

Race and Gender Differences in Adolescent Peer Group Approval of Leisure Activities

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The leisure preferences of childhood and adolescence have generally been regarded as important to adult leisure behavior. Race has also been shown to affect adult leisure behavior and experience in the United States. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to believe that adult racial differences at leisure have been influenced by adolescent leisure preferences and participation patterns. Unfortunately, past research on adolescent leisure has largely ignored race as an important study variable. This study investigated the relationship between race and gender on adolescent peer group approval of 20 leisure activities common to the study area. A stratified random sample of 421 11th and 12th grade public high school students was drawn from a southern school district, yielding 101 Black and 280 White adolescents who rated leisure activities on perceived peer group approval. Utilizing two-tailed *t*-tests, with an *F* (folded) statistic to test for equality of the two variances and a Bonferroni correction for multiple comparison tests, significant differences ($p < 0.001$) between Black and White adolescents were found for 10 (50%) leisure activities. Race appeared to be a more important factor than gender when comparing peer group approval ratings between the racial groups for most leisure activities on an activity-by-activity level. Black adolescents showed fewer gender differences than Whites at this level of analysis. From a different perspective, when the mean scores were ranked and the association in direction of scores for these leisure activities was tested using Spearman's Correlation, males showed a much stronger association in their ranked scores than females. Selected peer group characteristics of these adolescent racial groups are also presented. The findings suggest that race and gender are defining features of African American adolescent leisure experience with important implications for adult leisure behavior.

KEYWORDS: *Race, gender, African American, adolescents, leisure, peer groups.*

Introduction

The leisure activities of childhood and adolescence have been generally regarded as highly important to adult leisure behavior for many decades (e.g., Cheek & Burch, 1976; Csikszentmihalyi, Larson, & Prescott, 1977; Iso-Ahola, 1980; Rapoport & Rapoport, 1975). Research interest in adolescent leisure, however, did not gain much attention in the literature until the early 1980s (see Kleiber, Larson, and Csikszentmihalyi, 1986; Caldwell, Smith, & Weissinger, 1992). The 1990s has produced a greatly increased research in-

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terest in all aspects of adolescent leisure experience, ranging from male adolescents who engage in delinquent leisure activities (Robertson, 1994), to high school achievement and leisure activities (Bergin, 1992), leisure and identity formation in male and female adolescents (Shaw, Kleiber, & Caldwell, 1995), negotiation of leisure constraints by adolescents (Jackson & Rucks, 1995), and adolescent self-esteem and leisure constraints (Raymore, Godbey, & Crawford, 1994). A critical review of this recent literature will also reveal that adolescent racial group differences have not been addressed as a central research issue in any of these investigations. Only one investigation by Hultsman (1993) has included race as an independent variable, with rather limited discussion of a few Hispanic American differences. Hultsman (1993) reported that "the sample sizes of black, Native American, and mixed and other students were very small ($n < 5$) and therefore not included in this analysis" (p. 158).

Race has functioned as the single most important factor affecting education, housing, and employment in the United States during the last three decades (Jaynes & Williams, 1989). Racial differences in leisure preferences and behavior have also been acknowledged in the literature for decades. For example, Lee (1972) reported that the labels *Black* and *White* could be assigned to many leisure activities and locales. In another example, Schuman and Hatchett (1974) provided evidence that Black American leisure was different and distinctive even in integrated neighborhoods. Nearly all the research which followed the early investigations has attempted to explain racial differences in leisure preferences and participation using two basic theoretical explanations first developed by Washburne (1978): (a) marginality, or (b) ethnicity (e.g., Edwards, 1981; Stamps & Stamps, 1985). In highly simplified terms, marginality has evolved in the literature to mean all economic and social class factors, while ethnicity has evolved to be associated with subcultural values, language, and traditions (West, 1989). Although both theories have been used with some success to explain racial differences in leisure preference and participation, "a consistent body of evidence in support of either has not emerged" in the literature over several decades (Floyd, Shinew, McGuire, & Noe, 1994, p. 159).

Recently, a renewed interest in both of these theoretical explanations for racial differences in leisure behavior has been evident in the literature. For example, many researchers have recently explored marginality factors and found similarities in leisure preferences between Black and White Americans who defined themselves as middle class (e.g., Floyd, Shinew, McGuire, & Noe, 1994; Shinew, Floyd, McGuire, & Noe, 1995, 1996). Other researchers have also recently explored ethnicity factors, and found some support for acculturation differences in leisure preference and participation patterns (e.g., Carr & Williams, 1993; Floyd & Gramann, 1993; Floyd, Gramann, & Saenz, 1993). However, this shift from race-based investigations to social class and ethnicity studies has caused some concern among a few researchers who have proposed a third major explanation for racial differences in leisure preferences and participation: racial discrimination (e.g., Philipp, 1995;

West, 1989). These researchers have argued that race, historically referenced to prejudice, discrimination, and skin color in the United States, is an important leisure research issue because the practical significance of continuing racial discrimination in the United States can easily be lost in discussions which only address the issues of social class or subcultural values. For example, overwhelming Black support for the acquittal of O. J. Simpson during his 1996 nationally televised trial cut across social class and ethnicity distinctions in the African American community; instead, the trial was fundamentally about Black versus White perceptions of racism and justice in America (Elias & Schatzman, 1996).

