TOWARDS A GEOGRAPHY OF LEISURE: CONTROL, RESISTANCE AND TRANSFORMATION WITHIN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CITY

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Thesis submitted for the Degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of Environmental
and Geographical Science
University of Cape Town

September 1992

ABSTRACT

For geographers concerned with understanding the social dynamics of space, an investigation of leisure patterns and processes is vital. Studies of leisure will provide geography with a powerful focus for deconstructing the social forces operative within the urban landscape, and thus the construction of a detailed understanding of socio-spatial dialectics.

This thesis analyses the state of leisure geography and identifies the issues central to theoretical development within this field. Of primary importance in this study is the contention that geographers have seldom been concerned with issues within the realm of leisure, and that their insights have been limited, given that these are frequently based on conservative discourses.

A structuralist paradigm is advocated as the foundation for formulating a progressive framework for leisure studies. Such a framework, however, must be sensitive to the complex dialectics of agency and broader social constraints if it is to move beyond the determinism of past structuralist analyses of leisure.

By attending both to issues of structural control and the importance of individual agency, it is possible to challenge the focus upon resource distribution that has dominated geographical enquiries in the realm of leisure. With reference to the history of South African recreation experiences and the broad principles of apartheid policy, it is shown that investigations of leisure need to include an appreciation of resource utilisation. In this way, the efforts and energies of communities can be recognised. The advantage of this is that a more empowering critique of leisure patterns and processes can be established.

In order to demonstrate the value of such an approach, the thesis ends with a case study of leisure opportunities within a low-income residential area in Cape Town. More traditional, conservative analytical frameworks would have been unable to make visible the dynamics of resistance and control that are identified here.

This thesis is informed by the wish to link academic enquiry to practical interventions into the sphere of leisure. The dialectics of control, resistance and transformation are manifested in both tangible geographical space and in intangible issues of resource utilisation. The implications of this reality are explored with reference to state, capitalist and community agendas.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My thanks to Dr. Dodson for her help, humour and encouragement. Thanks, too, to Dr. Cook who provided much input during the earliest stages of this thesis.

Financial assistance was provided by:

- The Human Sciences Research Council
- The University Research Scholarship Fund
- A Rose and Sydney Mullne Scholarship
- A Harry Crossley Bursary

Without the generous support I received, this thesis would not have been possible. Ideas and opinions expressed in this text remain my responsibility.

My gratitude also goes to friends and colleagues who gave help in abundance. Farieda Khan, David Priilaid and Alison Burger provided valuable input that ranged from counselling to proof-reading. Particular thanks to Clare Bell, Kate Stratten, Sonia Mirkin and Olivia Rose-Innes for encouragement and extraordinary generosity. Darryll Kilian assisted me with the utmost diplomacy. Shirley Butcher, Kevin Winter and Andy Vinnicombe, together with the staff at Inter-Library Loans, and the African Studies and Environmental Science Libraries, provided technical assistance.

The long-distance support provided by Simon Lewin, from the confines of East London, is also gratefully acknowledged.

Finally, special thanks to Jeannne du Toit for providing such stimulating input.

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INTRODUCTION

A fundamental interest of geographers should be the manner in which modes of production translate themselves into the social dynamics of urban space. Close inspection of geographical texts reveals, however, that studies seldom include an appreciation of the linkages between localised opportunities and wider structural forces. The dominance of positivist and diffusionist paradigms; the predominance of interpretations based on neo-classical economic principles; and a preoccupation with spatial patterns rather than social processes have led to a notable disregard for the people who are the substance of any urban system. This is clearly an obstruction to the development of a comprehensive understanding of socio-spatial dialectics.

Geographical studies in South Africa, for example, have been unable to deal adequately with the ways in which apartheid policies have, both directly and indirectly shaped the lives of all communities in adverse ways. To gain a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics within the apartheid city one needs to emphasise the structural roots of localised spatial and social inequalities. Within the realm of leisure, the lack of insight into the dialectics of agency and structure has been particularly problematic. This is because commonsense discourses about leisure as a neutral social variable have made it difficult to perceive the influence of powerful and often covert agendas upon localised experiences within this sphere.

Leisure geography in South Africa, as Magi (1989 p327) contends, has been notably non-analytical, marked by a lack of emphasis upon themes of "socio-cultural and spatial inequality". This is distressing given that leisure experiences in this country have often been shaped by blatant and brutal state control. The fundamental motivation for this thesis is, therefore, to address the need for a sound analytical foundation which researchers may use to approach the study of leisure options, and thus the dialectics of the social and the spatial.

The thesis has been structured in the following manner: Chapter One focuses upon dominant perceptions of 'leisure' and 'recreation'. The current state of leisure geography has been informed by wider theoretical developments, and it is for this reason that attention is given to wider debates within social studies. Attention is then given, in Chapter Two, to the specific context of leisure studies within geography. The state of leisure research within geography is examined with reference to wider theoretical crises, and to a combination of problems specific to geographical investigations of recreation.

Chapter Two highlights the fact that researchers within geography have disregarded frequently the structural context of leisure processes, and the linkages between leisure patterns and processes. With this as a foundation, Chapter Three examines the dialectics of agency and structure in detail in order to provide a foundation upon which a progressive theorisation of leisure can be established. While Chapter Three focuses specifically on the agency/structure dialectic in terms of issues of ideological control and domination, Chapter Four focuses on the paradoxes and contradictions of capitalism which contribute to leisure being an important forum for resistance and oppositions to prevailing hegemonic conditions.

In Chapter Five, the role and value of leisure as a sphere of control, resistance and transformation, is examined within the South African context. The penetration of conservative discourses in state and community agendas within the history of leisure is explored. Within Chapter Six the theoretical issues raised regarding the linkages between agency and structure, as well as the interconnections between the social and the spatial, are examined in a case study. Here, community and state interventions within the realm of leisure are analysed in the context of Valhalla Park, a working class, 'coloured' suburb in the city of Cape Town. This study serves to illustrate the value of a more empowering critique centred upon transient community interventions in the realm of leisure. The implications of recognising that leisure struggles are centred

upon issues of resource distribution *and* utilisation are explored with reference to community and state agendas.

CHAPTER ONE

DEFINITIONS IN LEISURE AND RECREATION RESEARCH

1.1: Introduction

"Defining terms precisely before commencing any discourse", writes Roberts (1983 p44), "is not always sound advice. Precise definitions sometimes fudge reality". Warnings of this nature are particularly appropriate to the field of leisure research, where academics have provided superficial explanations and conceptual distinctions between leisure and other facets of life (Van Moorst, 1982). The difficulties of developing a sound theoretical appreciation of the nature and function of leisure have often been exacerbated by the lack of overt attention to the concept in academic disciplines, and by the methodological and conceptual inadequacies of many enquiries. Roberts (1970 p7) has claimed that the process of defining leisure is an "arbitrary" one in view of the numerous variations in cultural contexts and circumstances. But existing research points to specific patterns of development within the field that one would not anticipate if interpretations of leisure were random and subjective.

Rather, the inadequacies of leisure research are rooted in the fact that the concept of leisure is itself extremely complex, associated with a wide range of meanings, attitudes and contexts. The current state of leisure research in geography has been shaped and informed by wider theoretical developments. It is for this reason that this chapter focuses upon the dominant interpretations of leisure and recreation within the wider context of social theory. Attention is given to dominant modes of explanation and definition, with a view to identifying key obstructions to the establishment of insight into the processes shaping access to leisure space and time in capitalist society. Emphasis is placed upon the fact that, as Rojek (1985) notes, definitions reflect a failure, on the part of researchers, to consider the influence of wider social relations upon leisure experiences.

1.2: Formulating a 'Universal' Definition of Leisure

Leisure research has grown markedly since the 1970s, in state, private and academic spheres. Yet, while the past two decades have witnessed a burgeoning of literature, the concurrent development of a coherent theorisation of leisure has not occurred. In the context of state and privately funded research, this lack of development can be accounted for, given the overriding constraints of capital (these constraints are discussed in detail in chapter two). However, in the academic sphere, the lack of critical insight is surprising. To account for the underdevelopment of the field, one may argue, as Smith (1983 pxiv) does, that it is virtually impossible to develop universally acceptable definitions of the key terms, 'leisure' and 'recreation', given the fact that they relate to a vast range of activities and circumstances. As Roberts (1983) shows, the meaning of leisure varies considerably across cultural contexts.

A brief macro-scale historical comparison, such as that provided by Glyptis (1989), provides a clear illustration of this point. For Greek philosophers, as she argues, leisure was valued as a time of contemplation and an opportunity to develop body, mind and soul. Work, in essence, was regarded as "the absence of leisure" and undertaken only "so that leisure might be achieved" (Patmore, 1983 p6). In contrast, leisure within Roman society came under increasing state control. As an important arena for the expression of attributes such as physical strength and skill that were closely tied with Roman nationalism and imperialism, leisure became increasingly linked, as Glyptis (1989 p5) reasons, to "consumption [rather] than creativity".

The elusive nature of the concept of leisure may well lie at the root of Roberts (1970) emphasis upon the subjectivity involved in formulating a definition of leisure. As Lefebvre (1958 p135) writes, leisure is

> contradictory ... both in itself and in relation to daily life. It covers opposing directions and possibilities: some lead towards poverty, by the path of passivity; others lead towards enrichment

Research conclusions related to leisure patterns, Rojek (1985) proposes, depend ultimately on how leisure is defined. If this is so, one may argue that, in the face of extensive controversy and dispute, the establishment of a coherent theoretical foundation in the field is unlikely. This reasoning is inadequate for it is based on the assumption that a lack of precision is necessarily associated with inaccuracy rather than complexity. The lack of development in leisure and recreation research in the capitalist context in particular has undoubtedly been hampered by researchers lacking contextual 'sensitivity' (Deem, 1988). To expect researchers to be able to establish a universally acceptable, all-encompassing definition of leisure that embraces cross-cultural experiences and the full spectrum of personal and collective leisure opportunities, is to make unrealistic and unproductive demands.

1.3: Dictionary Definitions of Leisure

Most dictionary definitions of leisure differentiate between the terms 'leisure' and 'recreation'. Leisure is generally defined as the time in which people participate in recreational activities. Recreation, in contrast, is defined in terms of utilisation and space. According to The Concise Oxford English Dictionary (1983 p374), leisure may be regarded as "free time" or the "time at one's own disposal". In a similar manner, Webster's New International Dictionary (1961 p1292) defines leisure as "time at one's command that is free of engagement or responsibilities". Recreation, as Longman's Lexicon of Contemporary English (1981 p506) claims, is "a form of ... amusement and enjoyment or way of spending free time".

These definitions only allow leisure to include a temporal component, thus bracketing off any discussion of spatial dynamics within this sphere. This points to a

commonsense understanding of the subject. I would suggest, rather, that the concept of recreation is located within that of leisure. Leisure thus contains concepts related to both the temporal and the spatial. At the root of theoretical controversies within recreation research lie contentions regarding the concepts of 'freedom' and 'free choice'. It is noticeable, for example, that the disparity between the Greek and Roman definitions of leisure referred to above, originates from the fact that the way in which they relate this concept to that of work, is different.

It is noticeable, furthermore, that in the definitions listed above, leisure is referred to, not only in terms of the temporal, but also with reference to the concept of 'free' time. This concept is one informed by a particular, humanist understanding of the relation between work and leisure. It is to the controversies surrounding approaches to this relation, and the implications of such approaches to issues of choice and 'freedom', that attention is turned in the following sections.

1.4: The Work/Leisure Dichotomy: Residual Definitions of Leisure

Changes in the meaning and significance of leisure have also varied considerably within the recent past. A shift has occurred from a barely discernible differentiation between work and leisure prominent in medieval times, to the rigid compartmentalisation of leisure and work since the Industrial Revolution, and the characteristic separation of home and workplace. A re-merging of leisure and work has been apparent, particularly in the late twentieth century (Rojek, 1985). Capitalist interests, for example, have penetrated deep within the realm of leisure, making it increasingly difficult to draw sharp boundaries between production and reproduction (see chapter four).

Prominent researchers, such as Roberts, have continued however, to base their arguments on somewhat crude interpretations of work and leisure, siting each within

dualistic oppositions. Leisure in many instances is seen as a necessary, supplementary and restorative alternative to alienating work experiences. Writers such as Anderson (1961 p1 and 3) claim that leisure in western society is an "unprepared-for by-product of work", and Roberts (1961 p23) holds that leisure may be seen as a by-product of industrialisation. This suggests that leisure is essentially what Jenkins and Sherman (1981 p1) term "residual time". This concept of leisure as residual to work is implicit, for example, in Dumazedier's (1967) discussions concerning work/leisure dynamics. Dumazedier reasons that leisure is a time during which the individual overcomes the "physical and nervous damage wrought by the tensions of daily pressures, and particularly pressures of the job" (relaxation); is "[delivered] from boredom" arising from "the monotony of fragmented tasks" (entertainment); and is "[liberated] from ... daily automism" and the "utilitarian considerations" of work (personal development) (Dumazedier, 1967 p16).

This method of approach is inadvisable for two central reasons. Firstly, it necessarily sites leisure in a residual position, and secondly, there is a very real danger that leisure within such an analytical framework may be trivialised. This contention is also unacceptable in the face of the complex realities of work and leisure dynamics in capitalist society. While serving to highlight the dominant emphasis on work in capitalism and the associated experience of alienation, an emphasis upon the negative aspects of work under capitalism obscures, for example, the possibility and reality of work being a positive influence in the lives of individuals. Work, too, may provide relaxation, constitute a form of interest and facilitate personal development. Although academics such as Dumazedier do show an awareness that leisure should be defined by more than its contrast to work, it is evident that their focus remains constrained through an emphasis upon work and social obligations as entirely negative influences.

Simplistic divisions between work and leisure must also be regarded as problematic in the light of evidence gathered during the 1980s which suggests that definitions of work did not accurately reflect actual circumstances. Investigations in the field of

employment and unemployment, in particular, served to challenge the assumptions behind classical definitions of work sited within formal working contexts. Rapid urbanisation, especially in third world countries, raised critical questions for geographers and sociologists, regarding work opportunities. The inability of the formal economy to absorb migrants and city dwellers came to be recognised as a critical issue for urban planners (MacDonald, 1989). While third world countries reported abnormal levels of unemployment, it was evident that the population was able, in some way, to survive.

This seemingly inexplicable situation was paradoxical only insofar as the definition of work itself was inadequate. In recognising that work extended well beyond the formal sector and encompassed a full spectrum of activities that included even activities such as prostitution and extortion (see Bromley (1978)), urban theorists necessarily acknowledged that work was a term that encompassed a wide range of processes and practices.

1.5: Issues of Perception and Power

Roberts (1970 p7), as we saw at the beginning of this chapter, claimed that the process of defining leisure is an "arbitrary" one. This assumption has negative ideological implications and theoretical impact. While advocating an awareness and acceptance of the **variety** of leisure experiences, it is crucial to link such disparities to an appreciation of the relationship between localised patterns and opportunities, and wider social systems. The implications of regarding the establishment of a theoretical framework on the basis of 'arbitrary' processes are extensive and severe, particularly in the capitalist context.

Questions related to leisure are ultimately questions of the dynamics between the individual (agency) and society (structure) centred upon the issues of freedom and

choice (Bregha, 1980). In the context of western society, leisure has always been associated with what Kelly (1983 p5) terms "the relative freedom of choice" - such 'freedom' being associated with the absence of social 'obligations' and 'constraints'. This, I would argue, is because such theorisations do not take account of wider structural constraints. Perceptions of freedom within capitalist environments, indeed, have been radically altered and primarily affected by emphases upon production and profit (Godbey, 1980). The dialectical tensions shaping access to leisure space and time are necessarily rooted in the wider social relations of the capitalist mode of production.

Typically, definitions of leisure have focused upon its personal, psychological significance, rather than its wider social value. This approach is epitomised by the writing of Dumazedier (1967). Dumazedier reasons that leisure may be defined in terms of its specific functions, but confines his explanation only to the private sphere. Hence, although we are told that leisure is the time during which a person experiences "relaxation, diversion and personal development", we remain uninformed as to the underlying socio-cultural forces that have shaped the availability of this time. We are left to assume, incorrectly, that leisure is democratically distributed across society, free of class, gender and 'race' restrictions.

