motivation and person influencing participation in structured creative\(^{10}\), $\chi^2(6, n=316)=46.51, p<.001$, physical\(^{11}\), $\chi^2(6, n=764)=18.34, p<.01$, and social\(^{12}\), $\chi^2(2, n=148)=11.27, p<.01$, activities. More of those adolescents whose involvement in

To ensure minimum expected frequency requirements were met (Coakes & Steed, 2001) the following changes were made to the analyses:

10. Adult influences combined and introjected motivation deleted to ensure cells met minimum expected cell count requirements.
11. Adult influences combined and external motivation deleted
12. Adult influences combined and external, amotivation and introjected motivation deleted
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a structured creative (82.1%, AR=5.1), physical (88.1%, AR=2.1) or social (79.6%, AR=2.7) activity was self-determined were intrinsically motivated, while more of those externally motivated to participate in a structured creative activity (86.5%, AR=6.1) were influenced by adults.

Table 10 indicates adolescents’ plans to continue their structured activity after leaving school. A minority of adolescents believed they would cease participating in their structured activity after leaving school. This did not vary significantly on the basis of school, family structure, gender, year level or mother’s education for any one activity, except structured physical activities. Within this activity, significant differences were found between genders, $\chi^2(2, n=908)=12.84$, $p<.01$ and year levels, $\chi^2(8, n=908)=40.20$, $p<.001$. More of the males (70.3%, AR=3.5) and Year 12s (86%, AR=4.7) were planning to continue.

Table 10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Unsure</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical</td>
<td>65.1%</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>39.4%</td>
<td>42.2%</td>
<td>18.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creative</td>
<td>47.2%</td>
<td>36.9%</td>
<td>15.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volunteer</td>
<td>60.7%</td>
<td>30.3%</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The person influencing adolescents’ participation in a structured physical activity$^{13}$, $\chi^2(4, n=791)=1.36$, $p<.01$ impacted significantly on their desire to continue the activity after leaving school. Fewer of the adolescents who were influenced by peers to participate (49.2%, AR=-3.7) believed they would continue the activity after leaving school.

---

$^{13}$ Adult influences combined
Type of motivation was a significant factor in adolescents’ decision to continue only for structured creative activities\textsuperscript{14}, $\chi^2(6, n=336)=67.31, p<.001$. More adolescents who reported a desire to continue their structured creative activity (83.8\%, \textit{AR}=5.4) were intrinsically motivated, while more of those who were amotivated (58.8\%, \textit{AR}=4.9) or externally motivated (43.6\%, \textit{AR}=4.9) were not planning to continue.

There were no significant interactions between the number of hours adolescents participated in various structured activities and type of motivation. However, there was a significant interaction between hours involved in structured team physical activities and type of influence, $F(2,662)=7.45, p<.001$. Adolescents influenced by adults spent significantly more hours ($M=5.47, SD=2.86$) in this activity than those influenced by either peers ($M=4.36, SD=2.73$) or making their own decision ($M=4.68, SD=2.66$).

\textit{Ability.}

The majority of adolescents participating in structured physical or creative activities believed themselves to have above average (20\% physical, 39.2\% creative) or average (49.3\% physical, 56.8\% creative) ability. There was a significant difference between perceived level of ability\textsuperscript{15} in structured physical, $\chi^2(6, n=897)=10.46, p<.001$, and creative, $\chi^2(4, n=373)=23.97, p<.001$, activities and desire to continue the activity after leaving school. More of the adolescents who considered themselves above average ability in their creative activity (56.5\%, \textit{AR}=4.1) or well-above average in their physical activity (87.6\%, \textit{AR}=6.7) activity believed they would continue.

A significant interaction was found between hours spent in the activity and perceived ability level for structured physical activities, Brown-Forsythe: $F(3,884)=36.46, p<.001$. As ability increased, hours spent in the activity also increased (below average: $M=2.91, SD=1.16$; well-above average: $M=7.48, SD=3.74$). Although the interaction was not significant for structured creative activities ($p=.03$), the results

\textsuperscript{14} Introjected motivation deleted
\textsuperscript{15} Well below and below average combined due to small numbers in these categories
showed a similar trend. There were also significant positive associations between perceived ability and years spent in structured team physical, $F(4,736)=5.2$, $p<.001$, individual physical, Brown-Forsythe: $F(3,330)=3.62$, $p<.01$, team creative, Brown-Forsythe: $F(3,245)=6.97$, $p<.001$, and individual creative activities, $F(3,198)=6.71$, $p<.001$.

Type of motivation also differed significantly according to ability for both physical, $\chi^2(9, n=855)=23.86$, $p<.01$, and creative activities, $\chi^2(9, n=327)=46.31$, $p<.001$. Fewer of those adolescents who were intrinsically motivated to participate in a structured physical activity were of below average ability (1.4%, $AR=-3.3$). More of the adolescents who were amotivated to engage in structured creative activities considered themselves below average in ability (35.7%, $AR=5.3$) and more of those who were externally motivated perceived themselves as average in ability (20%, $AR=3.7$).

**Winning versus equal playing time.**

Over half (57.1%) of adolescents involved in a structured physical activity preferred to be given equal participation time rather than win. Further analysis indicated a significant difference in preference according to perceived ability, $\chi^2(4, n=833)=39.64$, $p<.001$, gender, $\chi^2(1, n=837)=26.01$, $p<.001$, and year level, $\chi^2(4, n=837)=15.67$, $p<.01$. More males (51%, $AR=5.1$) and adolescents with well above average ability (65.4%, $AR=6.3$) preferred to win, while more females (66.5%, $AR=5.1$), Year 8s (67.1%, $AR=3.6$) and adolescents with average (63.4%, $AR=2.6$) or above average (60.9%, $AR=2.7$) ability preferred to be given equal playing time.

**Years of involvement.**

ANOVAAs indicated a significant interaction between the number of years involved in a structured team physical, Brown-Forsythe: $F(2,905)=5.91$, $p<.01$, individual physical, Brown-Forsythe: $F(2,905)=6.12$, $p<.01$, or social, Brown-Forsythe: $F(2,177)=6.70$, $p<.01$, activity and a desire to continue the activity after leaving school.
On average, the greater the number of years adolescents participated in the activity (team physical: $M=4.97$, $SD=3.55$, individual physical: $M=1.62$, $SD=2.88$, social: $M=4.36$, $SD=4.16$), the more likely they would continue after leaving school. In addition, a significant main effect was found for motivation, $F(3, 861)=5.23$, $p<.001$, with those who were intrinsically motivated having spent the most years in the activity ($M=4.93$, $SD=3.36$) and those with introjected motivation the fewest ($M=2.93$, $SD=3.23$).

**Parent support.**

The majority of adolescents considered their parents either supportive or very supportive of their involvement in a structured physical (89.2%), social (73.8%), creative (84.2%) or volunteer (85.4%) activity or part-time employment (86.9%). However, actual parent support through coaching/teaching, watching, helping with practice or being on a committee varied across the different types of activities (physical team 82.6%, physical individual 75.3%, social 24.1%, creative group 48.3%, creative individual 49.6%, volunteer 45.5%).

A significant difference existed between perceived$^{16}$ and actual$^{17}$ level of parent support in structured physical, $\chi^2(9, n=896)=151.87$, $p<.001$, social, $\chi^2(4, n=177)=20.66$, $p<.001$, and creative, $\chi^2(6, n=345)=30.30$, $p<.001$, activities. The parents who were most involved in their adolescent’s structured physical (87.2%, $AR=7.1$), social (85.7%, $AR=3.5$) or creative (90.9%, $AR=2.3$) activity were more likely to be seen by adolescents as being very supportive of their participation.

Adolescents’ decision to continue a structured physical, $\chi^2(6, n=908)=21.00$, $p<.01$, or social, $\chi^2(6, n=356)=36.44$, $p<.001$, activity varied significantly with

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$^{16}$“Not supportive” and “not at all supportive” combined to meet minimum expected cell count requirements

$^{17}$All measured areas of actual parent support were combined into one value resulting in four categories: no support, support in one area, support in two areas and support in three areas.
perceived level of parent support. More of the adolescents who planned to continue their involvement in structured physical (71.7%, \(AR=4.1\)) or social (67.1%, \(AR=3.6\)) activities had parents who were very supportive of their participation.

There were no significant interactions between the level of parent support and the number of hours adolescents participated in any type of structured activity. However, an ANOVA indicated a significant interaction between actual parent involvement and the number of hours adolescents participated in structured physical team activities, \(F(3,751)=10.53, p<.001\). The more ways in which parents were involved in actively supporting this activity, the greater the number of hours adolescents spent participating. Although similar trends were noted for the other structured activities, they were not significant at the \(p<.01\) level.

**Parental values.**

The large majority (77.3%) of the adolescents believed their parents considered involvement in structured out-of-school activities was important. This perception did not differ significantly according to gender, school, mother’s education or family structure, but was significant for year level, \(\chi^2(4, N=1280)=18.11, p<.001\). More of the Year 8s (85.5%, \(AR=4.2\)) believed their parents valued involvement in structured activities.

A significant difference existed between the belief parents valued structured activities and adolescent participation in structured leisure activities generally, \(\chi^2(1, N=1280)=94.29, p<.001\), and team physical, \(\chi^2(1, N=1280)=63.60, p<.001\), group creative, \(\chi^2(1, N=1280)=14.77, p<.001\), and individual creative, \(\chi^2(1, N=1280)=8.02, p<.01\), activities in particular. More of the adolescents who believed their parents valued involvement in structured out-of-school activities participated in a structured leisure activity (89.8%, \(AR=9.7\)), and in particular in a structured team physical (81.6%,
AR=8.0), group creative (85.0%, AR=3.8) or individual creative (84.0%, AR=2.0) activity.

The value adolescents believed parents placed on structured out-of-school activities also interacted significantly with hours adolescents spent engaged in structured leisure activities, $F(1,1278)=56.90, p<.001$. Adolescents who believed their parents valued structured activities spent significantly more hours ($M=6.07, SD=4.23$) participating than those adolescents who believed their parents did not consider structured activities important ($M=3.92, SD=4.39$).

**Parent connectedness.**

In this study, Armsden and Greenberg’s (1987) IPPA Parent Scale (short version) showed an internal reliability alpha of .89. The majority of adolescents (61.2%) had high to very high connectedness to their parents, with another 26.5% indicating average connectedness. Parent connectedness was not significantly correlated with school, family structure, mother’s education or gender. There was however, a significant main effect for year level, Brown-Forsythe: $F(4,1275)=11.19, p<.001$. Adolescents in Years 8 ($M=47.79, SD=8.61$) and 9 ($M=45.99, SD=8.91$) on average had significantly higher levels of connectedness to parents than those in Years 10 ($M=43.56, SD=10.1$), 11 ($M=43.97, SD=8.75$) and 12 ($M=44.32, SD=8.48$).

An ANOVA indicated a significant interaction between hours spent in structured leisure activities and connectedness to parents$^{18}$, $F(4,1275)=3.11, p<.01$. On average, the greater the number of hours spent participating in structured activities, the greater the level of connectedness (very low connectedness: $M=4.12, SD=3.59$; very high connectedness: $M=5.58, SD=4.36$). Further analysis showed no significant interaction between connectedness to parents and hours involved in different types of structured activities.

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$^{18}$ For this analysis the Parent Scale was divided into 5 equal groups to indicate level of connectedness from very low to very high.
activities, with the exception of part-time work, Brown-Forsythe: $F(4,1275)=3.48, p<.01$, which was in the opposite direction to structured leisure activities.

**Parent strictness.**

A reliability alpha of .75 was obtained for Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg and Dornbusch’s (1991) Parent Strictness Scale. Perceived parent strictness varied significantly according to gender, $F(1,1278)=6.92, p<.01$, and year level, $F(4,1275)=17.23, p<.001$, but not school, family structure, or mother’s education. Generally, females reported stricter parents than males, and strictness decreased as year level increased.

An ANOVA indicated a significant relationship between hours spent participating in structured leisure activities and reported parent strictness$^{19}$, $F(3,1276)=6.38, p<.001$, as hours increased so too did perceived parent strictness (very strict: $M=6.14$, $SD=4.36$, not at all strict: $M=4.59$, $SD=3.75$). Although there was no significant main effect for parent strictness when specific types of structured activities were analysed separately, the trend was for hours of participation to increase as perceived parent strictness increased. There was however, a significant association between hours spent in part-time work and perceived parent strictness, Brown-Forsythe: $F(3,1276)=6.79, p<.001$, but in the opposite direction so that as reported parent strictness increased, hours spent working decreased.

**Parenting style.**

The Parenting Style Index developed by Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg and Dornbusch (1991) identified four types of parenting on the basis of two scales: Parent Involvement and Parent Strictness. In this study, the Parent Involvement Scale had a reliability alpha of .12 and the decision was made to substitute this scale with the Parent Connectedness Scale. The four parenting categories were then defined by

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$^{19}$ For this analysis scores on the Parent Strictness Scale were divided into 4 equal groups to indicate level of strictness from very low to very high.
trichotomizing the sample on each scale. Cases in the upper third on both scales were defined as authoritative (39.1%). Cases in the lowest third on each scale were defined as neglectful (35.2%). Cases in the top third on strictness and the bottom third on connectedness were defined as authoritarian (15.4%), while cases in the bottom third on strictness and the top third on connectedness were defined as permissive (10.4%). The 663 cases scoring in the middle third on either of the dimensions were excluded from further analyses involving parenting style.

Chi Square analyses showed a significant interaction between parenting style and year level, \(\chi^2(12, n=617)=51.31, p<.001\), but not gender, school, family structure or mother’s education. More of the Year 8s (54.2%, \(AR=4.9\)) perceived they had authoritative parents, while more of the Year 11s (47.6%, \(AR=2.2\)) and Year 12s (54.2%, \(AR=3.6\)) had neglectful parents.

A significant difference existed between parenting style and parent belief in the importance of adolescent involvement in structured activities, \(\chi^2(3, n=617)=27.78, p<.001\), actual parent supportiveness of structured physical activities, \(\chi^2(9, n=432)=44.43, p<.001\), adolescent participation in structured leisure activities, \(\chi^2(12, n=617)=10.98, p<.01\), and hours spent participating \(F(3,613)=5.49, p<.001\).

More of the adolescents who perceived their parents as authoritative participated in structured leisure activities (89.6%, \(AR=2.9\)), believed their parents thought structured leisure activities were important (44.4%, \(AR=4.9\)) and that their parents had maximum involvement (30.6%, \(AR=3.8\)). In addition, these adolescents spent the most hours participating in structured leisure activities (\(M=6.33, SD=4.28\)).

Again, adolescent involvement, \(\chi^2(3, n=617)=10.51, p<.01\), and hours spent in part-time employment, Brown-Forsythe: \(F(3,613)=6.88, p<.001\), was uniquely different to structured leisure activities. More of the adolescents who perceived their parents as neglectful, worked (34.1%, \(AR=2.6\)) and worked the most hours (\(M=2.73, SD=4.51\)).
Peers

Whether or not an adolescent’s best friend participated in the same structured activity or not varied across the different types of activities (physical team 61.8%, physical individual 35.2%, social 57.7%, creative group 49.2%, creative individual 19.6%, volunteer 35.1%, work 15.4%). Although ANOVAs indicated no significant interactions between best friend participating in same activity and hours spent in each of the different types of structured activities, except group creative activities, Brown-Forsythe: \( F(1,303)=9.25, p<.01 \), there was a tendency for those adolescents whose friend participated to spend marginally more hours involved in the activity.

Armsden and Greenberg’s (1987) IPPA Peer Scale (short version) showed an internal reliability alpha of .81. No significant association was found between hours spent in structured activities and connectedness to peers\(^{20}\) (\( p=.016 \)), although again the trend was that as hours of involvement increased so too did connectedness to peers.

An internal reliability alpha of .62 was obtained for Huebner and Mancini’s (2003) Susceptibility to Peer Pressure Scale. Susceptibility to peer pressure\(^{21}\) interacted significantly with hours involved in structured activities, Brown-Forsythe: \( F(3,1276)=4.01, p<.01 \). As hours of involvement increased, adolescent susceptibility to peer pressure decreased (low susceptibility: \( M=5.84, SD=4.47 \), high susceptibility: \( M=4.45, SD=3.68 \)). However, there were no significant interactions when each type of activity was analysed separately.

Non-participation in structured leisure activities.

A minority (15.5%) of the adolescents reported no involvement in structured out-of-school leisure activities. Figure 2 illustrates the most common reasons reported by adolescents for not participating in any structured leisure activity.

\(^{20}\) For this analysis the Peer Scale was divided into 5 equal groups to indicate level of connectedness from very low to very high

\(^{21}\) For this analysis the Peer Pressure Scale was divided into 4 equal groups to indicate level of susceptibility to peer pressure from very low to very high
Figure 2. Most common reasons for not participating in a structured out-of-school activity as a percentage of those not participating.

The majority (86.7%) of the adolescents had ceased involvement in some type of structured leisure activity. The mean age this occurred was 12.13 years ($SD=2.04$).

Figure 3 indicates the most common structured leisure activities in which adolescents had previously participated and had since abandoned, and their reasons for ceasing the activity are shown in Figure 4.

Figure 3. Most common structured out-of-school activities adolescents abandoned as a percentage of those who had ceased participating.
Figure 4. Most common reasons for ceasing participation in a structured out-of-school activity as a percentage of those who had ceased participating.

Unstructured Activities

Peers.

ANOVA indicated a significant interaction between level of peer connectedness and the number of hours adolescents spent in unstructured social activities, Brown-Forsythe: $F(4,1275)=7.98$, $p<.001$. Level of connectedness to peers increased as hours involved in unstructured social activities increased (high connectedness: $M=9.83$, $SD=9.02$, low connectedness: $M=4.54$, $SD=6.42$). There were no significant interactions between connectedness to peers and hours spent on unstructured physical, creative or passive activities. There were also no significant interactions between susceptibility to peer pressure and hours engaged in the various types of unstructured activities. However, the trend was for those adolescents who were least susceptible to peer pressure to spend the least time in the unstructured activity.

Interestingly, an ANOVA indicated a significant relationship between peer connectedness and susceptibility to peer group pressure, Brown-Forsythe: $F(3,1276)=10.54$, $p<.001$. The greater connectedness adolescents had to peers the less likely they were to be influenced by peer pressure. Significant interactions were also
found between involvement of best friend in activity and hours spent in unstructured creative, Brown-Forsythe: $F(1,762)=8.75, p<.01$, or physical, Brown-Forsythe: $F(1,884)=85.13, p<.001$, activities, but not for unstructured social activities. In both the significant interactions, more hours were spent in the activity if best friends also participated.

*Parent connectedness.*

A significant interaction was found between adolescent connectedness to parents and hours spent in unstructured social, Brown-Forsythe: $F(4,1275)=6.74, p<.001$, and passive, $F(4,1275)=4.08, p<.01$, activities. Adolescents with very low levels of connectedness to parents spent the most hours in unstructured social or passive activities. However, there were no significant relationships between connectedness to parents and hours involved in unstructured physical or creative activities.

*Parent strictness.*

Hours spent in unstructured social activities interacted significantly with perceived parent strictness, Brown-Forsythe: $F(3,1276)=8.56, p<.001$. As perceived parent strictness increased, hours spent on unstructured social activities decreased. Although not significant, the same pattern was found for participation in unstructured physical and passive activities. However, the trend was reversed for hours spent in unstructured creative activities. This was also reflected in participation rates in unstructured creative activities which differed significantly with level of strictness, $\chi^2(3, N=1280)=23.44, p<.001$. More of those adolescents who participated in an unstructured creative activity perceived they had very strict parents (42.4%, $AR=4.1$).