Indeed, most current leading African American writers have continued to emphasize the importance of race-based discrimination in their various analyses of daily life in the United States (e.g., Bell, 1992, 1994; Cose, 1993; Gates & West, 1996; Hacker, 1995). Kinder and Sanders (1996) found that despite the economic and educational gains of Black Americans, race continued to be the defining feature of most day-to-day problems for this racial group. For example, a successful, well-educated Black executive might be stopped by police while driving an expensive automobile through certain city areas to "check" the automobile registration, or be unable to secure a taxi in other city areas. Many similar daily problems encountered by Blacks are probably not the result of marginality or ethnicity considerations but rather center on perceptions of race reflected in skin color. From this perspective, the leisure literature has been rather limited in addressing the importance of race to an understanding of many leisure motivation, satisfaction, and participation issues (Philipp, 1995). West (1989) argued that many African Americans may select leisure activities on the basis of the "blackness" or "whiteness" associated with leisure activities and places. In addition, Philipp (1995) found significant differences between middle-class African Americans and European Americans who resided in the same integrated neighborhoods, for a majority of leisure activities rated on appeal and comfort. One of the major concerns with studies which are focused on either ethnicity and social class issues is that they can effectively hide the power of race in addressing issues of discrimination and racism in the United States. With these concerns in mind, the present investigation employs race as an important factor for understanding many leisure preferences and also as a defining feature of many adolescent peer groups (Kinder & Sanders, 1996).

Gender has also been shown to be an important factor in much adult leisure experience (e.g., Green, Hebron, & Woodward, 1990; Henderson, Bialeschki, Shaw, & Freysinger, 1989; Wimbush & Talbot, 1988). For example, Shaw (1985) found that males had more weekend leisure time than females, although weekday gender differences were not significant. Searle and Jackson (1985) showed that females perceived more barriers to their leisure than men. Following a similar line of analysis, Shaw (1988) found that females were not as likely as males to acknowledge free choice in their lives. However, most investigations of this kind have focused on gender-based inequalities in leisure and have not attempted to discuss race in any meaningful manner.

Yet, studies of this kind do indicate the power of gender as a force of social stratification. In a review of gender-based leisure research, Floyd, Shinew, McGuire, and Noe (1994) argued that "more research is needed to clarify the inter-relationships between gender, race, and class and their effects on leisure as these variables represent the major cleavages in American society" (p. 171).

The literature of the last decade has also shown that adolescent leisure participation and interest is strongly associated with gender stereotypes (e.g., Archer & McDonald, 1990; Garton & Pratt, 1987). In other words, "girl" and "boy" identified activities are well understood by the time most children reach adolescence. Moreover, Green, Hebron, and Woodward (1990) found that young females had more restrictions on their access to leisure outside the home than did young males, resulting in more home-centered activities by young females. Adolescent females have also been found to have "significantly lower self-esteem and significantly higher amounts of intrapersonal and total constraints than males" which makes them less likely to participate in many leisure activities (Raymore, Godbey, & Crawford, 1994, p. 99). Gender and participation in leisure activities also seem to be associated with adolescent identity development in some fashion. For example, participation in sports and physical activities seems to affect identity development in adolescent females positively but not adolescent males. In comparison, time spent watching television negatively affects identity development in adolescent males but not in adolescent females (Shaw, Kleiber, & Caldwell, 1995). In addition, Shaw, Kleiber, and Caldwell (1995) found that adolescent leisure and identity formation "seems to depend on both gender and the gendered nature of leisure activities" (p. 245). These findings suggest the power of gender in shaping adolescent leisure preferences and in the development of leisure participation patterns. Moreover, Griffiths (1988) has suggested that race influences many adolescent female preferences for leisure activities. Overall, it appears any future research investigating the leisure of adolescents needs to make gender a central issue of analysis and must also address the issue of race.

Peer Group Influence

Ingersol (1989) argued that "one issue on which there is general consensus among those who work with, study, or raise adolescents is the strong impact of the peer group on adolescent behavior" (p. 226). Indeed, adolescents spend more time with friends and classmates than with their families or other adults (Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1984). Adolescent peer groups are not randomly assembled but are composed of individuals who share similar values, backgrounds, and interests (Sprinthall & Collins, 1988). A large part of adolescent conscious thought and action in the world is centered on leisure experience (Csikszentmihalyi & Larson, 1984). Greenberger and Steinberger (1986) found that even adolescents who work do so primarily to secure money for personal items or leisure experiences and not for future

careers or other long-term goals. Therefore, it appears reasonable to believe that adolescent leisure preferences and participation patterns play an important role in the formation and evolution of peer groups.

Sprinthal and Collins (1988) stated that a "sense of belonging is an easily understood reason for seeking and succeeding in peer relations" (p. 285). Beyond this basic need to belong, Deutsch and Gerald (1955) suggested that peer groups provide two powerful influences on adolescent behavior: (a) informational influence, and (b) normative influence. Informational influence refers to "sources of knowledge about behavioral patterns, attitudes, and values and their consequences in different situations", and normative influence refers to "social pressure on adolescents to behave as others around them behave" (Sprinthal & Collins, 1988, p. 286). From this perspective, the peer group serves instructing, advising, and policing functions (Atwater, 1988). Adolescent peer groups "quickly take on an obvious structure in which there are certain rules for achieving status and certain expected behaviors for remaining a part of the group" (Sprinthal & Collins, 1988, p. 277). In addition, adolescent peer groups frequently become closed to others and "establish implicit rules for in-group and out-group behavior" (Sprinthal & Collins, 1988, p. 277).