Only when one addresses at wider social structures, will it be recognised that leisure is an important means of encouraging conformity and perpetuating social norms. Justifications for the presence or absence of private or public capital investment in the planning and provision of leisure resources can then be linked to manipulative agendas, as in the discussions of capitalist agendas contained in Harvey (1989). An extensive range of illustrative examples of leisure being utilised as a forum of manipulation and control is evident in the history of South African sport where, for example, facility provision was used as an important element in the establishment of 'racial' segregation (Badenhorst and Rogerson, 1986). (These issues are explored in chapters five and six in a discussion of the impact of apartheid upon leisure options.) Similar examples of

leisure being used as a means of socialisation are prominent in the history of German and Italian fascism, where the utilisation and organisation of leisure time was a central question for the inculcation and generation of new state ideologies and state formations (Aronowitz, 1982).

Given that leisure is inextricably linked to powerful and often covert socio-political forces, the need for critical evaluations of leisure agendas, both public and private, is self evident. But effective deconstruction necessarily demands the presence of a sound theoretical foundation: one that is conspicuously absent throughout the sociology and geography of leisure. While it may not be possible for researchers to encompass the full range of leisure experiences within a single definition, it is important nevertheless for them to identify and include a recognition of the importance of the wider social significance of leisure experiences within their definitions. Failing this, a full understanding of capitalist dynamics cannot be established, and the state of recreation and leisure geography will not progress beyond its current state of underdevelopment.

The central issues facing researchers, as has been argued, are necessarily centred upon the concept of freedom, and the relationship between social structure and personal choice. In this regard, the axiomatic question facing sociologists and geographers is: how does one determine what constitutes *free* time? Individual choice is always shaped by wider circumstances and processes. Analysis of the dynamic between the individual and the collective is often problematic given that the two way process is operative on a variety of scales and shaped by complex, subjective motivations. It is difficult to identify and measure the degree to which individual perceptions of freedom are coloured and constrained by wider social circumstances; for researchers of leisure there is, therefore, a constant danger of providing deterministic explanations.

The extent of the turmoil within leisure studies is manifested in the fact that researchers contest not only the nature of 'free' time, but also the assumption that leisure can be measured as time. Work and leisure, as Glyptis (1989) reasons, have always been

closely intertwined, and only small elites, at particular historical points (such as the Greek philosophers discussed earlier), have experienced leisure as a separate facet of life. As Mercer (1979 p17) argues, leisure may be regarded as a relatively "modern" concept, that developed after the nature and structure of work changed during the rapid industrialisation of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Such reasoning is, however, problematic, given that it reflects an androcentric bias in favour of formal working contexts.

Leisure and recreation are often regarded by geographers and sociologists as "self-evident categories of activity", typically viewed as "non-work" (Kirby, 1985 p65). Time in capitalist society is eroded by the temporal constraints inherent in the demands of both production and reproduction. Hence, time spent outside the confines of formal working environments need not necessarily constitute pure leisure time, given that workers will be occupied with daily maintenance tasks that are essential for their own survival in particular, and for the survival of the capitalist system in general.

The effects of these obligations have been examined in gender studies. Coles (1980), for instance, goes so far as to claim that because leisure is equated with 'free' time, it is inappropriate to the daily experiences of women, many of whom are not formally employed but are faced with the burden of domestic chores during their so-called 'free' time. Furthermore, the domestic sphere is a particularly complex one with regard to assessing leisure experiences as it is possible for people to look upon, or mistake, a domestic responsibility such as child-care for a leisure time activity (Shaw, 1985). As Perold (1985 p111) notes, it is seldom that domestic work is seen as "proper work".

Given that women faced with domestic work and family related chores do not feel that they "have a right to dispose of 'free-time' freely for themselves" (Wearing and Wearing, 1988 p114) it can be argued that the leisure-as-free-time concept is inappropriate. If leisure is defined as the time during which the individual "undertake[s] activities in a free voluntary way" (Herbert, 1988 p241), one cannot

regard the time during which women are engaged in household tasks as leisure. As such, it is not that the concept of leisure-as-time that is inappropriate to the lives of women, as Wearing and Wearing claim - it is that the *phenomenon* of leisure is often absent from the daily experiences of women. Research conducted in Sweden, for example, has shown that on a 'typical workday' 10% of employed women do not undertake any 'free time' activities, while almost all employed men do (Szalai, 1972). Thus one may reason that while both the Wearing and Wearing (1988) and Coles (1980) studies provide insufficient grounds for rejecting the leisure-as-time concept, their investigations are significant in highlighting the difficulty of determining what exactly constitutes ***free*** time as well as the importance of differing perceptions of obligations and degree of freedom.

A consideration of domestic activities and the intrusion of domestic responsibilities into leisure time is of particular importance when one focuses upon the experiences of housewives, for example. In a study of leisure opportunities, conducted in England in 1985, it was found that the average number of weekday leisure hours for women and men was only marginally different at 2.6 and 2.1 hours respectively (Henley Centre for Forecasting, 1986). But according to the logic of Shaw (1985), such findings are fundamentally flawed, for they fail to consider the influence of "perceptions and attitudes" that contribute to the individual experiencing truly 'free' time. Shaw's (1985) own example of the ambiguity of tasks undertaken during time outside of formal working contexts provides a succinct illustration of these points:

> ...the objective activity approach [will fail] to recognize [for example] that the housewife['s task of] preparing supper for her family while looking after the baby and trying to respond to the demands of her older child as well, is not experienced subjectively in the same way as the man who chooses to spend Sunday afternoon preparing a gourmet meal for his friends...
>
> (p 271)

This example suggests, therefore, that the task of defining leisure is complicated by the fact that leisure cannot be recognised simply by the nature of the activity under scrutiny. Rather, it is the specific influence of particular contexts and meaning that

contribute to such activities being perceived as part of leisure or work experiences. The same task undertaken within different settings and by different people may be shaped by entirely different social influences, and the experience of such tasks may be perceived differently by those involved. Roberts (1970 p7), in a rather flippant tone, writes

> It is often difficult to decide whether a particular activity should be classified as [a] leisure [activity]. For instance, when a husband drives his wife and children on a weekend outing, he may be motivated partly by a sense of obligation towards his family, and partly by the fact that he himself enjoys the activity in question. Similarly, activities initially undertaken freely, may over time assume an obligatory character. For instance, after an individual has been elected to an office in an association, attending its functions may become an obligation.

The significance of this example lies in the fact that considerations of the dialectics between structure and agency are pivotal to establishing an understanding of leisure and its role in contemporary society. It is within the wider context of social values and struggles that individual perceptions are located; it is the wider social structural context which may be seen as contributing to the construction of the particular values and meanings associated with leisure activities. Little value is to be gained in attempting to slot particular activities into the broad categorisations of work and leisure, given the influence of complex and specific contextual influences. Rather, what is of greater analytical importance, is an attempt to understand the way in which particular activities are perceived in commonsense discourse, and to deconstruct what these perceptions tell us about dominant social relations. Far more can be attained, for example, through an investigation of the power relations that have given rise to domestic work not being recognised as a sphere of labour, rather than trying to ascertain, with absolute certainty, whether particular domestic chores should be regarded as work or leisure.

It is thus evident that nominal definitions of leisure according to certain types of activities are theoretically inadequate, particularly as not all leisure time activities are easily observable or easily measured (Deem, 1988). Roberts (1970), in an attempt to resolve the difficulties of defining leisure, has suggested that leisure could be defined negatively, that is, in terms of what it is not. In effect, this results only in the

establishment of negative nominal definitions. It does not overcome the practical and theoretical difficulties incurred in assessing social constraints: rather it shifts the emphasis from determining what constitutes an obligation, to what constitutes an act of free choice. Narrow definitions of leisure, based on the presence or absence of specific activities, are likely to obscure the importance of home-based leisure pursuits which often dominate leisure time (Herbert, 1988).

1.6: Beyond the Concepts of 'Work' and 'Leisure'

Parker's conceptualisations of work, as provided in his book Leisure and Work (1983), indicated that the difficulties incurred in defining the term extended even beyond problematics related to formal/informal sector divisions. As Parker reasons, work may be considered to be any productive or creative activity, or even regarded as a moral ideal. This line of argument, together with feminist research that has challenged traditional understandings of work, and psychological investigations that have emphasised the importance of considering subjective perceptions when formulating definitions of work, places serious doubts on the possibility of ever distinguishing between work and leisure.

Moorhouse (1989) reasons that it is vital for researchers to recognise the fact that clear and accurate divisions between free choice and obligation as the basis for a definition are not possible; the task of identifying the private-public dynamics involved is mammoth enough. He argues, further, that the theoretical crises posed by such difficulties are artificial and avoidable. These obstacles to theoretical progress, as he claims, are rooted in the work/leisure dichotomy that has dominated leisure studies, and the assumption that there is any need to segregate leisure from other facets of life. He reasons that any potential for the development of leisure studies will be realised only once the concept of leisure itself is abandoned.

This radical critique of leisure research is based on the accurate recognition that researchers have been more preoccupied with defining leisure than they have been concerned with defining the concept of work. This is an ironic and theoretically dangerous approach, as Moorhouse (1989) argues, for definitions of leisure are characteristically formulated with reference to work. Leisure researchers such as Deem (1988) have implicitly acknowledged the impossibility of ever establishing a sound, acceptable definition of leisure, and most recognise that leisure should be defined and understood as something more than a contrast to what is popularly understood to be work. Moorhouse (1989) argues that people will never be able to establish legitimate boundaries between work and leisure, primarily because there are no such divisions in reality.

Moorhouse reasons that the only way out of the "morass" (p20) that is leisure studies, is to abandon the concept of leisure entirely. For him, the hypothetical work/leisure dichotomy is clogged by stereotypical understandings of freedom and obligation within capitalist society, and is therefore a hindrance to the development of the field. He writes: "the contours of what is 'necessary' and 'unnecessary' are hard to perceive and are often ... bound up in the same moment or activity" (ibid p27). He proposes that there should be a shift away from traditional interests, and the concurrent adoption of more "academically sophisticated" and neglected concepts such as "lifestyle" (p32) as proposed by Weber. Such a term, as he claims, encompasses a wide range of issues related to consumption and the cultural determinants thereof, and offers the potential for more comprehensive analysis free of preoccupations and assumptions about the importance of work in people's lives.

But given the lack of any clear differentiation between the two key concepts, one vague definition, in effect, is being used to prop up another. A theoretical impasse is inevitable if one is to define concepts in relation to each other without providing a solid definition of either. While a departure from the simplistic categorisations that have dominated leisure research is needed, what is *not* advocated is the abandonment of the

conceptual concepts of 'work' and 'leisure', as suggested by Moorhouse (1989). While the concepts themselves are often elusive to define, they remain useful theoretical foundations for analysis of social relations within capitalist society, and investigations into the relationship between the public and private. (These concepts are discussed in further detail in Chapters three and four, where attention is given to leisure as a site of value negotiations, and the significance of the fusion between work and leisure.)

While Moorhouse's claims are appealing in terms of their proposed potential, they are fundamentally flawed. Social theorists have failed to scrutinise the concepts of leisure and work in sufficient detail, and variations in related experiences across space and time have not been explored. The failure to realise potential need not be, as Moorhouse claims, a reflection of the inappropriateness of the work/leisure conceptual dichotomy, but rather a reflection of the fact that the complexity of experience has not been acknowledged.

Moorhouse's adoption of the term 'lifestyle' does not provide the theoretical solution he professes, primarily because the issue of what constitutes an obligation or an act of free choice remains unresolved. Instead of two terms which are useful to the examination of dialectical tensions between individual freedom and social constraints, the replacement term embraces the entire spectrum of choice. The researcher, therefore, is still faced with the task of establishing and determining obligation dynamics. In his article, Moorhouse is critical of Pahl's (1984 p128) emphasis upon the need to examine "specific people in specific circumstances in specific sets of social relations and social relationships" when a definition of work is to be established. But given the fact that researchers would need to be as sensitive to issues of scale and context when exploring the concept of lifestyle, it is evident that it does not provide a theoretically more effective alternative.

The abandonment of the work/leisure dichotomy has serious implications for understanding social dynamics within capitalist society. It is clear that the relationship

between work and leisure is by no means simple and that leisure is necessarily shaped by the demands and constraints of work. Herbert (1988) notes that leisure and work may be interconnected in a variety of ways, from leisure being an extension of work, to leisure being a time dominated by activities markedly and deliberately unlike work. This work/leisure linkage is often class specific. As Roberts (1970), Deem (1988) and Rojek (1988) show, income levels have a direct effect upon the nature of activities open to and performed by individuals during their leisure time.

Capitalism is characterised by an ideology of work, and individual decisions are shaped strongly by economic relations. The abandonment of the leisure/work dichotomy will obstruct insight into the capitalist dialectics of production and reproduction. Veal (1987) claims that the work ethic within capitalist society is of minimal and declining importance. However, there is a reservoir of evidence to suggest otherwise, including Jahoda's (1982) studies on the psychological effects of unemployment; Green et al's (1990) examination of women's leisure experiences; and Hopcke's (1990) encounters with the adverse effects of the work ethic on the development of masculine identity.

There are thus serious implications associated with the abandonment of the work/leisure dichotomy. The concept of 'lifestyle' as proposed by Moorhouse (1989) does not overcome the difficulties associated with establishing what social constraints exist upon individual choices. Moorhouse implies that a departure from an interest in work/leisure divisions will allow for more detailed analysis of experiences within paid and unpaid labour and consumption. Such detail however, is already possible within the categorisations of leisure and work, and the concept of lifestyle as a replacement term will not provide any major theoretical contribution to the field. What is necessary is a sensitivity to context, and a recognition that the way in which 'work' and 'leisure' have been traditionally defined is inadequate.

Parker (1971; 1983) recognizes the need for a more complex understanding of the concepts of work and leisure and suggests that work/leisure dynamics be understood in

terms of a typology of relationships. Although work and leisure may be spatially differentiated, Parker also suggests that work and leisure may be only marginally distinct, and that leisure may even be largely uninfluenced by the demands of work, particularly in instances where people have more 'free' time than 'work' time. Arguments similar to those of Parker are presented by Kelly (1972), who proposes that researchers focus upon the degree of freedom involved in leisure and work (Figure 1), and the context of tasks being undertaken in leisure time. Such activities range from independently chosen activities that are distinct from work (Cell 1) through to activities relating to the "maintenance and preparation for or recovery from work" (Kelly, 1983 p9). Cell 2, co-ordinated leisure, refers to time use that is similar to work activity, while Cell 3, complementary leisure, refers to leisure use "constrained by social expectations".

WORK RELATION	Chosen	Determined
Independent	(1) Unconditional leisure	(3) Complementary leisure
Dependent	(2) Coordinated leisure	(4) Preparation and Recuperation

Figure 1: A Simplified Model of Leisure
(Kelly, 1983 p10 after Kelly, 1972)

A more complex model of leisure extending beyond the rigid work/leisure - destructive/constructive dynamic, is provided by Gunter and Gunter (1980). These researchers identify four more detailed kinds of leisure, based on the kinds of activity undertaken within leisure time (Figure 2) in a similar manner to Kelly (1972). Their model is a more comprehensive extension of the sociological model offered by Kelly, in that emphasis is placed on the interaction of sociological and psychological factors that shape leisure experiences.

Although similar to Dumazedier's perspective in terms of viewing work as an alienating experience, Gunter and Gunter (1980) show that leisure is determined by a dynamic interplay between institutional structures, individual choice and psychological involvement. They focus upon the psychological nature and importance of leisure and highlight the relationship between individual freedom and the demands of social institutions such as the family. They argue that there is a continuum, ranging from 'pure leisure' (being associated with unobligated time), through 'anomic' leisure (relating to the directionless use of time experienced by people such as the unemployed) to institutional and alienated leisure (associated with the demands of social roles, and with minimal satisfaction and choice).

