SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND LEISURE
ACTIVITIES OF COLLEGE STUDENTS: AN OVERVIEW.
CHAPTER-IX

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AN OVERVIEW

In this chapter an attempt has been made to pull together the various threads of empirical findings on the entire range of leisure time activities of the college students of Delhi and knit them into an integrated whole. Having embarked on this study with an obvious disadvantage due to the lack of substantial systematic and cumulative studies in the field of sociology of leisure in India this study seeks to lay bare the dynamics of discretionary behaviour around which the college students' leisure life tends to revolve.

Beginning with the review of available literature, the present exercise was a systematic attempt to analyse data gathered through observation and interviews from three selected colleges of Delhi University, which provides us the essential empirical material that could be subjected to statistical tests.

The picture that emerges helps us in:

1. Understanding the meaning of leisure prevalent among the college students;

2. Participation of students in leisure activities with reference to sex, institutional and socio-economic variable-types; and finally

3. Leisure and social structure.

1. UNDERSTANDING THE MEANING OF LEISURE. The need for exploring what leisure meant to students emerged from the
consideration that it implied different things to different peoples. Our findings suggest that a majority of the College students viewed leisure in terms of the time in which they were free to 'do as you please'.

When examined against the variables of sex, type of college, year of study, course of study and residence, this meaning of leisure was consistently found to be universally true irrespective of the influence of the above variables which was not found to be significant.

Freedom to indulge in activities of one's choice implies two elements:

1) The element of 'freedom of choice' to pursue the activities that interests them, and

2) Where 'primary institutionalised obligations (of the society) cease to operate'.

Each of these two elements find independent substantiation in at least two of the definitions of leisure discussed in Chapter IV. For instance, the concept of 'freedom of choice' in leisure is the essence of one of the major 'time-budget' categories in Parker's (1971) and De Grazia's (1962) classification of all human activities, and is central to the concept of leisure. On the other hand the 'cessation of primary obligations' in relation to leisure brings us to the definition of leisure in relation to work as given by Anderson (1961) and Harry (1971). Whereas the former describes leisure as 'task-free'—in the sense
that, is free from the compulsions and obligations associated
with work—the latter describes the 'work-leisure dichotomy
as being 'situationally specific', that is, in work situation
one does not seek 'fun' nor does one apply the criteria of
'efficiency' in leisure situation.

Although both these definitions are clear in their
conception of the work-leisure dichotomy, Miller and Swanson
(1958) goes a step further in his 'work-leisure independence'
hypothesis—work being obligatory implying precision and
regularity, and leisure being non-obligatory and implies
spontaneity and individual variation. Viewed against these
definitions of leisure our own definition of leisure on the
basis of students' responses not simply promotes both
these views but in fact knits the elements from both, that
is 'freedom of choice' element from the definitions of
Parker and De Grazia and 'cessation of obligations' found
associated with work in the conceptualisation by Anderson,
Harry and Miller and Swanson into a single expression of
leisure. This may now be defined as follow:

"Leisure is the time when one is free to do as
one pleases."

2. **Participation of students in leisure activities with**
**reference to sex, institutional and socio-economic variable-
types:** The empirical findings on the college sponsored,
self sponsored-legitimate as well as tabooed activities in
which the college students participate indicate their
freedom of choice to pursue the activities that pleases them.
Of these the college sponsored activities are governed by certain well defined norms of expectations. That is why these activities, though seemingly leisure-oriented, are obligatory immature and each student is expected to choose from a pool of such activities those that pleases him most. On the other hand institutional constraints pale into insignificance in the context of self sponsored activities that fall within the purview of legitimate leisure. However in the case of tabooed pleasures it is the societal constraints that act as emotional blocks to student freedom to indulge in forbidden pleasures. But in both kinds of self sponsored activities—legitimate or tabooed—freedom of choice is exercised by them. Our findings also indicate that the institutional constraints operating in the formal system repel rather than attract students from participating in the college sponsored activities. Barely 25% response distributed among the various extracurricular activities bears testimony to the obvious lack of power of the institutionally sponsored activities to draw more students to its fold. In other words the non-participation rate in college sponsored activities is as high as 75% (approximately). In a way even this 25% response is also largely due to the fact that participation in at least one or more extracurricular activities is compulsory for the students. If this compulsion was to drop perhaps the figure would be even much less than what it is! Under this state of affairs it is worth probing why college sponsored activities get such a poor response from the students? Is it that these activities are out of tune with
the demands and needs of the present day youth? Or is it that lack of proper facilities in the form of equipment/guidance kills students' initiative in this area of academic life? or else the extracurricular sphere needs drastic overhauling and made more meaningful in keeping with the changing times?