Rosenberg (1979) showed that adolescent peer groups serve as a central extended self. Peer group feedback that indicates disapproval or rejection affects self-evaluation and self-concept in a negative manner (Ingersol, 1989). Therefore, adolescent peer groups, at the present level of analysis, may function to provide information about leisure activities and experience and provide pressure to conform to group leisure expectations. Interest and participation in non-valued peer group leisure activities would then likely be associated with some degree of negative group feedback or even with the eventual separation from the group and movement toward a new group which valued those leisure interests.

Most past investigations of adolescent leisure preferences and behavior have failed to address the overwhelming importance of race, gender, and peer groups in the adolescent experience of daily-life. Furthermore, the exploration of theoretical relationships among these factors has been given little attention in the leisure literature. With these concerns in mind, the purpose of this investigation is fourfold: (a) to explore the importance of race to adolescent leisure decisions; (b) to determine if the peer group approval of leisure activity preferences is significantly different between Black and White adolescents; (c) to determine if gender is significantly associated with peer group approval differences of Black and White adolescents; and (d) to provide direction for future investigations of African American adolescent leisure.

Method

Subjects

A stratified random sample of 421 11th and 12th grade public high school students was drawn from a southern United States school district.

Three different high schools in this school district were selected to represent each of the following sample strata characteristics: (a) suburban area, predominately White students (84% White, 14% Black, 2% Other); (b) inner-city area, a majority of Black students (49% Black, 42% White, 2% Other); and (c) outer-city area, racially integrated student population (60% White, 37% Black, 3% Other). The sample was stratified in this manner to gain respondents representing the three major high school racial composition types common to the study area and also to reflect racial composition differences in numerous metropolitan areas across the United States. It should be noted that the attendance zone of the suburban high school studied in the present investigation was not composed of the more typical higher income "suburban tract housing" found in many areas across the U. S. Instead, this attendance area was associated with smaller homes built on large, non-developed lots (including many manufactured homes) with a few embedded African American neighborhoods.

Three 11th grade and three 12th grade homeroom classes were randomly selected from each high school. Since homeroom assignment is based on a random alphabetical system in the study area, homerooms were deemed more robust random sampling spaces than other discipline-based classroom locations. This stratified random sample of 421 students in 18 high school homerooms yielded 401 completed questionnaires: 101 by Blacks (25%), 280 by Whites (70%), 3 by Hispanic Americans (1%), 9 by Asian Americans (2%), 5 by Native Americans (1%), and 3 by "other" (1%), resulting in an overall response rate of 95 percent. This sample of students also closely matched the overall racial percentages of high school students in the studied school system (30% Black, 65% White, 5% others). Respondents marking racial categories other than Black or White were removed from this investigation, leaving a total of 381 Black or White student responses for analysis.

Measures

A panel of 18 graduate students (including two Blacks) compiled a list of 204 often-studied leisure activities from a review of the literature. Twenty activities were selected from this list to provide a balance of outdoor and indoor activities frequently done by adolescents in the study area. All the panel experts were long-term residents of the area, present during the decision-making process, and instructed to select activities which might appeal to both Black and White adolescents. This list of activities was then field tested by the panel with Black and White adolescents in the study area and showed good face validity in the identification of leisure activities which adolescents have already done or might consider doing if given the opportunity.

In addition, a review of the literature yielded four factors which had been shown to influence adolescent peer group decision-making: (a) size of peer group; (b) influence power of peer group; (c) leadership role in peer group; and (d) time spent with peer group. These peer group factors have

been discussed, in one manner or another, in nearly all major investigations dealing with adolescents (Sprinthall & Collins, 1988).

A two-page questionnaire format was then developed for the present investigation. On the first section of this questionnaire, respondents were asked, "How would your *friends respond* if you told them *you wanted to do* the following activities," for the 20 selected leisure activities. Each leisure activity in this section was followed by a 6-point Likert-type scale: 1 = *strongly approve*, 2 = *approve*, 3 = *somewhat approve*, 4 = *somewhat disapprove*, 5 = *disapprove*, 6 = *strongly disapprove*. Respondents circled the number which most closely matched their feelings. The second section of the questionnaire asked respondents to provide information about the four selected peer group characteristics mentioned above. The final section of the questionnaire asked respondents to provide gender, age, and race information about themselves.

Procedures

Verbal agreement to participate in the present investigation was secured from all 18 homeroom teachers by graduate student assistants at least two weeks prior to the distribution of survey questionnaires. The 18 graduate student assistants were individually and group-trained prior to data collection to help control interviewer bias. Homeroom teachers were instructed not to discuss the survey with their students in any manner. The survey was conducted during a two-week period in March 1995.

Graduate student assistants entered the homeroom and were introduced to the students by the homeroom teacher. The homeroom students were told that this was "a survey about their use of leisure time," that "all answers would be kept strictly anonymous and confidential," and "they would not be identified in any way from this survey." Questionnaires and pencils were then distributed to all students in the homeroom, with the instruction to respect the privacy of others and to remain quiet until all students had completed the questionnaire. Graduate student assistants then collected the questionnaires, thanked the homeroom teacher, and left the classroom.