*Parenting style.*

An ANOVA showed a significant interaction between parenting style and hours spent in unstructured social activities, Brown-Forsythe: $F(3,613)=10.56, p<.001$, and passive activities, $F(3,613)=5.74, p<.001$. Adolescents who perceived their parents as
neglectful, on average spent significantly more hours involved in unstructured social and passive activities, while those who perceived their parents as authoritative spent the least time in these activities\textsuperscript{22}.

No significant relationship was found between parenting style and hours spent in unstructured creative or physical activities. However, the trend was for adolescents who perceived their parents as authoritative to spend the most time in unstructured creative activities and those who perceived their parents as neglectful, the least. In contrast, adolescents who perceived their parents as permissive spent the most time in unstructured physical activities and those who perceived their parents as authoritarian, the least.

\textit{Outcomes Associated with Adolescent Participation in Out-of-School Activities}

\textit{Structured Activities}

\textit{Risk behaviours}.

The majority of adolescents reported never having been involved in one or more risk behaviours, as illustrated in Figure 5.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{risk_activities}
\caption{Percentage of adolescents never involved in the listed risk activities.}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{22} See Appendix G for means and standard deviations
ANOVAs indicated no significant relationships between adolescent involvement in risk activities and type of school or mother’s education. However, there was a significant main effect for gender, Brown-Forsythe: $F(1,1278)=26.99, p<.001$, with males on average involved more frequently in risk behaviours than females; year level, Brown-Forsythe: $F(4,1275)=32.40, p<.001$, in which frequency of adolescent involvement in risk behaviours increased with year level; and family structure, Brown-Forsythe: $F(2,1276)=5.65, p<.01$, whereby adolescents from two parent families were involved in fewer risk behaviours than either single parent or parent and step-parent families.

ANOVAs of hours involved in structured activities showed a significant interaction with frequency of alcohol consumption\(^{23}\): $F(2,1277)=11.28, p<.001$, being drunk, $F(2,1277)=13.13, p<.001$, having sexual intercourse, $F(2,1277)=5.86, p<.01$, and cigarette use, $F(2,1277)=10.83, p<.001$. In all analyses the greater the number of hours participating in structured leisure activities, the more likely adolescents were never to have consumed alcohol ($M=6.13, SD=4.46$), been drunk ($M=5.90, SD=4.36$), had sexual intercourse ($M=4.69, SD=4.36$) or smoked cigarettes ($M=5.72, SD=4.35$). In comparison, those adolescents who often consumed alcohol ($M=4.44, SD=4.06$), been drunk ($M=3.60, SD=3.65$), had sexual intercourse ($M=3.87, SD=3.90$) or smoked cigarettes ($M=2.74, SD=2.43$) spent the least time in structured activities.

Table 11 shows separate significant ANOVA results for each type of structured activity. Although the other interactions between risk behaviours and specific types of structured leisure activities were not significant, all analyses followed a similar pattern in that as risk behaviour increased, the number of hours involved in the structured activity decreased. The exception to this was involvement in part-time employment whereby the interaction was in the opposite direction so that the greater the number of

\(^{23}\) In each of the analyses on risk behaviours each of the variables were recoded into three levels (basically never, occasionally, often) to provide a more equal distribution of cases in each category
hours spent in part-time work, the more likely adolescents were to have often consumed alcohol ($M=3.84$, $SD=5.18$), been drunk ($M=3.95$, $SD=5.43$), had sexual intercourse ($M=3.48$, $SD=4.93$) or smoked cigarettes ($M=5.00$, $SD=5.76$).

Table 11

ANOVA of Frequency of Adolescents’ Involvement in Four Different Risk Behaviours by Hours Spent Participating in Different Types of Structured Activities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Alcohol Use</th>
<th></th>
<th>Drunk</th>
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<th>Smoking</th>
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<th>Sex</th>
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<td>Team</td>
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<td>1277</td>
<td>15.39**</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1277</td>
<td>7.70*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creative Group</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1277</td>
<td>7.86**</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1277</td>
<td>7.43**</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creative Individual</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1277</td>
<td>4.761*</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1277</td>
<td>8.60**</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1277</td>
<td>8.90**</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1277</td>
<td>27.14**</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1277</td>
<td>24.56***</td>
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</table>

*p<.01   ** p<.001   ³Brown-Forsythe statistic

An ANOVA of all risk behaviours combined showed significant main effects for parent connectedness, Brown-Forsythe: $F(3,1276)=32.73$, $p<.001$, parent strictness, Brown-Forsythe: $F(2,1277)=110.08$, $p<.001$, and parenting style, Brown-Forsythe: $F(3,613)=69.5$, $p<.001$. The stricter the parent was perceived and the stronger the level of connectedness, the fewer risk behaviours engaged in by the adolescents.

Consequently, adolescents who perceived their parents as neglectful or permissive engaged in more risk behaviours than those who perceived their parents as authoritative or authoritarian. Interestingly this was reflected in the significant interaction found between parenting style and susceptibility to peer pressure, Brown-Forsythe: $(F(3,613)=9.80$, $p<.001$, in which adolescents who perceived their parents as neglectful were more susceptible to peer pressure than those who perceived their parents as authoritative.
Lack of boredom.

Fifteen percent of the adolescents claimed to be bored often or most of the time. ANOVAs indicated no significant interactions between level of boredom and mother’s education, year level, family structure or gender. However, there was a significant main effect for school, $F(1,1278)=6.7, p<.01$, with state school students reporting higher levels of boredom than those attending a private school. Figure 6 details the most common activities adolescents engaged in to relieve boredom.

![Figure 6](image_url)

**Figure 6.** Most common activities adolescents engage in when feeling bored by gender.

An ANOVA indicated a significant relationship between hours involved in structured leisure activities and boredom, Brown-Forsythe: $F(4,1275)=9.14, p<.001$. Level of boredom decreased as hours of involvement in structured activities increased, from bored most of the time ($M=3.97, SD=3.26$) to never bored ($M=6.70, SD=5.13$). There was also a significant interaction between level of boredom and the number of structured activities in which an adolescent was involved, $F(4,1275)=4.54, p<.001$. However, post-hoc testing showed that the difference was only significant between no activities and any number of activities.
Social acceptance.

Harter’s (1988) Social Acceptance Scale had an internal reliability alpha of .82. The majority of adolescents (87.6%) had high to very high levels of social acceptance. A significant relationship existed between hours involved in structured activities and social acceptance, Brown-Forsythe: $F(3,1276)=14.57, p<.001$. The more hours adolescents were involved in structured leisure activities, the higher the level of social acceptance. There was also a significant relationship between social acceptance and the number of structured activities in which an adolescent was involved, $F(4,1275)=6.87, p<.001$. However, post-hoc testing showed that the difference was only significant between no activities and any number of activities.

Life satisfaction.

An internal reliability alpha of .86 was obtained for Diener, Emmons, Larsen and Griffin’s (1985) Life Satisfaction Scale. The majority of adolescents (67.6%) had high to very high levels of life-satisfaction, with another 23.95% indicating average satisfaction with life. An ANOVA showed a significant interaction between hours involved in structured activities and satisfaction with life, $F(4,1275)=5.68, p<.001$. The greater the number of hours involved, the higher the satisfaction with life. There was also a significant interaction between life-satisfaction and the number of structured activities in which an adolescent was involved, Brown-Forsythe: $F(4,1275)=4.95, p<.01$. However, post-hoc testing showed that the difference was only significant between no activities and any number of activities.

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24 For this analysis scores on the Social Acceptance Scale were divided into 4 equal groups to indicate level of social acceptance from very low to very high.
25 See Appendix G for means and standard deviations for hours spent in structured ‘leisure’ activities by social acceptance, life-satisfaction and self-worth.
26 For this analysis scores on the Life Satisfaction Scale were divided into 5 equal groups to indicate level of satisfaction with life from very low to very high.
Although there were no significant relationships for hours in structured social activities or part-time work it is worth noting that the trend was for a negative association, with life satisfaction decreasing as hours increased.

**Self-worth.**

Harter’s (1988) Global Self-Worth Scale had an internal reliability alpha of .87. The relationship between self-worth\(^{27}\) and hours involved in structured activities was found to be positive and significant, \(F(3,1275)=10.49, p<.001\). The majority of adolescents (85.8%) had high to very high levels of self-worth. The greater the number of hours involved in structured leisure activities, the higher the sense of self-worth. However, the significant relationship occurring between hours in part-time work and self-worth, Brown-Forsythe: \(F(3,1275)=5.10, p<.01\), was in the opposite direction such that the greater the number of hours worked, the lower the sense of self worth. There was also a significant interaction between self-worth and the number of structured activities in which an adolescent was involved, \(F(4,1275)=5.31, p<.001\). However, post-hoc testing showed that the difference was only significant between no activities and any number of activities.

**Unstructured Activities**

**Risk behaviours.**

ANOVAs indicated a significant interaction between hours involved in unstructured social activities and frequency of drinking alcohol, Brown-Forsythe: \(F(2,1277)=26.88, p<.001\), being drunk, Brown-Forsythe: \(F(2,1277)=32.46, p<.001\), and smoking cigarettes, Brown-Forsythe: \(F(2,1277)=7.30, p<.01\). The greater the number of hours spent in unstructured social activities, the more likely adolescents were to have often consumed alcohol \((M=11.63, SD=9.97)\), been drunk \((M=14.06, SD=10.99)\), had sexual intercourse \((M=12.48, SD=10.35)\) or smoked cigarettes \((M=12.58, SD=11.27)\).

\(^{27}\) For this analysis scores on the self-worth scale were divided into 4 equal groups to indicate level of self-worth from very low to very high.
Although there were no significant relationships between hours spent in unstructured creative activities and frequency of smoking cigarettes or sexual intercourse, there was a significant main effect for getting drunk, Brown-Forsythe: $F(2,1277)=12.89, p<.001$, and drinking alcohol, Brown-Forsythe: $F(2,1277)=5.40, p<.001$. However for this activity, the more time spent on the creative activity, the less frequently adolescents were likely to engage in the risk behaviour. There were no significant interactions between frequency of participation in each type of risk behaviour and the hours adolescents spent on unstructured physical or passive activities, or susceptibility to peer pressure.

The level of social acceptance or peer connectedness showed no significant main effect for adolescent involvement in risk behaviours, but there were significant interactions for self-worth, Brown-Forsythe: $F(2,1277)=14.65, p<.001$, and life-satisfaction, Brown-Forsythe: $F(3,1276)=22.74, p<.001$; the lower the level of self-worth or life-satisfaction, the greater the level of adolescent involvement in risk behaviours.

**Boredom.**

An analysis of hours spent in unstructured passive activities showed a significant main effect for boredom, $F(4,1275)=6.82, p<.001$. As the level of boredom increased, the average number of hours spent in passive activities also increased. Although the interaction for unstructured social activities was not significant, the trend was similar.

There was no significant association between level of boredom and hours spent in unstructured creative activities, but there was a significant interaction with hours spent in unstructured physical activities, Brown-Forsythe: $F(4,1275)=5.14, p<.001$. For both activities the interaction was negative in that as time spent in the activity increased, level of boredom decreased.
There was also a significant interaction between level of boredom and involvement in risk behaviours, Brown-Forsythe: $F(4,1277)=5.78$, $p<.01$; as boredom increased, the frequency of participation in risk behaviours increased.

**Social acceptance.**

An ANOVA indicated a significant interaction between social acceptance and hours involved in unstructured social activities, Brown-Forsythe: $F(3,1276)=6.69$, $p<.001$. Adolescents with very high levels of social acceptance ($M=9.26$, $SD=8.63$) spent significantly more time in unstructured social activities than those with very low social acceptance ($M=3.65$, $SD=4.10$). There were no significant interactions between social acceptance by peers and hours involved in unstructured physical, creative or passive activities. However, the trend was for involvement in unstructured creative or passive activities to correlate negatively with social acceptance.

**Life satisfaction.**

No significant interactions were found between satisfaction with life and hours spent in any of the unstructured activities. However, it is worth noting that the trend was for involvement in unstructured creative or physical activities to correlate positively with life-satisfaction and for involvement in unstructured social and passive activities to correlate negatively.

**Self-worth.**

There were no significant interactions between self-worth and hours involved in any of the unstructured activities. Interestingly, the trend was for time spent in passive activities to be positively correlated with self-worth, but time spent in unstructured creative and social activities to be negatively correlated.
Model

The theoretical model was assessed to determine the relative influences of parents (as indicated by their values, strictness and connectedness to adolescent), peers (as indicated by connectedness to peers and susceptibility to peer pressure) and intrinsic motivation in determining adolescent participation in structured out-of-school leisure activities and the extent such participation predicted positive (self-worth, life-satisfaction, social acceptance, lack of boredom) and negative (risk behaviours) consequences.

Factorial Validity of Constructs

SPSS 11.0 factor analyses using maximum likelihood extraction with oblique rotation were conducted to assess the factorial validity of items in individual constructs for each scale. One factor congeneric models using maximum likelihood confirmatory factor analyses (measurement models) were then constructed and assessed in AMOS 4.0. A measurement model depicts relationships between indicators and hypothesised underlying factors, as well as taking into account correlations between error terms (Holmes-Smith, Coote, & Cunningham, 2006). Thus it is argued that measurement models (as compared to factor analyses using maximum likelihood extractions) are a better indicator of reliability and construct validity which can be improved further by respecifying and reanalysing results not in accordance with priori hypotheses. Validated constructs were then assessed for discriminant validity before insertion into the full model.

Parental influences.

A three factor solution (communication, trust, alienation, as proposed by Armsden & Greenberg, 1987) was requested in the SPSS factor analysis for the 12 item Parent Connectedness construct. These items accounted for 57.22 percent of the variance. However, inspection of the structure matrix indicated that the item “I tell my
parents about my problems and troubles” loaded on the construct Communication rather than Trust as denoted by Armsden and Greenberg. Consequently, this item was excluded from the one factor congeneric models for both these constructs. The data were a very good fit for the Parent Trust model, $\chi^2(1, N=1280)=2.54^{28}, p=.111^{29}$, RMSEA$^{30}$ (Root Mean Square Error of Approximation)=.035, TLI$^{31}$ (Tucker-Lewis Index)=.997, CFI$^{32}$ (Comparative Fit Index)=.999, AGFI$^{33}$ (Adjusted Goodness of Fit Index)=.992. The removal of “My parents sense when I’m upset about something” for the Parent Communication construct model resulted in the best fit of the data to the model, $\chi^2(1, N=1280)=3.54, p=.06$, RMSEA=.045, TLI=.995, CFI=.998, AGFI=.989. A good model fit was obtained for the construct Parent Alienation, once the item “I get a lot more upset than my parents know about” was excluded, $\chi^2(1, N=1280)=1.70, p=.192$, RMSEA=.023, TLI=.998, CFI=.999, AGFI=.995. All factor loadings were significant in each model.

The discriminant validity for each parent connectedness construct was assessed using the pattern and structure coefficients derived from an AMOS analysis (Holmes-Smith et al., 2006). Inspection of the coefficients showed a clear distinction between the items comprising the respective factors and the remaining items, indicating insertion of this construct into the full model would be valid.

The construct Parent Strictness loaded on three factors in the EFA and the eight items explained 70.27 percent of the variance. The small number of items in each of the three constructs made individual one factor congeneric models problematic, so the items for each construct were parcelled together (Kishton & Widaman, 1994). The resulting

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$^{28}$ Normed chi square ($\chi^2$/df) values of between 1.0 and 2.0 indicate an acceptable fit, although values between 2.0 and 3.0 indicate a reasonable fit (Holmes-Smith et al., 2006).

$^{29}$ Chi square statistics where $p>.05$ indicate an acceptable fit (Holmes-Smith et al., 2006).

$^{30}$ RMSEA values less than .05 indicate an acceptable fit (Holmes-Smith et al., 2006).

$^{31}$ TLI values greater than .95 indicate an acceptable fit, although greater than 1.0 indicate lack of parsimony (Holmes-Smith et al., 2006).

$^{32}$ CFI values greater than .95 indicate an acceptable fit (Holmes-Smith et al., 2006).

$^{33}$ AGFI values greater than .95 indicate an acceptable fit (Holmes-Smith et al., 2006).
one factor congeneric model for Parent Strictness was a very good fit, $\chi^2(1, N=1280)=.356, p=.551$, RMSEA=.000, TLI=1.00, CFI=1.00 and AGFI=.999. For the purposes of the full structural model, all items were then combined and the regression co-efficient pathway (2.76) and measurement error variance (2.53) calculated to correct for measurement error before insertion as a latent variable.

The parent support scales for each type of structured activity were combined into one scale to take account of total parental involvement in their adolescent’s structured out-of-school leisure activities. This combined continuous scale was then inserted into the full model unmodified.

*Motivation.*

Motivation was recorded as a nominal scale and could not be used in a structural equation model in this format. ANOVAs and chi square analyses of the current data confirmed research (e.g., Larson, 2000) indicating a strong relationship between intrinsic motivation (as compared to other types of motivation) and participation in leisure activities. Consequently, the motivation scale was recoded as a dichotomous variable (intrinsic motivation or non-intrinsic motivation) for insertion into the full model.

*Peer influences.*

The construct Peer Pressure loaded on only one factor in the SPSS exploratory factor analysis and the three items explained 37.19 percent of the variance. A one factor congeneric model was a reasonably acceptable fit practically, RMSEA=.092, TLI=.929, CFI=.976, AGFI=.964, but not statistically $\chi^2(1, N=1280)=11.76, p=.001$. These

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34 Since the 1980s (e.g., Bentler, 1990; Bentler & Bonett, 1980; McDonald & Marsh, 1990) it has been argued that chi square statistics are not always a good fit index and a range of other practical fit indices may provide equally important adjunct information in evaluating models. This argument is still being extensively debated (see the SEMNET internet site). Given the sample size, the large number of variables and the highly skewed sample (all factors which make it difficult to obtain a non-significant chi square), it was decided that, for the purposes of this study, to accept as valid all models which met practical fit criteria and had a chi square value greater than .001.
items were then parcelled together and the regression co-efficient pathway (1.71) and measurement error variance (1.79) calculated to correct for measurement error before insertion as a latent variable into the full model.

A SPSS factor analysis of the three factors (Communication, Trust, Alienation), consisting of four items each, in the Peer Connectedness construct accounted for 65.22 percent of the variance. Deleting “My friends listen to what I say” from the one factor congeneric model for the construct Peer Trust resulted in a good model fit practically RMSEA=.047, TLI=.995, CFI=.998, AGFI=.988, but not statistically $\chi^2(1, N=1280)=3.86, p=.05$. The one factor congeneric model for the construct Peer Communication fitted the data excellently without modification, $\chi^2(2, N=1280)=.886, p=.642$, RMSEA=.000, TLI=1.00, CFI=1.00, AGFI=.998. A good fit was also obtained for the construct Peer Alienation once the item “Talking over my problems with my friends makes me feel ashamed or foolish” was removed, $\chi^2(1, N=1280)=.402, p=.526$, RMSEA=.000, TLI=1.00, CFI=1.00, AGFI=.999. The final peer connectedness constructs were shown to have discriminant validity and were thus inserted into the full model.

Positive outcomes.

The Lack of Boredom scale was used unmodified. Each of the other positive outcome scales measuring Self-Worth, Life Satisfaction and Social Acceptance revealed only one factor with the five items in each construct accounting for 59.3, 57.1 and 49.3 percent of the variance, respectively.