In contrast where students have option of free choice without any constraints we find students participation in some of the legitimate leisure activities shooting upto 90% and beyond in the most popular activities such as watching movies, going to cafe, playing games, reading and visiting, that is non-participation rate in these activities was as low as 10% or even less. However, the other legitimate activities are not so popular as we notice a sudden decline in relaxing with music, staying home or driving around. Non-participation rate in these activities ranged between 60%-90% and their popularity ranged from average to low.

The third set of activities fall within the purview of students 'privatized' domain—that is considered beyond the pale of accepted leisure pursuits and thus have negative sanctions of society. It is these activities that encourage students to maintain 'conspiracy of silence' to keep the society from finding out the breach of taboos. Contrary to the procedural rules that govern students participation in extracurricular activities, participation in clandestine sphere is not subservient to the operation of any formal rules as such, but the very nature of these activities, the negative values with which the society identifies them
constraints students participation in them. Thus we find in this area of activity too the students participation rate shows a downward trend, that is it ranges from 60% to as low as 4%. In other words the non-participation rate in different tabooed pleasures is as high as 40%-96%.

A comparison of the participation/non-participation rate of students in college sponsored, self sponsored legitimate as well as tabooed activities shows that without any exception the legitimate self sponsored activities are the most popular activities among the college going students. They are identified with the free will of the students, whereas college sponsored activities spell organizational compulsion and the tabooed activities entail violation of norms. It therefore appears that students resent institutional constraints in the case of college sponsored activities and fear the flaunting of norms in case of tabooed pleasures. This compulsion and fear directly affects their participation in college-sponsored extracurricular and self-sponsored tabooed activities. In contrast where the elements of compulsion and fear are non-existent we find a sudden spurt in the participation rates of students—for instance the sphere of legitimate self-sponsored leisure activities, that bear positive sanctions of the society, and has hardly any constraints attached. Thus it leads to the obvious conclusion that self sponsored legitimate leisure activities are the most popular or preferred ways in which the college students
spend their free time. These are followed by tabooed pleasures. Thus we may also say that while students reject/resent formally prescribed leisure activities they prefer self-sponsored activities both, legitimate and tabooed.

In the academic context it is also worth noting that the presence of norms such as non-attendance prompted students to stay away from the college sponsored activities. That is, where the activities are invested with formal requirements the students participation is a mere ritual conformity to rules and nothing more. Perhaps to escape the compulsion of the formal system many students resort to non-attendance of lectures and among them we find quite a sizeable proportion of those who are the pleasure seekers, that is those who indulge in pleasure pursuits during the non-attendance time.

It is significant to note here that attending classes signify the operation of formal system, where 66% attendance is the minimum requirement, but self motivated reasons for non-attendance signify students options to convert this formal time into informal time for the pursuit of their desired activities even at the risk of losing attendance. And the preferred activities during this informal time were going to movies, cafes, meeting friends (visiting), appointment/date or simply sitting and relaxing. These are the activities that actually fall within our description of the self sponsored legitimate leisure activities where as a rule freedom of choice operates. As is clear, freedom of choice also appears
to dominate the students decision regarding non-attendance. We may thus infer that, by and large the leisure value of certain self-sponsored activities motivate students for non-attendance where prescribed non-leisure behaviour gets converted into preferred leisure behaviour. Whether this conversion entails any clash in values, any rearrangement of groupings between those who miss classes and those who don't, is the area which needs to be investigated.

Academic attendance/non-attendance and the lure of self sponsored activities unfolds the peer group influence. The academic, extracurricular and self sponsored leisure activities bring diverse students into relations which are characteristically informal in nature (Hollingshed (1967) has described them as clique relations). Our observation and interviews substantiated the tendency of students to move around with friends or groups who share identical views and jointly plan their activities. It is these clique mates who by and large determine students participation in the leisure activities. This means that leisure activities are accepted or rejected depending on the source from which it emanates, showing thereby the importance of peer group influence and tendency to protest against the authority structures if they are in opposition to the norms of the student culture.

Peer group influence and the freedom of choice are thus responsible for the ultimate leisure choices of college students. However, as our variable analysis shows not all students are equally exposed to all the activities, some
activities enjoy overwhelming popularity with the students, some hold an average appeal whereas the rest are the least popular activities. This variation in participation rate can be attributed to the sex, institutional and socio-economic factors. Their overall impact on the leisure choices of students can be collective or individual and the following description of variable types will help us to understand the reality in this context.