Results

The mean age was statistically similar for Black (16.6 years) and White (16.4 years) students (range 14-18, $F(101,280) = 1.42, p < .09$). Gender also showed statistical similarity, Blacks were 46% male, 54% female, and 50% of Whites were male, 50% female ($\chi^2(1, N = 401) = 0.40, p = .53$). In addition, the racial group characteristics of survey respondents (Black = 25%, White = 70%, other = 5%) showed statistical similarity to the overall racial group characteristics (Black = 30%, White = 65%, other = 5%) of high school students in the study area, $\chi^2(2, N = 11,118) = 0.64, p = .65$.

Table 1 presents mean scores and t-tests for differences on peer group approval ratings of leisure activities by Black and White adolescents. The findings showed that 10 of 20 leisure activities (50%) were rated significantly

TABLE 1
Mean Scores and t-Tests for Differences on Peer Group Approval Ratings of Leisure Activities by Black and White Adolescents

Leisure Activities	Peer Group Approval Ratings				t-Test <i>p</i> <
	Black (n = 101)		White (n = 280)		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
Going to the beach	1.86	(1.17)	1.52	(0.95)	.01
Playing basketball	1.92	(1.18)	2.86	(1.45)	.001*
Going to the mall	1.61	(1.04)	2.25	(1.14)	.001*
Reading for pleasure	3.80	(1.50)	3.94	(1.63)	<i>ns</i>
Playing video games	3.00	(1.40)	3.36	(1.42)	.03
Bowling	3.13	(1.58)	2.94	(1.30)	<i>ns</i>
Watching TV	2.29	(1.29)	2.55	(1.09)	<i>ns</i>
Playing soccer	4.69	(1.47)	3.52	(1.72)	.001*
Using a computer	3.14	(1.50)	3.24	(1.49)	<i>ns</i>
Horseback riding	4.17	(1.75)	2.65	(1.52)	.001*
Water-skiing	4.28	(1.63)	2.28	(1.38)	.001*
Singing in a choir	3.15	(1.80)	4.01	(1.68)	.001*
Collecting stamps/coins	4.73	(1.46)	4.83	(1.36)	<i>ns</i>
Camping	3.97	(1.78)	2.17	(1.15)	.001*
Jogging	3.54	(1.66)	3.03	(1.45)	.01
Fishing	3.66	(1.65)	2.67	(1.51)	.001*
Playing a musical instrument	3.82	(1.74)	3.63	(1.83)	<i>ns</i>
Golfing	4.91	(1.34)	4.37	(1.61)	.001*
Dancing	2.19	(1.50)	3.09	(1.66)	.001*
Going to a museum	4.25	(1.45)	4.09	(1.56)	<i>ns</i>

Note. Mean scores are based on a Likert-type scale of 1 (*strongly approve*) to 6 (*strongly disapprove*); higher scores indicate less approval.

*denotes significance at the .0025 level, Bonferroni correction for multiple comparison tests.

($p < .001$) different between the racial groups. Blacks indicated significantly stronger approval ($p < .001$) for 4 activities than did Whites (playing basketball, going to the mall, singing in a choir, and dancing), and Whites indicated significantly stronger approval ($p < .001$) for 6 activities than did Blacks (playing soccer, horseback riding, water skiing, camping, fishing, and golfing). Both racial groups showed similarly strong peer group approval ratings for one activity (watching television) and similarly weak peer group approval ratings for 6 activities (bowling, reading for pleasure, using a computer, collecting stamps/coins, playing a musical instrument, and going to a museum).

When gender was controlled on the mean peer approval ratings, Table 2, racial differences continued to be found for a large number of leisure

TABLE 2
 Mean Scores and t-Tests for Differences of Gender by Race for Peer Group Approval Ratings of Leisure Activities