Gunter and Gunter's model serves to illustrate the complex nature of relative freedom and overcomes the simplistic work/ leisure pairings in earlier sociological models, as noted by Kelly (1983). Such a model emphasises the importance of individual, psychological reactions to social institutions and responsibilities. The importance of the model lies in the fact that it includes both psychological and sociological variables *and* provides a more holistic perspective on leisure by viewing it as more than time defined, and determined primarily by formal working experiences. It provides a more comprehensive and useful framework for those analysing the role of leisure through its consideration of the 'anomic' leisure experiences of those who are outside the formal working context. Their model facilitates analysis of domestic work/leisure dynamics, and can be used to highlight the significant role

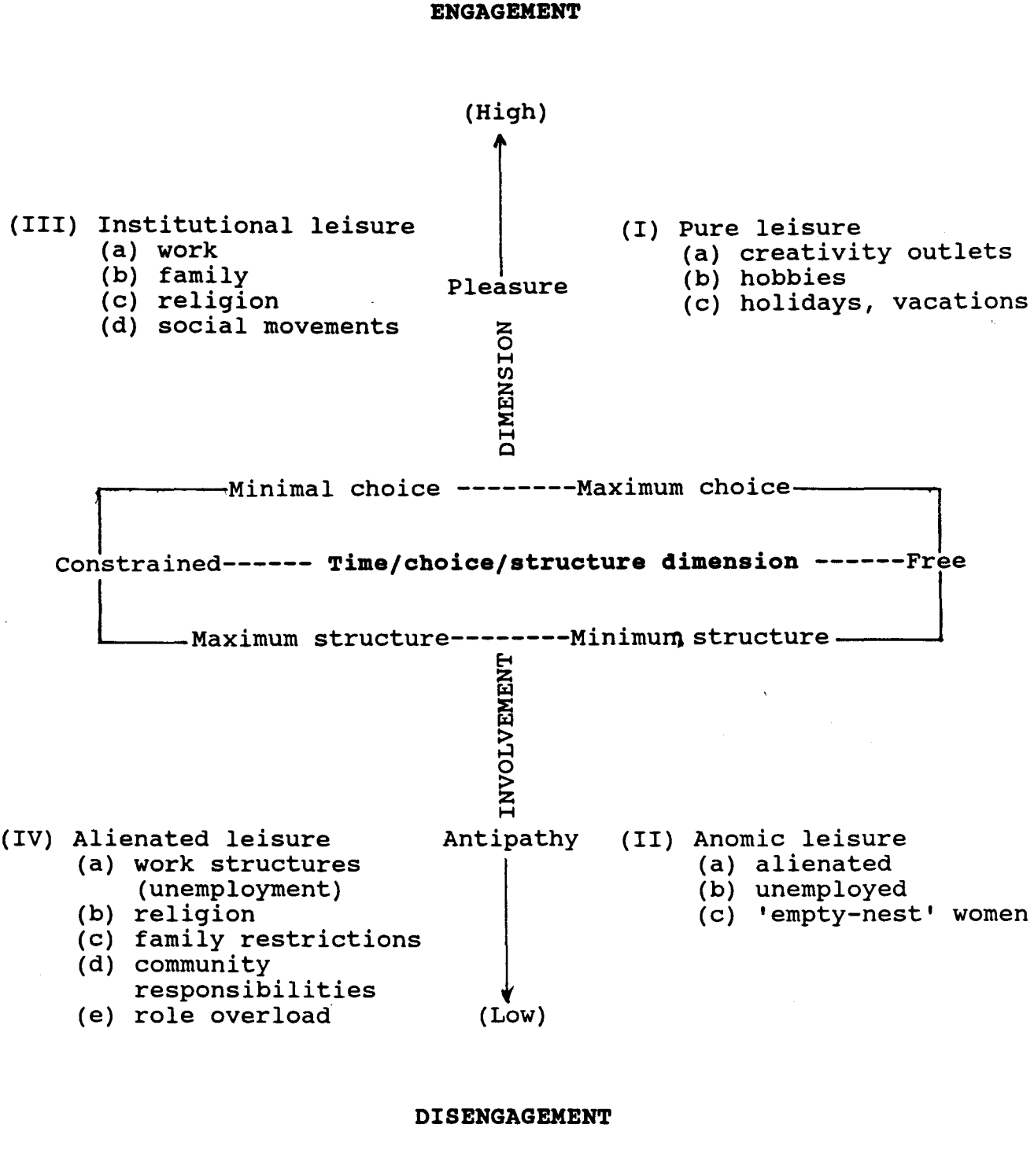

Figure 2: Involvement and Choice in Leisure
(Gunter and Gunter, 1980)

of institutional constraints upon the lives of women in particular.

1.7: Conclusion

This overview of the definitions and interpretations of leisure and recreation has illustrated the complexity of the concepts, the subjectivity involved in determining individual perceptions and interpretations of leisure, and the impact of obligations and social constraints upon individual leisure options. It has been shown that the lack of theoretical development within leisure studies is linked not only to unrealistic expectations regarding the possibility of establishing an all-encompassing definition, but also to researchers lacking contextual sensitivity regarding the complex roles and functions of leisure in capitalist society. Although it may not be possible to provide a universally acceptable definition of leisure, it is possible to view leisure in capitalist society in terms of a "freedom-constraint continuum" (Rojek, 1985 p16).

Having examined broad issues of theoretical debate within leisure research in general, attention is now turned to the specific context of leisure studies within the discipline of geography.

CHAPTER TWO

LEISURE STUDIES IN GEOGRAPHY

2.1: Introduction

Academics have regarded the integrative nature of geographical enquiry as both its greatest strength and its key weakness. Administrators and scholars, as Morrill (1983 p2) comments, have often scorned geography on the grounds that it is "eclectic, even parasitic, and ... lack[s] ... disciplinary focus". Kellerman (1987) explains, similarly, that declining research standards, and a seemingly limitless array of loosely connected interests and foci may have led outsiders to claim that geography has attempted to be too comprehensive. Charges such as these seem harsh given that cross-disciplinary integration facilitates powerful insights into social and physical patterns and processes, and that integration itself is a concept too seldom emphasised in the philosophy of science (ibid).

Close inspection of geographical research reveals that such criticisms are fundamentally inadequate. While the discipline appears eclectic and lacking a single, central *raison d'etre*, it is evident that geographical studies are unified by common interests in the dynamics between space, time and society. The degree to which each element has been emphasised has differed across time, and the accuracy of enquiry has often varied considerably. In early regional analysis, for example, the variables of time and society were often neglected in analysis in the face of a preoccupation with spatial patterns; an understanding of social dynamics was typically absent. Although there may well be "a geography of almost everything" (Morrill, 1983 p2), the diversity of geographical enquiry is not a negation on the validity of a multi-dimensional approach.

The aim of this section is to highlight the advantages of cross-disciplinary analysis in linking spatial and temporal leisure patterns to underlying social processes. Given that leisure is a complex concept, the very meaning of which varies across social, temporal and spatial scales, it would appear that geographers, with their professed aims of integration and holism, would be ideally suited to undertake leisure research.

In this chapter, the key themes and interests within leisure geography are identified with reference to wider developments within sociological and geographical theory and practice. The implications of the claim that a complete integration of time, space and society is almost impossible (Kellerman, 1987) will be explored with reference to parallel claims within sociological leisure theory. I argue that the analytical potential of geographical studies has been hampered *not* by the diversity of interests within the discipline but rather by more fundamental obstructions arising from the capitalist co-option of research energies.

It is contended that the extensive constraints of capitalist agendas upon leisure research¿ priorities have been fundamental to the lack of development within the field. Critical attention to the underlying assumptions and theoretical frameworks adopted by researchers is thus advocated as a necessary precondition to development within the field. The state of leisure research in particular is examined with reference to Harvey's (1984) historical materialist analysis of the discipline. The chapter ends with a motivation for the adoption of a structuralist approach within leisure geography.

2.2: Geography: A Suitable Home to Leisure Studies

The Australian geographer David Mercer (1980) points out that leisure is not a concept that fits neatly into any single discipline. He argues further that geography occupies a unique academic position which makes it ideal for the study of such an eclectic sphere. Not only does it cover the humanities as well as biological and earth sciences, but within the humanities alone it draws from a wide range of disciplines including sociology and anthropology. Geographers, with their eclectic analytical approaches, are therefore ideally suited to respond to the "inter-disciplinary challenge" (Herbert, 1988 p242) of leisure studies. The professed aims of integration seem welcome in the light of Moorhouse's (1989) urgent call for research that overcomes the simplistic assumptions of many leisure studies, in which leisure is analysed with complete disregard for inter- and intra-cultural differences and variations across historical contexts.

I argue that the fragmentation of leisure studies over a wide range of disciplines is not, in itself, a problem; what should concern researchers, rather, is the fact that these various studies exist in isolation from each other. Most crucially, for my purposes, is the fact that there is little contact between geographical and sociological studies of leisure. Such a division points towards the fact that leisure research within both these disciplines assumes that concepts of the social, and that of geographical space, can be addressed separately. Given the eclectic nature of geographical studies, I would suggest that this discipline is ideally suited to address this inadequacy. Here one could begin to challenge simplistic dualisms which place the spatial in opposition to the social.

The appropriateness of the discipline of geography as a site of leisure studies has been heightened by the development of more sophisticated theoretical frameworks, both in terms of social-spatial dialectics and in terms of human agency/structure dynamics. The central concern of the discipline of geography, as Morrill (1983) has reasoned, has been the study of space, more specifically the meaning of place and the organization of space. From the 1950s through to the 1990s, geography has experienced important paradigmatic shifts that have led to the establishment of more complex and sophisticated theorisations of space.

Kellerman (1987) claims that the last two decades have seen the establishment of potential for deeper, more comprehensive analysis in geography made possible through the explicit recognition that time, space and society are dialectically interrelated. There has thus been a shift away from the conceptual dualities contained within past social studies wherein society and space were viewed as separate and usually antagonistic, to an understanding that time, space, and society are elements common to a unified process (ibid, 1987).

As Smith (1984) argues, while earlier geographical models offered limited insight into the dynamics of city processes because they were descriptive and deterministic, sequential theoretical developments have resulted in the discipline being increasingly free of stultifying and theoretically obstructive preoccupations with urban spatial form; instead there is an increased awareness of the dynamism of city systems and the way in which such forms are products of wider social conflicts and struggles. As a discipline characterised by the development of new and more comprehensive modes of analysis, geography is therefore ideally suited to investigations focused upon the translation of leisure-related social dynamics into the dynamics of urban and rural space.

Geography may also be regarded as being a discipline ideally suited to investigations of leisure patterns and processes given the claims made by Smith (1984 p75) regarding researchers' increased sensitivity to dialectics of "individual human agency within the constraints of broader structural imperatives". Leisure is a prominent, integral component of the capitalist social order, and leisure processes and patterns therefore mirror the fundamental tensions between the individual and the collective common to all modes of production. According to the reasoning of Smith (1984), geography as a discipline marked by increased insight into such dynamics fulfills the prerequisites for understanding the complexities of leisure dialectics.

For those concerned with issues of social justice, leisure is thus a field rich with possibilities. Social criticism which takes account of tensions between the individual and the collective has more potential for being progressive since it makes visible the dialectics of resistance and control. Conspicuous variations in the distribution of recreational resources are prevalent in the urban landscapes of capitalist cities. And the significant variation in the amount of 'free' time and the range of recreational opportunities available to individuals across the spectrum of socio-economic status within society, raises critical debates regarding accessibility and the appropriateness of existing planning strategies.

In addition to expecting geography to be an important focus for leisure research, one might also anticipate that such studies would occupy a prominent position within the discipline itself. Leisure is an important variable that reveals much about the relationship between social and economic processes and the transformation of landscapes, both social and physical. In a discipline in which an understanding of human-environment relations is regarded as a key focus, a consideration of leisure patterns and processes is vital given the increasing impact that recreational activities are

having upon landscapes, both urban and rural, due to rapid population growth (Patmore, 1983).

2.3: Rising to the Challenge: The Current State of Leisure Research

I have argued above that the discipline of geography is ideally suited to leisure related studies. In their overview of American geography, Mitchell and Smith (1985) point out that the geography of leisure was experiencing a period of rapid growth, and has become popularised since the Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Commission (ORRRC, 1962) was published in the United States. This rising interest in leisure studies within American research, as Mitchell and Smith (1985), suggest is illustrated by the fact that of the 162 articles published over 20 years, 104 of these appeared in the five years prior to 1982. Similarly of the 288 papers on tourism, sport and recreation presented at the Association of American Geographers annual meetings, 239 (or 83%) were presented between 1976 and 1982. Similar trends of rapid growth in British geography have been reported by Owens (1984) and in South African geography by Magi (1989 a;b).

However, figures such as those provided by Mitchell and Smith (1985) are misleading and inspire false hope in the condition of geographical leisure research. This is because it is assumed that an increasing "maturity based on volume" (Mitchell and Smith, 1985 p6) is inevitably associated with conceptual and theoretical progress. While the field has shown quantitative improvements, it is inaccurate to claim that qualitative conceptual advances have been made. We see then, that theoretical developments within the field of leisure geography have been minimal.

Tempted by the lure of scientific credibility, and the associated possibility of more 'sophisticated' regional and spatial analysis, geographers shifted away from the simplistic confines of descriptive, regional geography to adopt precise mathematical and statistical techniques during the so-called 'quantitative revolution' of the 1950s and 1960s (Johnston, 1983; 1986). Ballabon (1957), for instance, argued in favour of the adoption of a positivist framework within geography, reasoning that such an approach could aid the establishment of a sound theoretical framework, as well as disciplinary identity and coherence.

Many branches of human geography continue to be strongly influenced by the discipline of economics, and there is still a reliance upon the theories and methodologies of that discipline (Erikson, 1989). But leisure geography in particular has continued to be dominated by simplistic quantitative analysis. The utilisation of positivist methodologies by management to assess patterns of supply and demand has inevitably resulted in a proliferation of site-specific descriptions of localised patterns. Through the establishment of "theories of location and optimization" (Harvey, 1984 p3) and supply and demand, primarily linked to specific market requirements, leisure geographers have failed to realise adequately the importance of leisure as a site of ideological negotiations.

Paradigmatic developments within leisure research from the 1950s through to the early 1970s closely paralleled those within the broader discipline; like other branches of geography, leisure research was characterised by a shift from descriptive to quantitative methodologies. But since this time leisure geography has remained peculiarly stagnant. Owens (1984) has argued that the state of geographical leisure research stands in sharp contrast to that of other fields in the discipline, where there is a growing awareness and

recognition of the need to evaluate critically the linkages between spatial inequalities and social, political and economic conditions.

During the 1970s and 1980s, most branches of human geography became increasingly politicised and radicalised following Harvey's (1973) seminal work Social Justice and the City and Gray's (1975) vitriolic attack on the state of human geography. Geographers attempted to move beyond what Owens (1984 p174) calls the "ever-increasing number of empirical studies [which provided]... a broadening data base to describe users, activities and patterns". But within leisure geography, as Kirby (1985 p65) points out, research remained preoccupied with "individuals, not social forces; demand and not supply" and, most ironically, marked a return to "description and not explanation".

Recent publications in the world of sports geography reflect a continuing preoccupation with quantitative description; while some have explored other methodologies, most appear to be committed, as Badenhorst and Rogerson (1986 p197) claim, to an interest in "surficial patterns". It is seldom that interests in the perceptual, behavioural and psychological factors that shape leisure experiences are linked to the broader capitalist socio-economic milieu. Most contributions in the field of leisure research continue to deal with specific recreation activities and contexts. Such bias is manifest in the preoccupation geographers have demonstrated with, for example, rural recreation activities and related supply and demand patterns. Such interests have diverted attention from the needs of city-based people who may lack mobility to reach rural-based facilities. These needs demand urgent attention particularly given that urban recreation amenities are regarded as "lower priority" features and are often the target of urban planners during times of budget reductions or fiscal crises (Caraley, 1977 p10). (See Chapter four for a discussion of state intervention in the realm of leisure.)