A one factor congeneric model for Self-Worth revealed that the items assessing whether teenagers “like the way they are leading their life” and “are happy being the way they are” were responsible for model misspecification. Removal of these items resulted in the best fit of the data to the model (as proposed by Holmes-Smith et al., 2006), even though the chi-square likelihood ratio remained statistically significant,
χ²(1, N=1280)=4.20, p=.041, RMSEA (Root Mean Square Error of Approximation)=.05, TLI (Tucker-Lewis Index)=.993, CFI (Comparative Fit Index)=.998, AGFI (Adjusted Goodness of Fit Index)=.987. The removal of the items “So far, I have got the important things I want in my life” and “If I could start my life over, I would change almost nothing” from the Life-Satisfaction one factor congeneric model significantly improved the statistical and practical validity of this model, χ²(1, N=1280)=1.83, p=.176, RMSEA=.025, TLI=.999, CFI=1.00, AGFI=.994. Deleting the item “Some teenagers are really easy to like” from the Social Acceptance one factor congeneric model result resulted in an excellent fit of the data, χ²(2, N=1280)=3.25, p=.197, RMSEA=.022, TLI=.998, CFI=.999, AGFI=.994. All factor loadings in each model were significant (p<.05). The items comprising the ‘best fit models’ for each of the separate constructs, Self-Worth, Life-Satisfaction and Social Acceptance, were then parcelled together for insertion into the full structural model.

Negative outcomes.

Each of the scales measuring adolescent involvement in risk behaviours was reverse recoded, so that a low score indicated frequent involvement. A SPSS exploratory factor analysis of the 10 items measuring risk behaviours was implemented to determine if the scales represented one or more constructs. Two factors (nominally labelled Criminal Activity and Drug Use) were revealed, accounting for 54.47 percent of the variance. A one factor congeneric model of the four items comprising the construct criminal activity demonstrated a very good fit to the data, χ²(2, N=1280)=2.92, p=.232, RMSEA=.019, TLI=.997, CFI=.999, AGFI=.994 and was inserted into the full model. Although ‘sexual intercourse’ loaded on the Drug Use construct, it was decided to separate this item from the construct as it did not fit conceptually with drug use and also had the lowest loading of the six items (.631). A good fitting model was not able to be obtained for the remaining five items comprising the Drug Use construct.
Consequently, the item indicating alcohol consumption was used as a single measure in the structural model. Previous research suggests that alcohol is the drug of preference amongst the majority of adolescents and is associated most strongly with a range of negative outcomes (see Gordon & Caltabiano, 1996).

The discriminant validity of each construct was assessed using the pattern and structure coefficients derived from AMOS analyses. Inspection of these coefficients at each level, from single to multiple latent factors, showed a clear distinction between the items comprising the respective factors and the remaining items for all constructs in the full model.

**Full Structural Model**

It was hypothesised that strict, supportive parents who value structured out-of-school activities and remain connected to their child, will be associated with adolescent participation in structured out-of-school activities and subsequently correlated with positive health outcomes (high self-worth, life-satisfaction, social acceptance and low levels of boredom) and low involvement in negative outcomes (risk behaviours). It was theorised that part-time employment would have the same positive associations as structured leisure activities. However, ANOVAs indicated that part-time employment had unique and often contrary associations to a range of variables compared to structured leisure activities and hence only total hours spent in structured leisure activities were included in the model.

To enable a reliable assessment of the structural model, participants were first randomly divided into two, approximately equal sized, samples using the random sample selection procedure in SPSS 11.0. The hypothesised, full structural model (see Figure 7) was then evaluated using data from Sample 1 \((n=653)\) and found to be both
inadmissible\textsuperscript{35} and a poor fit, $\chi^2(129, N=653)=1314.23$, $p=.000$, RMSEA=.119, TLI=.549, CFI=.620, AGFI=.752.

\textsuperscript{35} One or more negative estimates of variance
Figure 7. Hypothesised structural model (n=653) displaying standardised parameter estimates of factors associated with adolescent involvement in structured leisure activities.\(^{36}\)

\(^{36}\) All significant (p<.05) structured pathways are represented by a solid line and non-significant pathways by a dotted line.
To improve the fit of the model, the following steps were executed and assessed one at a time. Firstly, the variable “Trust” in the Peer Connectedness construct was deleted as it had a negative error variance and a regression coefficient greater than 1.00, suggesting this component of the model was incorrect (Holmes-Smith, Coote & Cunningham, 2006). However, in subsequent analyses it was found that the variable ‘Communication’ in the Peer Connectedness Construct was associated with a negative error variance. Replacing ‘Communication’ with ‘Trust’ provided the best solution.

The Modification Index for regression weights indicated that adding pathways from Intrinsic Motivation to Parent Support ($MI=182.325$), Parent Strictness to Negative Outcomes ($MI=116.512$), Parent Connectedness to Positive Outcomes ($MI=90.902$), Peer Connectedness to Positive Outcomes ($MI=41.715$) and Parent Connectedness to Peer Connectedness ($MI=41.049$) would decrease the model discrepancy significantly. Each of these pathways was added to the model as previous research indicates that these connections have validity. For example, Moore, Burland and Davidson (2003) found parent support was a source of self-motivation for instrument playing; Parker and Bensen’s (2004) research highlighted the positive associations between parent attachment, successful peer relationships and positive self-concepts; and Galambos, Barker and Almeida (2003) confirmed that demanding parents successfully limit their children’s behaviour, reducing their involvement in risky behaviours.

An inspection of the standardised residual covariances (SRC) matrix showed high (<2.58) covariances for a number of values for the variables Parent Alienation, Social Acceptance, Peer Pressure and Intrinsic Motivation, indicating misspecifications for these variables (Holmes-Smith, Coote & Cunningham, 2006). Social Acceptance was removed from the model because a sense of ‘belonging’ and being accepted has been shown to be linked to adolescents’ involvement in positive, structured activities.
and a range of risk behaviours (Mahoney & Stattin, 2000). Thus arguably, Social Acceptance may be equally associated with structured and unstructured activities and risk behaviours. Similarly, Peer Pressure was also deleted as more recent research indicates that, from an adolescent’s perspective, peer pressure is not as dominant as previously believed, especially in regard to participation in structured leisure activities (J. C. Coleman & Hendry, 2000). In addition, ANOVAs on the current data showed a negative correlation between perceived peer pressure and hours participating in structured activities. The variable Alienation was removed because, in addition to high SRCs, it was contributing least to the construct Parent Connectedness. Intrinsic Motivation was retained as research has continually demonstrated that this is an important component in people’s decision to participate in structured leisure activities (e.g., Alexandris & Grouios, 2002; Passmore & French, 2001) and was a significant contributor in the current model.

The final model (see Figure 8) was a good fit practically, but not statistically, \( \chi^2(68, N=653)=206.07, p=.000, \) RMSEA=.056, TLI=.916, CFI=.937, AGFI=.933. An assessment of normality indicated a high Mardia’s Coefficient (>4) suggesting distributional misspecifications (Holmes-Smith, Coote & Cunningham, 2006). Bollen-Stine’s Bootstrap (500 samples) produced a \( p \) value of .002. Although the model still did not meet the test of statistic significant at the .05 level, it is argued that the model has validity as all other fit criteria were met. As Bentler and Bonett (1980) contended, an overemphasis on probability significance may lead to the unnecessary rejection of models which would otherwise provide useful insight into a particular phenomenon. Therefore, although it is acknowledged that this model does not perfectly explain the determinants and outcomes of adolescent involvement in structured leisure outcomes, it arguably provides important and valid adjunct information on our understanding of this aspect of adolescent life.
Figure 8. Final structural model ($n=653$) displaying standardised parameter estimates of factors associated with adolescent involvement in structured leisure activities.
To ensure that the final model had not capitalised on chance relationships within the sample, the model was reassessed using the second half of the data ($n=627$) from the SPSS random selection procedure (see Figure 9). These data were found to provide a slightly better fit to the model than the first sample, $\chi^2(68, N=653)=174.28$, Bollen-Stine $p=.002$, RMSEA=.050, TLI=.931, CFI=.948, AGFI=.943. Interestingly, the Intrinsic Motivation variable in this model no longer contained high SRCs. In addition, the regression weight for the pathway Structured Hours to Positive Outcomes was now non-significant ($p=.052$), while the Structured Hours to Negative Outcomes pathway became significant ($p=.017$).

A nested model comparison revealed no significant differences between the two data sets when the regression weight, $\chi^2(18, N=1280)=18.75$, $p=.407$, variance $\chi^2(18, N=1280)=20.69$, $p=.295$, or covariance $\chi^2(1, N=1280)=.08$, $p=.778$, loadings were constrained.
Figure 9. Final structural model, using Sample 2 data (n=627), displaying standardised parameter estimates of factors associated with adolescent involvement in structured leisure activities.
Discussion

The current study aimed to investigate the out-of school activities in which adolescents participate, categorised in terms of structure, type (creative, physical, social, passive) and level of interaction (individual, group). It also considered the developmental (psychological and social) consequences of involvement in particular types of activities and the factors influencing participation. Implications of the findings presented in the results section are discussed first, followed by an interpretation of the model and recommendations.

Adolescents in this study participated in a wide range of different types of structured activities, provided either by their school or community organisations. This indicates that, contrary to popular belief but in concurrence with Mahoney et al. (2005), there are numerous activities available to adolescents. A very large majority (89%) of the adolescents participated in some type of structured out-of-school activity; the most popular being physical activities and the least popular volunteer activities. This participation statistic is higher than reported in studies from other countries such as the USA (see Feldman & Matjasko, 2005), but similar to the results reported in the Western Australian Child and Adolescent Physical Activity and Nutrition Survey (Hands et al., 2004). The popularity of Australian Rules football, soccer, netball, dance and basketball is also consistent with this study.

The difference in participation rates in different activity types maybe attributable to cultural norms. Western Australians, as a cultural group, place a large emphasis on sport and the majority of community sporting organisations endeavour to be inclusive and encourage participation, irrespective of competency. In comparison, and unlike the United States, student volunteering was not a Department of Education policy at the time of this study, and there are few organisations set up to cater for, or support,
adolescents interested in this activity. (Although it is encouraged by some private, religious schools.)

Unstructured activities formed a significant component of adolescents’ out-of-school time use. Similar to other studies (e.g., Chuah, 2000; Hands et al., 2004), the largest proportion of out-of-school time was spent in passive activities, in particular watching television or using the computer. However, it is likely that audio and visual media usage occurred in conjunction with other activities (Pointinen cited in Roberts, 1999). Most adolescents also engaged in some type of unstructured social activity (especially telephoning or ‘hanging out’), which is consistent with research demonstrating adolescents increasing interaction with peers (J. C. Coleman & Hendry, 2000).

As highlighted in the introduction, leisure activities are not easily or universally defined. This current research provides further evidence of the difficulty of defining leisure. Structured activities such as playing in a band or participating in a sporting team are commonly construed as leisure. Yet, 37% of the adolescents in this study did not perceive their involvement in such activities as leisure. In addition, and contrary to customary definitions, 17% of these adolescents considered their part-time employment leisure, and 34% identified sleep as leisure. In acknowledgement of these different interpretations, inverted commas have been placed around leisure to indicate that the word is used with reference to activities commonly perceived as leisure, even though not all adolescents hold this perception.

Generally, this group of adolescents showed high levels of self-worth, life-satisfaction and social acceptance, little boredom, good relationships with peers and parents, and low levels of involvement in risk behaviours. The media have a tendency to focus on the negative, anti-social behaviour of a few adolescents, but this picture is one of predominantly positive health, behaviour, and parental relationships.
Outcomes Associated With Participation in
Out-of-School Activities

Structured Activities

This research provides further support for the growing body of evidence that participation in structured out-of-school ‘leisure’ activities is associated with positive adolescent development and acts as a protective factor against involvement in risk behaviours. The analyses were often only significant for total hours involved in structured ‘leisure’ activities, but not necessarily for any one particular type of activity. This suggests that it is not the type of activity in which adolescents engage per se, but rather that they spend a significant number of hours per week involved in a structured, stimulating and challenging environment outside school time.

Each structured ‘leisure’ activity has unique characteristics. Musical bands may require students to attend rehearsal once a week with a performance three or four times a year. Each sport has its own practice commitments and regular competition. Some activities are seasonal, lasting two to six months, while others such as modelling or gymnastics occur year round. Activities such as youth group often comprise large numbers of participants with a fluctuating membership, while football teams may consist of the same comparatively smaller numbers of participants for several years. This research does not address these qualitative differences, adolescents’ identification with and desire to be involved in the activity, or the length of time adolescents need to remain with an activity to reap the benefits. Each of these issues may moderate the effect of participation in structured out-of-school ‘leisure’ activities and this needs to be explored further in future research.

Adjustment and well being.

Time spent in structured activities was significantly and positively associated with lack of boredom, social acceptance, life satisfaction and self-worth. Various
researchers (see Feldman & Matjasko, 2005; Morrissey & Werner-Wilson, 2005) have reported that involvement in four or more structured ‘leisure’ activities for one to seven hours per week is the most beneficial. However, the results of the present study suggest that it is the total number of hours that is important (the more the better) and not the number of different activity types.

Although there have been negative media reports (e.g., Videnieks, 2005) regarding ‘over organising’ children’s lives (and it is acknowledged that there is probably a point where too many hours become detrimental), this research did not provide support for this thesis. Zil et al. (cited in Feldman & Matjasko, 2005) reported a curvilinear effect whereby participation rates greater than 20 hours per week no longer exerted a positive effect. Given that only two adolescents (0.2%) recorded more than 20 hours per week involvement in structured ‘leisure’ activities, this curvilinear effect was possibly hidden.

Several researchers (e.g., Darling, Caldwell, & Smith, 2005; Harrison & Narayan, 2003) contend that sports are particularly beneficial for adolescents because of the challenge, goal specific focus, status and sense of identity they provide to participants. However, this current research supports the growing body of evidence (for example see O’Neill, 2005) that any structured ‘leisure’ activity, which meets minimum time commitments and the criteria advocated by Mahoney and Stattin (2000), will provide the same social and psychological benefits as sport.

There is no doubt that structured physical activities offer significant physical health benefits, including weight control. However, these benefits may equally be obtained through non-structured (skating, surfing), work related (delivering papers), incidental (walking, riding or skating to school) or family activities (bike riding, canoeing) and through school physical education programmes and sport classes (which are compulsory in Western Australia). In addition, obesity does not occur solely
through lack of exercise, but also excess food consumption. In this study, 12.5% of females and 5.5% of males reported eating when bored. Given the significant negative association between boredom and hours spent in structured activities, any type of structured ‘leisure’ activity, not just physical, may contribute to more healthy weight through the reduction of food intake.

Ryff and Keye’s (1995) research supported the multifaceted nature of well-being, with contributing factors including positive self-regard, mastery, quality relationships, continued growth and development, purposeful living and self-determination. Arguably, structured ‘leisure’ activities, of intrinsic interest to adolescents and matching their abilities, provide an ideal environment in which to achieve these components. Such activities provide a perception of purpose (through focused application in an attempt to achieve a specific outcome) and a context for successfully mastering ever increasing challenges in a range of domains (social, intellectual, physical) within a safe, supportive environment.

Mannell and Kleiber (1997) argued that leisure activities enhance psychological wellbeing through the promotion of positive moods. If true, then some of the benefits of structured ‘leisure’ would be lost if adolescents were not finding at least some aspect of the activity enjoyable. According to Csikszentimhalyi (1990), enjoyment involves pleasure (the satisfaction of needs and meeting of expectations) accompanied by a sense of accomplishment and growth; criteria which also define intrinsic motivation. In this current research, the majority of adolescents believed they were intrinsically motivated and average or better at the structured ‘leisure’ activity in which they participated. This suggests adolescents are generally choosing activities they enjoy and that ‘fit’ their talents. Perhaps participation validates their sense of self, resulting in a positive relationship between participation and psychological well-being. In addition, although self-efficacy is linked to situation specific performance, once positive expectations are
established they are likely to be generalised to new situations, strengthening global self-worth (Atwater, 1996). Thus in this current research, it is not surprising that the more competent adolescents perceived themselves, the longer they spent in the structured activity, which was subsequently associated with high levels of life-satisfaction and self-worth.

Effective functioning as an adult in the wider society requires correct interpretation of and compliance with workplace and community rules. Structured ‘leisure’ activities are provided by socially recognised and valued organisations which operate under the auspices of ideologies (explicit and implicit) that are largely reflective of the wider society. Thus participation in structured ‘leisure’ activities teaches adolescents to function in organisations; working within roles and rules (written and unwritten) and dealing with disappointment, success, frustration and conflict. Therefore, adolescents involved in structured ‘leisure’ activities may be well adjusted because they have attained skills and values enabling them to integrate successfully into society, a thesis supported by McIntosh, Metz and Youniss’ (2005) research. It is interesting that successful intervention programmes for adolescents at risk (such as those discussed by Cotterell, 1996) have the same common elements as structured ‘leisure’ activities: structure, commitment, complying with rules and expectations, supporting other group members, adult leadership and the promotion of self-discipline.

Eckersley (2006) argued that well-being arises from being “enmeshed in a web of relationships and interests” (p.2). Membership of structured ‘leisure’ groups provides an ideal environment for fostering social contact with unrelated adults and peers, connecting adolescents to a supportive community network and simultaneously developing a sense of agency and autonomy in an environment separate from family. The significant positive correlation between hours in structured activities and social acceptance provides some support for the effectiveness of structured ‘leisure’ activities
in fostering and sustaining social contacts. The importance of being with friends and establishing new friendships was a consistent theme across all focus groups.

Coleman and Hendry (2000) noted that friendships among adolescents usually occur between peers of the same educational background, interests and life experiences with their conversations revolving around themselves and common life events. Involvement in structured ‘leisure’ activities may provides adolescents, with similar interests, a shared experience which they can discuss, potentially creating intimacy, loyalty and a sense of belonging, thus enabling them to integrate successfully with their peers. For shy adolescents or those lacking in social skills, the structure inherent in adult directed ‘leisure’ activities may provide a useful framework and controlled environment within which to develop peer networks, rather than resorting to participation in risk behaviours to achieve social acceptance.

Many American researchers (e.g., B. L. Barber, Stone, Hunt, & Eccles, 2005; O'Neill, 2005) argue that structured extracurricular activities are an important component of adolescent self-concept and identification with peers and sub-cultural groups. Although this current study did not specifically address this area, focus group comments indicated that this type of group identification is not so strong in the schools studied. As two year 10 girls explained, “Like we don’t have groups, like the dancy group or the surfies.” “Like our group is just like one group of year tens, just one big group.” Undoubtedly, sub-groups and social stratification exist in Western Australian schools, but they may not be as strong because compulsory school uniforms and the lack of specialty jackets or symbols do not overtly identify and classify adolescents.

The causal structure of the research makes it difficult to determine whether participation in structured activities results in better adjustment and well-being or that well-adjusted adolescents are more likely to choose to participate in such activities. In addition, some of the positive findings may be attributable to selection effect (McHale
et al., 2001), whereby factors that influence an adolescent to participate in structured rather than unstructured activities may account for their level of adjustment. These two issues require further research through longitudinal and experimental studies.

_Boredom._

“During school term you’ve got like six hours of your day is always going to be taken up and you’ve got stuff after school and before school. During the holidays you have 24 hours a day to do whatever you like – it’s like what are you going to do with all this time?” (Year 10 boy)

Extensive boredom was not a problem for the majority of these adolescents and level of boredom was unrelated to mother’s education, year level, family structure or gender. Interestingly, state school students reported higher levels of boredom. This may be attributed to the fact that private school students’ lives are more structured and include fewer hours of free time (probably due to the increased homework load).