Leisure Activities	Peer Group Approval Ratings				t-Test p <
	Males				
	Black (n = 47)		White (n = 140)		
	M	SD	M	SD	
Going to the beach	2.15	(1.25)	1.67	(1.04)	.01
Playing basketball	1.41	(0.58)	2.41	(1.39)	.001*
Going to the mall	1.78	(1.13)	2.51	(1.17)	.001*
Reading for pleasure	4.30	(1.44)	4.50	(1.61)	ns
Playing video games	2.76	(1.37)	3.09	(1.38)	ns
Bowling	3.61	(1.58)	3.08	(1.28)	.02
Watching TV	2.59	(1.34)	2.63	(1.15)	ns
Playing soccer	4.98	(1.29)	3.88	(1.80)	.001*
Using a computer	3.63	(1.61)	3.39	(1.54)	ns
Horseback riding	4.41	(1.69)	3.23	(1.56)	.001*
Water-skiing	4.26	(1.58)	2.42	(1.40)	.001*
Singing in a choir	4.07	(1.78)	4.54	(1.59)	ns
Collecting stamps/coins	4.78	(1.35)	4.99	(1.31)	ns
Camping	3.94	(1.81)	2.25	(1.30)	.001*
Jogging	3.49	(1.46)	3.31	(1.47)	ns
Fishing	3.48	(1.50)	2.17	(1.34)	.001*
Playing a musical instrument	3.98	(1.68)	3.85	(1.92)	ns
Golfing	4.89	(1.30)	4.15	(1.67)	.01
Dancing	2.80	(1.69)	3.79	(1.65)	.001*
Going to a museum	4.52	(1.36)	4.47	(1.53)	ns
	Females				
	(n = 54)		(n = 140)		
	M	SD	M	SD	
Going to the beach	1.60	(1.04)	1.37	(0.82)	ns
Playing basketball	2.36	(1.39)	3.29	(1.36)	.001*
Going to the mall	1.45	(0.93)	2.00	(1.06)	.001*
Reading for pleasure	3.55	(1.47)	3.37	(1.46)	ns
Playing video games	3.21	(1.41)	3.62	(1.41)	ns
Bowling	2.74	(1.47)	2.81	(1.32)	ns
Watching TV	2.04	(1.19)	2.47	(1.02)	.01
Playing soccer	4.44	(1.59)	3.15	(1.56)	.001*
Using a computer	2.72	(1.26)	3.08	(1.39)	ns
Horseback riding	3.96	(1.78)	2.07	(1.25)	.001*
Water-skiing	4.30	(1.68)	2.13	(1.35)	.001*
Singing in a choir	2.37	(1.43)	3.47	(1.60)	.001*
Collecting stamps/coins	4.68	(1.55)	4.65	(1.40)	ns
Camping	4.00	(1.78)	2.08	(0.97)	.001*
Jogging	3.57	(1.82)	2.74	(1.35)	.01
Fishing	3.81	(1.77)	3.16	(1.51)	.01
Playing a musical instrument	3.68	(1.80)	3.38	(1.70)	ns
Golfing	4.92	(1.38)	4.58	(1.52)	ns
Dancing	1.66	(1.05)	2.38	(1.34)	.001*
Going to a museum	4.02	(1.50)	3.68	(1.47)	ns

Note. Mean scores are based on a Likert-type scale of 1 (*strongly approve*) to 6 (*strongly disapprove*); higher scores indicate less approval.

*denotes significance at the .0025 level, Bonferroni correction for multiple comparison tests.

activities. However, numerous similarities were also found between Black and White adolescents. Black adolescent males rated 3 activities significantly higher in peer group approval ($p < .001$) than did White adolescent males (playing basketball, going to the mall, dancing). Five activities (playing soccer, horseback riding, water-skiing, camping, fishing) were given a significantly higher approval rating ($p < .001$) by White adolescent males. For Black adolescent females, playing basketball, going to the mall, singing in a choir, and dancing were given significantly higher approval ($p < .001$); whereas, for White adolescent females, playing soccer, horseback riding, water-skiing, and camping were given significantly higher approval ($p < .001$).

From a different perspective, when race was controlled on the peer group approval ratings of males and females, Table 3, Black adolescents showed fewer significant gender differences than White adolescents for the examined leisure activities ($p < .001$). Black adolescent males and females showed significant differences on 3 activities (15%, $p < .001$), while White adolescents showed significant differences on 11 activities (55%, $p < .001$). However, a closer examination of Table 3 also reveals that many of the statistical similarities between Black male and female adolescents were the result of strong activity disapproval, compared with White similarities which were based more on strong activity approval. In other words, Black male and female adolescents were more likely to agree on what is "disapproved," while White male and female adolescents were more likely to agree on what is "approved."

Table 4 presents the mean peer approval scores of males and females which have been ranked from most peer approval to least peer approval for Blacks and Whites. Adolescent males showed fairly strong positive association between their rankings ($R = .70$, $p < .01$); adolescent females showed a much weaker association ($R = .42$, $p > .05$), indicating less similarity between Black and White adolescent females than males. Table 4 also shows that Black adolescent males have the fewest peer group approved leisure choices, and White adolescent females have the most approved choices. It appears adolescents well understand the acceptability of leisure activities for males and females, and that race has considerable influence on these feelings.

Selected peer group characteristics of Black and White adolescents by gender are presented in Table 5. Black males and females considered significantly fewer people to be their friends than Whites ($p < .05$); Black female adolescents were most likely to suggest a small number of friends. Therefore, the number of people affecting Black adolescent decisions would be far smaller than the number affecting White adolescent decisions. In addition, peers were shown to exert very strong, strong, and somewhat strong (70% combined) influence over White male and female adolescents compared to Black male and female adolescents who perceived less very strong, strong, and somewhat strong (55% combined) influence over their leisure activity choices from peers. Interestingly, instead of a smaller group of friends having more influence over leisure activity choices, Black peers appear to have less influence over their friends choices than their White peers, sug-

TABLE 3
Mean Scores and t-Tests for Differences of Race by Gender for Peer Group Approval Ratings of Leisure Activities