Even within the existing parameters of enquiry in leisure research, efforts are confined to a limited range of specific topics. Such bias is particularly evident with tourism research, where there is a preoccupation with the linkages between economic development and tourist migrations (Freyer, 1987; Urry, 1990; Van Zyl, 1991) (See also: Child and Heath's (1990) discussion of the implications and importance of national park management in Zimbabwe for the country's economy).

While the importance of such dynamics is beyond question, the significance of tourism extends beyond its immediate economic advantages. As the South African economist, Marius Leibold, (Environmental Action, 1991) has argued, tourism poses potentially extensive adverse effects upon natural environmental systems, particularly in third world countries; the viability of fragile ecosystems may well come under threat in the face of increasing pressure to earn badly needed foreign exchange (Freyer, 1987). Furthermore, tourism is a crucial issue for analysis given the potentially adverse impacts that tourist migrations can have upon social structures, customs and traditions (ibid).

As Coppock (1982 p2) notes: "geographers have rarely investigated geographical aspects of leisure as such ... only now is a concern with leisure as a whole and with leisure systems beginning to emerge". The narrow foundation of interest upon which geographical research efforts are based is also evident through the absence of issues that, in the wider context of sociological methodology and practice, are considered to be of critical importance to a comprehensive understanding of social, political and economic dynamics and inequalities. In this regard, the conspicuous absence of a consideration of gender in most leisure analyses, is testament to inadequacies within the field. According to Deem (1982 p30):

> One of the major reasons why we have little understanding of how women's access to and experience of leisure reflects their overall subordination to men is that women ... have rarely been included in studies of leisure as a group to be considered in their own right. This is in contrast to miners, shipbuilders and male managers .... Women have usually been researched either as appendages to males in the context of general studies about work and life-style ... or as part of a family unit.

The irony of the current state of leisure studies in geography is that the weaknesses of existing research efforts have long been clearly identified. As far back as 1971, Lavery noted that without a sound theoretical foundation, the prospects for development within leisure research were minimal. And since this time, the urgency of redressing theoretical inadequacies has been constantly emphasised by prominent researchers such as Owens (1984), Kirby (1985), Shaw (1985), Herbert (1988) and Magi (1989 b).

The state of leisure studies in geography would thus appear to be paradoxical: while leisure is increasingly acknowledged as an important variable in spatial analysis, the field remains clogged by narrowly focused, empirical, descriptive studies, typically concerned with individual perceptions and motivations. As Kirby (1985) claims, leisure geographers have seldom progressed beyond neo-classical economic explanations and have largely disregarded the linkages between micro-scale patterns and macro-scale processes. It is evident therefore that while there has been a growing output of leisure research since the late 1970s, as Mitchell and Smith (1985) claimed, such output has not been associated with the realisation of the integrative potential of geographical enquiry.

There is thus increasing frustration with the lack of research that reflects a sensitivity to the way in which the availability of leisure and recreation options within society are shaped by wider capitalist inequalities (see Hay (1988) and Kirby (1985), for example). At a time when leisure resources are seen as "scarce and valued ... in modern society"

(Shaw, 1985 p266), the necessity of contextualising micro-scale leisure patterns and establishing coherent insights into the broader social, economic, and political structures related to leisure opportunities is ever more urgent.

2.4: Understanding the Current State of Geographical Leisure Studies

How then does one account for the marked lack of theoretical development within leisure studies? Knowledge and content in geography, as in all other disciplines, are shaped by social contexts, and methodological developments are located within particular social conditions; an understanding of the state of leisure studies necessarily depends upon an analysis of those factors that have directly and indirectly shaped the adoption of particular research methodologies and interests.

On a superficial level, it is possible to argue that the current inadequacies within the field should be understood in terms of the relatively recent establishment of the geography of leisure as a focus of study. Because of this one could say that there has been insufficient time for specialisation to occur. It is seldom that leisure and recreation are explicity considered in geographical textbooks and journals. Frequently, as Clarke and Critcher (1985) claim, leisure is included within subsections of analysis or it is disregarded entirely.

Important geographical journals such as Transactions of the IBG, The Canadian Geographer, The South African Geographical Journal, and the Annals of the Association of American Geographers, seldom include material related to leisure processes, and when such material is included, reference to wider structural forces is

minimal. Many books such as Knox's Urban Social Geography (1982) include only insufficient and sketchy outlines of the significance of leisure in terms of quality of life, or uncritical outlines of leisure processes centred upon the ubiquitous interest in rural settings (see, for example, McBride (1980)). As in 1982, there is still an absence of specialist texts and few geographers specialise in the field of leisure systems; the paucity of spatially detailed data especially in urban areas, as noted by Collins and Patmore (1981 p90), continues to exacerbate theoretical inadequacies within the field.

Claims that there has been insufficient time for specialisation to occur are, however, unsound in view of the fact that feminist geography, for example, which has even more recent origins than the geography of leisure, has shown comprehensive and detailed theoretical developments. Unlike feminist geography, leisure research, even when it has been based beyond the confines of positivist assumptions, has failed to acknowledge the influence of social context.

Noting the powerful influence of capital upon research priorities, one could also argue that the weakness of leisure research is simply linked to the issue of funding and the degree to which declines in research grants, particularly during the 1970s, limited the scope of investigations. There has, however, been a rapid increase in new publications during the 1980s both in third and first world contexts, that suggests that this factor is declining in importance (Owens, 1984). And, given that these quantitative rises in research output have not been associated with qualitative, theoretical developments and improvements, this, too, points to the geography of leisure being constrained by more fundamental methodological and philosophical inadequacies.

Most critical theory within the humanities has been rooted in the workplace - that is, the sphere of production. Frameworks which view leisure as being of secondary

importance to work, may have militated against the possibility of researchers identifying leisure as an issue of conflict within society. This may have contributed to researchers failing to develop an appreciation of the linkages between individual leisure options and wider social constraints.

While leisure is secondary to work in that the availability of free time is determined by the demands of production and reproduction, this does not negate the concept of leisure as an arena of conflict between individual and group interests in capitalist society; to claim otherwise is to negate the complexities of work and leisure dynamics. Most academics have tended to emphasise the individual psychological and emotional necessity of leisure and recreation as an outlet for the frustrations of modern urban life (see Smith, 1983). Some even regard leisure as largely trivial and insignificant (ibid). This is probably a direct result of the fact that definitions of leisure, as discussed in chapter one, are commonly grounded in the realm of the personal rather than the social.

Jones (1977 p169) claimed that it would be a "fundamental mistake" to investigate leisure as an instrument of social control and as a forum of resistance to existing conditions. He argued that in capitalist society, conflict is rooted in the workplace, and that as such, there is a "real danger of overpoliticising leisure as an arena of struggle" (ibid p170). But leisure is necessarily an arena of struggle given the use of leisure as a forum for the inculcation of political ideologies (See Aronowitz, 1982) and the increasing commodification of leisure activities. This has resulted in "struggle[s] inherent in the relations of production" (Jones, 1977 p170) being extended into the 'free' time available to workers. (See chapter four for a discussion of the penetration of capitalist and state interests into the realm of leisure)

While it is possible to suggest that the establishment of a comprehensive theory of leisure has been obstructed by inadequate understandings of the key concepts of 'work' and 'leisure' themselves, the failure of researchers to regard leisure as a site of opposition and struggle points to a deeper structural reason for the minimal progress within the field. Even if leisure is regarded as secondary in importance to work, this does not account for the lack of appreciation of the dialectics between human agency and structure.

The answer lies, I argue, with a political analysis of this lack within geographical studies. Effectively, leisure geography has remained dominated by what Harvey (1973 p150-1) termed "status quo" and "counter-revolutionary" theory, characterised by a lack of critical insight into underlying social structures. Such theories served to "[direct] attention from fundamental issues to superficial or non-existent issues" (ibid p151) and to perpetuate the assumption "that people control and determine their own existence" (Gray, 1975 p279). In contrast to other branches of geography, where growing discontent with the lack of appreciation of the dynamics between social structure and individual choice has been associated with increased attention to issues such as social injustice and inequality, leisure geography has remained peculiarly impervious to radical social theory. Much of the geography of leisure today remains, like earlier geographical knowledge, part of a science of "manipulation, management, and exploitation" (Harvey, 1984 p3).

Harvey (1984), in his historical materialist evaluation of the history and current state of geographical research, argues that the philosophical bases and methodological developments within the discipline of geography have been closely aligned to the needs and concerns of capital. He shows, for example, that traditional emphases on

description in geography during the time of mercantilist capitalism were linked to the demand for knowledge of new resources.

Likewise, the influence of capitalist interests upon developments within more recent and contemporary geography remains extremely powerful and extensive. As Harvey argues, the implementation of quantitative techniques that took place from the late 1950s represented a major change in terms of methodological approach, but was not associated with an increase in studies critical of structural processes within capitalist society. Geographical knowledge has been shaped strongly by an emphasis upon scientific research and the adoption of quantitative analysis. As Harvey (1984) argues, many of the paradigm shifts that have taken place within geography represent a continuing accommodation of the interests of capital, and have aided directly the process of capital accumulation. Such a process has been made possible by the fact that scientific ideology has inherently conservative and patriarchal predispositions (Fee, 1982).

Most geographic research into leisure to date has been to provide decision makers (most of whom are male) with a "rational basis for informed decision making" (Monk and Hanson, 1982 p12). Many researchers have worked as consultants in public and private agencies, and most research efforts have provided resource inventories for managers; evaluations of factors shaping market potential; and a focus upon the economically important tourist industry. Most researchers, therefore, have remained preoccupied with simplistic descriptions of recreation resource supply and demand rather than with what Shaw (1985 p267) terms "structural inequities". This is because, as Bregha (1980 p30) notes, an accurate assessment of leisure processes necessarily involves an emphasis upon abstract conceptual debates regarding freedom and constraint, and an appreciation of the variety of leisure experiences. Such an emphasis,

she writes, "is rather unfashionable ... [given that] answers have market value and questions tend to irritate" (p30). While the questions that are raised by managers reflect both long and short term concerns, these enquiries are primarily linked to issues of profit generation rather than to the formulation of a critical theory of leisure processes.

Leisure management is largely "elitist in orientation, sexist in execution and class divisive in consequence" (ibid, p80). The failure to develop a sound critical theoretical foundation in leisure research should therefore be seen as a product of the lack of co-ordination between research projects, and the fragmentation of data arising from the satisfaction of diverse market interests and requirements (Roberts, 1970). It is clear that with geographers serving these interests the prospect of critical evaluations of social power relations is unlikely.

This is not to imply that geographers fulfilling the needs of management are guilty of moral bankruptcy. Rather, this suggests that the efforts of these academics are constrained and contained within the capitalist ideological framework, and are thus unlikely to expose the contradictions and crises generated by materialist agendas. It is necessary to recognise that management-, status quo-orientated investigations predispose geographers to micro-scale descriptions of "particular respondents at particular sites enjoying particular activities" (Kirby, 1985 p80) and, as such, contradict and compromise the academic aims and principles of a discipline which should promote equity above efficiency.

2.5: Conclusion

In this chapter it has been shown how geography, with its key objective of integration in terms of both human-environment and agency-structure relations, is a discipline ideally suited to the study of leisure. Few geographical scholars have realised the potential of integrative analysis, however, due to paradigmatic and conceptual constraints that are strongly linked to the dominance of capitalist agendas and interests within the field.

It would be simplistic and inaccurate to suggest that there has been no development within leisure research, for new methodologies have been incorporated in analyses of leisure, and dissatisfaction with the current condition of recreation-related research has been registered both within South Africa (See Badenhorst and Rogerson, 1986) and abroad. However, the inertia within the field of leisure research has led to many themes and topics, particularly those related to the structural causes of variations in the quality and quantity of leisure, being almost entirely neglected. The lack of studies emphasising and acknowledging the structural contexts of leisure is a serious weakness within the field.

There is thus an urgent need to pay specific attention to the development of a progressive theorisation of leisure in geography that is sensitive to the complexities of capitalist leisure dynamics. In the following section specific attention is given to the key debates and issues that need to be addressed by geographers formulating a comprehensive theory of leisure. It is contended that leisure is a problematic variable within capitalist society given that it is a forum of social resistance and control, as well as the transformation of existing social and economic relations. Specific attention is

given to the degree to which structuralist analyses in leisure geography have aided the deconstruction of the complex individual/collective dialectic.

CHAPTER THREE

STRUCTURALIST APPROACHES TO LEISURE PATTERNS AND PROCESSES

> I regard the five-day week as an unworthy ideal .... More work and better pay is a more inspiring and worthier motto than less work and more pay .... It is better not to trifle or tamper with God's laws.
>
> -John E. Edgerton, President of the National Association of Manufacturers (From: Nation, Vol 186, No 8, p153-158)

3.1: Introduction

Though relations centred in leisure reveal much about the balance of power in society, social theorists have largely failed to realise the potential within this field of study. It is seldom that the complex and often paradoxical interrelationships between the wider capitalist mode of production, experiences within the workplace, and patterns in the spatial distribution and utilisation of leisure options are acknowledged or identified.

For those who subscribe to these perspectives, the application of class analysis is viewed as certain to overpoliticise a facet of life which does not have "inherent antagonism" and conflict within (Jones, 1977 p170). As Jones writes: "the primary point of a holiday is not political. It is to enjoy yourself, for tomorrow you must work". Implicit in the understandings of Jones, is the assumption, rooted in the stereotypical and rigid work/leisure dichotomy, that leisure necessarily constitutes an inherently constructive force within industrialised society, and an aid to recuperation and recovery from the stresses and strains of work.

Leisure, as Green, Hebron and Woodward (1990 p29) argue, is constructed and perceived in 'common sense' terms as an "innocent" social practice, free of the influences of political hegemony and power struggles. Such interpretations of leisure

are appealing in terms of their utopian idolisation of free time as a refuge from external obligations and mundane domestic responsibilities.

The contention that leisure must be viewed as an arena of social conflict and value negotiation is viewed by such theorists a hazardous exercise. This is not surprising due to the inherent conservatism of their theoretical frameworks. A class analysis shows that leisure, like all social variables, reveals much about the growing tensions between the individual and the collective. Growing state and private concern regarding unemployment, increasing state investments in leisure programmes, and public concern regarding the dangers of idleness, indicate that the management and control of leisure options is a crucial issue for social control; leisure is therefore not a realm of unfettered "satisfactions, gratifications and desires" (Jenkins and Sherman, 1981 p3).

In order to establish a more progressive analysis of leisure, individual leisure choices, as Jenkins and Sherman (1981) argue, must be examined with constant reference to the wider structural framework of capitalist society. The very way in which work and leisure are perceived is related to deeper social formations. For geographers who seek to understand the dynamics between social forms, expressions and values and the built environment and its utilisation, in a progressive manner, an appreciation of individual and collective dynamics should be central to analyses of leisure. In Chapter Two, attention was given to the wider structural constraints within the disciplines of sociology and geography as they have shaped the development of leisure studies. In this chapter, I will focus more specifically on considerations related to progressive theorisations of leisure within the discipline of geography.

The potential of the structuralist political-economic approach as outlined by Smith (1984) is examined with reference to challenging the theoretical inadequacies of past leisure research and as a means of establishing a framework that identifies linkages between the seemingly divergent strands and scales of interest existent within the discipline.

I argue that for leisure studies to experience theoretical development, it is necessary to establish more holistic structuralist analyses of individual-collective dynamics. A coherent theory of leisure space, still absent from geographical texts, will be established only if researchers break with existing preoccupations with the spatial patterns of fixed, capitalist investments, to include a detailed appreciation of value negotiations and struggles associated with space and facility utilisation by communities. Leisure must be recognised as a site of struggle within the sphere of reproduction.

In the section which follows, conflicting leisure-related interests, ideologies and functions are examined with reference to the classical Marxist labour/capital divide, and the role of leisure as a form of resistance to, and transformation of, existing ideologies is considered with regard to its implications for the processes of production and reproduction.