The more hours adolescents in this study spent in structured activities, the less likely they were to be bored. Boredom is characterised as the absence of interest, enjoyment and stimulating focus (Hunter & Csikszentmihalyi, 2003); the opposite of intrinsic motivation. As the majority of the adolescents were intrinsically motivated to participate in their structured ‘leisure’ activity, it would then follow that the more hours involved in the activity, the less frequently they would experience boredom. In addition, the intrinsic influence of structured activities does not necessarily stop at the end of the session, but may continue through planning, reviewing and reminiscing.

_Risk behaviours._

In this study, involvement in risk behaviours was not associated with type of school attended or mother’s level of education. Females, younger adolescents and those from two parent, or strict families were the least likely to engage in risk behaviours. Similar to other studies (e.g., Harrison & Narayan, 2003; Mahoney, Larson, Eccles et al., 2005) and as hypothesised, adolescent involvement in risk
behaviours was negatively correlated with total hours of involvement in structured ‘leisure’ activities. Some researchers (e.g., Eccles et al., 2003) have found that, in contrast to adolescent involvement in performance and prosocial activities, sport participation was related to increased risk behaviours. This distinction was not supported in the current research.

The discrepancy between these results and Eccles et al.’s (2003) research could be attributed to different cultural attitudes. In Western Australia, many clubs and sporting associations have sponsorship from ‘Healthway’ (a government organisation) in which the prohibition of smoking and the promotion of health messages is a pre-requisite of funding. Consequently, players and spectators are actively discouraged from consuming alcohol and smoking at junior sporting events. In addition, and contrary to Crosnoe’s (cited in Feldman & Matjasko, 2005) argument, it appears that in Western Australia success at sport bestows adolescents ‘social standing’ providing a protective barrier against peer pressure to engage in risk behaviour.

It is often argued that keeping ‘busy’ reduces adolescent involvement in risk behaviours. Support for this thesis is provided by anecdotal evidence such as that reported in the West Australian ("Bored' youth burnt cars: Prosecutor," 2005) in which a group of teenagers set fire to vehicles because they were bored. As a Year 10 boy commented, “Sometimes you do things because you’re bored and you want to do something and you do it because your friends are pressuring you.” However, just keeping adolescents busy is not sufficient; passive activities (watching television or using the computer) or unstructured physical activities (skating, surfing) keep adolescents busy, but there were no significant associations between time spent in these types of activities and involvement in risk behaviours. The fact that involvement in structured ‘leisure’ activities was inversely associated with level of boredom and frequency of risk behaviour points to the importance of participating in purposeful,
adult directed activities. In addition, the social bonding arising through the attachment, commitment and involvement intrinsic to such organisations is, according to Hirshi (1969), likely to reduce adolescents’ willingness to break rules and hence involvement in risk behaviours.

Hunter and Csikszentmihalyi (2003) contended that many adolescents may lack the skills to structure their free time constructively and enjoyably and thus need the framework provided by adult directed, structured ‘leisure’ activities. Without this structure, adolescents either become bored or engage in risk behaviour as an easy source of entertainment. This perspective may explain the negative correlation between time in unstructured creative activities and risk behaviour frequency. It is possible that participation in structured ‘leisure’ activities (which was significantly and positively associated with time in unstructured creative activities) provided these adolescents with the skills and the intrinsic motivation to utilise their free time constructively. In addition, Csikszentmihaly and Larson (1984) proposed that if the basic human needs of mastery and competence are not met in socially acceptable ways (e.g., through structured activities that incorporate skills that challenge but not overwhelm) adolescents will pursue other (often unacceptable or risky) activities to satisfy these needs.

Due to the correlational nature of this research, it is difficult to determine the extent that involvement in structured activities moderates risk behaviour or whether adolescents involved in risk behaviour are less likely to participate in structured activities. Further research is required to determine the role of selection: Is it self-selection or does the activity change the individual? In addition, more qualitative research is required to probe why adolescents do or do not engage in risk behaviours. Adolescents know the risks (see J. C. Coleman & Hendry, 2000), and certainly drug and
sex education are integral to the Western Australian school health curriculum, so education is not the complete answer.

*Employment.*

“I used to deliver papers. It’s not worth it. It takes so long to do and you get nothing for it and you don’t really get any satisfaction out of it for yourself either. Like it’s not really an interesting job.” (Year 10 boy).

It was hypothesised that part-time employment for adolescents would provide the same benefits as involvement in other types of structured out-of-school activities. Yet, the results from this study indicated that the effect of adolescent employment is uniquely different and in the opposite direction to that of structured ‘leisure’ activities. The greater use of alcohol and cigarettes as hours of employment increased may be attributed to their greater access to money. In addition, working alongside older teens and young adults may expose adolescents to behaviours and norms (sexual intercourse, binge drinking) that are more common in this older age group than their own cohort. Some credence for this thesis is provided by the finding that the more hours worked, the greater time adolescents spent in unstructured socialising (a result also reported by Osgood, Anderson, & Shaffer, 2005). Yet there is no such association between structured activities and unstructured socialising. This augments the view that the beneficial nature of structured ‘leisure’ activities is not simply because it ‘keeps adolescents busy’.

The negative association between hours employed with life satisfaction and self-worth adds support to Munson’s (1993) view that the unskilled nature of part-time work for adolescents provides little opportunity for self-development. There is little sense of achievement and fewer opportunities for skill development, challenge, effort or determined concentration in flipping hamburgers, delivering papers or scanning grocery items. Thus for adolescents, employment is only a means to an end (obtaining money).
Unstructured Activities

Previous researchers indicated that adolescents have large quantities of ‘leisure’ time available. For example, according to Bartko and Eccles (2003), 40% of adolescents’ waking hours are discretionary. Although this may be true for some individuals, for the majority of adolescents in this study once sleep, maintenance activities (eating, showering, dressing, travelling), homework, chores, work and structured out-of-school activities (which may or may not be perceived as leisure) were eliminated there were only 3.4 hours per day on average of ‘free time’ available during the school week.

However, the accuracy of adolescent reports of time spent in unstructured activities must be treated with some caution. Structured activities by definition involve a set time commitment on a given day each week, making accurate time recall easier. In comparison, unstructured activities such as watching television, playing on the computer or hanging out with friends are likely to have no defining commencement or end point making accurate time recall more difficult.

Unstructured social activities.

Unstructured social activities comprised the second largest component of adolescents’ out-of-school hours time use. Similar to other research, females spent significantly more time on the telephone than males. However, unexpectedly (and contrary to Osgood et al., 2005), females also reported ‘hanging out’ more than males. This may be due to differential definitions of ‘hanging out’. Previous researchers referred to ‘hanging out’ as unsupervised socialising with peers. Yet, it is possible that the females in this study classified any time that they were with friends (at home, at school before or after classes) as ‘hanging out’, which would be consistent with James’ (2001) finding whereby girls reported spending time with close friends in their bedroom.
Consistent with previous research (see Osgood et al., 2005), long hours spent in unstructured social activities were associated with frequent involvement in a range of risk behaviours and higher levels of boredom. The presence of peers, a lack of purpose or structure, the social context and an absence of adult supervision are four elements that may explain this association.

Osgood et al. (2005) emphasised the group nature of deviance. Peers can provide easier access to drugs, reward behaviours such as fighting and sexual intercourse, and reduce the risks associated with graffiti and stealing. The antisocial behaviour linked to congregations of adolescents is often the subject of media reports (see for example A. Miller, 2006). The significant and positive correlation between time in unstructured social activities with social acceptance and connectedness to peers suggests that this social context provides identity and a sense of belonging to adolescents. However, it is this social context which may also exacerbate risk behaviour prevalence (Maxwell, 2002). Alcohol and ecstasy, for example, tend to be social group based activities. Therefore, adolescents who attend parties are more likely to consume these drugs because it is the ‘norm’ in that particular environment.

Perhaps, as alluded to by Cotterell (1996), the excitement and adrenalin rush associated with involvement in many risk taking behaviours could be replaced by involving adolescents in adventure challenges. Rock climbing, white water kayaking or endurance events may provide adolescents with a similar adrenalin rush with the added benefit of developing skills of persistence, acceptance and a sense of achievement from real accomplishment. Support for this idea arises from the finding in this study that adolescents engaging in the most risk behaviours had the lowest levels of self-worth and life-satisfaction.
Passive activities.

Consistent with Garton, Harvey and Price’s (Garton et al., 2004) findings, by far the largest amount of adolescent out-of-school time was spent in unstructured passive activities and in particular watching television or using the computer. There is no doubt that adolescents require time to recover from the demands of school and the stresses of adolescence. Watching television or using the computer may provide this ‘time-out’. Yet, Winwood’s (2006) research suggested that recovery from stress associated with work (and presumably school for adolescents) needs to be a more active process (exercise, crafts, hobbies) than ‘doing nothing’.

Interestingly, 22% of adolescents completing the timetable did not consider television and computer use leisure activities, yet on average only 4.4 of their 17 free hours per week were not spent on screen activities. In addition, although high screen hours was associated with high levels of boredom, watching television was the most common activity engaged in when feeling bored. These findings suggest that for many adolescents screen activities are filling a gap for when they have nothing better to do, an assertion also made by Larson and Verma (1999). This may be particularly true for adolescents with authoritarian and neglectful parents, who spent the most time on screen activities. Adolescents with authoritarian parents may be restricted to the home, but maintain a low profile to avoid parental disapproval, while neglectful parents are unlikely to be concerned with how long adolescents spend on screen activities. In contrast, authoritative parents are likely to restrict screen time and encourage adolescent participation in structured activities and to spend their free time in unstructured creative activities (such as instrument practice).

The amount of time spent engaged in an activity is not necessarily a true reflection of the importance an individual attributes to the activity. For many adolescents, watching television is not their preferred activity (van Roosmalen & Krahn,
and provides little satisfaction (Garton et al., 2004). In contrast, structured ‘leisure’ activities involve greater intellectual energy and arguably have greater significant psychological meaning. Therefore, although screen activities may actually consume more time, adolescents are likely to attribute most importance to the structured ‘leisure’ activities in which they have invested the greatest effort. Longitudinal studies are required to determine if participation in particular types of activities and the balance between structured and unstructured activities lead to developmental deficits or attainments in later life.

Factors Associated with Participation in Out-of-School Activities

Clearly it is impossible for a single study to determine all factors that may be influencing adolescent participation in particular types of out-of-school activities. In addition, although an attempt has been made to consider the interrelationships among factors, a range of other, unaccounted for, interactions and contributors presumably exist. It is also acknowledged that the correlational nature of this research makes it difficult to determine the direction of influence. However, the results do suggest a number of factors that may be contributing to adolescent involvement in particular types of activities.

Motivation

“I do dancing as well and I like competing in the competitions and stuff and you get to meet new people and it’s a good social life as well, but also you enjoy yourself and like what you’re doing.” (Year 10 girl).

As hypothesised and consistent with previous research (e.g., Fedricks & Eccles, 2002), adolescents most commonly attributed their involvement in structured ‘leisure’ activities to intrinsic motivation and self-determination. In addition, these two factors were positively and significantly associated. Yet, as suggested by Iso-Ahola’s (1980) model, although adolescents may believe that their involvement in a particular
structured activity is intrinsic and self-determined, it is possible that a myriad of
‘hidden’ factors underpin their decisions.

It is difficult to take account of individual psychological, learned, cognitive and
physiological characteristics (as well as socialisation experiences) that may predispose
an adolescent to select participation in one particular activity over another. Parent
support (both active and attitudinal) as well as early exposure may subtly influence
adolescents’ attitudes. In addition, the degree to which adolescents can actually select
to participate in a structured ‘leisure’ activity depends on a range of other factors such
as family, community, contextual constraints and opportunities, as well as the
adolescents’ ability to identify and then act upon intrinsic interests.

In this study, intrinsically motivated adolescents were more likely to continue
their structured ‘leisure’ activity after leaving school and had spent more years in the
activity. Achieving Csikszentmihaly’s (1990) ‘flow’ (a positive state of intense interest
and enjoyment) would appear to be an ideal means of ensuring intrinsic motivation and
consequently continued participation. Yet, flow is not a consistent state and it is
possible for contradictory experiential elements to co-exist within a given activity. For
adolescents flow may be more prominent in performance situations (as reported by adult
athletes and musicians after excellent performances, see Rich 2003). Yet, optimum
performance requires participation in potentially more ‘boring’ skill development
sessions. Even adolescents recognise this as reflected in the comments of two Year 10
girls: “When you go to dance class you have to warm up and stuff and I don’t really
like that, but then you go into the dancing and that’s what I like.” “You might like the
sport, but you don’t like the training, but you have to do the training.” However, Deci
and Ryan (1985) argued that adolescents can experience intrinsic motivation even in
situations of obligation and coercion by fostering autonomy, being supportive and
giving individuals the perception of self-determination.
The strong positive association between external motivation and adult influence to participate in structured creative activities may be attributed in part to the structured and repetitive practices often associated with learning an instrument, a skill many parents perceive as desirable. Although children may commence instrument studies positively, it is possible that many continue due to parental and school expectations. Unfortunately, adolescents who are amotivated or externally motivated to participate in structured creative activities are less likely to continue the activity after leaving school.

The high percentage of adolescents motivated externally (to earn money) to engage in part-time employment logically makes sense. The work in which adolescents were most commonly employed (shop assistants, paper delivery and the fast food industry) is not particularly stimulating or mentally challenging. Potentially, if these adolescents had unlimited pocket-money they most probably would not work.

*Self-efficacy.*

The vast majority of adolescents considered themselves average to above average at their chosen structured activity, suggesting a reasonable level of competency. It could be that a self-fulfilling prophecy comes into place in which adolescents are able to build on existing skills and interests, increasing their level of success and consequently experiencing enjoyment and satisfaction from the activity. In fact, adolescents who perceived themselves as competent at the structured activity also perceived themselves as intrinsically motivated, while those who were amotivated or externally motivated were more likely to see themselves as incompetent at the activity. However, as this study is correlational it is difficult to determine whether success at an activity generates intrinsic motivation as suggested by Larson (2000) or competent, intrinsically motivated adolescents are more likely to participate in structured ‘leisure’ activities as argued by Munson (1993).
The *Children and Sport* study prepared for the Australian Sports Commission (Olds et al., 2004) supported the benefits of tailoring activities to children’s personalities, interests and abilities. In addition, research into a range of structured ‘leisure’ activities (e.g., O’Neill, 2005; Walker, Marczak, Blyth, & Borden, 2005) claims that a ‘good fit’ increases the probability of engagement and consequently continuity. These premises are supported by this current research in that adolescents perceiving competency in an activity were more likely to plan to continue the activity after leaving school. In contrast, adolescents who felt incompetent at the activity were less likely to continue. Furthermore, the higher the perceived ability, the longer adolescents spent in the activity. Intuitively this makes sense, as adolescents who excel in physical activities are chosen in association teams, development squads and school teams and consequently spend more time engaged in the activity. Similarly, adolescents who excel in music are more likely to be involved in several music activities (band, choir) in addition to instrumental studies.

It could be argued that, if an activity ‘fits’ individuals’ interests and abilities, recognition from activity leaders, parents and peers could strengthen adolescents’ perception of their abilities, increasing confidence levels, validating the sense of self and consequently increasing commitment to the activity in a spiralling feedback loop. Conversely, placing adolescents in activities where they will not experience some measure of success reinforces their incompetence. Thus, adolescents with poor motor skills, for example, may benefit from pursuing less competitive or non-physical activities.

The significant positive association between intrinsic motivation and perceived competence with years spent in the structured activity suggests the importance of encouraging involvement in structured activities prior to adolescence. As noted by both O’Neill (2005) with regard to playing an instrument, and by McNeal Jnr (1998) in
relation to sport, early exposure provides individuals with the skills to participate at a sufficient degree of proficiency to obtain inclusion, success and hence enjoyment in the activity during adolescence. In addition, and consistent with Perkins, Jacobs, Barber and Eccles’ (2004) longitudinal study, time spent in structured ‘leisure’ activities during childhood and adolescence is positively associated with the likelihood of continuing the activity after leaving school, and in fact, is a more accurate prediction of leisure involvement at midlife and early 80s than gender, health, education or income (Scott & Willits, 1998).

It is important that coaches, club officials and school personnel recognise that in terms of structured physical activities, females, younger adolescents and those of above average and average playing ability (but not those of well above average ability) were more interested in equal participation than winning. Too often adults are focused on the end result, but this research indicates that for a large proportion of adolescents, the key element is being involved. As a Year 10 boy recounted, “I used to play soccer but that got boring. Because I was one of the bigger players I got put in the back the whole time. And we were like a really good team and so I would just like sleep kind of thing.”

Similar to Clough et al.’s (1995) finding, adolescents appear not to place as much emphasis on winning and losing as do adults. In addition, a focus on winning may reduce the intrinsic motivation for the activity as the element of enjoyment is replaced exclusively by the external outcome. This is consistent with other research (e.g., Alexandris & Grouios, 2002; Green & Chalip, 1997) in which frequency and level of involvement, rather than ability, are better indicators of continued participation.

**Reasons for Non-Participation or Ceasing Participation.**

If the aim is to keep adolescents involved in structured activities, it is necessary to consider why they abandon or do not participate in such activities. Consistent with Butcher, Linder and John’s (2002) study, the two most common negative reasons were
finding the activity boring and lack of enjoyment. Linked to this is adolescent dislike of
the leader. Organisations need to choose leaders wisely and provide adequate training
and support to ensure skills are developed in an enjoyable manner

The percentage of adolescents stopping structured physical activities was greater
than in any other activity type. This is conceivably a reflection of the dominance of
structured physical activities within Western Australian culture and the comparably
fewer structured creative and social activities available. It would be interesting to know
if the large drop out in the most popular sports (netball, football and soccer), especially
at around age 12, is linked to the availability of more options in high school (bands,
drama groups, debating, etc), the growing range of alternative structured activities
(physical and non-physical) in the wider community, or to some other factor. As noted
in Butcher, Lindner and John’s (2002) study, the fact that the large majority of
adolescents are still participating in at least one structured ‘leisure’ activity suggests that
withdrawal is more likely to be from a specific activity in order to commence or
concentrate on another. Thus while some organisations such as Cricket Australia are
concerned about the reduction of children playing cricket (N. Miller, 2004), other
organisations such as Football West are turning players away because of soccer’s
growing popularity (Quartermaine, 2006). This is also reflected in a Year 8 boy’s
comment: “When I stop one activity then I just pick another one out after a while when
I haven’t done anything.”

It would be beneficial if future research used qualitative methods to explore in-
depth the specific factors that made activities boring or unenjoyable. In addition, it
would probably be beneficial to divide ‘drop outs’ into different categories according to
length of participation and level of competence to determine if reasons for ceasing a
structured activity differ among these groups (see Butcher et al., 2002). It is also
necessary to acknowledge that the reasons for withdrawing from structured activities are likely to change with age, gender and type of activity.

**Resources**

“A lot of things are provided by the school. So like it might be that once you get out of school that all these kinds of options close off to you because they’re just there and otherwise you have to go and find something. But at school, it’s just there and you can just go and do it.” (Year 10 boy)

The availability of resources and the affordability of activities are intrinsic to participation in any activity. Schools are ideally placed to provide the resources and facilitate participation in structured ‘leisure’ activities. Unlike community organisations, schools are in a position to compensate a range of potential resource accessibility difficulties including lack of transport, inadequate equipment and insufficient or underqualified adult leaders. In addition, schools are in a powerful position to exert a positive influence on adolescents (Cotterell, 1996; Gilman, 2001). This is reflected in a Year 10 boy’s comment: “I play touch rugby. I kinda got involved because school wants you to be involved, and I can’t let the team down if I wanted to leave. And it’s also pretty fun.”