VARIABLE TYPES:

1. **Sex Variables:** Our analysis shows that the variables of sex (this includes not only male/female but the type of college as well for colleges basically reflect the sex-wise composition) exert a significant influence on all types of leisure choices of students—whether extracurricular, legitimate or tabooed, to varying extents. For instance in the extracurricular sphere we find male students gave topmost preference to physical culture, in contrast females top priority was welfare oriented activities as well as excursions. The female participation in physical culture was less than half of males. Likewise, participation in discipline oriented activities(NCC) rated lowest with both the males and females yet attracted three times more males than females. Other extracurricular activities were found to be more or less independent of the influence of sex variable. The same was found to be true in the context of type of college, that is leisure pattern in both contexts—whether sex or type of college was found to be more or less same.
In the context of legitimate leisure activities we find that the most popular leisure activities—watching movies, going to cafe, playing games, reading and visiting—were absolutely independent of the influence of all the three variable types suggesting that these activities held immense value and influenced equally all the college students irrespective of the variation of sex, institutional factors, and socio-economic background. This shows that college students leisure life tends to be dominated and revolve around these five most popular legitimate leisure pursuits. The remaining activities on the other hand had limited appeal and also exhibited varying influence in terms of the variable-types. In fact the influence of variable-types becomes pronounced and observable largely in relation to the less popular leisure time activities because the top five activities having universal appeal for the students bypass the constraints existing in the society to become so to say 'leisure universals' in the college culture. And this is corroborated by our findings that irrespective of the influence of any of the variable types against which the most popular leisure activities of students are viewed—watching movies, going to cafe, playing games, reading and visiting—consistently reflect the most predominant leisure choices of the college students and thus can be conveniently designated as the 'leisure universals' for the college students.

However, in certain activities these very factors show marked variation. Certain activities were typically 'sex-specific' for instance relaxing with music (a passive
activity) or just staying home are two such activities in which far more females than males tend to indulge whereas more males opted for driving around than females. Besides sex, type of college also reflects more or less the same preference pattern of students for leisure pursuits, because colleges themselves are sex-based.

In the context of tabooed pleasures we find that students participation in such activities:

i) Emanates from the desire to experience forbidden thrills.

ii) Their participation in forbidden activities does not express ignorance but rather disregard for the prevailing social values.

iii) Such activities are shrouded in mystery and seldom talked about freely, that is by maintaining a conspiracy of silence students easily manage to flaunt the norms that forbid their practice.

iv) Violation of such norms was not confined to one sex alone.

Item (iv) above clearly indicates that both males & females indulge in the pursuit of clandestine pleasures. However, participation of males far exceeds that of females in all types of forbidden activities. For instance dating registered a significantly higher response from males than females, two times more males indulged in smoking than females, drinking was found to be five times more among the males than females.
and drug taking three times more among males than females. This difference was found to be narrower in the case of gambling but the participation of males in deviant sub-culture as a whole was once again noted to be four times more than that of females. This clearly shows that sex exerts a strong influence in the male/female participation in tabooed pleasures. Type of college also reflected more or less the same pattern.

On the basis of above description of the college sponsored and self sponsored—legitimate and tabooed—activities in the context of the sex variable—types we find that sex significantly affects students choice of leisure behaviour in all the three contexts. In a way the leisure choices of student tends to reinforce the everyday experiences that the student learns at home, in the immediate social milieu around his/her home and in the college culture. Through the subtle process of informal learning the student picks up the behavioural traits that are normally associated with his/her sex. As a result students in the same social milieu imbibe broadly the same norms and values concerning the acceptable and unacceptable behaviour pattern in relation to their family, college, sex, resources, freedom and leisure. The behaviour patterns and conceptions of right and wrong learned during socialisation become internalised inhibitions which restrains the students choice of extracurricular, legitimate and forbidden activities. Males are oriented to activities that entail physical prowess, freedom to move around and greater opportunities for leisure choices; in contrast society expects women to settle for those activities that are traditionally associated with their role that are less physically demanding.
and more home based. The very fact that more males go in for physical culture, driving around, dating etc. and more females for welfare oriented activities, relaxing with music etc. staying home etc. is an indication of the societal expectations that subconsciously affect the male/female choices of the activities that are traditionally identified with them. Society expects females to be largely home based, gives them less freedom of movement and watches their every step with utmost vigilance. These norms hammered in them from early childhood grow as natural constraints which guide their selection of those activities that are typical of womanhood. In other words the inherent inequality of the sexes in our social system gets reflected even in the choice of their leisure pursuits leading to sex-typing of leisure activities.