3.2: The Need For Structuralist Analyses in Leisure Research

Sociological studies informed by Marxist analysis are primarily concerned with the task of deconstructing the dialectical relationship between the individual and broader society. It is a task which in the context of capitalist society is particularly crucial, given that capitalism is a system typically, and inaccurately, portrayed by its proponents as one that allows for the full development of individual potential and freedom of expression. Terms such as 'free enterprise' and the 'free market system', used to describe capitalism, clearly reflect these suppositions. Wider structural constraints upon individual decisions are thought of as being minimal when they are acknowledged at all.

Within all modes of production there exist fundamental tensions between the individual and the collective. All actions undertaken are shaped, constrained, and interpreted

according to the wider ideological and value systems within which they are located. The very nature of non-conformity is defined according to the specific conditions and circumstances that are being subverted or rejected.

For analytical purposes, leisure-related activities, like all others, are significant in terms of the way in which they express individual/group relations and the dynamics of conformity, control and resistance. In the context of studies of leisure patterns and processes, a recognition of the dialectic between the public and private spheres of life is particularly crucial. Leisure occupies a critical and ambiguous role within capitalist society, and an investigation of individual leisure options necessarily demands reference to wider social contexts given the influence of powerful and often covert state and capitalist agendas upon individual decisions.

And yet, some writers, such as Smith (1983 p183), argue that there is still no need to produce a "systematic body of knowledge related to leisure time activities". According to this line of reasoning, one may question the relevance of a study of leisure and recreation, particularly in the third world, on the grounds that such a study of leisure is inappropriate in view of gross inequalities and shortages of basic goods and services. Like Veal (1987 p3), it is possible to claim that

> it is premature to place increasing emphasis on leisure in a society with inadequate health and welfare services, decaying inner cities and substantial minorities living in relative poverty.

But leisure and recreation, as Deem (1988) argues, are significant arenas of inequality and they thus constitute a useful basis for understanding the contradictions and crises within wider capitalist society. Arguments such as those provided by Roberts (1970) are rooted in hazardous assumptions regarding clear divisions between leisure and other spheres of life. In capitalist society, such assumptions are clearly flawed, given the extensive dynamics between work and unemployment.

Furthermore, given the fact that leisure is the site at which many of the contradictions and anomalies of capitalist social processes are located, one would expect that the individual/collective dialectic would be the theoretical axis upon which analysis revolved. But within the fields of both sociology and geography, insight into leisure processes has been minimal. As Coalter (1989), has argued, researchers within leisure studies have concentrated upon the issues of individual freedom, motivation and choice to the exclusion of analysis of macro-scale influences. Moreover, as she argues, the weakness of this field of research lies beyond any mere bias towards specific aspects of leisure patterns and processes. Rather, underlying much of the existing research output is an unfortunate and pervasive assumption that the well being of an individual is determined primarily by her or his own efforts, levels of competitiveness, aspirations and needs (Godbey, 1980 p168).

For theorists such as Dumazedier (1974), for example, the operative dialectics are simple: leisure is seen as a necessary means of enabling individuals to adapt to their social situation; a means of avoiding conflict; and a means of minimising dysfunctional social unrest. The ultimate positive value of individual choice appears to be realised when such decisions do not disrupt the social order. Such explanations are not only weak, but dangerously conservative, too. While on one hand, they seek to avoid issues of social control, on the other, they ultimately advocate a form of disguised, stringent social control. Tolerance is expressed only towards behaviour that is seen as being socially proper.

The importance of a clear and detailed understanding of linkages between individual and group processes is vital, for example, in the context of state leisure programmes where public participation is marketed as an "expression and affirmation of citizenship" (Coalter, 1989 p117). While these have often been admirable in terms of the professed efforts to extend state social services to the wider community, the dominant emphasis upon individual motivations and choices obscures the inherent political nature of leisure by obstructing insight into the decisions of scheme development, planning and

management. At a practical level, an approach of this nature serves to divert attention from the interests and objectives of specific social groupings such as the local authorities, who had prioritised specific leisure activities and facilities.

At a deeper structural level it limits insight into the wider economic and social value of activities aimed at reinforcing social stability and consensus. Leisure is undeniably important in providing opportunities for self-expression, the development of character and the realisation of personal potential, as Butler (1959) contends. But the existence of marked spatial variations in the distribution of recreation resources arising from state and capitalist investments across the urban landscape makes reference to wider social divisions and forces a priority in the process of understanding localised opportunities.

Further glaring examples of the failure to recognise the impact of social processes upon leisure time and space are contained in the writings of Roberts (1970) and Patmore (1983). These researchers examine the relationships between rises in income, the decline in working hours since World War Two, and the impact of innovations such as television and motorised transport on leisure patterns and opportunities. While admitting that the amount of leisure time varies across society, Roberts (1970 p10,11) then boldly claims that

> Whereas the distribution of income and wealth is decidedly unequal ... variations in the amounts of free time that people have at their disposal are largely independent of their positions in the system of social stratification which is so closely related to the distribution of other social commodities such as power and wealth .... Leisure is democratically distributed in contemporary British society ...

Such sentiments are both inaccurate and obstructive insofar as they divert attention from the key issues that should concern leisure geographers and sociologists. Of vital importance to the development of a theory of leisure is not merely the measurement of available free time, but also an understanding of the subjective experiences contained within that free time, and the degree to which such perceptions have been shaped by an individual's specific location within society. If particular value systems associated with

specific social class and status have been inculcated in a person, then the individual's very choices and perceptions of leisure will be shaped by wider social divisions.

If one applies Roberts's claims to the context of work, one may ask of a hypothetical instance: of what use is it to know that the length of the working day is uniform across society, if experiences within work time are so radically different? How do these claims help us to understand the conspicuously different routines of, for example, coal mine shift-workers and business executives, and the social forces that led to their being in these occupations. As a result of attempting to divorce leisure from wider political forces, Roberts (1970) is able only to paint very sketchy portraits of superficial patterns. We are left with no foundation upon which to study, for example, the subtle differences between the leisure experiences of the unemployed and those who are engaged in full-time work (See Glyptis, 1989). Similarly, we are left with little hope of establishing a system of leisure analysis that is sensitive to gender-based variations in the quality of free time experiences.

The emphasis upon individual autonomy, spread throughout leisure studies, appears inappropriate in the light of Harvey's contention, in his book The Urban Experience (1989), that any understanding of capitalist society, in any sphere, must be centred in the axiomatic struggle between individual and collective interests. This is because, according to Harvey's Marxian analysis, there are inherent, constant and potentially violent tensions between capital and labour centred upon struggles for control over the means of production, and access to generated surplus value within the market system. These tensions take the form of both inter- and intra-class conflict, and serve ultimately to prevent socio-economic equity from being provided within both the short and the long term. Of the capitalist class Harvey (1989 p60) writes:

> A world of individuality and freedom on the surface conceals a world of conformity and coercion underneath .... the translation from individual action to behavior according to class norms is neither complete nor perfect ... [and] never can be because the process of exchange under capitalist rule always assumes individuality, while the law of value always asserts itself in social terms

And within labour itself, strife is generated as members, forced by their lack of control over the means of production, compete with each other for employment.

A conservative approach, would suggest, for example, that while leisure is regarded as an important and necessary alternative to work, it is also regarded as a time overshadowed by idleness and anti-social behaviour - what Clarke and Critcher (1985 p2) term the contemporary "schizophrenia about leisure". But the very spectre of unemployment, feared as a root of chaos and anarchy, finds its roots in the logic of 'free' market rhythms. Harvey's framework provides a powerful critique of this kind of analysis. As Harvey (1989) has shown, unemployment is directly linked to the wider profit motives of capital. Increased automation and vacillating business cycles, as he contends, have led to marked declines in employment, and associated increases in the economic instability of communities. (Tensions within the matrix of capitalist social relations are explored in further detail in chapter four.)

But the current predicament within leisure studies has been shaped by more than the obvious, detectable disregard for social context. Deeper theoretical and philosophical crises have exacerbated the already limited development within the field. If the solution to existing problems in leisure research involved only the recognition of the pivotal influence of wider social formations upon localised options, then the solution would be relatively simple: it would entail the implementation of specific agendas focusing on previously absent variables. Instead, the task at hand is made more complex by that fact that where social forces are acknowledged, there is growing controversy regarding the exact *nature* of the linkages between individuals and the wider community, and whether such connections can be identified and evaluated at all. In the next section I will look at these issues in more detail.

3.3: The Dialectics of Agency and Structure: Formulating A Progressive Framework

An emphasis upon wider social structures was part of a movement within social criticism away from the humanism of the past. This emphasis represented a de-centering of the individual within social relations. However, concern has been expressed that many leisure studies, in attempting to give credence to the influence of social context, do so by negating the influence and value of individual choices.

Kelly (1983), for example, argues that while it is admirable that research efforts are beginning to deconstruct the relationship between social structures and personal leisure experiences, there is often an overemphasis upon social control at the expense of insight into the role of self-determination and individual decision-making processes. While recognising that "institutional forces" (p189) are pervasive, Kelly argues that to place fundamental emphasis on such forces, whether positive or negative in structure and consequence, is to provide a deterministic and over-simplified explanation of reality.

It is commendable that Kelly draws attention to the dangers of neglecting either side of a very complex dialectic. His approach, instead, is one that recognises the possibility of broader social influences, but favours the power and influence of individual decisions. For Kelly, it is in the realm of personal freedom, albeit one that is slightly contained by wider forces, that the true value and meaning of leisure experiences is to be found. Instead of transcending the limitations of the framework he is challenging, Kelly merely reverts to the opposite pole of the argument, returning to a humanist approach. One could say that both humanist arguments that have a Cartesian conception of the individual, and economically deterministic arguments, share a dualism that places the individual and society in opposition. They merely represent opposite sides of this dualism. This is why Kelly simply reverted to the opposite pole of the argument.

By attempting to argue definitively that *either* social forces *or* individual motivations are of key importance, researchers provide deterministic theories that simply fold in the face of practical application. The very complexity of the relationships at hand renders absurd the attempts at establishing generalisations appropriate to all instances. Some researchers, such as Parker (1983) and Roberts (1970;1981), perhaps recognising the futility inherent in providing universal generalisations, have attempted to bypass this treacherous theoretical terrain by advocating pluralist understandings of leisure processes. Arguing that it is under no circumstance possible to identify any single dominant process, they contend that all forces in the spectrum of influence, from the personal through to the structural, should be viewed as being of equal importance.

However, this form of reasoning is as unhelpful as that provided by Kelly. The task of identifying the complete range of variables relevant to each leisure option under scrutiny, as these writers claim, may well be impossible. But this reality does not provide adequate grounds for assuming the relative and uniform importance of those variables that are identified. When such assumptions are made, there is the very real danger that attention will be diverted from the importance of value negotiations and struggles - what Deem (1988 p9) terms the loss of an "explanatory edge". Like other social theorists, leisure geographers should be searching for an explanation of patterns and processes that establishes linkages between individual choice and the wider society; a theory that incorporates both context (namely time and space) and the compositions contained therein (structures and human agency) (Kellerman, 1987). In the light of the concerns expressed by theorists such as Kelly (1983), it is important to offer a research agenda that recognises both the autonomy of the individual and the forces that define and limit human agency.

It is within socially determined matrices of beliefs and values that choices are located; evaluations of decisions are largely meaningless until these individually chosen alternatives are placed and understood in terms of social form, function and

significance. What I am advocating therefore, is not the structurally deterministic approach that Kelly (1983) feared. Personal and subjective meanings associated with leisure and recreation are not important *only* in terms of their broader social implications. I am suggesting, rather, that it is necessary to emphasise the fluid relationship between the individual and the social context, recognising that "leisure shapes, and is shaped by, history and the interplay of social interests" (Rojek 1985 p18). Leisure cannot be regarded as "an immediately given datum of human experience" (ibid p18).

Yet, while it is necessary for an accommodating theory of leisure to be developed, it is equally important to avoid the pitfalls of pluralist theories. The acknowledgement of the fluid dynamism between the public and the private cannot alone form the basis for the development of comprehensive insight into leisure processes. For this reason, this thesis is centred upon the contention that the structural context of society should be central to any analysis of leisure. Placing these forces at the centre of interest does not negate the role and value of human agency. The logic, instead, is that by positioning structural forces at the axis of any analytical discussion, one is able to destabilise their position by seeing them as the focus of constant tensions and stresses. They become, in essence, the target of community defiance and resistance, and also by virtue of their central placing, the conspicuous arena of otherwise hidden state and capitalist agendas. Roberts (1970) reasoning is flawed precisely because what he ultimately advocates is not simply an holistic approach that links the macro- and micro- scales of such interrelationships.

In view of the past and current scarcity of studies in which leisure is recognised as a forum of "constraint, liberation or control" (Coalter, 1989 p115), what is advocated in this thesis is the adoption and utilisation of structuralist theories and methodologies. By drawing attention to leisure as a forum of conflict and the wider socio-economic disparities that lie at the root of individual experiences of personal deprivation, it will be possible to counteract the co-option of research energies by capitalist interests and to

establish a more progressive theorisation of leisure in which there exists a sensitivity to social context.

The adoption of a structuralist approach for the study of leisure patterns and processes aids directly the task of highlighting the weakness of the dominant perceptions of leisure's role in society. Specifically, such an approach aids the deconstruction of dominant behavioural theories and explanations rooted in an acceptance of a political autonomy to individual decisions. Pluralist perspectives appear particularly weak in comparison to structuralist frameworks in which one can examine conflict and negotiation in a more methodical, comprehensive manner. The advantage of structuralism is that it theorises leisure as the sphere in which the reproduction of relations of production take place. It therefore shows the relation between work and leisure as interdependent.

The adoption of a structuralist approach to leisure is vital given that leisure activities serve to perpetuate existing social divisions by expressing and validating them (Clarke and Critcher, 1985 p161). Many leisure activities are centred around social institutions such as the family and leisure is, therefore, central to the reproduction of the marked gender divisions within society. Witness, for example, the compatibility of women's leisure activities with their domestic chores as noted by Clarke and Critcher (1985). Similarly, many leisure activities marketed as being 'for men', such as sailing and fishing, are often associated with outdoor exertion, individuality and independence. Gender-bias is also markedly present in sport at the level of funding and the planning of games. This bias, as Green, Hebron and Woodward (1990) note, is particularly evident in the realm of professional sport where disproportionate investment interest is shown towards male sporting activities.

Most importantly, I would argue that the adoption of a structuralist approach to leisure processes is relevant to geography given its value to the development of a theory of space. Recreational activities are an integral part of the metropolitan landscape, and

the lack of appreciation concerning the forces shaping the distribution, nature and extent of such facilities is an obstacle to understanding the processes shaping urban form. Spatial patterns, as Harvey (1989) contends, are ultimately the embodiment and expression of the wider values and preoccupations of a given society. As Soja (1980 p208) claims:

> the structure of organized space is not a separate structure with its own autonomous laws of construction and transformation, nor is it simply an expression of the class structure emerging from the social (i.e. aspatial) relations of production. It represents, instead, a dialectically defined component of the general relations of production, relations which are simultaneously social and spatial

For geographers whose key interest is the investigation of how modes of production translate themselves into the "locational dynamics of urban space" (Leinter, 1987 p135), a study of the structural causes of variations in accessibility to leisure options should thus be obligatory. Any failure to rise to this challenge has serious implications for any future developments in the discipline. The realities of the rising commodification of leisure activities; the rapid penetration of large corporate interests into the realm of leisure; and the fact that many of the most popular leisure activities are now associated with large industries (Rojek, 1985) demands that urgent attention to the broader social, economic and political contexts be made in any analysis of leisure.

Such an approach is particularly valuable to investigations of leisure in South Africa given the increasing demand for, and utilisation of, recreational facilities due to rapid urbanisation and population growth also contributes to the urgency of a new approach within leisure studies. The absence, in South Africa, of analytical research exploring the future recreational needs of the population, the role of community participation in the planning and decision-making, and the processes whereby recreational resources are allocated, is linked to the absence of critical frameworks. The role of leisure as an instrument of social control has been noticeably overt and mostly unsubtle, and leisure experiences have long been tainted by racist ideology. As Magi (1989b p326) notes, vast research potential is inherent in the recognition that spatial inequalities arising

from 'racial' discrimination have affected "the organization, use and supply of, as well as the demand for, recreation areas and facilities".