In this study, the type of school adolescents attended was irrelevant in terms of total hours of involvement in structured activities. However, the fact that significantly more private school students participated in physical team and individual activities overall may reflect the larger numbers (almost double) of private school students participating in a school-provided structured out-of-school physical activity. Private schools in Western Australia appear to place a greater emphasis on student participation in interschool competitions. In addition, leadership of extracurricular activities is a requirement of teacher employment in many private schools. Although after-hours interschool competitions are organised by state schools, the number and types of activities are dependent on teacher enthusiasm and their desire to volunteer their time.
Involvement by students is voluntary and most participants also belong to community clubs.

Adolescents in this study were more likely to participate in school (rather than community) provided structured group creative activities. Although participation rates were similar for state and private school students, private school students spent longer in group activities and state school students longer in individual activities. This could be attributed to the greater and multitude time commitment expectations of private school students in creative group activities (bands, choirs, etc). However, individual instrument lessons are scheduled during class time for private school students but taken externally, out of school hours by state school students.

The large number of state school students participating in structured social activities may be attributed to their greater involvement in youth groups and the after-hours cadet programme offered by the state school in this study. Interestingly, more private school students worked and worked for longer hours. Both schools enrolled students from a similar catchment area so maybe the cost of private school fees is offset by less pocket money being provided, or alternatively reflects different parental values with regard to money. Casey et al. (2005) reported that more adolescents from affluent families had part-time employment than those from less affluent families.

Although only 3% of the adolescents stated cost as the reason for non-participation in a structured activity, it must be remembered that this sample was from families of middle to high socio-economic status and in addition the questionnaire only accounted for the adolescents’ perceptions. Keeping structured out-of-school activities affordable is a goal that policy makers should be embracing. In Australia, elite sports and sports people (representing 1% of the population) receive the majority of funding available from the Department of Sport, Tourism and Recreation, justified by the ‘spill over effect’ resulting from elite athletes’ successes (McKay, 1990). This funding
inequality is further compounded in many sports in which the fees paid by junior sports participants often contribute to the running of the ‘umbrella’ organisation whose primary aim is to ensure the continuation of elite teams through the development of skilful players. The provision of support and extra coaching to junior players is limited to those with potential and not open to all interested players, regardless of ability. Even adolescents recognise this inequality. As one Year 10 girl noted: “In swimming clubs a lot of coaches just focus on the real good swimmers, like the state swimmers or the national swimmers.”

Yet, consistent with Clough et al.’s (1995) findings and more recently the Australian Sports Commission’s Children and Sport report (Olds et al., 2004), adolescents in this current study were rarely motivated to participate in a particular activity by a high profile performer. In fact, Hogan and Norton (2000) found no evidence that the ‘trickle down’ effect boosted junior club memberships. If the aim is to keep adolescents involved in structured out-of-school activities, then policy makers must ensure there is equal distribution of funds, to minimise costs and maximise participation in structured activities.

In this study, numerous adolescents mentioned ‘going to high school’ as a reason for stopping their involvement in a particular structured activity (a finding also reported by Weiss cited in Butcher et al., 2002). The average age of ceasing a structured activity was 12 (the age at which Western Australian students commence high school) and adolescent involvement in structured ‘leisure’ activities peaked in Year 9. These findings may reflect poor transition and information pathways from primary to high school. Some activities (for example, netball), although community run and separate entities to schools, are for younger children and primarily school based, utilise school resources and draw members predominantly from the school community. Other organisations (for example t-ball) are designed exclusively for primary school aged
players. In both these scenarios, at the conclusion of primary school, players must then find and join another organisation if they wish to continue in that particular activity. In addition, many community and school based activities in Western Australia only become available to adolescents once they reach high school age (bands, debating groups, water polo). It could be surmised that there is a ‘settling-in’ period during which time Year 8 adolescents ‘re-established’ themselves, become familiar with available activities and take advantage of these opportunities. Hence, an increase in participation in structured ‘leisure’ activities in Year 9.

Although a minority of adolescents considered abandoning their structured activity after leaving school, approximately a third of the adolescents were unsure about their future commitment to their chosen structured activity. Again this is a time of transition. Many participants will have to change organisations due to junior/senior divisions or because they belong to a school provided activity. The particularly high rate of indecision or definite discontinuation of structured creative activities is probably a direct reflection of the fact that these activities are mostly school provided and only available whilst attending the school.

Lack of time was the most common reason given for not participating in a structured activity and the fourth most common reason for ceasing a structured activity. Yet the significant negative correlation between hours involved in structured activities and time spent in passive activities seems to suggest some support for other research (e.g., Samdahl & Jekubovich, 1997; Tergerson & King, 2002; Willits & Willits, 1986) indicating that lack of time is more an excuse, or a scheduling bias. In fact in this study 61.2% of the adolescents, stating time constraints as a barrier against participating in structured ‘leisure’ activities, spent more than the average time for the total sample in passive activities such as watching television or using the computer. A similar finding was reported by Olds et al. (2004).
Of some concern was the percentage of adolescents (5.5%) stopping structured physical activities because of injury or medical reasons. Adolescence is a time of increased vulnerability to injury due to the rapid growth linked to puberty. Thus instructors and coaches need to be mindful of preventing and managing injuries.

Societal Influences

It is difficult to separate out the influence of socialisation. However, contrary to overseas research (e.g., Bartko & Eccles, 2003; Pedersen & Seidman, 2005), there were no differences between male and female participation rates in structured activities generally, or physical or social activities in particular. This may be a reflection of how physical activity was defined. In this study, adolescents self-selected the category (physical, social, creative) to which their activity belonged. Although, some adolescents categorised dance as a creative activity, the large majority nominated it as a physical activity, which is different to other studies (e.g., Jolbing & Cotterell, 1990).

Alternatively, the strong participation rate of females in structured physical activities in this study, compared to overseas research, may reflect the acceptance and encouragement of female involvement in sport in Western Australia and the wide choice of activities available. In Western Australia, female competitions are available in most traditional male sports such as football, cricket, soccer and rugby and are provided in all girls schools. Thus two of the key elements (lack of opportunity and differential opportunity for males and females) highlighted in Crawford, Jackson and Godbey’s (1991) study, appear not to be relevant in this sample of Western Australian adolescents. However, this does not discount the potential influence of social mores and expectations regarding gender roles. Females in this study still predominantly participated in the traditional female sports of netball and dance, and males in football.

Gender differences in time spent in physical team activities may reflect the different commitment requirements of the most popular activities for males and females.
Football and soccer teams (the most popular male sports) commonly train 1 ½ to 2 hours twice a week, while netball teams (the most popular female sport) commonly train 1 to 1 ½ hours once a week. Netball games run for 1 hour and 10 minutes with a 10 to 15 minute warm-up. However, football games last for 1 hour 50 minutes, with an expectation that players will be at the ground an hour before the game for a warm-up and pre-match talk. In comparison, time commitments for individual physical activities (running, swimming, triathlons) are identical, regardless of gender and most squads contain both males and females.

The larger percentage of females compared to males involved in structured creative activities (most commonly music) is consistent with O’Neill’s (2005) research on youth engagement in music. O’Neill attributes this difference to the effeminate image associated with instrumental music. Creative group activities typically involve both genders and consequently it is not surprising that the time commitment was the same for males and females. However, the difference in individual activities may reflect the number of females learning two instruments or their involvement in modelling, a more time consuming activity.

There were significant gender differences in the use of unstructured time and participation in part-time employment (but not hours spent working). Males spent more time in passive activities (especially watching television and using the computer) and in unstructured physical activities. This intuitively appears accurate as males are frequently seen using skate parks and riding around with friends. In contrast, females spent more time socialising (especially talking on the telephone and ‘hanging out’) and in unstructured creative activities, although the time spent in such activities was the same for both genders. This reflects O’Neill’s (2005) findings that females are more likely to play a musical instrument (the most common unstructured creative activity).
The greater number of females in part-time employment may reflect a greater desire for money to spend on ‘luxury’ items such as clothing, makeup or mobile telephone calls.

Although participation, and to a small extent hours of involvement, in structured activities declined with age (similar to Passmore and French’s, 2001 and Mahoney et al.’s, 2005 studies), a large majority of adolescents (78%) were still participating in Year 12. Contrary to Pedersen and Seidman’s (2005) research, there is no evidence to suggest that the exclusiveness of structured physical activities for older adolescents due to fewer teams and the necessity of high skill levels and frequent, demanding practices can account for the lower rates of participation of older adolescents in this sample.

Community organisations in Western Australia accept and cater for participants at all skill levels. Although interschool sport teams maybe exclusive and competency based, the reality in Western Australia is that most adolescents involved in interschool sport also participated in community clubs. Skill and frequency also do not seem to adequately explain adolescent abandonment of structured creative activities.

Consistent with Butcher et al.’s (2002) research, increased study/homework and part-time employment were important reasons among older adolescents for stopping or not participating in structured ‘leisure’ activities. Many jobs require a minimum age of 15 years and consequently part-time employment opportunities improve with age. This was reflected in the significant increase in both participation and hours employed with age. However, the lack of a significant correlation between hours in employment and hours in structured activities suggests that many adolescents manage to allocate time to part-time work and structured ‘leisure’ activities. Study and homework expectations do increase significantly in Year 11 and 12, especially for those students hoping to enter university. Yet again, the majority of older adolescents in this study were still participating in structured ‘leisure’ activities. Therefore, factors other than just
homework or employment must be contributing to adolescent non-participation in structured ‘leisure’ activities.

Given the benefits of continued participation in structured ‘leisure’ activities and the relatively small time commitment (on average 8 ½ hours per week), future research needs to determine how to keep older adolescents involved. This should entail investigating non-participating adolescents to probe all the reasons for abstention and exploring strategies that would encourage participation.

Participation in unstructured physical and creative activities also decreased with age, although the hours spent involved in the activities remained relatively constant. The most common unstructured creative activity was practising an instrument and as adolescents are more likely to stop learning an instrument as they get older, it is not surprising that there is a similar decrease in unstructured creative activity participation. It is interesting that as time in unstructured creative activities decreased television viewing increased. Although participation rates in unstructured social and passive activities remained the same across year levels, hours spent in passive activities decreased with age while hours spent in unstructured social activities increased with age. It would appear that older adolescents are replacing unstructured passive, creative and physical activities with part-time employment, homework and socialising with friends.

Peer Influence

“I don’t actually find them that influential. Like if someone tells me to do something, I wouldn’t do it just because they say it.” (Year 10 girl)

Previous researchers (e.g., Eccles & Barber, 1999) have noted a strong correlation between adolescent involvement in structured out-of-school activities, shared characteristics of participants and a range of positive peer group associations. It is then advocated that peers are an important determinant of activity participation.
However, in accordance with other research (e.g., Clough et al., 1995), the current data suggest the power of peer influence is over estimated. In this study, hours of involvement in both structured and unstructured activities were negatively associated with perceived susceptibility to peer pressure. Furthermore, there were no significant correlations between hours spent in structured ‘leisure’ activities and connectedness to peers, and only a small percentage of adolescents nominated a peer as the person most influencing their participation in their structured ‘leisure’ activity (with the exception of structured social activities). Thus rather than peers influencing involvement, it could be argued that participating adolescents share some common characteristic and then make friends among other participants (i.e., it is pre-existing differences which may explain the results).

Although there was a tendency for these adolescents to participate in similar structured and unstructured activities to their friends, friendships did not appear to influence the hours spent in the activity. In addition, and similar to Patrick et al.’s (1999) findings, focus group discussions indicated friendships often arose from participation in a structured activity. For example, a Year 8 girl recalled, “I started doing dance ages ago and I just keep doing it because I made heaps of new friends and I can get better.” Interestingly, if peers were nominated as the main influence for an adolescent participating in a structured physical activity then these adolescents were less likely to continue the activity after leaving school (almost half).

The high level of peer influence in structured social activities could be attributed to the dominance of youth group participation in this category. Youth groups marginally meet Mahoney and Stattin’s (2000) definition of structured ‘leisure’ activities and lie on a continuum closer to unstructured activities, compared to other structured activities. Youth groups simultaneously meet adolescent demands for socialising and parent concerns of a safe adult supervised environment.
In this study, adolescents with the highest levels of susceptibility to peer pressure reported the weakest connections to peers. Perhaps those adolescents with the least peer connectedness are more influenced in an attempt to gain acceptance (see Cotterell, 1996). If this is true, then there is validity in Maxwell’s (2002) suggestion of developing intervention programmes aimed at altering adolescent perceptions of wider social norms. Such programmes could highlight the prevalence of adolescent involvement in structured ‘leisure’ activities and the infrequency of involvement in risk behaviours. This may increase the legitimacy and persuasiveness of positive peer role models – a concept used by the Alcohol and Drug Authority (Young People Smoking Project, 1998).

**Parental Influence**

“I do footy. My Dad kinda got me into it. When I was little, he took me down to a footy club and now I sort of enjoy doing it.” (Year 8 boy)

The primacy of parental influence is well supported in this research. Adolescent perceptions of parent strictness, parenting style and connectedness were all significantly associated with adolescent involvement in particular types of out-of-school activities, frequency of risk behaviour and psychological health outcomes.

**Parent connectedness.**

“The kids who are playing soccer this year are the ones whose parents came and watched them play last year.” (Year 10 private school boy commenting on the large number of players who ceased playing interschool soccer once it was no longer compulsory.)

Contrary to popular belief, but consistent with studies from other countries (see van Wel, ter Bogt, & Raaijmakers, 2002), the large majority (81.5%) of this sample of Western Australian adolescents reported reasonable to strong levels of connectedness to their parents. The strength of parent connectedness was not correlated with school, family structure, mother’s education or gender. However, this sample was primarily
from middle class families in which there are often better adolescent-parent relationships and parents are perceived as more supportive (Hendry et al., 1993).

Even though parent connectedness decreased significantly as age increased, the average level of connectedness for all year levels fell within the high connectedness range (categorised from very low to very high). The relative stability of connectedness to parents supports Individuation and Relatedness theory (Grotevant & Cooper, 1998) that adolescence does not necessarily mean a deterioration in parent-adolescent relationships. This does not deny that conflicts occur between adolescents and parents – conflicts occur in all relationships. However, as other research (e.g., Allison & Schultz, 2004; Beyers et al., 2003) shows, the conflict is more likely to be minor bickering over mundane issues (household chores, siblings, homework) rather than the ‘storm and stress’ advocated by the mass media. Given the significant positive correlation between parent-adolescent connectedness and self-worth and life-satisfaction, perhaps this type of relationship provides adolescents with the inner confidence to travel along the path to independence. It suggests parents can remain involved in their adolescents’ lives, providing support and assistance.

The stronger adolescent connectedness to parents, the longer they spent in structured ‘leisure’ activities. However, parent connectedness was negatively correlated with hours of employment, unstructured social and passive activities and frequency of risk behaviour. Presumably, strongly connected parents provide the necessary support and encouragement needed to keep adolescents engaged in structured ‘leisure’ activities, minimising the time available for less constructive pursuits. As a Year 10 boy commented, “I reckon it’s better for your parents to not pressure or influence you into doing things but to support you with what you do…if you do a sport and they don’t support you, then you quit because you have no support from your parents to back you up.”
Concerns must be raised regarding the validity of the two parent-adolescent relationship scales, especially Lamborn et al.’s (1991) parent involvement scale which lacked reliability with this sample of adolescents. Adolescence is acknowledged as a time individuals seek increasing autonomy. Consequently, it is possible adolescents may interpret concerned support as undermining their independence and competence. Thus parent perception of responsiveness and involvement may not reflect adolescent perceptions (Paulson & Suta, 1996). For example, pushing adolescents to do their best or encouraging hard work are scored high by Lamborn et al. to indicate strong parental warmth and involvement. However, adolescents may interpret this behaviour as quite controlling and implying that adolescents are unable to make their own decisions and monitor their own behaviour to achieve. Similarly in Armsden and Greenberg’s scale a high score on “I get upset a lot more than my parents know about” or “I tell my parents about my problems and troubles” requires adolescents to tick ‘always’. Yet, again this fails to take into consideration adolescents’ growing ability to deal with their own problems and to use resources other than their parents. Not ‘always’ discussing problems or feelings with parents does not necessarily imply a lesser level of connectedness or parental involvement. A better indicator of parent connectedness and involvement maybe the time and energy parents invest in their adolescents’ lives (see Juang & Silbereisen, 1999), providing not only overt but also covert support.

*Parent strictness.*

“My parents pushed me into doing surf club and I really didn’t want to do it, but then I found I enjoyed it after a while – it gets exciting.” (Year 8 girl)

In this research, females and younger adolescents claimed to have stricter parents. Possibly, parents are more protective of adolescents in these categories and place more restrictions on their activities. Certainly this assumption is supported by other research (e.g., Richards, Miller, O'Donnell, Wasserman, & Colder, 2004; M. L.
Veal & Ross, 2006). Alternatively, the results may reflect differential adolescent perceptions rather than divergent parental behaviours.

There was a strong positive association between perceived parent strictness and total hours spent in structured ‘leisure’ activities. Adolescents who perceived their parents as not particularly strict spent more hours in unstructured social activities and part-time work, and engaged more frequently in risk behaviours. Although not statistically significant, the same pattern was observed for unstructured physical and passive activities, but not unstructured creative activities. This suggests that adolescent involvement in particular types of out-of-school pursuits requires parents to actively uphold expectations regarding participation in structured ‘leisure’ activities and reduce opportunities for engagement in risk behaviours.

Parenting style.

Authoritative followed by neglectful parenting were the most common parenting styles reported by adolescents in this sample. Gender, school, family structure or mother’s education were not significantly associated with perceived parenting style. However, perceived parenting style did change slightly but significantly with year level. More Year 8 students who perceived their parents as authoritative and more Year 11s and 12s perceived their parents as neglectful. This may reflect the greater freedom parents allow older adolescents, allowing them to remain out later at night and reducing the level of monitoring (the two main areas addressed in the questionnaire), in acknowledgement of their growing independence.

As hypothesised, adolescents who perceived their parents as authoritative were more likely to participate, and spent longer, in structured ‘leisure’ activities, and were involved less frequently in risk behaviours. They were also less likely to work, worked the least hours and spent the least time in unstructured social activities. In addition, parents perceived as authoritative were also more likely to be perceived as valuing
involvement in structured out-of-school activities and having maximum active involvement in supporting their adolescent through coaching, watching, committee roles and assisting with practise. Smetana (1995) argued that authoritative parents are able to grant adolescents autonomy over personal concerns and negotiate and maintain the appropriate boundaries for moral and conventional issues. Such an approach supports adolescent development while providing a source of social control to avoid norm violation and deviant behaviour until such time adolescents develop internal controls.

In contrast, adolescents who perceived their parents as neglectful spent the most time in unstructured social activities and working. Parents perceived as neglectful were also more likely to be perceived as seeing structured activities as unimportant and to have no active involvement in supporting the activity if their adolescent was participating.

*Parental values.*

The majority of adolescents believed their parents considered involvement in structured ‘leisure’ activities as important and this directly related to their participation, and hours of involvement, in such activities. The more supportive adolescents perceived their parents to be of their involvement in a particular structured ‘leisure’ activity, the greater the parents’ actual support of their adolescent’s endeavours through coaching, watching, being on committees and assisting with practice. Consistent with other research (e.g., Feldman & Matjasko, 2005; O’Neill, 2005), parent support and endorsement correlated positively and significantly with years involved in the activity and expectations of continuing after leaving school. These results add to Huebner and Mancini’s (2003) finding that parents do transmit their values and significantly influence adolescents’ behaviours and values.