However there are instances where norms are flaunted for the sake of fun. For example if we examine the male/female behaviour in terms of the dating pattern we find that dating which is based on the mutual attraction of the sexes emanates from the biological needs when a member of the opposite sex acquires significance for the other sex. Once this happens it directly affects the clique ties. That is dating couple tends to separate from their exclusive cliques and begin to spend most of their free time together. On the other hand clique participation in smoking, drinking, taking drugs etc. reinforces the clique ties. In the tradition bound society none of these activities merit permissibility. Dating, smoking etc. among males while are tolerated it is still
frowned upon among females. We therefore find, especially in the context of dating, that pre-marital courtship, which in a western society is a precondition to marriage, in our society is hardly encouraged or prevalent. In cases where the parental permissiveness allows such a practice to be followed, it is largely a supervised activity. While admitting that dating in our society does not assume the dimension of a western society in the sense that it is hardly conceived as an educative process where the prospective spouses try to explore the possibility of mutual adjustment or whether the long term bond is a viable proposition, here the practice of dating among college students hardly figures on their marriage schedule. For, by any standard, college students have not attained/acquired the maturity to think in terms of marriage. Their dating pattern emerges out of the mutual attraction of the opposite sex for the sake of pleasure and fun. There are instances where the couple tends to get serious—our data tends to support this—in the sense that most couples dated persistently the same partner. Consistency in dating with the same partner often lead to 'steady' dating and this eventually prompts the couple to enter into pre-marriage pledge of sincerity. But to most others dating implies their desire to get to know the opposite sex better for the 'sake of fun' and is one more way in which leisure time could be spend meaningfully. For this reason we find that though dating is widely accepted as a normal behaviour in college subculture it poses a clash with the values of the elders of the society who still regard this as a forbidden
practice. Dating taboos are more stringent for the females than the males for the simple reason that once a female dates her prestige is at stake if the dating partner refuses to marry her. That is, this 'innocent' relationship which the students enter for the sake of pure fun may actually jeopardise the marriage chances of the female should the dating male fail to abide by his commitment to marry the girl. And it is quite likely the males who date may not like to marry the girl they date. This implies that males can enjoy dating and get away with it but the females stand to bear the brunt of social wrath if the pre-marital dating pledge fizzes out. This brings into sharp focus the society's dual morality in the differential treatment meted out to the sexes for the violation of the same taboos. This example illustrates vividly why we find variations in the leisure participation rates of the sexes where flaunting of taboos is still tolerated among males but not females. A far heavier stigma befalls a female if she dares to transgress the societal norms than the males. Thus we may infer that sex strongly conditions students participation in all types of leisure activities. In other words inherent prejudices of the social system gets reflected in the leisure choices of the college students on the basis of sex.

2. **Institutional variables:** In this category we examine the influence of course and year of study as well as the residential pattern on the three types of leisure activities in which the college students are found to participate. Our
analysis shows that the course of study which the students opt exercise some influence in all the three types of leisure—college sponsored and legitimate and tabooed—activities of college students although it was not found to be statistically significant. Minor variation in the percentage participation of students can be attributed to the availability of greater time to the Pass than the Hons. students. Having less academic pressure Pass course students tend to settle for more physically demanding activities. We also find them more oriented towards the welfare activities. In contrast Hons. students prefer academically more demanding activities. In a way this is the reflection of the course that these students have selected. Hons. students are academically better than the Pass course students, the former therefore tend to settle for those college sponsored activities in which they get an opportunity to improve their academic skills.

In the context of legitimate leisure pursuits we find that Pass course students once again are better off due to their lighter academic load. Less academic pressure implies more free time, and more free time means more leisure. Greater free time at the disposal of the Pass course students is bound to affect their participation in leisure activities than the Hons. students, but in regard to the legitimate leisure activities no significant variation is observed in the participation rates of the two. However minor variation in the activity preference of the Pass and Hons students on the basis of percentage participation is observed. Course of study also
did not exert any significant influence on the tabooed choices of students. We may thus infer that among the institutional variables course of study exerts a minor influence in the leisure choices of college students.