Leisure Activities	Peer Group Approval Ratings					t-Test p<
	Blacks					
	Male (n = 47)		Female (n = 54)			
	M	SD	M	SD		
Going to the beach	2.15	(1.25)	1.60	(1.04)	.05	
Playing basketball	1.41	(0.58)	2.36	(1.39)	.001*	
Going to the mall	1.78	(1.13)	1.45	(0.93)	ns	
Reading for pleasure	4.30	(1.44)	3.55	(1.47)	.01	
Playing video games	2.76	(1.37)	3.21	(1.41)	ns	
Bowling	3.61	(1.58)	2.74	(1.47)	.01	
Watching TV	2.59	(1.34)	2.04	(1.19)	.05	
Playing soccer	4.98	(1.29)	4.44	(1.59)	ns	
Using a computer	3.63	(1.61)	2.72	(1.26)	.01	
Horseback riding	4.41	(1.69)	3.96	(1.78)	ns	
Water-skiing	4.26	(1.58)	4.30	(1.68)	ns	
Singing in a choir	4.07	(1.78)	2.37	(1.43)	.001*	
Collecting stamps/coins	4.78	(1.35)	4.68	(1.55)	ns	
Camping	3.94	(1.81)	4.00	(1.78)	ns	
Jogging	3.49	(1.46)	3.57	(1.82)	ns	
Fishing	3.48	(1.50)	3.81	(1.77)	ns	
Playing a musical instrument	3.98	(1.68)	3.68	(1.80)	ns	
Golfing	4.89	(1.30)	4.92	(1.38)	ns	
Dancing	2.80	(1.69)	1.66	(1.05)	.001*	
Going to a museum	4.52	(1.36)	4.02	(1.50)	ns	
	Whites					
	(n = 140)		(n = 140)			
Going to the beach	1.67	(1.04)	1.37	(0.82)	.01	
Playing basketball	2.41	(1.39)	3.29	(1.36)	.001*	
Going to the mall	2.51	(1.17)	2.00	(1.06)	.001*	
Reading for pleasure	4.50	(1.61)	3.37	(1.46)	.001*	
Playing video games	3.09	(1.38)	3.62	(1.41)	.001*	
Bowling	3.08	(1.28)	2.81	(1.32)	ns	
Watching TV	2.63	(1.15)	2.47	(1.02)	ns	
Playing soccer	3.88	(1.80)	3.15	(1.56)	.001*	
Using a computer	3.39	(1.54)	3.08	(1.39)	ns	
Horseback riding	3.23	(1.56)	2.07	(1.25)	.001*	
Water-skiing	2.42	(1.40)	2.13	(1.35)	ns	
Singing in a choir	4.54	(1.59)	3.47	(1.60)	.001*	
Collecting stamps/coins	4.99	(1.31)	4.65	(1.40)	.05	
Camping	2.25	(1.30)	2.08	(0.97)	ns	
Jogging	3.31	(1.47)	2.74	(1.35)	.001*	
Fishing	2.17	(1.77)	3.16	(1.51)	.001*	
Playing a musical instrument	3.85	(1.92)	3.38	(1.70)	.05	
Golfing	4.15	(1.67)	4.58	(1.52)	.05	
Dancing	3.79	(1.65)	2.38	(1.34)	.001*	
Going to a museum	4.47	(1.53)	3.68	(1.47)	.001*	

Note. Mean scores are based on a Likert-type scale of 1 (*strongly approve*) to 6 (*strongly disapprove*); higher scores indicate less approval.

*denotes significance at the .0025 level, Bonferroni correction for multiple comparison tests.

TABLE 4
Ranked Mean Peer Approval Scores and Spearman's Test for Correlation of Gender by Race for Black and White Adolescents

Males					
Black (n = 47)			White (n = 140)		
Rank	Activity	M	Rank	Activity	M
1	Playing basketball	1.41	1	Going to the beach	1.67
2	Going to the mall	1.78	2	Fishing	2.17
3	Going to the beach	2.15	3	Camping	2.25
4	Watching TV	2.59	4	Playing basketball	2.41
5	Playing video games	2.76	5	Water skiing	2.42
6	Dancing	2.80	6	Going to the mall	2.51
7	Fishing	3.48	7	Watching TV	2.63
8	Jogging	3.49	8	Bowling	3.08
9	Bowling	3.61	9	Playing video games	3.09
10	Using a computer	3.63	10	Horseback riding	3.23
11	Camping	3.94	11	Jogging	3.31
12	Playing a mus. instr.	3.98	12	Using a computer	3.39
13	Singing in a choir	4.07	13	Dancing	3.79
14	Water skiing	4.26	14	Playing a mus. instr.	3.85
15	Reading for pleasure	4.30	15	Playing soccer	3.88
16	Horseback riding	4.41	16	Golfing	4.15
17	Going to a museum	4.52	17	Going to a museum	4.47
18	Collect. stamps/coins	4.78	18	Reading for pleasure	4.50
19	Golfing	4.89	19	Singing in a choir	4.54
20	Playing soccer	4.98	20	Collect. stamps/coins	4.99
Females					
(n = 54)			(n = 140)		
Rank	Activity	M	Rank	Activity	M
1	Going to the mall	1.45	1	Going to the beach	1.37
2	Going to the beach	1.60	2	Going to the mall	2.00
3	Dancing	1.66	3	Horseback riding	2.07
4	Watching TV	2.04	4	Camping	2.08
5	Playing basketball	2.36	5	Water skiing	2.13
6	Singing in a choir	2.37	6	Dancing	2.38
7	Using a computer	2.72	7	Watching TV	2.47
8	Bowling	2.74	8	Jogging	2.74
9	Playing video games	3.21	9	Bowling	2.81
10	Reading for pleasure	3.55	10	Using a computer	3.08
11	Jogging	3.57	11	Playing soccer	3.15
12	Playing a mus. instr.	3.68	12	Fishing	3.16
13	Fishing	3.81	13	Playing basketball	3.29
14	Horseback riding	3.96	14	Reading for pleasure	3.37
15	Camping	4.00	15	Playing a mus. instr.	3.38
16	Going to a museum	4.02	16	Singing in a choir	3.47
17	Water-skiing	4.30	17	Playing video games	3.62
18	Playing soccer	4.44	18	Going to a museum	3.68
19	Collect. stamps/coins	4.68	19	Golfing	4.58
20	Golfing	4.92	20	Collect. stamps/coins	4.65