There is no doubt that adolescent participation in structured out-of-school activities in Western Australia requires considerable amounts of parental time in
transporting children to and from the activity, money and encouragement (both emotionally and practically) to commence and remain in the activity. In Western Australia, many structured ‘leisure’ activities are community based and run by parent volunteers. Without active parent support there would be no activity. It is likely that different socio-economic groups will have disproportionate amounts of these social and economic capitals and consequently these same inequalities maybe reproduced in the arena of structured ‘leisure’ activities. This issue is worthy of further research.

The support of parents was most evident in structured physical activities, perhaps reflecting the greater opportunities for parent involvement. Most structured creative activities in this study were provided by the school and conducted by school staff. However, most physical activities were provided by community organisations which are reliant on parent volunteers to administer, coach and manage the activity. In addition, it is easier to assist in the practise of physical skills (kicking, shooting goals, catching) compared to creative activities (playing an instrument) which require some level of expertise.

Although adolescents may argue they are the agent of their own thoughts and behaviours, it is difficult to separate them from parent actions and consciously or unconsciously expressed values. Parent influence on adolescent choice of activities is not necessarily direct or obvious. Although a quarter to a third (depending on the type of activity) of the adolescents acknowledged parental influence, this statistic probably under-represents subtle parent influences such as previous parent participation or interest in the same activity. Similarly, parents can easily destroy adolescent enthusiasm for a particular activity by not providing the necessary transport, stereotyping activities based on gender, culture, socio-economic status or personal beliefs, making disparaging comments regarding ability and by a range of other negative behaviours (such as banishing their adolescent to another room when
practising musical instrument or forbidding football because of possible injury). Future research needs to be conducted on the role of parents in the leisure choices of their children from the perspective of the parents themselves and to investigate strategies for mediating potentially negative parental influences.

It is important to remember that the parenting variables have been based on items representing adolescents’ self assessments of their families. Hartos and Power (2000) highlighted the poor correlation between parent and adolescent self-reported measures and ideally multiple strategies would have added value to the current research. However other researchers (see Freeman & Brown, 2001; Juang & Silbereisen, 1999; Paulson & Sputa, 1996) contended that adolescents’ perception of their parents constitute an important and equally valid perspective and is perhaps more valid as perception can be of greater importance than actual behaviour.

Interpreting the Model

Analysing the parenting variables separately showed perceived parenting strictness, style, support, values and connectedness were all positively correlated with adolescent participation in structured ‘leisure’ activities. Participation in structured ‘leisure’ activities was, in turn, shown to be positively correlated with a range of positive outcomes. Yet when all these variables were inserted into the one model, perceived parental strictness and connectedness were shown to be the most influential factors in determining positive adolescent developmental outcomes and in reducing involvement in risk behaviours, while actual parent support of structured activities and intrinsic motivation were the most influential factors in determining involvement in structured ‘leisure’ activities.

The positive association between parent connectedness and positive adolescent perceptions of self and life experiences could be explained with reference to Parker and Benson’s (2004) argument that positive parent-adolescent relationships promote
successful experiences, resulting in positive self-concepts. Although Kerr, Stattin and Trost (1999) believed adolescents’ disclosure rather than parental monitoring limited adolescent involvement in risk behaviours, this research suggests that greater communication and connectedness to parents is insufficient by itself and that supervision, monitoring and restrictions are key variables. Perhaps connected parents provide the necessary security and positive role model for development of feelings of self-worth, life-satisfaction and constructive time use. Simultaneously, parent monitoring and supervision, in conjunction with structured out-of-school time diminishes the time spent in unstructured, unsupervised contexts, reducing risk behaviour by minimising access and opportunities.

This model supports recent research (e.g., Bushnik, 2005; J. S. Parker & Bensen, 2004) indicating the interactive relationship between parents and peers. The strong positive links from parent connectedness to peer connectedness and to positive outcomes, and from peer connectedness to positive outcomes suggest that a good relationship with parents engenders good relationships with peers and these good relationships are both strongly associated with positive mental health outcomes. Thus peer relationships appear to be derived from characteristics of the parent-child relationship as proposed by Individuation and Relatedness theorists (e.g., Grotevant & Cooper, 1998). Parker and Bensen (2004) attributed successful peer relationships to the application of the relationship model provided by supportive parents. However, Caldwell and Darling (1999) attributed the positive association between parents, peers and positive behavioural and psychological outcomes to the increased likelihood of adolescents internalising parental values when they have authoritative parents. These values then allow them to select and be selected into friendship groups with similar values. This is neatly encapsulated by a Year 10 girl who commented, “You wouldn’t be friends with someone who was going to influence you in the wrong way.” However,
it is acknowledged that the positive correlation between parent and peer connectedness may be attributed to the good social skills of these adolescents. Alternatively, active participation by parents provides an opportunity for parents to share in their adolescents’ lives, with this common point of contact and positive experience enabling them to remain connected.

Neither peer nor parent connectedness contributed significantly to hours spent participating in structured activities. However, the fact that active parent supportiveness is the largest contributor to hours spent in structured ‘leisure’ activities suggests that parents do directly influence adolescent participation in such activities. This provides support for the view that in areas perceived to be important by adults, parents are influential, whereas peers are likely to be more influential in more superficial areas such as music and clothing preferences (Hendry et al., 1993; Rich, 2003). In addition, it is suggested that parent commitment rather than parent assistance is more important during adolescence (Lieberman et al., 1999). Thus as hypothesised, adolescent involvement in structured ‘leisure’ activities requires that adolescents have a good relationship with their parents and that their parents value such involvement.

The lack of a strong correlation between time spent in structured activities and increased positive or decreased negative outcomes may be attributed to the strength of the association between parenting traits and the outcomes. However, structured ‘leisure’ activities do still appear to be a contributing factor. It may be that the power of structured ‘leisure’ activities only becomes apparent in the absence of authoritative parents. This thesis could only be tested by experimental research in which at risk adolescents are placed in structured ‘leisure’ activities or the sample includes a large number of adolescents from non-authoritative families. To some extent Mahoney’s (Mahoney, Larson, Eccles et al., 2005; Mahoney & Stattin, 2000) research supports the validity of this thesis. He found that participants in unstructured activities were
characterised by deviant peer relationships, poor parent-child relationships and low levels of support from other adults. Parker and Bensen (2004) suggested low parental support and connectedness may increase the importance of peer pressure which in turn increases frequency of engagement in risk behaviours. Arguably, involvement in structured ‘leisure’ activities provides adolescents with poor parent relationships access to adults who will provide connection, support and a positive influence.

Although parental influences may underlie adolescent involvement in structured ‘leisure’ activities, the importance of intrinsic motivation and the perception of self-determination, especially with regard to continuation cannot be underestimated. The relationship between participation in structured activities and the consequences and determinants of such participation is not simple. Feedback effects (see Mannell & Kleiber, 1997) may continually influence and be influenced by activity choices, consequences and determiners. Thus an important contribution made by this study is the importance of investigating the interplay of the diverse factors determining adolescent participation in particular types of out-of-school activities and influencing a range of complex outcomes.

**Limitations**

The following limitations, in conjunction with those already discussed, should also be taken into consideration. The measures used in this study were collected using self-report questionnaires potentially leading to biased findings resulting from common method variance. There is also no guarantee that participants complied with instructions or accurately recalled time usage. The validity of self-reported information, especially when relying on a single source, has been debated extensively. However, inaccurate self-reporting is believed to be more marked in accounts of private and non-salient aspects of self (Mahoney & Stattin, 2000) and thus should be less of a problem in the present research, as most of the questions referred to relatively public behaviours.
Furthermore, the findings either replicate or meaningfully extend other research results, implying a level of validity.

A further limitation of this current research is that the measurements were limited to a single point in time during the winter school term. Randomly assessing a selected week may not accurately reflect all the out-of-school activities in which adolescents engage, seasonal variations in available activities or other fluctuations in patterns of activities. It also does not allow the processes of change and development over time within individuals to be examined. Thus this study fails to capture the effect of differential participation throughout the year adding variability and error to the analyses.

It is recognised that the sample was predominantly white, middle-class, urban Western Australians, who had optimum access to opportunities and resources. Consequently, the findings may not be generalisable to other groups or cultures due to location specific variables such as climate, geographical features, and cultural mindset which may all impinge on adolescent out-of-school experiences and opportunities.

It is also acknowledged that as the research is correlational and cross-sectional, it is difficult to draw definitive conclusions from the data about causal processes, accurately predict directionality or take into account the effect of self-selection. As the analyses are cross-sectional, the direction of effect between participation in particular types of activities, adolescent functioning and determinants of participation can not be determined. Nor is it possible to determine the stability of the clusters over time. In addition, the present analyses focused only on the frequency of involvement and not on the quality of the activity, adolescents’ attitude towards participation or temperament differences, all which may be contributing factors. However, it would be reasonable to suggest that the processes linking out-of-school activities, adjustment and parent and peer relationships are probably reciprocal; well adjusted adolescents are more likely to
have better parent and peer relationships and to participate in developmentally enhancing out-of-school activities, which in turn promote adjustment and improved parent and peer relationships.

Future research would benefit from a longitudinal study that includes sampling throughout the entire year including school holidays. Additional knowledge would be obtained by following individual adolescents over the course of their involvement in particular activities to investigate how participation influences a range of processes such as motivation, attitudes, relationships and other behaviours.

**Conclusions and Recommendations**

The current research adds to the debate concerning the impact of out-of-school time use on adolescent development and the relative strength of various determinants on participation. These findings have implications for parents, leisure service providers, educators and government policy makers. In particular, this study endorses the continued influence of parents (as per Individuation and Relatedness theories, Grotevant & Cooper, 1998) and the web-like, interrelated benefits associated with adolescent involvement in structured ‘leisure’ activities.

Policy makers and the community can best serve adolescents by providing a variety of structured ‘leisure’ activities that are inclusive, cater for a range of abilities and developmental needs, foster positive development, are supportive and caring and encourage parental involvement. This investment would repay itself through the minimising of deviant behaviours and the maximising of social and psychological health, both of which have short and long term consequences for individuals and society. Research in the USA (see Pittman, Tolman, & Yohalem, 2005) reports overwhelming public support (94% of voters polled) for government funded structured out-of-school ‘leisure’ activities. It is reasonable to hypothesise that similar support would exist in Australia. If this is true, the community may be better served if a
significant proportion of Department of Sport and Recreation funding was redirected from the elite few to adolescent and ‘grass-root’ programmes.

Leisure organisations need to provide sub-groups of activities, matched to adolescents’ abilities (ranging from social to highly competitive) to minimise adolescent abandonment of structured activities due to selection competition and poor social comparison (see Fredricks & Eccles, 2002). In addition, and in particular for girls and less competent participants, structured ‘leisure’ activities should be promoted as a vehicle for social interaction and fun. Policies need to be developed ensuring members are given equal participation time, irrespective of ability. After all, everyone pays the same fees and makes the same commitment, and being ‘side-lined’ is not fun.

It is recommended that many structured out-of-school ‘leisure’ activities could be based at local schools, organised by school personnel, businesses or volunteers from community groups. This would make effective use of existing facilities and equipment (potentially reducing costs), minimise transport difficulties and, if scheduled after school, fill the gap between school closure and return of working parents (the period during which most adolescent risk behaviours occur mid-week, Osgood et al., 2005). The ‘Active After School Communities’ (AASC) programme (Australian Sports Commission, 2006) is a good initiative but needs to be broadened to include high school students and a larger range of activity types which flow over to the weekend. The use of school staff to provide extracurricular activities may consolidate the sense of school community, improve staff-student relationships and enhance positive student perceptions of their school experience (Gilman, 2001).

Previous research shows that adolescents are more satisfied with their experience and more persistent when adult leaders provide effective instruction, abundant encouragement and minimal punitive consequences (Duda & Ntoumanis, 2005). Most community organisations rely on parent volunteers to take on leadership
roles. Yet many may not have the requisite skills or aptitude for leading adolescents and are reluctant or unable to attend leadership or coaching courses. To some extent this could be overcome by the provision of free courses by the umbrella organisations. An alternative solution is to make volunteer leadership positions (coaches, conductors, scout leaders, etc) a compulsory component of all associated degree courses (e.g., Sport and Movement, Education, Music). Students in these fields of study are taught the skills for these roles and consequently have a better level of expertise than unskilled parent volunteers. In addition to providing a service to the community, it would provide students with practical application of their theoretical knowledge.

Only a very small minority of adolescents will ever participate at an elite level. Therefore, training or practise sessions should include elements of fun and enjoyment with the focus on skill acquisition and participation, rather than social comparison and winning – the process rather than the outcome (see Eccles et al., 2003; O’Koon, 1997; O’Neill, 2005). Such a focus may cultivate master-oriented adolescents who are more likely to attain a sense of achievement and fulfilment, less likely to be deterred by negative feedback and better prepared to persist through difficulties – characteristics which will enhance their future academic and career success (see Strage & Brandt, 1999). Avoiding repetition, providing interesting and challenging repertoires, inviting audiences to rehearsals and using positive reinforcements are strategies suggested by Juniui, Tedrick and Boyd (1996) to increase attendance and improve band performances. However, as Rodriguez, Wigrield and Eccles’(2003) research suggests, it is about finding the balance between an over focus on performance and having no expectations regarding participation. Both may equally lead to adolescents losing interest and withdrawing from the activity.

The data suggest that schools and community organisations need to improve transition pathways from sub-junior to junior and from junior to senior activities.
Adolescents need better awareness of other organisations providing similar activities in which they are already involved, as well as information about the availability of new activities as they move to the next stage of life. This may be as simple as providing flyers and registration forms to adolescents at each transition stage or involving more elaborate strategies such as inviting participation in training sessions or rehearsals of the more senior organisation, arranging more senior members to visit junior organisations or organising an occasional combined activity.

Adolescents believed their participation in structured ‘leisure’ activities was self-determined. Nevertheless, this research indicates parents are influential in initiating and sustaining participation. Parents can facilitate participation through active involvement in the adolescent’s selected structured activity (through leadership roles, spectating, committee roles, etc), exposing children to range of activities from an early age, assisting in the selection of ‘best fit’, intrinsically interesting activities, and supporting and encouraging adolescent participation and endeavours. However, parental support needs to be carefully balanced against unrealistic parental expectations and demands on adolescents’ endeavours, especially in the sporting arena, to avoid the situation described by Elsworth (2005) in which parental passion is escalating into violence and causing psychological harm to pressured children.

While adults may believe adolescents are not interested in spending quality time with them or in structured activities, focus group findings from this research suggests otherwise. Adolescents do want to spend their ‘leisure time’ in activities that engage them physically and mentally. But, they also want to have fun. The challenge is to combine these two elements. Adolescents’ willingness to be involved and the benefits accrued from participation in structured ‘leisure’ activities are likely to be defined by the level of intrinsic motivation and challenge, the perception of self-determination, the experience of success and achievement, a sense of belonging and their ability to
overcome real or perceived barriers. Adolescents are not a homogeneous group and it is necessary that they find activities suited to their interests and abilities. Forcing participation in poor ‘fitting’ activities may undermine intrinsic motivation and the inherent enjoyment of an activity. Greater feedback from adolescents with regard to developing, changing and consolidating structured ‘leisure’ activities (without removing the important structural elements identified by Mahoney and Stattin, 2000) may ensure their initial and continued involvement, optimising the benefits of participating, enhancing their experience and acknowledging their growing autonomy and positive contribution as valued members of the community.

To support and encourage adolescent autonomy, it may be beneficial for parents to provide choices within set parameters. So the question should be, “What structured out-of-school activity do you want to do?” rather than commanding adolescents to play netball or football or join the school band. Yet, adolescents may lack full awareness of the structured ‘leisure’ opportunities best meeting their needs. In this situation, parents should actively assist in exploring available options and in the decision making process. However, as Caldwell and Darling (1999) noted, the challenge for parents is to find the balance between facilitating participation in particular types of activities and supporting adolescents’ growing autonomy.

Limiting unstructured socialising and replacing it with structured ‘leisure’ activities appear to be key components to reducing adolescent involvement in risk behaviours. In structured activities adolescents are involved in purposeful pursuits, the sequence of events is highly scripted and controlled and there is little opportunity for deviant behaviour. In addition, adult supervision is likely to lead to intervention should adolescents begin engaging in risky behaviour.

Mahoney’s (Mahoney, Larson, Eccles et al., 2005; Mahoney & Stattin, 2000) research into Swedish youth recreation centres (with minimal adult supervision or
organised activities) showed that although the explicit aim of the centres was to reduce adolescent anti-social behaviour by ‘keeping them off the street’, in reality adolescents (both male and female) most frequently attending these centres had the highest rates of deviant behaviour and poor peer and parent relationships. This current research, in conjunction with Mahoney’s findings, strongly indicate that the establishment of such centres (currently strongly supported by the government through initiatives such as 'YouthSpaces and Facilities Fund', Minister for Education and Training, 2005) should be reassessed. Having a place to ‘hang out’ does not necessarily equate to staying out of trouble. It would appear that centres catering for adolescents need to encompass a high level of structure.

All adolescents have periods of time which can be allocated to structured and unstructured activities which may have long term consequences in terms of the individual’s personal development. Mahoney and Stattin (2000) suggested it is the interaction between structured and unstructured activities that is important. It would be undesirable, for example, to eliminate all unstructured peer socialising as this is an important component of the transition process to adulthood and autonomy. Similarly, adolescents need relaxation time, free from expectations and commitments. In addition, the very nature of structured ‘leisure’ activities means they will only be available for a defined and comparatively limited time each week. The goal is to find an effective balance between all the activities in which adolescents participate outside school hours; a commitment to structured ‘leisure’ activities, unorganised socialising with peers, ‘time-out’ to recuperate, and opportunities for self-organised activities, to develop skills for self-direction and fulfilment without the need of other people or the electronic media.

Society has a tendency to perceive adolescents in negative terms (see Zeldin, 2002), failing to acknowledge their capabilities and positive aspects. Yet this research
suggests that far from being a problem to society, the large majority of adolescents are well adjusted and managing their lives well. It is time we stopped underestimating the role adolescents could play in our community and began promoting a more positive reference frame about adolescents, considering them as useful resources to be developed, utilising their motivation, ability, enthusiasm and energy. Supporting and encouraging adolescent involvement in structured ‘leisure’ activities, would promote that positive development of themselves and society.

Pragmatically, these finding suggest that parents and the community should refrain from overestimating the negative influence of peers and underestimating the positive influence of parents. In fact, the lack of a main effect for family structure supports Robertson’s (1999) contention that the nature of parent relationships is the most important influence on adolescent behaviour. Parents are able to actively guide adolescents through the transition from childhood to adulthood, limiting risk behaviour by careful monitoring and supervising, and shaping peer interactions and healthy development by maintaining a connected relationship. The challenge for parents is finding the balance between promoting and encouraging adolescents’ growing independence within every widening constraints, while still maintaining age appropriate boundaries that will ensure safety and optimum health outcomes. For adolescents lacking the type of parental support and guidance required for optimum development, participation in structured out-of-school ‘leisure’ activities may provide an important surrogate environment.
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Appendix A

Adolescent Participation in Particular Structured Out-of-School Activities Within Each Activity Type

**Figure A1.** Most common structured physical activities in which adolescents participated during out-of-school hours as a percentage of the total sample.

**Figure A2.** Most common structured social activities in which adolescents participated during out-of-school hours as a percentage of the total sample.
Figure A3. Most common structured creative activities in which adolescents participated during out-of-school hours as a percentage of the total sample.

Figure A4. Most common volunteer activities in which adolescents participated during out-of-school hours as a percentage of the total sample.