Certain significant trends in the leisure participation of students become apparent when we examine the correlation between the leisure choices of the students and the year of study. Although our data on the college sponsored activities does not depict any significant influence in the leisure behaviour of students year-wise we find that in the context of legitimate as well as tabooed pleasures 1st and IIIrd year students make more or less similar leisure choices. In legitimate leisure activities they tend to settle for passive consumption of leisure rather than the active leisure pursuits of IIInd year students. In a way students in the initial and terminal phase of their college life are more prone to academic seriousness than is the case with the IIInd year students. The former therefore settle for more or less similar leisure choices. Here also we do not find any significant variation in the choices of students on the basis of the year of study regarding legitimate leisure activities.

It is in the context of tabooed pleasures that we find year of study acquires great significance among the college students and reflects a definite pattern of their behaviour. Contrary to the students participation in college sponsored and self sponsored legitimate activities on the basis of the year of study that do not reflect any significance we find that year of study significantly influences students
participation in forbidden activities with the participation reaching its peak among the IIInd year students as compared to the 1st and IIIrd year students. This finding is contrary to Mohan's study who found increasing participation in drug culture among the college students of Delhi with every advancing year in the university. Our finding suggests that beginning from the 1st year, clandestine participation is highest in the IIInd year and then declines in the IIIrd year. Moreover except for smoking this decline is quite sharp. We may thus conclude that the pattern of clandestine behaviour tends to get restricted among the IIIrd year students, whereas 1st year students having experimented with the clandestine thrills go in a big way for greater tabooed thrills in the IIInd year where this behaviour reaches its peak before the decline sets in. Thus year of study strongly influences students participation in tabooed activities.

Another institutional variable that exerts a strong influence in the students choice of extracurricular, legitimate as well as tabooed activities is the residential pattern. Students residential arrangements exhibited certain variations in the students choice of extracurricular activities. For instance exposure to life situations and politically oriented activities were more popular with the hostlers than the day scholars. Hostlers who have invariably more freedom being away from the direct supervision of the parents, tend to avoid those activities that cut on their leisure. For instance discipline and welfare oriented activities that require
rigorous training and work do not find many patrons among the hostlers. NCC especially needs practice in the morning and evenings, the time when a hostler is too busy in his own affairs. If he were to opt for NCC it would directly cut on his leisure and curtail his freedom. We therefore find very few hostlers preferring discipline oriented activities in their extracurricular schedule. On the other hand day scholars extracurricular options are usually the result of parental pressure or guidance. Hence we may say that residential pattern exercise a strong influence in the selection of extracurricular activities of the students.

Coming to the students participation in self sponsored legitimate activities we find that residence affects students choice of activities. Hostlers who have more freedom and less inhibitions do not show any difference in the choice of 'leisure universals' which are equally popular among the day scholars. Significant variation in the participation between the two was observed in reference to the less popular activities viz. relaxing with music, staying home/hostel and driving around, in all three of which far more hostlers than day scholars participated. Hostlers being away from their families are free from those obligations which are an inevitable part of the day scholars routine within the family circle. They thus have surplus time—part of which is spent in just staying home/hostel—in the absence of 'nothing better to do'; or simply relaxing with music or else driving around to 'kill' time. Lesser participation of day scholars in these
activities reflects that they have to discharge domestic obligations and face restrictions to pursue these activities. Hence inspite of greater participation of hostlers in the above activities—'killing' time or having 'nothing better to do' echo the desire to escape from the inevitable boredom of the surplus time at their disposal. This aspect borders on that area of behaviour where leisure begins to pose 'problem' for the participants, who have not developed any determinate standards to use their surplus time more meaningfully. Hence passively listening to music, just staying home/hostel or driving around are the main activities which a hostler pursues as a best way to 'kill' the surplus time, if he is 'doing nothing better'. Thus pattern of residence strongly determines the informal discretionary behaviour of students.

Although hostel is not a preferred place for indulging in clandestine participation, the hostlers in fact participated much more in forbidden activities than the day scholars showing thereby that the hostlers more than the day scholars violated the norms regarding the forbidden pleasures. Being away from the direct authority of the parents hostlers have far more freedom to choose their leisure activities, their greater participation in clandestine activities bear testimony to the fact that they make the "best use of this freedom" even though it involves the breach of societal norms. This shows that among the institutional variables course of study did not exert any significant influence on the overall leisure behaviour of students; year of study strongly conditioned the students participation in tabooed pleasures although its
influence on college sponsored and legitimate activities was not found to be significant. But it was the residence pattern that exerted a strong influence on all types of leisure choices—whether formal or informal of college students.

The above description of the leisure choices of the students with reference to the institutional variables raises a valid point that concerns the oft repeated spells of boredom which the students felt and the lack of adequate choices to make proper use of the surplus time at their disposal.