3.4: Control and Transformation: The Weaknesses of Current Structuralist Analyses

In this section, I emphasise that even given the holistic potential of structuralism, one can still easily fall back on the simplistic dualism of agency and structure. One notices, in many structuralist analyses, a failure to transcend this dualism - Harvey (1989), for example, remains preoccupied with structural constraints and impositions. A progressive structuralist approach should instead be accompanied by a sensitivity to the fact that agency and structure are inseparably enmeshed, and do not exist as opposites. Only then will one be able to pay attention to issues of social control *and* resistance within the realm of leisure.

Recognising the need to overcome the limitations of earlier paradigmatic assumptions, and the naive assumptions of earlier pluralist perspectives of leisure, a small and increasingly vocal group of writers during the 1980s and 1990s has challenged the centrality of human agency that has dominated geographical theory in general, and studies of leisure in particular. But though the structuralist paradigms adopted by such researchers was ideal for investigations of leisure patterns and processes, the potential of these approaches has been far from adequately realised.

In part, this is because the very complexity of the processes and forces shaping the individual/collective dynamic militates against the possibility of entirely comprehensive theorisations. Integrative analysis involves the recognition of the inter-relatedness of variables, and the dynamic nature of social dialectics. But the identification of all ramifications and implications of individual decisions and socio-structural constraints is, for empirical and theoretical purposes, impossible.

The nature of methodological enquiry and conceptual understanding is inevitably limited and contained by the particular historical context within which the researcher is located. As Kellerman (1987) warns us, though integrative structural analysis provides powerful insights into societal processes, it will not be a panacea to the weaknesses prevalent within the discipline. A complete integration of time, space and society is impossible because of the multitude of spatial scales and contexts that must be considered in analysis. "Integration at one level", writes Kellerman (1987 p268), "may mean disintegration at another".

In this regard it is evident that existing structuralist explanations of leisure processes are far from adequate. Typically, there is an overemphasis upon the manipulation and co-option of community energies, and a lack of explanation regarding the dialectics of resistance and value transformation. Explanations rooted in economically deterministic Marxist theory are notably harsh; stress is constantly placed on the over-arching domination of capitalist organisations upon the lives of individuals. Central to such analyses is the assumption that production under capitalism is dictated by the imperatives of profit accumulation rather than the wants and needs of individual consumers (see Rojek's (1985) discussion of structuralist debates in the 1970s and early 1980s). The organisation and availability of leisure time is thus seen as a direct result of capitalist production and, more importantly, tolerated only insofar as it "fulfils the production requirements of capital" (Rojek, 1985 p46).

This is not to suggest that all analyses have been based upon such rigid and uncompromising foundations. Slightly fuller explanations of individual-social dynamics, have, for instance, been provided by neo-Marxist researchers such as Clarke and Critcher (1985). Recognising that leisure in work-oriented capitalist environments can also be an important arena of struggle, these researchers argue that, indeed, it can be seen as a site of struggle insofar as workers are engaged in struggles to claim more free time from the owners of the means of production.

But ultimately these researchers, too, lapse into gloomy Marxist determinism. Leisure is significant in terms of its associated personal values and freedoms, but, they contend, such senses of choice and self-determination are largely illusory, serving as they do the interests of the dominant capitalist class rather than the wider community. Where community interests are served it results from a fortunate co-incidence of capitalist-community priorities arising from profit-generating investments, rather than capitalist concern for the quality of community life. In what could be more accurately termed the 'hypothetical', rather than simply the 'theoretical', worlds of Harvey (1984) and Clarke and Critcher (1985), leisure is seen as "limited, controlled" with "choice materially and culturally constrained by all manner of social divisions" (Moorhouse, 1989 p26). Where leisure activities are seen as dulling and neutralizing the masses, insight into individual-collective tensions are obscured by an equally detrimental overemphasis upon structural control. Clarke and Critcher (1985 p41) do recognise that there may well be positive benefits arising even from corrupt agendas, but their central thesis, namely that "leisure as a social category is the product ... of other processes which are *not* leisure" necessarily negates the role and value of community oppositions to prevailing ideologies within leisure time.

However, though the task of establishing a complete and encompassing understanding of leisure may not be possible under all circumstances, the holistic objectives of a structuralist analysis are of critical value nevertheless. Structuralism restores work to its place as the generative centre of capitalist society's crises and contradictions. But it is evident from the above discussion that many structuralist studies are unable to recognise the complexities of leisure value dialectics, opting instead for simplistic divisions between capitalist meanness and the sufferings of oppressed communities. This constant reduction of complex realities to equations of manipulation and co-option is queried by Smith (1984 p80) when he writes:

> If the economic sub-structure does not determine the superstructure, how much autonomy may social process or culture possess and how is this expressed? To define class as a relationship to the means of production

> gives precision to this concept, but there are other bases for human association, common interest and consciousness that have a bearing on social action.

From the above it becomes clear that much structuralist analysis slips into determinism and is thus inadequate when applied to real-life instances. It is appropriate, at this point, to demonstrate these limitations with reference to a specific example. In this regard women's participation in sport is an ideal subject. From a liberal perspective, the history of sport is one of growing accessibility and opportunity for previously excluded groupings. Hargreaves, however, criticises this view that increasing female involvement in sport is the product of natural and progressive evolutionary change within existing patriarchal structures.

In her discussion of women's involvement in sport, Hargreaves (1989) notes how male 'control' over the world of sport has seriously disadvantaged women. Though it is possible to detect historical changes insofar as women are involved in sport to a far larger degree than they were earlier in the century, the management of activities and facilities remains largely under male control. The fact that sport is thus both a valuable form of self-expression and, regrettably, a forum for the entrenchment of dominant, patriarchal values, presents the social analyst with an interesting dilemma. From Hargreaves's perspective, increased participation is an indication of the co-option of women into a system that is fundamentally static and resistant to change. A problem arises, therefore, because in both instances women's participation is entirely defined according to the existing male-determined parameters and value systems. Thus, both the potential for liberation and the process of co-option is contained within a patriarchal framework.

In essence, what I argue is that the fundamental weakness of many existing structuralist theoretical foundations such as those provided by Harvey (1984), lie in the fact that the over-arching structural context of the capitalist mode of production is linked exclusively to a relationship between capital and labour that is without mutual benefit. Even if work conditions are exploitative and brutal, this does not discount the possibility that

even under adverse conditions individuals are able to find for themselves some form of identity affirmation.

3.5: Towards More Holistic Structuralist Analyses

We arrive then at the theoretical approach advocated in this thesis. Given the above discussion I would suggest that the first step towards the development of a sound theoretical framework is the recognition that the underlying social structure of any mode of production forms the contextual base upon which individual decisions are based. Such an approach challenges the determinism of explanations focusing purely on percentages and degrees of influence. It also challenges static models in which individual choices are made with constant reference to a constraining social base.

Instead, I suggest that one must recognise that while decisions are influenced by a wider foundation, the very nature and influence of the underlying, contextual structure is being constantly re-negotiated and re-defined by individual choices. Extending this line of argument, what is advocated is a clear and central acknowledgement that while production processes are pivotal to capitalist exchange relations, they do not subsume and dominate the entire network of meanings and values within this society.

The central flaw within many structuralist analyses is the reliance upon simplistic dichotomies. Instead, one should shift attention towards the fact that production processes form only a context to other, wider social processes. To do so, it is important for researchers to break with the categorical assumptions regarding the nature of work experiences within society. Existing arguments, such as those provided by Harvey (1989), place ongoing accent upon the negative, exploitative dimensions of capitalist relations. Work, according to such logic, takes place under conditions where capitalists are aiming to maximise profit generation, and is inevitably an alienating, dispiriting experience. Much evidence exists to support these contentions.

In his overview of working environments in the United Kingdom, Parker (1983), for example, contends that ample support can be found to endorse the contention that working conditions and experiences are far from satisfactory. Employment demands, as he argues, are typically unchallenging, tedious, and stressful. Similar findings fill the histories of labour in industrial- and late-capitalism. Harris (1972), in his study of social policies in England from 1886 to 1914, reports that workers suffered brutal working environments. Social commentators at the time, he notes, came to recognise conjunctions between overwork and unemployment.

But to paint a picture of such severity is ultimately to negate the role and value of labour-based struggles within society, and to neglect the range of existent social processes. Within society there are many different ideologies and ethics associated with working experiences. Ethnic-based oppression and exclusions may, for example, strongly shape group associations or antagonisms within the workplace. Thus, as in the instances of Jewish people in England (See Wallman, 1979) and Macedonian immigrants in Canada (See Kosmin , 1979), work, in addition to being an important source of self esteem, was also valued as a source of group identity, affirmation and support.

A prerequisite for progress within the field of structuralist leisure studies is, therefore, a rejection of the assumptions of monolithic control that lie behind many existing explanations. To reject such hypotheses is to allow for analyses of intricate connections between production and reproduction that serve to highlight the role of community influences upon broader relations. So, for instance, it becomes possible to view changes in the trends of production as being the result of capitalist adaptations to community responses and demands, instead of simply being the product of capitalist-generated intentions. This is both a more accommodating and a more liberating critique, shifting, as it does, the emphasis from relations of domination, manipulation

and control, to a framework of dynamic resistance and oppositions. In the words of Raymond Williams (1980 p38):

> ...hegemony is not singular; indeed ... its own internal structures, are highly complex, and have continually to be renewed, recreated and defended; and by the same token, they can be continually challenged and in certain respects modified.

Arising from this quest to provide a more holistic explanation of work and leisure dynamics, is the additional need to displace work from its dominant position within structuralist analysis. Production processes provide the wider *structural coherence* to society. Work, as the forum in which the selling of labour power takes place, is vital as a means of securing the daily survival of the majority of people. Yet work cannot be seen as being in a position of greater, or lesser, prominence relative to the processes of reproduction within society. The successful perpetuation of both productive and reproductive processes depends on a successful, reciprocal relationship between components of what is a single system.

This approach does not negate the importance of work as a source of identity or potential for self-realisation, or as an arena of study vital to understanding wider social relations. Within Western society, work is still inextricably linked to self-esteem and self-realisation. Rising unemployment levels and associated alienated leisure experiences pose a marked socio-psychological threat to the continuance of stable social relations in a culture where masculine identity is strongly linked to the workplace.

Already, many men feel greatly threatened by increasing joblessness given insidious social connections between masculine prowess and their ability to provide an income for their dependent, nuclear families (Green, Hebron and Woodward, 1990). It is no wonder, as Jahoda (1982 p39) reasons, that those without "acceptable status and its consequences for personal identity, and the ... regular activity [provided by work, feel psychologically deprived".

Though work is undoubtedly an important forum for the formation of certain social identities, an emphasis upon it as the lynchpin of social stability can only lead to misplaced apocalyptic forebodings. Sociological theory, as a result of being rooted in the assumption that work is the primary source of both structure and meaning, has become increasingly permeated with reactionary sentiments. Writing in 1980, Jenkins and Sherman are disturbed by people's inability to adapt to the increasing availability of leisure time. For them, the freeing of labour through technological displacement is a worrying prospect. Though they write in a facetious manner, one could argue that there is an underlying tone of moral hysteria contained in their logic:

> As things stand at present the young are vandalising many public objects and buildings and the old are bored. Will we have to wait until we are trapped between the Clockwork Orange teenagers at the one end of the spectrum, and bored sexagenarians terrorising the parks on the coast at the other end leading to the grave before we realize what we have done?
> (ibid p5)

The anticipation of structural disintegration within society, simply because of the decline in paid labour, reflects a failure that is rooted in partriarchal assumptions. It is a fear that disregards the existence of a spectrum of work settings and work types. The act of shifting work from a central position in analysis is associated with the additional focus upon working contexts beyond those that preoccupy structuralists such as Harvey. The concept of work, as gender theorists have strongly argued, does not only apply to activities undertaken in formal working contexts, where there is an exchange of wages for the selling of labour power. In the daily existence of individuals, attitudes and values conventionally associated with work have also increasingly informed leisure choices. As Moorhouse (1987) argues, the ideologies of popular culture reflect a conspicuous extension of the work ethos into hobbies and pursuits, giving rise to increasing emphasis on discipline and productivity.

Glyptis (1989) is justified in reasoning that declines in employment will have extensive impacts upon social stability. But this does not imply that there is some form of universal work ethic within society. To accept the possibility of social entropy arising

from the loss of formal work, is to place fundamental emphasis upon the processes of individual identity affirmation. In so doing, there is the possibility that insight will be lost into the structural causes of such unemployment, and the intervention of capitalist and state bodies in their attempts to address the problems arising from growing joblessness.

3.6: Towards a Geography of Leisure: The Theorisation of Space

The primary motivation of this thesis is to formulate a progressive approach to space in the theorisation of leisure. At present, one is confronted by many explanations in which communities are presented as being amorphous and without initiative, and all-consuming capitalist interests crush even the potential for resistance. The dialectics prevalent between production and reproduction are, for example, ignored in the writings of Clarke and Critcher (1985); emphasis is placed solely on the impingement of production processes upon the form of reproductive social relations. Moorhouse (1989 p26) disputes these assumptions when she writes:

> there is an unresolved issue [in the writings of Clarke and Critcher] ... about how individuals who seem to be the dupes of 'market choice' create cultures, working class cultures, which roam free and still offer alternatives to what is ... [there is] a real lack of detail about what most people actually do or feel in their 'free time'

I argue that for a progressive and accommodating structuralist theorisation of leisure to be established, it will be vital for researchers to move beyond their preoccupations with spatial forms and patterns, to incorporate an understanding of the negotiations surrounding the utilisation of space. Marxists, such as Soja (1980 p208), have constantly emphasised the dangers inherent in what is termed the "'fetishism' of space - [that is] the creation in the structure of spatial relationships of an autonomous determinant to history and action separated from the structure of social relations".

Soja (1980) notes that while such debates have aided geography by highlighting the urgency of contextualising social processes and patterns within a wider political-economic framework, they have remained at the unproductive level of identifying causal relations between the social and the spatial, and to constant quibbling over the prominence of each. This is, as will be noticed, a version of the dualism which I have said must be transcended within structuralist analysis. Like the dualism between structure versus agency, or the social versus the individual, the opposition between space and the social must be transcended. If this is not done one fails to accommodate, as Soja reasons, even the likelihood of dialectical relations between these two variables. As he argues, the structure of space is a product of relations that are "simultaneously social and spatial" (1980 p208).

Claims, such as those made by Soja, are admirable in that they reflect an awareness of potential theoretical pitfalls, but they are also ironic and incomplete. At the root of the existing difficulties encountered in developing a complete understanding of social/spatial relations, lies the fact that Marxian structuralists hold firm to their assumptions regarding the primary importance of production processes, and the powerful and pervasive influences that such processes have over the experiences of individuals.

The most obvious outcome of this stress upon structural control and capitalist impacts on the urban landscape, is that we are presented with detailed explanations regarding how the quest for profit generation drives capitalists to invest in the built environment. These investments are seen as indispensable to the process of profit generation and accumulation, and more effective production and consumption (See Harvey's (1989) model of the 'Three Circuits of Capital', in which monetary flows through the urban landscape are mapped). Geographical structuralist analysis is, in consequence, dominated by an interest in the impacts and implications of tangible capitalist and state investments spread across the urban landscape.

What remains absent in such analyses, by virtue of the emphasis on production processes, is an understanding or even acknowledgement of the existence of powerful and elaborate forces within the reproductive sphere. A consideration of these forces is vital for they impinge upon and shape the very forces of production that in turn shape the form of the built environment. In ignoring them, the role of community values and structures is almost entirely obscured.

The challenge facing structuralist geographical analysts is the task of formulating a framework in which the subtle and complex processes operative in the course of space utilisation by communities, are identified. In this way, it will be possible to establish a more holistic theory that incorporates an understanding of the fact that the landscape itself is not simply a manifestation of the success of capitalist greed, but also the site at which reproductive processes are located and negotiated.