Note. Mean scores are based on a Likert-type scale of 1 (*strongly approve*) to 6 (*strongly disapprove*); higher scores indicate less approval. Spearman's R = males = .70, $p < .01$; females = .42, $p > .05$.

TABLE 5
Percentages and Chi-Squared Tests for Differences on Selected Peer Group Characteristics by Gender of Black and White Adolescents

Peer Group Characteristics	Males		Females		Combined	
	B%	W%	B%	W%	B%	W%
How many people do you consider friends?						
1-5	47.8	18.0	67.3	28.3	58.2	23.0
6-10	10.9	18.0	17.3	21.0	14.3	19.4
11-15	17.4	10.0	5.8	16.7	11.2	13.3
over 15	23.9	54.0	9.6	34.0	16.3	44.3
χ^2	21.5		26.6		44.4	
$p <$.001		.001		.001	
How much influence do your friends have on your choice of activities?						
Very strong	2.2	4.3	2.0	3.6	2.0	4.0
Strong	37.0	14.4	13.2	18.0	24.2	16.1
Somewhat strong	15.2	49.6	39.6	50.4	28.3	50.2
Somewhat weak	19.6	20.9	11.3	13.0	15.2	16.8
Weak	19.5	6.5	9.4	10.0	14.1	8.2
Very weak	6.5	4.3	24.5	5.0	16.2	4.7
χ^2	25.7		15.9		26.6	
$p <$.001		.01		.001	
Are you the one who usually selects activities for your group?						
Yes	60.9	62.7	64.2	61.0	66.6	62.0
No	39.1	37.3	35.8	39.0	37.4	38.0
χ^2	0.05		0.16		0.01	
$p <$	ns		ns		ns	
How much time do you spend with your friends in a usual day outside of school?						
less than a hour	15.2	6.4	21.1	13.0	18.3	9.7
1-2 hours	19.6	25.0	17.3	25.4	18.4	25.4
3-4 hours	45.6	39.3	42.4	35.5	43.9	37.3
5 or more hours	19.6	29.3	19.2	26.1	19.4	27.6
χ^2	5.10		3.89		8.86	
$p <$	ns		ns		0.03	

Note. B = Black, W = White.

gesting some important functional differences in peer groups. A majority of adolescents in both racial groups (> 60%) felt they were responsible for leisure activity selection in their group of friends. Finally, there was no significant difference in the amount of time spent with friends outside of school during a usual day between Black and White males or females ($p < .05$).

Discussion

Many important differences were found between Black and White adolescents on peer group approval measures of leisure participation. Gender failed to explain most of the differences found between Black and White adolescents on these measures, but gender offered much explanatory power within racial groups. In this analysis, race appears to be a more important factor than gender when examining leisure peer group approval differences between Black and White adolescents for many leisure activities.

From a different perspective, however, when comparisons were made in the ranked mean approval scores of Black and White adolescents by gender, there was less similarity in the ranked scores of female adolescents than those of male adolescents. In other words, Black and White male adolescents are more likely to agree on what is an acceptable peer approved leisure activity than are Black and White female adolescents. Male and female adolescents of similar racial groupings, however, both showed a strong similarity in the direction of their peer group approval ratings. For example, both racial groups were much more likely to find going to the beach, mall, or watching television to be accepted activities, and going to a museum, golfing, or collecting stamps and coins to be non-accepted activities.

The present findings indicate that both race and gender are important factors for understanding leisure differences between Black and White adolescents in the southern U.S. study area. Activity-by-activity comparisons show the importance of race to Black adolescent peer group approval ratings for many leisure activities although an overall comparison of the ranked scores suggest some important gender differences between Black and White adolescents. These findings highlight the complexity of issues confronting any discussion of race in the United States, and the importance of gender to the discussion of some racial differences. Therefore, it is important to recognize that society, reflected in adolescent peer group norms for approval, has already established a different set of standards for adolescent males and females, and those standards also seem to be different depending on one's race.

The present investigation also found Black adolescents considered far fewer people to be their friends than White adolescents. Such a situation might easily function as a major leisure constraint for Black adolescents; fewer friends would probably result in a smaller number of leisure choices if the presence of friends is an important part of leisure activity participation, and also function to provide less access to leisure opportunities for Black

adolescents. Interestingly, Black male and female adolescents reported that this smaller group of friends had an overall weaker influence on their choice of leisure activities than did White male and female adolescents. This finding seems to suggest that adolescent Black peer groups function differently than White peer groups; Black peer groups may serve to indicate disapproved activities (i.e., what is "wrong" to do), and White peer groups may serve to indicate approved activities (i.e., what is "right" to do). These peer group differences and their effects on leisure preferences and participation patterns should be more fully explored in future research; perhaps naturalistic research which examined intact peer groups would help explain these differences more fully.