'Boredom' echoes the vulnerability of the students when peer group pressures or values may lure him into those activities which until now he had avoided. It becomes easier for him to succumb to the lure of experimenting forbidden items/activities if he has nothing better to do. After experiencing the initial thrills of forbidden activities, how many students gave up or remained occasional users or became addicted is the area where values of pure 'fun' that initially emanates from clandestine leisure activities get modified into those values where leisure becomes a 'problem'? Many sociologists have viewed leisure in terms of its pathological rather than pleasure aspect. Crime, drinking, sexual delinquency, addiction—all signify deviant behaviour pattern (see chapter IV). For instance Susman(1956), Merton (1957), Tropp(1959), Pieper(1952), Downes(1966), Jephcott(1967), Miller(1963)—all of them have discussed one or the other aspect of leisure where it leads to deviance. Pathology of leisure is thus an important area worth investigating.
3. **Socio-economic variables**: Under this set of variable types we have included all those variables that highlight the family background of the respondents, for example the type of family, father’s education, occupation and income as well as the type of schooling of the respondents, which would reflect their socio-economic status. This would enable us to understand the relation between the socio-economic class and the type of leisure choices of the students.

With reference to the college sponsored leisure activities we find that the type of family affects the percentage participation of students. For instance collectivity oriented activities such as Political activities and NSS were preferred by those belonging to the joint family. We have already seen that joint family ethos encourages mutual help and dependency among its members which encourages welfare orientation among its members. Besides in a large household diversity of opinions are bound to occur which in fact tend to sharpen the political preferences of those in a joint rather than in a nuclear family. On the other hand nuclear family ethos tend to encourage those activities among its members that are more individualistic, for example exposure to life situations, intellectually/aesthetically oriented activities etc. In a nuclear family an individual has more privacy and freedom and this is reflected in the choices that they make. In other words family ethos influences the co-curricular choices of the students.
Incidentally type of family did not exert any meaningful influence in the legitimate leisure choices of college students except that relaxing with music was more pronounced among those students who belonged to the nuclear families. This is perhaps indicative of the tendency among its members to prefer passive forms of entertainment during their leisure.

In the clandestine domain we find type of family exhibiting its influence (percentage-wise) on the smoking, consumption of drugs and gambling behaviour of students with far more participation from those students who belong to the joint than the nuclear family. Joint family cuts on the privacy of its members, breeds more tensions (however in some cases it also is a tension absorber) and encourages authoritarianism. These triple traits, it appears, encourages clandestine violation of taboos. We have already shown that the problems emanating from the joint composition of the family divert students interest to various activities. They seek refuge in legitimate or tabooed leisure pursuits to avoid the tensions generated at home. In this context Roberts (1970:120) has pointed out that whilst not wishing to exaggerate the importance of leisure as an aspect of life which simply absorbs the tensions created by the other more powerful parts of the social system, leisure has become a basic part of the people's lives that its use can give rise to problems that entail profound consequence for both the individual and for the wider society, and attempts to solve the conflicts and frustrations that are aroused in contemporary society are becoming conditional upon a
thorough appreciation of the nature and consequences of the uses to which people put their free time. He further states that in sociology, leisure cannot be relegated to the status of a by-product of the form taken by society's other institutions. It has become imperative to recognise as well as to give due consideration to the crucial role that leisure has come to play in modern society.

Thus we may infer that the type of family does influence students co-curricular and tabooed choices though it hardly exerted any influence on their legitimate leisure choices.

Viewed against the variable of father's education we find once again that certain activities are specifically related to those students whose fathers have low education than those whose fathers are professionally/technically qualified. For instance, in the extracurricular context we find academically oriented activities attracted low percentage of students whose fathers education was low, but higher from those whose fathers had higher education. Discipline and welfare oriented activities as well as exposure to life situations was predominantly preferred by the former category of students. No other activity was significantly correlated to fathers education. This suggests that fathers who have low qualifications tend to encourage elements of discipline and welfare among their children and to learn from exposure to life situations. Perhaps this is indicative of their anxiety to compensate their children for their own low academic achievements so that their offsprings are better able to make effective choices in their lives. Thus extracurricular choices of students reflect the influence of father's education.
Father's occupation also influenced students' choice of cocurricular activities. The preference for welfare activities found associated with those students whose fathers were in white collar and low prestige occupations in a way is the reflection of the influence of fathers' education. That is low education and white collar or low prestige occupations encourages discipline and welfare tendencies among the students from this social milieu than that found in families of professionals. In contrast students whose fathers were in professions opted for intellectually/aesthetically oriented activities and physical culture. This reflects the preference of this group for those activities that demand skill whether academic or athletic. To a great extent this is again the reflection of the influence of fathers' education which together with occupation affects the extracurricular preferences of the students belonging to such a social milieu.