3.7: Conclusion

In this chapter, it has been argued that production processes must be seen as central to the perpetuation of the *structural coherence* of capitalism. However, while labour-exchange relations occupy a pivotal position within the logic of systemic continuity, this is not indicative of work being a more significant source of group or individual identity. As was contended, if a more holistic theorisation of leisure is to be achieved, it will be necessary for production to be displaced from its central position within structuralist analyses, so that the role of leisure and the forces associated with the world of reproduction can be given greater prominence. It is tempting to lapse into polemical outbursts about the threat that increasing unemployment poses to the overall stability of society. But, as was shown, such claims reveal a lack of understanding about the nature of both work and leisure, and are ultimately rooted in inappropriate preoccupations with individual motivations.

Importantly, it has been contended that the weaknesses within leisure geography that have arisen due to the limitations of the dominant paradigms used, are unlikely to be overcome unless structuralists are able to recognise that dialectics of resistance and control exist within capitalist relations. While many geographers within the structuralist school of thought are increasingly sensitive to the dialectics between human agency and the constraints of broader structural imperatives, the value of their contributions is limited by their preoccupation with spatial form as opposed to resource utilisation.

Most structuralist analyses to date have offered detailed theoretical explanation accounting for leisure investments, but are ultimately too economically deterministic to account for the range and complexity of leisure dialectics. Typically, structuralist critiques are centred upon the manipulation and co-option of communities by capitalist interests; labour remains a largely passive player within the system of capitalist relations until the internal contradictions of capitalism become too great. While powerful insofar as they serve to highlight the inherently antagonistic capital/labour divide, and the associated issues of profit generation and accumulation, this analysis negates the role and power of communities in shaping, both directly and indirectly, the responses of both capitalists and the state.

In this chapter, I have given a general overview of the theorisations of leisure and their implications for a theorisation of space, and pointed out the need to transcend the dualisms of agency versus structure, as well as the parallel dualism of space versus the social. The importance of leisure within the matrix of social relations, lies precisely in its inextricable linkages to wider social forces. Only if this is recognised will a more empowering critique of leisure processes be constructed, in which the energies and initiatives of communities is recognised. In order to make visible the potential for community resistance, one must attend to the contradictory nature of capitalist intervention in the sphere of leisure. It is to this issue that the focus of this thesis is turned in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

LEISURE WITHOUT PLEASURE: THE FUSION OF PRODUCTION AND REPRODUCTION

4.1: Introduction

Perceptions of leisure as compensation, idleness or indulgence are, I would say, conservative. Clarke and Critcher (1985 p10) in their discussion of leisure in contemporary capitalist society, highlight crucial questions that must be asked in an analysis if social processes - "who does the labour of drudgery, who is suspected of idleness or vice, and who is likely to be the victim of 'involuntary leisure?'". These questions, I would suggest, lie at the heart of a deconstruction and displacement of conservative discourses in which leisure options are examined without reference to political power struggles.

In chapter three, I argued that in order to formulate a more progressive theorisation of leisure it is essential to explore the structure/agency dialectic in detail. In this chapter, I will look in more detail at alternatives to conservative theorisations. In the context of this thesis, an exploration of these controversies forms the theoretical background for the discussion of the leisure patterns and opportunities of a low income community, contained in chapter six. The purpose of this chapter is not simply to expose the way in which broader contradictions within capitalism have impinged upon individual choices. Rather, this chapter is seen as the basis for developing a more complex argument in which leisure is seen as positioned at a problematic point within the matrix of social relations, that gives rise to leisure being the forum of control, social resistance, and constant value negotiations. A constant theme throughout this chapter, therefore, is the importance of deconstructing inherent individual/collective stresses.

The axis of discussion in this chapter is the fusion between production and reproduction. This merger has become particularly pronounced in late capitalism, and has been the source of important debates within radical social theory, with Marx himself viewing them as dialectically related moments of the same process (Soja, 1980). Consumption, clearly, cannot exist without production. Similarly, production is dependent on the successful reproduction of social values and norms that inform, for example, what is even regarded as a resource. Yet, while the fundamental dialectic between these two 'moments' is simple to identify, the full gamut of linkages and interconnections are "intricate and difficult to unravel" (Harvey, 1989 p85).

I argue that while the merging of production and reproduction has led to an exacerbation of tensions within capitalist society, the reason for such a fusion having taken place lies within the very logic of capitalist profit generation. It is contended, further, that this fusion has impacted upon capitalist relations in pivotal ways: through the restriction of access to experiences; through the blurring of divisions between social intervention and investments; and through the influence of profit-motivated expedience upon the stability and coherence of existing social relations. It will be shown that crises rooted in the realm of leisure will become increasingly difficult to resolve, exacerbated as they are by the current global recession. Capitalist/state dynamics with regard to leisure service provision are also explored, and it is shown that state involvement in leisure programmes and facilities will become less effective at masking the inequalities and contradictions arising from capitalist investments. The discussion is centred upon four reasons why leisure occupies a pivotal and problematic position within capitalist social relations and is contained in sections 4.2 to 4.5. It is to the first of these points of stress, namely those within unemployment/leisure dynamics, that attention is now turned.

4.2: Leisure and Unemployment

Leisure, it has been claimed, has come to rival work "as the setting for meaningful collective organisation and experience" (Rojek, 1989 p111). During the 1960s and the early 1970s, a common theme within sociological theories of leisure was the dawn of a 'leisure society'. Seen as a direct product of advanced industrial technology, leisure was lauded by writers as a forum providing unprecedented constructive opportunities for creative expression and freedom; the effective utilisation of this time was of paramount importance (See Dumazedier, 1967). In essence, liberation from drudgery became a clear indication of the success of industrial society.

These visions, however, were typically based on the phenomena of declining working hours rather than on wider employment trends. Roberts (1970 p10-11), for instance, in his discussion of access to leisure time in Britain, points to the steady decline in the length of the working week for those in manual labour, as evidence of the onset of Britain's "leisure democracy". Formed at a time in which employment levels in England were falling rapidly such conclusions were conspicuously myopic.

The reality of joblessness poses critical issues for planners, administrators, capitalists and society in general increasing (of) awareness, given that, as Kelly (1983) argues, people merely intent on

> getting through the day [may experience] experiential starvation ... likely to place severe limitations on their ability in later years to perceive a range of opportunities for enrichment or to define themselves as able to enter into a fuller life.

Unemployment is therefore an important variable within leisure analysis. But adequate deconstructions of unemployment are uncommon; even when problems of unemployment are recognised critiques of leisure experiences, as Glyptis (1989) argues, still tend to focus on individual's potential for overcoming adversity. This means that negative leisure experiences and anti-social behaviour are seen as the product of individual weaknesses and failure rather than wider structural influences.

Harris (1972) points to the fact that nineteenth century social policies in England reflected initial ambivalence, and later increased concern, for the well being of the unemployed. Initially, capitalist and state intervention in the unemployment crisis at the time was minimal, based on the assumption that unemployment was "largely self-inflicted ... [or] a localized 'crisis' phenomenon" (ibid p3). Such debates detract from the crucial issue regarding individual perceptions of joblessness as a negative experience, and the connections of these perceptions to the wider context of values that has *informed* these perceptions. However, with the recognition that unemployment was linked to trade cycles, and that the increased use of automative technology was leading to rising pressure for jobs, unemployment came to be viewed as an endemic problem with potentially severe, large scale implications.

Importantly, in this environment in which work is often perceived as a key source of identity affirmation, and unemployment as an indication of personal weakness (ibid), the very economic cycles of capitalist growth serve to increase the potential for social conflict rooted in leisure. 'Anti-social', 'anarchic' behaviour amongst unemployed male youths, for example, is often informed by the fact that work is regarded as one of the main anchorages of male identity. The loss of employment as Morgan (1992) contends, given that it is often taken as an indication of failure and incompleteness, may result in feelings of aggression and frustration.

Ironically, the permanence of unemployment and the spectre of rising levels of joblessness arise from deeper, more irrevocable crises rooted in the matrix of social relations. The cyclical nature of capitalist trade leads to extreme fluctuations between under- and over-investment. Short term cycles of boom and bust, known as "Juglar cycles", and longer rhythms of twenty to thirty years (Harvey, 1989) lead to marked changes in job opportunities, with troughs within these capitalist cycles being associated with high unemployment.

This cyclical instability is further exacerbated by wider structural changes in the type of work available. Continual innovation within capitalism occurs within production as well as within "social and physical infrastructures, spatial forms and broad social processes of reproduction" (Harvey, 1989 p126). The adoption of cheaper, less labour intensive technologies, results in increased productivity output without reducing unemployment (Jenkins and Sherman, 1981). Certain jobs, such as those within agriculture and tourism, are threatened by seasonal fluctuations and trends (Glyptis, 1989). But of greater importance is the fact that even across the broader spectrum of employment options, there is a fluidity inherent to the logic of production; new needs are constantly being recognised, stimulated and fulfilled. The focus of capitalist energy thus shifts to satisfying varying demands, in turn leading to changes in work opportunities and valued skills. The net effect of this impermanence is that work options and opportunities are neither constant nor stable. Glyptis (1989 p47) offers sombre insight into the unemployment trends of England during the 1980s and 90s:

> Contemporary unemployment ... threatens to persist: its main causes are the decline and closure of major sectors of traditional industry, such as steelmaking, shipbuilding and textiles .... What might, in 1909, have been temporary displacement, however, is much more likely in the late 1980s to be long-term or permanent, as the needs of the growth industries are met more efficiently and effectively through information

> technology, computing, micro-electronics, robotics and telecommunications than through labour.

I argue then that unemployment must be understood in terms of wider structural fluctuation and transformations. Given this, leisure can therefore be seen as a crucial forum of social control and resistance.

In his discussion of unemployment in Britain, titled Workless Youth as a 'Moral Panic', Mungham (1982) argues that fears surrounding large scale and long term joblessness are unfounded. Crime, political dissatisfactions, and the deterioration of discipline and social cohesion, are commonly associated with the unemployed. But capitalism, as Mungham argues, is well able to absorb whatever anarchic energies may be generated within it, given that unemployment is a burden within society that is borne unevenly. Marked variations occurring within social grouping based on age, gender and ethnicity; low national unemployment figures, as Glyptis (1989) demonstrates, may conceal acute unemployment crises within specific communities, or within depressed regions. Mungham contends that within the category of unemployed youth, for example, it is seldom that destructive energies extend beyond own-group boundaries for "segments of working-class youth (invariably male) ... [typically turn] their anger and impatience not onto 'society', but against themselves" (p37).

This reasoning, while logical perhaps in the short term, appears unsound in the face of long term unemployment statistics. It is true to claim, as Clarke and Critcher (1985) and Glyptis (1989) do, that growth in the service sectors of the economy, for example, has compensated for the loss of jobs such as those within manufacturing. However, as these researchers claim, compensation such as there is, is extremely limited; an inexorable decline in the availability of paid work is evident. The negative impact of unemployment is, of course, not confined only to those who actually lose jobs. Given the high dependency of families upon male breadwinners, the loss of a single job often

impacts upon those who rely on an individual for financial and material support. The potential for organised social resistance and the spillover of frustrations is thus likely to become a greater threat to the existing social system.

4.3: The Fusion of Production and Reproduction

The crisis inherent in unemployment has been further exacerbated by changes that have taken place in the dialectical interconnections between production and reproduction. Soja (1980) has shown that the focus of capitalist investment, in the twentieth century, has shifted inexorably from the arena of production to the realm of social relations. This shift has been necessary as a means to ensure the continued structural coherence of capitalism, secured through the generation of new sources of surplus value. Roberts (1978) notes that in England, the five key leisure pursuits, namely, alcohol consumption, sex, gambling, smoking, and television viewing, are the basis for huge businesses.

But the penetration, expansion and consolidation of new capitalist markets in the world of leisure has resulted in increasing tensions between social interests and commercial benefits. The absorption of leisure activities, particularly in the field of mass communication and entertainment into the matrix of market relations, immediately places leisure at the heart of potential conflict within society. This is because access to particular activities becomes increasingly determined by financial means only; those without sufficient funds are effectively denied the experiences contained within the ambit of these industries.

Yet the disadvantages inherent in restricted access may be offset by increases in the range of leisure experiences and opportunities and associated meanings. But, as new markets are explored and developed, this advantage is often offset by the natural capitalist trend towards monopolistic control; without opposition, competitive pricing systems are not guaranteed. The reality of leisure opportunities is, as Clarke and Critcher (1985) contend, that while there appears to be a diversity of choice, leisure options are dominated by fewer and fewer large industries.

The degree of trauma likely to be experienced by those without access to market-contained leisure options may be further exacerbated by the connections that are established between consumption and social fulfillment. Through advertising, for example, constant emphasis is placed on the desirability of goods and services, based on the logic that an awareness of needs will be linked to their satisfaction through consumption. Most commonly, the desirability of such services is established with reference to social 'norms' or acceptable modes of behaviour. So, for instance, the family is presented as the 'natural', harmonious primary unit of society, and the marketing of particular products is characterised by associations between purchase and survival: consumers are encouraged to buy particular food items as a means of expressing their care and concern for their children; and the purchase of different sized houses is linked to particular stages in the family 'life cycle' (Glyptis, 1989).

This public/private interface lies at the heart of the growing social tensions, for the processes of profit accumulation are founded on the constant need to fulfill constructed desires; consumers therefore are faced with a continual reminder of their expectations and needs, but limited means whereby they can assuage them. The significance of the above discussion lies, therefore, in its recognition of the importance of making reference to wider contexts when analysing localised leisure experiences.

4.4: Capitalist Intervention in the World of Leisure

Capitalist interventions within the sphere of leisure are motivated by diverse interests which are sometimes in conflict with each other. On one hand, the objective of any private enterprise is to ensure the generation of surplus value and, ultimately, the securing of profit. On the other hand, investment in leisure time is often motivated by the concern of capitalists in the continuance of a stable and healthy labour force. Profit generation depends, as David Harvey (1989) argues, upon the successful perpetuation of both production and reproduction. These two concerns are often in conflict with each other.

But while interventions in leisure may secure the perpetuation of social stability, there exists a problematic ambivalence, on the part of the investors, to intervention and involvement in this sphere. Social interventions and investments, according to this logic, are inextricably fused. Many forms of mass commercial entertainment are linked to attempts at pacifying members of the work force, and the structured release of social tensions (Rojek, 1985). This endorsement of existing social relations is logical in terms of the capitalist interests in the perpetuation and survival of social institutions such as the family. Inextricable linkages between production and reproduction force private enterprise to take a direct interest in reproductive processes in order to secure reproduction-related markets of consumption, and the continuance of existing social relations. Class struggle, Harvey (1989 p85) writes,

> has its origin in the work process but ... ramifies and reverberates throughout all aspects of the system of relation which capitalism establishes .... If productivity fails to rise in the workplace, then, perhaps judicious investment in ... education, homeownership, ... or indoctrination ... might yield better results in the long run

"The final crisis of capitalism" as Soja (1980 p215) contends, "becomes the moment when the relations of production can no longer be reproduced, not simply when production itself is stopped".

Though the ultimate concerns of private enterprise are rooted in the workplace, capitalism, he argues, "reaches out to dominate the living process - the reproduction of labour power" not because capitalists necessarily want to, but because they must (Harvey, 1989 p85). For example, intervention in the world of leisure is far from consistent. According to capitalist logic, investments in the sphere of leisure are likely to occur primarily insofar as financial gain is incurred. It is evident therefore, that the two possible motivations for capitalist investment in leisure, that is, profit making and the need to secure a stable labour force, are often in conflict. When such conflict occurs, it is often the short term gains of profit making that are prioritised over long term gains inherent in securing social stability.