Figure A5. Most common part-time jobs in which adolescents were employed as a percentage of the total sample.
Appendix B

Rates of Participation and Hours Spent in Different Types of Structured Activities by Three Demographic Variables

Table B1

Percentages and Adjusted Residuals for Significant Chi Square Analyses of Participation in Different Types of Structured Activities on the Basis of Three Demographic Variables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Team</th>
<th>Social</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Individual</th>
<th>Volunteer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>-2.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>16.6 -2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>22.8 2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
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<td>-2.7</td>
<td>54.4 -5.5</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>69.3 5.5</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>-7.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>-8.3</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>-3.5</td>
<td>71.7</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>20.4 2.0</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>50.7</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12.5 -2.3</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>45.1</td>
<td>5.3</td>
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<td>-2.7</td>
<td>7.4  -3.4</td>
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Table B2

Mean and Standard Deviations of Significant ANOVAs of Hours Adolescents Actually Involved in Different Types of Structured Activities by Five Demographic Variables

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<th>Work</th>
<th>Team</th>
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<th>Individual</th>
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<td>M</td>
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<td>2.63</td>
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Appendix C

*Participation Rates in School and Club Provided Structured Activities*

Table C1

*Percentages and Adjusted Residuals for Significant Chi Square Analyses of Participation in School and Club Provided Structured Activities*

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Physical Team Club %</th>
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<th>Physical School %</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>Physical Individual Club %</th>
<th>AR</th>
<th>Physical Individual School %</th>
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Appendix D

Participation Rates and Hours Spent in Different Types of Unstructured Activities

Table D1

Percentages and Adjusted Residuals for Significant Chi Square Analyses of Participation in Different Types of Unstructured Activities

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<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
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<tr>
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<td>AR</td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>AR</td>
<td>AR</td>
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<td>71</td>
<td>86.8</td>
<td>5.9</td>
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<td>Year</td>
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Table D2

Mean and Standard Deviations of Significant ANOVAs of Hours Adolescents Actually Involved in Different Types of Unstructured Activities by Three Demographic Variables

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<td>SD</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>SD</td>
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<td>19.31</td>
<td>19.73</td>
<td>11.06</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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Appendix E

*Analyses of Watching Television and Computer Use*

Tables E1, E2 and E3 outline the results when watching television and computer use were analysed separately from total hours in passive activities. There was no significant main effect for mother’s level of education or family structure for either watching television or computer use.

Table E1

*Hours of Involvement in Different Types of Passive Activities (Limited to Adolescents Actually Involved in the Activity) by Gender*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
<th>SIGNIFICANCE</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>M</td>
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<td>TV</td>
<td>14.02</td>
<td>7.45</td>
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<tr>
<td>Computer</td>
<td>7.45</td>
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∆ Brown-Forsythe statistic  **p<.001

Table E2

*Hours of Involvement in Different Types of Passive Activities (Limited to Adolescents Actually Involved in the Activity) by School*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
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<th>SIGNIFICANCE</th>
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<td>TV</td>
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<td>Computer</td>
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∆ Brown-Forsythe statistic  **p<.001
Table E3

*Hours of Involvement in Different Types of Passive Activities (Limited to Adolescents Actually Involved in the Activity) by Year*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
<th>YR 8 M</th>
<th>YR 9 M</th>
<th>YR 10 M</th>
<th>YR 11 M</th>
<th>YR 12 M</th>
<th>SIG. df</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>F</th>
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<td>13.09</td>
<td>11.97</td>
<td>12.30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7.13</td>
<td>8.29</td>
<td>7.93</td>
<td>6.30</td>
<td>6.30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer</td>
<td>5.78</td>
<td>6.86</td>
<td>7.86</td>
<td>6.74</td>
<td>7.52</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>978</td>
<td>5.45**Δ</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.14</td>
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<td>6.77</td>
<td>4.95</td>
<td>5.41</td>
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</table>

Δ Brown-Forsythe statistic  ** p<.001

A significant interaction was found between adolescent connectedness to parents and hours spent on the computer, Brown-Forsythe: $F(4,961)=3.90, p<.01$, but not television viewing. As hours on the computer increased, connectedness with parents decreased. There was no significant interaction between parenting style and hours spent watching television, but there was a significant interaction for hours spent on the computer, Brown-Forsythe: $F(3,613)=4.89, p<.01$, with adolescents of neglectful parents ($M=5.88, SD=6.32$) spending significantly more time on the computer than those with authoritative ($M=4.11, SD=4.05$) or permissive ($M=4.33, SD=5.91$) parents.

A significant positive interaction was found between level of boredom and hours spent on the computer, Brown-Forsythe: $F(4,1275)=4.02, p<.01$. The level of boredom increased along with hours spent on the computer. Although the interaction was not significant for watching television ($p=.02$), the trend was similar.
Appendix F

*Analyses of Adolescent Telephone Use and “Hanging Out”*

Tables F1 and F2 outline the results obtained when telephone use and ‘hanging out’ were analysed separately from total hours in unstructured social activities.

**Table F1**

*Participation Rates in Different Types of Unstructured Social Activities by Gender*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
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<th>MALE</th>
<th>SIGNIFICANCE</th>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>Hanging out</td>
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<tr>
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<td>10.73**</td>
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N=1280  **p<.001

**Table F2**

*Participation Rates in Different Types of Unstructured Social Activities by Year*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
<th>YR 8</th>
<th>YR 9</th>
<th>YR 10</th>
<th>YR 11</th>
<th>YR 12</th>
<th>SIG.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>df</td>
<td>χ²</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanging out</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>20.53**</td>
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</table>

N=1280  **p<.001

A significant interaction was found between connectedness to peers and hours spent on the telephone, Brown-Forsythe: $F(4,1275)=4.54$, $p<.001$, but not hours ‘hanging out’: the more hours on the telephone, the greater the level of peer connectedness.

A significant interaction was found between hours spent ‘hanging out’ and alcohol consumption, Brown-Forsythe: $F(2,1277)=15.63$, $p<.001$, being drunk, Brown-Forsythe: $F(2,1277)=15.25$, $p<.001$, stealing, Brown-Forsythe: $F(2,1277)=5.95$, $p<.01$ and smoking cigarettes, Brown-Forsythe: $F(2,1277)=4.93$, $p<.01$. There was also a significant interaction between hours on the telephone and frequency of alcohol
consumption, Brown-Forsythe: $F(2,1277)=5.51, p<.01$, and being drunk, Brown-Forsythe: $F(2,1277)=4.56, p<.01$. In each significant interaction, the greater the number of hours adolescents were involved in the unstructured activity the more frequently they engaged in the risk behaviour.

An ANOVA indicated a significant positive interaction between social acceptance and hours spent ‘hanging out’, Brown-Forsythe: $F(3,1276)=4.31, p<.01$, but not for hour spent on the telephone. Adolescents with very high levels of social acceptance spent more time ‘hanging out’ than those with very low social acceptance ($M=3.65, SD=4.10$).
### Appendix G

*Adolescent Involvement in Unstructured Social and Passive Activities by Parenting Style*

Table G1

*Mean and Standard Deviations of ANOVAs of Hours Adolescents Involved in Unstructured Social and Passive Activities by Parenting Style*

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Appendix H

*Hours Adolescents Involved in Structured Leisure Activities by Social Acceptance, Life Satisfaction and Self Worth*

Table H1

Mean and Standard Deviations of Significant ANOVAs of Hours Adolescents Involved in Structured Leisure Activities and Part-time Work by Social Acceptance, Life Satisfaction and Self-Worth.

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<td>Life Satisfaction</td>
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<td>Self Worth</td>
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<tr>
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Appendix I

Sample Correlations for Models

Table II

Sample Correlations – Sample 1 – Initial Model

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Appendix J

Focus Group Probes

1. What does ‘leisure’ mean to you?
2. Tell me some of the activities you do out-of-school hours. Why do you do these activities? What are the benefits and/or disadvantages of being involved in these activities? Which of these activities do you consider ‘leisure’? (Researcher to record on large sheets of paper)
3. To what extent do you take notice of what your parents tell you to do? Are there some areas in which you are more likely to listen to your parents’ advice? How do your parents try to influence you? How well do you get on with your parents?
4. To what extent do you take notice of what your peers tell you to do? Are there some areas in which you are more likely to listen to your friends’ rather than your parents’ advice? How do your friends try to influence you?
5. How much do you think you’re influenced by peers outside your friendship group?
6. What are the most important factors for your continued involvement in structured after-school activities such as sport, youth group, band, etc?
7. Why do you do part-time work? What do you like/dislike about it?
8. What voluntary work do you do? Why? What do you like/dislike about it?
9. Why do teenagers ‘drop out’ of organised after-school activities?
10. Are you often bored? Why? What do you do when you’re bored?
11. What sort of anti-social and high risk behaviours do teenagers your age do? Why do you think they do it?
12. Read through each section of the questionnaire. Are there any questions you don’t understand or that you think could be written in a better way? Can you suggest an alternative way of wording difficult to understand questions? (Encourage students to come to a consensual agreement.)
Appendix K

School's Out!

This survey is intended to find out what teenagers do outside of school hours, what factors influence you to participate in particular activities and how these decisions impact on your life.

There are no right or wrong answers.

Please answer each question as honestly as possible.

The researcher is the only person who will see your answers.

Please start here:

Section 1:

2. I am: Female ☐ Male ☐

3. My age is: _______ years, _______ months. 4. I am in Year _______

5. School I attend: State ☐ Private ☐

6. During the week I live with: Two parents ☐ One parent ☐
   One parent and one step-parent/partner ☐ A guardian ☐

7. The highest level of education achieved by my mother is:
   Year 7 ☐ Year 10 ☐ Year 12 ☐ TAFE ☐ University ☐

8. Where were your parents born?
   a) Mother: __________________ b) Father: __________________

9. a) Where were you born? __________________
   b) Do you identify yourself as Aboriginal? Yes ☐ No ☐

10. Do you mostly speak English at home? Yes ☐ No ☐
### Section 2:
Please complete the following table based on the **out-of-school hours** activities in which you are involved **at the moment**:

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<th>School (S) Club or Lessons (C)</th>
<th>Number of years involved</th>
<th>Hours per week (average)</th>
<th>Best friend involved? (Y) or (N)</th>
<th>Parent ever done? (Y) or (N)</th>
<th>Days per week involved</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* PLEASE COMPLETE BLUE PAGE</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Unorganised creative activity (e.g. hobbies, painting, playing instruments, writing, reading, cooking, designing web pages, training dog, practising instrument, photography, etc)</td>
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<td>____________</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Individual passive activities (e.g. meditating, dreaming, watching sport, etc)</td>
<td>Television/DVD/Videos Computer/Internet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Listening to radio/music and NOT doing anything else</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Game Boy/X-Box</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>____________</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>____________</td>
<td>____________</td>
<td>____________</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Volunteer work on a regular basis (NOT AT HOME)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* PLEASE COMPLETE GREEN PAGE</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Regular part-time paid work (NOT CHORES) (e.g. paper delivery, checkout, cook, cleaner, stacker shop assistant, etc)</td>
<td>Company</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>* PLEASE COMPLETE YELLOW PAGE</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Section 3:

ONLY ANSWER THIS QUESTION IF YOU DO AN ORGANISED OUT-OF-SCHOOL SPORT (i.e. numbers 1, 2)

Activity on which you are basing your answers: _______________
(If you do more than one activity, choose the one you enjoy most)

11. I participate in organised out-of-school SPORT activities because:
(tick one only)

☐ I don’t know.
☐ I am supposed to.
☐ I want to earn rewards, medals, trophies or certificates.
☐ It is important to me and helps me to develop.
☐ I want to and I enjoy doing it.

12. Who most influenced you to join in this particular organised out-of-school activity?
Parents ☐ Peers ☐ Other adult ☐ Someone famous ☐ Own decision ☐

13. How good are you at your organised activity compared to your peers?
Way below ☐ below ☐ average ☐ above ☐ way above ☐ average ☐

14. Is it more important that you win ☐ or get equal playing time? ☐

15. How supportive are your parents of your participation in your organised activity?
Not at all supportive 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ Very supportive

In relation to your organised activity, do either of your parents:

16) Watch you participate on a regular basis? Yes ☐ No ☐

17) Coach, teach, umpire, hold a position on the committee? Yes ☐ No ☐

18) Help you practice or do the activity with you in your free time? Yes ☐ No ☐

19. Do you plan to continue in your organised activity after you leave high school?
Yes ☐ No ☐ Unsure ☐
ONLY ANSWER THIS QUESTION IF YOU DO AN ORGANISED OUT-OF-SCHOOL SOCIAL ACTIVITY (i.e. numbers 4)

Activity on which you are basing your answers: ____________
(If you do more than one activity, choose the one you enjoy most)

20. I participate in organised out-of-school SOCIAL activities because:
(tick one only)

☐ I don’t know.
☐ I am supposed to.
☐ I want to earn rewards, medals, trophies or certificates.
☐ It is important to me and helps me to develop.
☐ I want to and I enjoy doing it.

21. Who most influenced you to join in this particular organised out-of-school activity?
Parents ☐ Peers ☐ Other adult ☐ Someone famous ☐ Own decision ☐

22. How supportive are your parents of your participation in your organised activity?

Not at all supportive 1 2 3 4 5 Very supportive

In relation to your organised activity, do either of your parents:

23) Watch you participate on a regular basis? Yes ☐ No ☐
24) Teach, a leader, hold a position on the committee, etc? Yes ☐ No ☐

25. Do you plan to continue in your organised activity after you leave high school?

Yes ☐ No ☐ Unsure ☐
Activity on which you are basing your answers: ____________
(If you do more than one activity, choose the one you enjoy most)

26. I participate in organised out-of-school CREATIVE activities because:
(tick one only)

☐ I don’t know.
☐ I am supposed to.
☐ I want to earn rewards, medals, trophies or certificates.
☐ It is important to me and helps me to develop.
☐ I want to and I enjoy doing it.

27. Who most influenced you to join in this particular organised out-of-school activity?

Parents ☐ Peers ☐ Other adult ☐ Someone famous ☐ Own ☐ decision

28. How successful are you at your organised activity compared to your peers?

Way below ☐ below ☐ average ☐ above ☐ way above ☐ average

29. How supportive are your parents of your participation in your organised activity?

Not at all supportive 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ Very supportive

In relation to your organised activity, do either of your parents:

30) Watch you participate on a regular basis? Yes ☐ No ☐

31) Teach, conduct, hold a position on the committee, etc? Yes ☐ No ☐

32) Help you practice or do the activity with you in your free time? Yes ☐ No ☐

33. Do you plan to continue in your organised activity after you leave high school?

Yes ☐ No ☐ Unsure ☐
ONLY ANSWER THIS QUESTION IF YOU DO VOLUNTEER WORK ON A REGULAR BASIS

Activity on which you are basing your answers: ______________

34. I do regular VOLUNTEER work because:
   (tick one only)
   [ ] I don’t know.
   [ ] I am supposed to.
   [ ] I want to earn rewards, medals, trophies or certificates.
   [ ] It is important to me and helps me to develop.
   [ ] I want to and I enjoy doing it.

35. Who most influenced you to do volunteer work?
   [ ] Parents
   [ ] Peers
   [ ] Other adult
   [ ] Someone famous
   [ ] Own decision

36. How supportive are your parents of your participation in your organised activity?
   Not at all supportive 1 2 3 4 5 Very supportive

In relation to your volunteer work, do either of your parents:

37) Do the work with you on a regular basis?  [ ] Yes  [ ] No
38) Involved in the volunteer organisation?  [ ] Yes  [ ] No

39. Do you plan to continue volunteering after you leave high school?
   [ ] Yes  [ ] No  [ ] Unsure
ONLY ANSWER THIS QUESTION IF YOU HAVE A REGULAR PART-TIME JOB

40. I have a PART-TIME JOB because:
   (tick one only)
   □ I don’t know.
   □ I am supposed to.
   □ I want to earn money.
   □ It is important to me and helps me to develop.
   □ I want to and I enjoy doing it.

41. Who most influenced you to get part-time work?
   □ Parents  □ Peers  □ Other adult  □ Someone famous  □ Own decision

42. How supportive of your part-time work are your parents?
   Not at all supportive  1  2  3  4  5  Very supportive
Section 4:
Please answer the following questions:

43. Is there any organised activity that you used to do but have now stopped?  
   Yes ☐ No ☐

44. What was the last organised activity you stopped doing? _____________________________

45. How old were you when you stopped? ____________ years

46. Why did you stop?
   _____________________________________________________________________________
   _____________________________________________________________________________

How do you usually get to school? How long does it take?

47. bus/train ☐ __________ minutes

48. car ☐ __________ minutes

49. walk/cycle/skate ☐ __________ minutes

50. Are you often bored?
   Never ☐ Very rarely ☐ Sometimes ☐ Often ☐ Most of the time ☐

51. What do you do when you are feeling bored?
   _____________________________________________________________________________
   _____________________________________________________________________________

52. Do your parents regard organised leisure activities as important and want you to participate in them?  
   Yes ☐ No ☐

53. I do quite a number of leisure activities with my family.
   Not at all true ☐ Not really true ☐ Largely true ☐ Entirely true ☐

**ONLY ANSWER THIS QUESTION IF YOU DO NOT DO AN ORGANISED OUT-OF-SCHOOL ACTIVITY**

54. Why don’t you participate in an organised out-of-school activity?
   _____________________________________________________________________________
   _____________________________________________________________________________
Section 5: Please tick one box for each statement that is most true for you.

55. My friends sense when I’m upset about something.
   Almost never □ Seldom □ Sometimes □ Often □ Almost always □

56. Talking over my problems with my friends makes me feel ashamed or foolish.
   Almost never □ Seldom □ Sometimes □ Often □ Almost always □

57. My friends encourage me to talk about my difficulties.
   Almost never □ Seldom □ Sometimes □ Often □ Almost always □

58. My friends don’t understand what I’m going through these days.
   Almost never □ Seldom □ Sometimes □ Often □ Almost always □

59. My friends listen to what I have to say.
   Almost never □ Seldom □ Sometimes □ Often □ Almost always □

60. I feel my friends are good friends.
   Almost never □ Seldom □ Sometimes □ Often □ Almost always □

61. I trust my friends.
   Almost never □ Seldom □ Sometimes □ Often □ Almost always □

62. My friends respect my feelings.
   Almost never □ Seldom □ Sometimes □ Often □ Almost always □

63. I get upset a lot more than my friends know about.
   Almost never □ Seldom □ Sometimes □ Often □ Almost always □

64. It seems as if my friends are irritated with me for no reason.
   Almost never □ Seldom □ Sometimes □ Often □ Almost always □

65. I tell my friends about my problems and troubles.
   Almost never □ Seldom □ Sometimes □ Often □ Almost always □

66. If my friends know something is bothering me, they ask me about it.
   Almost never □ Seldom □ Sometimes □ Often □ Almost always □
**Section 6**
Please tick one box for each statement that is most true for you.

67. **I am afraid to do things my friends won’t approve of.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Very often</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

68. **I do things to be more popular with my peers.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Very often</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

69. **I let my friends talk me into doing things I really don’t want to do.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Rarely</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Often</th>
<th>Very often</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Section 7:**
Below is a list of ten sentences describing different types of teenagers. For each sentence, decide whether you are more like the teenagers described on the left or those described on the right. Tick the box which indicates how true that statement is for you.