The present investigation has some limitations which should be considered in any evaluation of the findings. First, the survey area was limited to one southern school district which most likely exposed regional cultural norms relating to race and gender. While these region-specific findings reveal much about adolescent cultural norms in the southern U. S. A., other regions of the United States should be explored in future research to develop an understanding of other important regional differences. Second, the sample included older adolescents who may have different leisure perceptions than younger adolescents in middle school. Future research with younger adolescents would allow the examination of developmental factors associated with race and gender differences. Third, although a strong effort was made by a panel of experts using a systematic, well-developed decision making process to select leisure activities which were both frequently studied in the literature *and* also appealed to both Black and White adolescents in the study area, the selection of different leisure activities might alter the findings of this investigation. Finally, no direct measure of household income was included in the present study. Comparisons which controlled for household income might influence some of the race and gender differences found in the present investigation.

Despite the limitations of the present investigation, the findings still provide considerable evidence that the leisure preferences of Black adolescents in the study area cannot be fully understood without reference to race or gender. While researchers such as Philipp (1995) and West (1989) have documented leisure preference and participation differences between Black and White adults, little empirical work has been done to investigate factors associated with the leisure of Black children and adolescents. Since adult leisure patterns and behavior have generally been associated with childhood and adolescence, it becomes important to understand more fully the influence of social peer groups which racially separate children and adolescents in the United States of America.

Peer groups exert considerable normative pressure on adolescents to act as others around them act (Deutsch & Gerald, 1955). Moreover, peer groups have many explicit and implicit rules, and a policing structure to separate offenders from the group (Sprinthall & Collins, 1988). From this theoretical vantage point, the leisure choices of Black adolescents should

have important consequences for peer group acceptance and the maintenance of a positive self-concept within the peer group. This situation raises an important question for future research: if a Black adolescent selects a leisure activity which meets strong disapproval from Black peer groups, does that adolescent then seek out and join a White peer group to participate in that leisure activity? If so, does that decision affect the racial identity and future African American peer group relationships of that adolescent? From this line of inquiry, Black leisure preferences and choices may function to separate some Black adolescents from Black peer groups and influence the racial identities of those adolescents in significant ways. Future research which compares the social functioning of Black and White peer groups would help to answer these questions.

Future research should also address the issue of how Black adolescents prepare to progress in society. For example, do Black peer groups primarily function to control their members (i.e., don't do the "wrong" things), and White peer groups primarily function to provide a way into the dominant European American culture (i.e., these are the "right" things you should do to get ahead)? Acceptance into the dominant culture may require Black adolescents to understand and approve mainstream leisure values that are different from their own peer group values. From this perspective, Black adolescents may join White peer groups to gain social acceptance by acquiring an understanding of the "right" or acceptable activities which will ease entrance into the dominant European American culture.

Cose (1993) argued that "many well-educated, affluent Blacks have already found their way out of inner-city ghettos, yet they have not escaped America's myriad racial demons... consequently they remain estranged or in a state of emotional turmoil" (p. 12). In other words, many Blacks have moved out of predominately poor Black neighborhoods in search of a better life only to find racial discrimination in their new predominately White neighborhoods. To make matters worse, they may also feel a sense of rejection from those Blacks they left behind in the old neighborhoods. This kind of emotional turmoil may be intensified if Black adolescents accept a model of economic "success" or upward mobility which induces them to participate in the leisure activities associated with "successful" White adolescents. What effect will participation in these leisure activities have on Black adolescents if they perceive or encounter disapproval from Black peer groups in their schools? From this vantage point, participation in leisure activities may have important effects upon the development and maintenance of Black adolescent racial identities and becomes an important issue for future research.

Another important consideration is the White peer group acceptance of Blacks in leisure activities and places. White peer groups might react in the following ways when Blacks enter their peer groups: a) pleasure in the introduction of this person to White values, b) pleasure in the introduction of the group to Black values, or c) fear of the racial mixing which is occurring in the peer group. It would also be important in future research to understand which of these likely peer group responses is more prevalent in

current American society, and when a particular response may/may not be initiated in the peer group.

Hochschild (1995) stated that "as the African American middle class has become larger, more powerful, and more stable, its members have grown disillusioned with and even embittered about the American dream" (p. 79). Cose (1993) felt that economic success costs Blacks more than Whites with regards to physiological and psychological well-being. This increased stress of day-to-day living means Blacks may not secure the same degree of benefit from their leisure as Whites, or that this stress remains present even while engaged in leisure activities (Philipp, 1997). This situation may affect African American life satisfaction in many ways. What price do middle- and upper-class Black adolescents pay for their choice of typically White leisure activities among Black adolescent groups in their respective schools? The present investigation has generated many more questions than answers; nonetheless, the findings begin to suggest that race and gender are defining features of adolescent leisure experience. Future research should more clearly focus upon the racial characteristics of childhood and adolescent leisure, and provide an understanding of the historical and societal forces which have functioned to separate racial groups at leisure. Social class and ethnicity should also be studied to understand many important distinctions among African Americans. Such a combined research approach would have important consequences for understanding the leisure preferences and participation patterns associated with comparisons of adults in different racial groups, and could have important consequences for race relations in the United States of America.

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