Along with fathers' education and occupation, income variations also influence significantly the students' choice of college sponsored activities. Students from low income group were found to opt six times more in discipline oriented activities than those from high income groups. Their participation in welfare activities was also found to be more. On the other hand activities such as dramatics, excursions and politics attracted more students from higher income groups. Hence we may say that income variations find expression in the students' preferences regarding extracurricular activities. Welfare and discipline oriented
activities attracted participation from low income categories and intellectually and politically oriented activities had more participation from high income groups. This is also a clear reflection of the influence of fathers education and occupation. Hence we find that fathers education, occupation and income exerts a significant influence on the students extracurricular choices. Families with low education, low and average prestige occupation and low income seem to inculcate the values of welfarism and discipline among the children. By way of contrast, higher the fathers education, occupation and income the greater is the alienation of the students from those activities which in a welfare society should have figured on their priority. However, in keeping with their high prestige occupations the students tend to settle for such activities where they get the opportunity to polish their academic/aesthetic skills. In the same way we find that type of school also tends to reflect the influence of the above variables, that is students who completed their schooling from public schools participated in almost all extracurricular activities except welfare and discipline oriented activities. Government schools encouraged discipline orientation and the orthodox values of private schools encouraged values of welfarism among students. This pattern is a clear reflection of the influence of the three salient family background variables education, occupation and income.

In the context of legitimate leisure activities we find that fathers education, occupation and income were found to
exert more or less similar influence in the leisure choices of the college going students. Students belonging to families of high education, high prestige occupations and high incomes tend to opt more for those activities that were identified with the passive forms of entertainment such as relaxing with music. On the other hand low education, low prestige occupation and low to average incomes encouraged just staying home or driving around, of which the latter reflects the tendency among this group of students to have temporary spells of enjoyment or taste of affluence at the expense of their friends. Of these the first is easy to understand in the sense that if the students spend their free time staying at home they may be trying to save their resources by avoiding active participation in other activities this way, but the other reflects their desire to enjoy the thrills of affluence at the expense of their friends. In other words these students are likely to contract friendship with rich mates through whom they try to fulfill some of their desires to experience affluence. Type of schooling also reflects more or less the same picture that we find associated with the family variables of education, occupation and income—that is public school educated students participated more in relaxing with music than the private or government school educated children whereas driving around was found to be more pronounced among the government school educated students reflecting once again the tendency to identify with the affluent at the expense of their rich, affluent friends.
Father's education also influences in a way, the clandestine behaviour of students as our finding suggests that lesser is the education of the father the more is the students participation in such activities. Father's occupation also shows more or less the similar pattern, that is low prestige occupation encourages clandestine violation of taboos more than the other occupational categories. Per capita family income also shows a significant direct relation to clandestine participation—as the income grows the participation of students in forbidden pleasures also grows with highest participation among those students whose income was in the top bracket and least among the low income bracket. This shows that clandestine participation is directly governed by students' ability to pay for forbidden thrills, if money becomes restricted the clandestine participation also accordingly declines. Though income facilitates participation in tabooed pleasures our findings in the context of father's education and occupation also strongly supports the contention that far more than the income it is the total style of life of the family that largely determines the clandestine participation of students. This is indicated by the higher participation in tabooed pleasures among the low educated and low prestige occupation families. This shows that income is not the sole determinant of clandestine behaviour. Far more important is the family life style which provides congenial backdrop to the preference of forbidden activities among the college students. Type of school also reflected that same pattern.
On the basis of the above assessment of the impact of the socio-economic variable type on the students choice of the leisure time activities we find that the variables that were highly significant in influencing the choice of college sponsored activities among students were the sex and socio-economic variables. Among the institutional variables course of study in no way affected students leisure choices, year of study and residence exerted a minor influence on the extracurricular priorities of students.

None of the three variable types exercised any influence on the top six most popular legitimate as well as tabooed activities. In other words 'leisure universals' (including dating) were found to be independent of the influence of all types of variables. The less popular legitimate activities reflected the influence of all the variable types and it is herein that we begin to discern the social norms regarding male and female sexes more pronounced in determining their behaviour in specific activities. Needless to say that the leisure choices of legitimate activities of the males and females tend to reinforce the very same prejudices or social inhibitions which restrict their free participation in informal discretionary behaviour. In other words students leisure choices reinforce the traditional inequality of the sexes that is inherent in our system.