**Please note: Only tick one box for each sentence.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Really true for me</th>
<th>Sort of true for me</th>
<th>Sort of true for me</th>
<th>Really true for me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Practice sentence</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 70. Some teenagers like to go to movies in their spare time. BUT Other teenagers would rather go to sports events. |
|-------|--------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|

| 71. Some teenagers have a lot of friends. BUT Other teenagers don’t have very many friends. |
|-------|--------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|

| 72. Some teenagers are kind of hard to like. BUT Other teenagers are really easy to like. |
|-------|--------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|

| 73. Some teenagers are popular with others their age. BUT Other teenagers are not very popular. |
|-------|--------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|

| 74. Some teenagers feel that they are socially accepted. BUT Other teenagers wish that more people their age accepted them. |
|-------|--------|----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
Section 8:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Really true for me</th>
<th>Sort of true for me</th>
<th>Sort of true for me</th>
<th>Really true for me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>Some teenagers are often disappointed with themselves.</td>
<td>BUT Other teenagers are pretty pleased with themselves.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>Some teenagers don’t like the way they are leading their life.</td>
<td>BUT Other teenagers do like the way they are leading their life.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>Some teenagers are happy with themselves</td>
<td>BUT Other teenagers are often not happy with themselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>Some teenagers like the kind of person they are.</td>
<td>BUT Other teenagers often wish they were someone else.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>Some teenagers are very happy being the way they are.</td>
<td>BUT Other teenagers wish they were different.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Section 9:
Please respond by circling the number that represents how much you agree or disagree with each statement.

80. In most ways my life is close to ideal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

81. The conditions of my life are excellent.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

82. I am satisfied with my life.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

83. So far, I have got the important things I want in my life.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

84. If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>Strongly agree</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
**Section 10:**  
Please respond by circling the number that is most true for you.

How often have you:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Over 1 year ago</th>
<th>Less than monthly</th>
<th>About monthly</th>
<th>About weekly</th>
<th>Daily</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>85. drunk alcohol?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86. been drunk?</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>87. smoked cigarettes?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>88. smoked marijuana?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89. used other illegal drugs?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>90. stolen items?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>91. engaged in graffiti?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>92. had sex?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>93. been in a physical fight?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94. damaged property?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

How often do you think your best friend has:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Action</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Over 1 year ago</th>
<th>Less than monthly</th>
<th>About monthly</th>
<th>About weekly</th>
<th>Daily</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>95. drunk alcohol?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96. been drunk?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97. smoked cigarettes?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98. smoked marijuana?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99. used other illegal drugs?</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>100. stolen items?</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>101 engaged in graffiti?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102 had sex?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>103 been in a physical fight?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104 damaged property?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Section 11:
Please respond by circling the number that represents how much you agree or disagree with each statement. **If you have a different relationship with your mother and father, you should respond to the item for the parent who most influences you**

105. **My parents respect my feelings.**
   - Almost never  □  Seldom  □  Sometimes  □  Often  □  Almost always  □

106. **My parents accept me as I am.**
   - Almost never  □  Seldom  □  Sometimes  □  Often  □  Almost always  □

107. **My parents sense when I’m upset about something.**
   - Almost never  □  Seldom  □  Sometimes  □  Often  □  Almost always  □

108. **I get upset a lot more than my parents know about.**
   - Almost never  □  Seldom  □  Sometimes  □  Often  □  Almost always  □

109. **My parents trust my judgement.**
   - Almost never  □  Seldom  □  Sometimes  □  Often  □  Almost always  □

110. **I tell my parents about my problems and troubles.**
   - Almost never  □  Seldom  □  Sometimes  □  Often  □  Almost always  □

111. **I don’t know whom I can depend on these days.**
   - Almost never  □  Seldom  □  Sometimes  □  Often  □  Almost always  □

112. **When I am angry about something, my parents try to be understanding.**
   - Almost never  □  Seldom  □  Sometimes  □  Often  □  Almost always  □

113. **My parent’s don’t understand what I’m going through these days.**
   - Almost never  □  Seldom  □  Sometimes  □  Often  □  Almost always  □

114. **I can count on my parents when I need to get something off my chest.**
   - Almost never  □  Seldom  □  Sometimes  □  Often  □  Almost always  □

115. **I feel that no-one understands me.**
   - Almost never  □  Seldom  □  Sometimes  □  Often  □  Almost always  □

116. **If my parents know something is bothering me, they ask me about it.**
   - Almost never  □  Seldom  □  Sometimes  □  Often  □  Almost always  □
Section 12:

Tick the box indicating what you think is usually true or usually false for your father (stepfather, male guardian)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Usually True</th>
<th>Usually False</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>117.</td>
<td>I can count on him to help me out, if I have some kind of problem.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118.</td>
<td>He keeps pushing me to do my best in whatever I do.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119.</td>
<td>He keeps pushing me to think independently.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120.</td>
<td>He helps me with my school work if there is something I don’t understand</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121.</td>
<td>When he wants me to do something, he explains why.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tick the box indicating what you think is usually true or usually false for your mother (stepmother, female guardian)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Usually True</th>
<th>Usually False</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>122.</td>
<td>I can count on her to help me out, if I have some kind of problem.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123.</td>
<td>She keeps pushing me to do my best in whatever I do.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124.</td>
<td>She keeps pushing me to think independently.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125.</td>
<td>She helps me with my school work if there is something I don’t understand</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126.</td>
<td>When she wants me to do something, she explains why.</td>
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Tick the box indicating what you think is usually true.

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<td>127.</td>
<td>When you get a poor grade in school, how often do either of your parents or guardians encourage you to try harder?</td>
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<td>128.</td>
<td>When you get a good grade in school, how often do either of your parents or guardians praise you?</td>
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Tick the box indicating what you think is usually true.

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<th>Don’t know</th>
<th>Know a little</th>
<th>Know a lot</th>
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<td>129.</td>
<td>How well do either of your parents or your guardians know who your friends are?</td>
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</table>
Tick the box indicating how often the following things happen in your family?

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<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Almost every day</th>
<th>Few times a week</th>
<th>Few times a month</th>
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<td>130. My parents spend time just talking with me.</td>
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<td>131. My family does something fun together.</td>
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32. In a typical week, what is the latest you can stay out on SCHOOL NIGHTS (Monday- Thursday)?
   Not allowed       Before 8.00   8.00-8.59   9.00-9.59   10.00-10.59   11.00 or later   As late as I want
   out

33. In a typical week, what is the latest you can stay out on FRIDAY or SATURDAY NIGHT?
   Not allowed       Before 9.00   9.00-9.59   10.00-10.59   11.00-11.59   12.00 or later   As late as I want

Tick the box indicating how much your parents TRY to know:

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<td>134. Where you go at night?</td>
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<td>135. What you do with your free time?</td>
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<td>136. Where you are most afternoons after school?</td>
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Tick the box indicating how much your parents REALLY know:

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<td>138. What you do with your free time?</td>
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<td>139. Where you are most afternoons after school?</td>
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Section 13: Please fill in the following timetable indicating how you spent your time last week: PLEASE TICK THE BOX MARKED “L” IF YOU CONSIDER THE ACTIVITY AS LEISURE

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* Sleep
* Travelling to and from school
* Homework
* Eating
* Watching TV
* Chores
* Showering/dressing
* Training/practice
* Shopping
* Sport/club/group/etc
Appendix L

Notes on Filling in Questionnaire

1. Only tick one box for each question
2. Section 2 is based on activities you currently do out of school hours. Activities you do during school hours don’t count. But it does count if you do a school organised activity after or before school.
3. Only complete the coloured pages if you have been asked to on the first two pages (i.e. section 2).
4. When answering the coloured pages, if you participate in more than one activity in that category, then choose the one you enjoy doing most.
5. If you don’t know the answer to any question, leave it blank.

Extra Notes for completing Section 2:

• Activities listed are just examples

• If you’re unsure of the number of hours you do an activity per week – think back to the previous week and work out how many times that week you did the activity and for approximately how long each time.

• Hours per week is the average – what you usually do in a week. It included training, competitions and organised practise.

• DON’T WRITE “sometimes”, “a lot”, etc for the number of hours you do an activity

• If you do the same activity with a club and the school – write it down tices

• Church = club

• Number of years involved doesn’t have to be with the same organisation 
  e.g. 2 years with club A and 3 years with club B = 5 years
  However, if 2 years are with the school and three years with a club – separate out into two categories.

• Q5 & 9 have some activities already written in (hanging out with friends, television, computer) – please complete. If you don’t spend anytime doing that activity, write 0)
APPENDIX M

Information Letters and Consent Forms

Introductory Letters to Principals

Lillian Fawcett

The Principal

___________ High School

___________ WA ________

February____, 2005

Dear ____________

Re: Approval to conduct research at ___________ High School

I am currently completing a PhD in Psychology at Edith Cowan University and am investigating how adolescents spend their leisure time, the factors that influence these choices and the consequences of participating in particular types of activities. The research is being conducted under the supervision of Professor Alison Garton and has approval from the Edith Cowan Human Research Ethics Committee.

Leisure pursuits play an important role in adolescents’ personal, social and physical development. This study aims to comprehensively examine the factors associated with Australian adolescent leisure choices and in particular the outcomes of participating in structured versus unstructured out-of-school activities. I will be investigating the extent that parents, peers and personal factors influence the types of out-of-school activities in which adolescents participate, and whether participation in particular activities predicts positive or negative health consequences. It is hoped that the information obtained will contribute to increased adolescent participation in leisure activities that will provide short and long-term health benefits.

The first part of the study involves 10 small groups (two from each year level, 8-12) of 8 to 10 students participating in a focus group, streamed according to gender and year level. Students in the focus groups will be asked a series of open-ended questions about their understanding of leisure, the types of activities they participate in outside of school hours and the factors they believe influence their decision to participate in particular activities. In addition, students will be asked to read through an 18 page questionnaire, consisting of 13 sections designed to collect information on what adolescents do outside of school hours, the amount of time spent on these activities, perceived parents’ parenting style, peer networks and influence, participation in high risk behaviours, and their level of well-being, self-esteem, leisure motivation, satisfaction and connectedness to parents. Students will be asked to comment on the wording of the questions and to suggest better alternatives if necessary. It is envisaged that each focus group session will involve a single 30 to 40 minute period.
Although it is planned to audio-tape the group discussions, no names will be recorded on any documents and I will hold all information in strict confidence. In the final report, data will be provided in group form only and your school will not be named. I will discuss the research with the school psychologist so that in the event that participation raises any concern for students, he/she will be in a position to provide assistance.

Students’ participation in the research would be totally voluntary and they would be free to withdraw from the study at any time, without penalty. In order for students to participate it would be necessary to obtain written permission from parents. Please find attached a sample consent letter and an informed consent statement to be read to participating students prior to completion of the survey form. I would also appreciate the help of you and your staff in suggesting students for possible recruitment in this project.

I have enclosed a copy of my research proposal which provides more detailed information. However, if you have any questions concerning the project please contact myself on [redacted], my supervisor Professor Alison Garton at the School of Psychology, Edith Cowan University on 6304 5110. If you wish to contact someone, who is independent of the research project, about the study please contact Dr Craig Speelman, Head of School (Psychology), Edith Cowan University on 9400 5724.

At the conclusion of the study, a copy of the final results and report will be available on request.

I hope you and your staff will be interested in participating in this research and I look forward to hearing from you in the near future.

Yours sincerely,

Lillian Fawcett
B.Ed., BA (Psychology) Honour
Dear ______________

Re: Approval to conduct research at ___________ High School

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Participating students will be required to complete an 18 page questionnaire, consisting of 13 sections designed to collect information on what adolescents do outside of school hours and the amount of time spent on these activities. In addition, there are a range of scales that measure well-being, self-esteem, leisure motivation and satisfaction, connectedness to parents, perceived parents’ parenting style, peer networks and influence, and participation in high risk behaviours. It is envisaged that the booklet will be completed in a single 30 to 40 minute period.

No names will be recorded on the documents and I will hold all information in strict confidence. In the final report, data will be provided in group form only and schools will not be named. I will discuss the research with the school psychologist so that in the event that participation raises any concern for students, he/she will be in a position to provide assistance.
Students’ participation in the research would be totally voluntary and they would be free to withdraw from the study at any time, without penalty. In order for students to participate it would be necessary to obtain written permission from parents. Please find attached a sample consent letter and an informed consent statement to be read to participating students prior to completion of the survey form.

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Yours sincerely,

Lillian Fawcett
B.Ed., BA (Psychology) Honours
Dear Parents/Guardians

I am currently completing a PhD in Psychology at Edith Cowan University and am investigating how adolescents spend their leisure time, the factors that influence these choices and the consequences of participating in particular types of activities. This research has approval from the Edith Cowan University Human Research Ethics Committee and has been discussed with your school principal.

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Participation is completely voluntary and students are free to withdraw from the research at any stage, without penalty. Although it is planned to audio-tape the group discussions, no names will be recorded on any documents and I will hold all information in strict confidence. In the final report, data will be provided in group form only. Should your child have any concerns as a result of participating in the focus group, the school psychologist ___________ (Ph: __________) will be available for guidance.
If you have any questions concerning the project please contact myself on [phone number] my supervisor Professor Alison Garton at the School of Psychology, Edith Cowan University on 6304 5110. If you wish to contact someone, who is independent of the research project, about the study please contact Dr Craig Speelman, Head of School (Psychology), Edith Cowan University on 9400 5724.

If you consent to your child’s participation in this research, please sign the attached consent form and return it to school as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Lillian Fawcett
B.Ed., BA (Psychology) Honours
February____, 2005

Dear Parents/Guardians

I am currently completing a PhD in Psychology at Edith Cowan University and am investigating how adolescents spend their leisure time, the factors that influence these choices and the consequences of participating in particular types of activities. This research has approval from the Edith Cowan University Human Research Ethics Committee and has been discussed with your school principal.

Leisure pursuits play an important role in adolescents’ personal, social and physical development. This study aims to comprehensively examine the factors associated with Australian adolescent leisure choices and in particular the outcomes of participating in structured versus unstructured out-of-school activities. I will be investigating the extent that parents, peers and personal factors influence the types of out-of-school activities in which adolescents participate, and whether participation in particular activities predicts positive or negative health consequences. It is hoped that the information obtained will contribute to increased adolescent participation in leisure activities that will provide short and long-term health benefits.

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If you have any questions concerning the project please contact myself on my supervisor Professor Alison Garton at the School of Psychology, Edith Cowan University on 6304 5110. If you wish to contact someone, who is independent of the research project, about the study please contact Dr Craig Speelman, Head of School (Psychology), Edith Cowan University on 9400 5724.

If you consent to your child’s participation in this research, please sign the attached consent form and return it to school as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

Lillian Fawcett
B.Ed., BA (Psychology) Honours
Parent/Guardian Consent Form

Project Title: School’s Out: Adolescent ‘Leisure Time’ Activities, Influences and Consequences

I ________________________________ (the parent/guardian of the participant) have read and understood the information provided with this consent form and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.

I agree to allow my child _________________________ (name) to participate in the activities associated with this research and I understand that I, or my child, can withdraw consent at any time.

If as a result of participating in this research my child has any concerns, I understand that I and/or my child can contact the school psychologist _________________ (Ph:__________).

I agree that the research data gathered in this study may be published, provided my child and my child’s school is not identifiable in any way.

___________________________________   ____________________
Parent/Guardian’s Signature     Date

If you require further information about this project please contact Lillian Fawcett (Ph: __________) or Professor Alison Garton, School of Psychology, Edith Cowan University (Ph: 6304 5110). If you wish to contact someone, who is independent of the research project, about the study, please contact Dr Craig Speelman, Head of School (Psychology), Edith Cowan University (Ph: 9400 5724)
Parent/Guardian Consent Form

Project Title:
School’s Out: Adolescent ‘Leisure Time’ Activities, Influences and Consequences

I ________________________________ (the parent/guardian of the participant) have read and understood the information provided with this consent form and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.

I agree to allow my child _________________________ (name) to participate in the activities associated with this research and I understand that the group discussion session will be audiotaped. I am aware that students will be requested NOT to use names and if this should accidentally occur the name will be immediately erased from the tape recording. At the conclusion of the research project the audio tape will be completely erased and then destroyed.

I understand that I, or my child, can withdraw consent at any time.

If as a result of participating in this research my child has any concerns, I understand that I and/or my child can contact the school psychologist _________________ (Ph:__________).

I agree that the research data gathered in this study may be published, provided my child and my child’s school is not identifiable in any way.

___________________________________   ____________________
Parent/Guardian’s Signature     Date

If you require further information about this project please contact Lillian Fawcett (Ph: __________) or Professor Alison Garton, School of Psychology, Edith Cowan University (Ph: 6304 5110). If you wish to contact someone, who is independent of the research project, about the study, please contact Dr Craig Speelman, Head of School (Psychology), Edith Cowan University (Ph: 9400 5724)
Student Verbal Consent
(To be read to students prior to commencing focus group)

My name is Lillian Fawcett and I am studying psychology at Edith Cowan University. I am investigating how adolescents spend their leisure time, the factors that influence these choices and the consequences of participating in particular types of activities.

For this part of my research, I will be asking open-ended questions about what leisure means to you, the types of activities you participate in outside of school hours and the factors you believe influence your decision to participate in particular activities. In addition, I will ask you to read through an 18 page booklet that asks questions about what teenagers do outside of school hours, and about family and friends. I would like you to think about how the questions have been worded and if you think they are difficult to understand, to suggest some better alternatives. The session will be for just this one period.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. That means if you don’t want to answer any questions or make any comments, you don’t have to and you won’t get into trouble.

From your input, I will produce a comprehensive questionnaire that will be distributed to other high school students to complete. From the information I collect, I hope to be able to inform those people in authority about the types of activities that they should be providing for adolescents and factors which will influence adolescent participation in them.

Have you got any questions?

I really hope you will all choose to be a part of this focus group. It is a way you can have a say in what you think about adolescent leisure and influence future decisions regarding the facilitation of activities that you perceive as worthwhile and important.

If this session makes you think of anything that you would like to discuss further with an adult or brings up issues that make you feel uncomfortable, I recommend that you make an appointment to see the school psychologist ________________. You can make an appointment by ________________.

I will be taping the discussion so that I can refer back to the comments you make. However, I want your responses to remain anonymous, so please do not tell me your name and do not say anyone else's name. If you inadvertently use someone's name, I will stop the discussion while I erase that section of the tape. At the conclusion of the research project the tape will be erased and then destroyed. By remaining in this group and by taking part in the discussion you are consenting to take part in this research.
Student Verbal Consent
(To be read to students prior to distributing questionnaires)

Lillian Fawcett is a psychology student at Edith Cowan University and she is investigating how adolescents spend their leisure time, the factors that influence these choices and the consequences of participating in particular types of activities.

If you choose to participate in this research you will be required to complete an 18 page booklet that asks you what you do outside of school hours, and about your family and friends. You should be able to complete the booklet in 30 to 40 minutes, however if you would like more time this could possibly be arranged.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. That means if you don’t want to answer the questions in the booklet, you don’t have to and you won’t get into trouble. It also means that you are free to withdraw from the study at any time.

From the information collected it is hoped to be able to inform those people in authority about the types of activities that they should be providing for adolescents and factors which will influence adolescent participation in them.

By participating in this study you have the opportunity to have a say in what you think about adolescent leisure and influence future decisions regarding the facilitation of activities that you perceive as worthwhile and important.

Have you got any questions?

If answering this questionnaire makes you think of anything that you would like to discuss further with an adult or brings up issues that make you feel uncomfortable, I recommend that you make an appointment to see the school psychologist ________________. You can make an appointment by ____________________.

This is an anonymous questionnaire. Please ensure that you do not write your name, or any other comments that will make you identifiable, on the questionnaire. By completing the questionnaire you are consenting to take part in this research.