Another factor which affects the frequency and choices of the activities among students is the importance of their resources. Roberts (1970) in his study on leisure in British
society also found that although most affluent members of the British society were able to indulge in exclusive leisure pursuits to an exceptional extent less affluent people participated in much the same type of leisure activity, but on a lesser scale. Rowntree as early as 1903 in his study on poverty also highlighted the trend where despite the wide income differentials the absolute amount of money available for leisure at all levels in the social scale had increased and there were a few pursuits that were exclusive to people in the upper income brackets; majority of leisure interests had adherents in all strata of society. These discussions tend to substantiate our findings where despite the variations of income (resources), sex, institutional and socio-economic factors without exception the top six leisure activities held universal appeal for the college students.

3. LEISURE AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE:

The above discussion of the variable types reveal certain significant trends in the leisure behaviour of the college students. This helps us to assess the importance of leisure in society with reference to college students, that is, youth segment of our society. Leisure, as mentioned earlier has always existed in all types of societies irrespective of the levels of their development. We find leisure activities intimately linked with tribal rituals and economy through which the primitives sought amusement and fun while at the same time reinforcing their values and beliefs. Their simple life was interspersed with leisure interludes though leisure as a separate institution does not exist in primitive society; leisure elements are inextricably
intertwined in their social system. With the level of advancement leisure provisions are found to enlarge in peasant and urban/industrial societies. So much so, in the industrial society separate institutions have sprung up to cater to the leisure needs of the public at the mass level, their specialized function being to satisfy the leisure needs of the society. In so far as leisure fulfils the needs of the society—whether in providing relaxation, amusement or fun or to release tensions generated in the other aspects of the society—it could conveniently be referred to as an institution. For institutions perform specific functions and as stated above leisure also has a specific function to fulfil.

Our finding also indicate that leisure choices of college students are typical of youth. If we recall our earlier description (see chapter I) leisure choices differ with age variations. Old people have leisure choices that are significantly different from the married, the youth and the children. With age, their roles also undergo change and this is bound to affect their leisure. Our contention is that youth have the maximum leisure due to less responsibilities and more free time. The college students seem to have their extracurricular, legitimate and tabooed leisure priorities straight. It is not that the college students typify a community of fun seekers who move from activity to activity at a fast pace balancing their adjustment to curricular, extracurricular and self sponsored demands. Many of them are also conscious of their distant goals for which the college education prepares them. Our findings suggests
that most of the students already have clear conception of their future vocations. Thus the overall activities and priorities of the students is in accordance with their existential status in the social system. It does not suggest the typicality of the leisure behaviour of students as such but strongly reflects what the youth in general are doing during their leisure time in society.

We have also seen that the familial pressures, peer influence and the college subculture set the stage in which a college student acts in accordance with the norms of his own society. He begins to develop conceptions of himself, the social structure in which he continually acts and his own place in the company of his pals. He learns forms of behaviour appropriate to his sub-culture and acquires the means and courage to do what he desires most even though it may involve the violation of mores. Conceived of in this way college students' behaviour is a complex of response to a series of activities—obligatory and otherwise—in which he tries to seek an adjustment.

Persistent participation in some activities during leisure acquire a definite meaning in his leisure schedule and become crystallised as norms of behaviour. To some extent these norms of behaviour are related to social class divisions. The middle class acceptance of the 'principle of deferred gratifications': the postponement of immediate satisfactions to a later date, is also noticeable in the context of some activities of the college students. Although we have shown that the college students main concern is the
immediate fulfilment of needs there are those who accept the principle of deferred gratification as is evident in the response of those students who have stated that they would not like to acquire the things they desire if they don't have the requisite resources. But to an overwhelming majority their main concern is the immediate satisfactions from their leisure at a price.

Since leisure seems to influence every facet of the college students life, behaviour and values it clearly indicates the importance of the institution of leisure to the students. Leisure activities thus cannot be understood as an exclusive phenomenon. But these are inextricably intertwined with social structure and the values embedded in sex, institutional and socio-economic factors which together conditions the students leisure behaviour, and influence their values.

This then is the final picture. The main challenge of this study has been to bring and hold together the disparate research findings on sociology of leisure and against their backdrop attempting to explore sociologically the hitherto unchartered but potentially quite significant domain of student leisure behaviour. Given the constraints of time, energy and space we believe these chapters form a cohesive whole and illustrate the importance and value of the study for future research in the field of sociology of leisure.