Such capitalist expedience is strongly manifested in the fact that while leisure has been the site of rapidly expanding growing investments, such investments are seldom linked to the satisfactions of the needs of marginal social groupings. Typically, as Clarke and Critcher (1985 p89) show, consumer-based leisure opportunities serve to perpetuate existing inequalities through the exclusion of the unexpressed or unrecognised needs of groups who are "neither economically nor politically profitable". The problematic position of leisure within the matrix of capitalist social relations, it is argued, is further inflamed by stresses between collective social benefit and private gain. Alienating leisure experiences, particularly those of the unemployed do not inevitably present immediate disadvantages to entrepreneurs. They are, however, important considerations given that "experiential starvation" (Kelly, 1983 page unknown) may be associated with anti-social behaviour (see Roberts, 1970), or if people become

dependent on welfare support for their survival. The unwritten laws of capitalism do not contain strict moral codes regarding what could be defined as a politically 'correct' form of investment. For this reason, short term investments in 'unacceptable' activities such as drug taking or pornography, for example, may encourage suppliers to disregard more abstract, less profitable, and ultimately long term concerns regarding social stability.

Investment, therefore, often has a contradictory nature, and it is within this contradiction that community resistance can take place. The accommodation of the 'undesirable' must not only be seen as a problematic issue that threatens long term social stability. It is precisely this expedience on the part of private investors that can facilitate the opening of channels that may contribute to long term, positive changes in social relations and perceptions. In the case of gender relations, we see, for instance, a default setting in advertising and in media representations, that favours nuclear, heterosexual families. Such images, as Rojek (1985) argues, are directly informed by the wider economic context in which the stability of 'natural' economic rhythms and cycles are closely associated with the heterosexual family, as the primary reproductive and consumptive unit of society.

Yet, while the perpetuation of such images is clearly of benefit to entrepreneurs, in terms of securing the reproduction of the labour force, the market potential inherent in other needs and demands inevitably attracts the interests of investors. The support for social alternatives is, of course, dependent on financial gain. It is possible to argue in this instance that minimal, implicit 'support' may be understood in terms of the fact that gay culture can simply be contained within the larger framework of social relations and interventions. But ultimately, the capitalist quest for markets may be seen as creating potential for the destabilisation of existing social systems: such interest allows

for the expression of values that are otherwise unfavoured. Leisure is therefore the site of an intersection of interests between investors and members of the workforce. As such, it must be seen as occupying an axiomatic position in the expression and negotiation of social values and norms.

4.5: State and Capitalist Dynamics: Crisis Intervention and Investments

A discussion of the reasons why leisure is a problematic variable in social relations is not complete without a consideration of the role and function of the state within capitalist society. This is because of the symbiotic relationship that has developed between public and private bodies. An understanding of the interconnections between state and capitalist agendas is essential to gaining a fuller understanding of the dynamics of resource allocation and utilisation. The appreciation of state and capitalist dynamics contained in this section is vital as a foundation to the discussion of community leisure options in South Africa, contained in chapter five, wherein the combined impacts of capitalist investments and state intervention are explored in the unique apartheid context.

The state, as Aronowitz (1982) has noted, has become an increasingly important and indispensable player in the relations of capitalist society. This is because state bodies have assumed the role of mediator between the groupings of capital and labour at a time when there is a growing range of "physical and social infrastructures" (Harvey, 1984 p144) requiring constant maintenance and attention. Whereas struggles in early capitalism were centred predominantly upon the workplace, conflicts in late capitalism

encompass both these and additional struggles of a distinctly urban character, including issues related to access to housing.

The responsibility of maintaining these social and physical structures cannot be left to capitalist interests alone, for capitalist investments in the urban landscape, whether in the realm of physical construction or space utilisation, are inherently uneven and lead to acute regional and local scale inequalities (Soja, 1980). And, in addition to being spatially distorted, capitalist involvement in the realm of structural maintenance is also erratic, given the fundamental tensions between profit and social continuity. In the built environment, many of the key infrastructural components needed for production and reproduction processes, such as transport networks, are inflexible investments, that offer only small, indirect, or long term returns and benefits. Similarly, in the sphere of reproduction, investments in fields such as education typically provide only low returns or long term gains, unsuitable to those demanding short term, tangible financial rewards.

Through the process of taxation, surplus value is appropriated and redistributed through the provision of services and investments (Mingione, 1981 p45). State programmes related to leisure facilities are regarded as vital given the inadequacies of allocation patterns arising from capitalist interests and the irregularities arising from private, profit-motivated decisions and interests (Harvey, 1985). This is not out of political correctness: from a structuralist perspective, the state occupies a far from neutral position, and the uneven distribution of services and facilities in capitalist society is seen as a product of the typical functioning of social relations and state priorities. State agendas, as Mingione (1981 p55) claims

> [do] not solve the contradictions which characterize capitalist development, neither ... [do they] change the fundamentally capitalist nature of contemporary societies.

> This interpretation is reinforced if we consider that the state reflects a capitalist hegemony in distributing its surplus value and, for this reason, is obliged to respect, by and large, the laws and contradictions of accumulation (ibid p45)

Leisure relations, we may thus argue, are influenced by state/capitalist dynamics in two key ways. Firstly, state dependence upon the success of capitalist production necessarily undermines the stability and continuity of state investments in the realm of leisure. But the dependence upon capitalist enterprise for revenue binds the logic of state strategies to the logic of capitalist accumulation. Certain instances contain, as welfare economists argue, examples of state bodies involved in resource allocation where market allocations are disruptive to competitive processes. The state may, for instance, counteract the establishment of monopolies in order to prevent high prices and low outputs (O'Connor, 1974).

The close association of capitalist and state priorities and agendas has severe implications for leisure programmes. The future nature, extent and success of these projects aimed at encouraging social stability will be increasingly limited by declining financial resources arising from the fiscal crisis of the state, arising from deep-rooted contradictions within the wider mode of production. Cox (1983 p37) argues, in his discussion of state priorities and social programmes, that this crisis has arisen because:

> a contradiction exists in which a structural gap develops between the state's ability to raise revenue and the expanding requirement for expenditure inherent in the state's interventions to defend capitalism

The state's financial difficulties as Mingione (1981 p17) reasons, are

> expression[s] of the impossibility of maintaining levels of accumulation of capital which are rational and compatible with the laws of general social reproduction necessary for the realization of such levels of accumulation.

Fiscal crises necessarily place severe pressure upon state intervention in the realm of leisure. Under non-crisis conditions, leisure related programmes, like other social investment undertakings, are naturally constrained by the state's fundamental obligation to capital. The increasing costs of state outlays arising from "growing interdependencies in industrial, commercial, transportation, housing and recreational patterns" (O'Connor, 1973 p124) already limit the range and effectiveness of state efforts.

Curtailment of state expenditure most often affects those programmes regarded as low priority, and leisure facilities as Caraley (1977 p10) notes, are often "vulnerable targets ... during budgetary crunches". In essence, the planning and provision of leisure facilities and programmes is limited during times of financial stress because state intervention is confined to those elements contributing directly to the immediate survival of the capitalist formation rather than those elements of the urban milieu that facilitate long-term stability.

State/capitalist dynamics also affect leisure relations in another key respect. The state in keeping with the logic of capitalist accumulation, perpetuates an ideology of stasis and stability, vital to the survival of capitalist relations. In the context of private investment, the encouragement of activities that are potentially threatening to the wider social formation is possible due to short term financial benefits. But the very role of the state, as an enforcer of legal infrastructures (Smith, 1989) and cautious planning strategist, dictates that the state adopts conservative ideological stances.

Such conservatism presents, as Smith (1989 p392) argues, critical issues regarding the relationship between "the ideology of individual liberty and the practice of central control". In the light of Aronowitz's (1982 p158) observations regarding the link

between leisure programmes and nationalism, it is evident that critical deconstruction and awareness of such issues is of critical importance:

> leisure has become an important question for social policy ... [and] the generation of new ideologies and new apparatuses for the organization of, for example, community sports centres. If you read the early history of German and Italian Fascism, you discover that this was precisely the problem that Hitler and Mussolini had to deal with because of the crises of the German and Italian economies at the time. 'Strength through Joy' was a way of not just organizing the unemployed youth, and putting them someplace special [sic] so that they could actually pass the day, but it was a way of attempting to inject a particular spirituality so that the whole national spirit might be created that would have its effect upon the reproduction of the total social formation

State leisure options are likely therefore to be rooted in the dominant, conservative structure of social relations of any given point in time. While they may serve to diffuse social tensions, the success of such programmes is likely to be undermined by dependence of the state upon capitalist profit generation and the associated contradictions and paradoxes of the wider mode of production. More specifically, it is contended that state intervention cannot adequately mask the inequalities generated by uneven capitalist investments, as a result of production rooted fiscal crises.

Importantly, while the degree of commitment may vary and severely affect the continuity and stability of leisure relations and opportunities within communities, state and capital attention will not, and cannot, be entirely diverted from leisure concerns given the integral value of leisure to the survival of the capitalist system. Attention to leisure planning, for instance, may constitute a short-term priority and receive state attention even during times of financial crisis. This may arise when the state views certain infrastructural investments as "both desirable and economic" (Moser, 1989 p93) and the possibility exists for the state to recover costs through levies and charges. Reductive shifts in the degree of state and capitalist involvement in leisure programmes, therefore, are important indicators of the impact of wider social

contradictions upon localised leisure options, but are not inevitably indicative of a disregard for leisure programmes.

4.6: Conclusion

This section has served to highlight the key reasons for leisure occupying a pivotal point of social value negotiations and transformations. It has been shown that the perpetuation of the economic order of capitalism is directly dependent on intervention within the realm of reproduction. However, the ambivalent attitude of capitalists to leisure, rooted in tensions between broader social benefits and self-gain, has exacerbated tensions within the sphere of leisure. Primarily, this has arisen because the increasing penetration of investments into leisure activities has resulted in a restriction of access to opportunities. The existence of these tensions, as was shown, is strongly linked to the fusion of production and reproduction. State intervention, it has been argued, cannot mask the gradients of inequality that arise due to capitalist investments.

The above considerations conclude the theoretical component of this thesis. It is with these concepts at hand that attention is now turned to the dynamics of capitalist, state and community dynamics in leisure time, within the context of South Africa.

CHAPTER FIVE

LEISURE PROCESSES IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

5.1: Introduction

Chapter three and four focused on general theoretical issues relating to state, capital and community dynamics with regard to leisure as a site of struggle. The process of recognising leisure as a key area of political tensions within society, it was contended, demands an understanding of the dialectics between human agency and structure, and an appreciation of the degree to which leisure can be the site of ideological control, resistance and transformation. Too often, it was argued, there has been an emphasis on the domination, manipulation and co-option of individual and community energies on the part of state and private bodies. This has led to an inadequate appreciation of the way in which the policies and programmes of state and capitalist bodies may be influenced by the actions of communities, and to the range, structure and nature of community-based struggles. In this chapter the line of argument begun in the previous chapters will be extended through an analysis of the dynamics of control and transformation within the South African context. This will provide a background for the case study which will follow in chapter six.

Researchers have often failed to recognise leisure as a site of struggle in discussions of racial discrimination in South Africa, prioritising instead issues which are conventionally seen as 'more political', such as labour strikes and disputes within the workplace. Studies concerning sport, for instance, are recent phenomena, having appeared only since the late 1960s (Badenhorst and Rogerson, 1986). Communities, too, have exhibited erratic programmes of resistance in the realm of leisure, despite glaring inequalities in recreation resource distribution, and state intervention in the form of constant and humiliating harassment related to the Separate Amenities Act. The wider analytical aim of this chapter, therefore, is to address the imbalances existent

within leisure research by making specific reference to the political nature of leisure patterns and processes within South Africa.

A direct emphasis upon the political nature of leisure is of critical importance in the South African context for it serves to re-politicize aspects of leisure history that have been neglected by both researchers and communities. This will serve to deepen our understanding of control and resistance dialectics that have been largely unexplored, thereby highlighting the theoretical and practical dangers inherent in commonsense understandings of leisure, and to open up new areas of debate and discussion in this field.

The consideration of the political nature of leisure patterns and processes contained within this chapter forms a vital foundation for the case study of this thesis. This study focuses on a low income community on the Cape Flats, in a suburb characterised by stark environments and poor facilities. To understand fully the complexities of the social processes that have shaped the development of this area, it is necessary to establish an appreciation of the wider context of apartheid planning in which the community originated. The construction of a critique of current resource distribution gradients and current negotiations and struggles within leisure time is not possible without reference to past patterns and processes. Current conditions must be seen as being rooted in a history of growing animosity generated through the enforcement of discriminatory legislation.

The specific aim of this chapter is to explore the way in which the dialectics of control and resistance have been influenced by the dominant discourse of leisure as a neutral variable in social relations. The overarching emphasis will be upon the changing positions of community, capitalist and state bodies within debates centred upon leisure, and the way in which this commonsense discourse has served to fracture the energies of community bodies in their attempts to resist government control.

Discussion is contained in sections 5.2 to 5.4. In section 5.2, attention is given to issues regarding divisions between the public and the private spheres. It will be argued that the history of leisure in South Africa clearly points to the importance of an approach rooted in a recognition of the way in which wider structural agendas impinge upon the leisure choices available to individuals.

In section 5.3, extending the line of argument in chapters three and four, it will be shown that while individual options are confined by wider structural constraints, leisure is also a site of struggle and resistance within social relations. Here, specific examples in the history of leisure are given to illustrate the importance of establishing a more empowering debate that includes community oppositions rather than only state domination and control. The influence of the commonsense discourse of leisure upon the success of government, community and capitalist bodies will be examined. The recognition of this discourse, it will be contended, is critical given that it is one that is closely linked to powerful agendas of domination and control.

The value of leisure as a site of struggle will be explored in section 5.4, through an analysis of the People's Parks Movement of 1985 and 1986, one of the few examples of transient leisure struggles that have occupied the attention of researchers. This section addresses the issue of developing a comprehensive theory of leisure processes within the South African context that will serve to counteract the conservatism inherent in traditional understandings of leisure.

The task of formulating a complete theoretical framework for the study of leisure is formidable, and clearly beyond the scope of this thesis. Nevertheless, the aim of this third, and final section, is to outline central issues raised through the discussion of the People's Park Movement - issues that need to be addressed and emphasised if new debates and discussions related to leisure are to be developed. It will be contended that a theory of leisure must be centred not only upon resource distribution but upon the

critical concerns of community access, space utilisation, and negotiations over the values and meanings associated with space.

It will be argued, further, that the adoption of this more radical understanding of leisure that pays close attention to more transient community struggles, is necessary if a fuller understanding of leisure processes across space and time is to be developed. The value of recognising the importance of negotiations of meaning within space, and not only struggles related to physical resource distribution, will be examined with regard to state, capitalist and community priorities. The possibility that this approach may ultimately weaken opposition to private and state intervention in the realm of leisure, is also considered.

As a foundation to this theoretical discussion it is first necessary to look at the broad principles of apartheid planning and then at specific historical examples which reiterate the fallacy of viewing leisure as a neutral social variable.

5.2: Leisure Options in South Africa: The Fallacy of Intrinsic Freedom

Apartheid planning and legislation has been the focus of a myriad of academic investigations, in which the impact of segregationist policies, particularly upon urban form, has been examined. The existing maze of local government structures, developed during the 1980s as the National Party sought to veil the reality of apartheid rather than remove it, has left an appallingly inefficient and economically unstable foundation, still divided largely on racial grounds. At the forefront of current geographical research into South African cities, there is now a shift towards investigations that deconstruct future planning agendas and proposals in terms of the legacy of past policies (See Smith, 1992).

The spatial form and layout of any city is virtually permanent; large scale change and intervention to existing forms will necessarily be impractical given the vast costs likely to be incurred. But the reality of urban spatial form and the marked gradients in the availability of resources across South African cities demands that some form of reconstruction be implemented. Spatial form has been dictated more by a preoccupation with enforcing segregation rather than a concern for efficiency. In Cape Town, for example, poorly developed transport networks are a direct result of state attempts to minimise contact between suburbs containing different population groups. This network, as Dewar and Ellis (1979) showed, has had extensive negative repercussions as the city has expanded given that these systems have proved to be cost ineffective.

For geographers, often in the positions of advisors to planners and administrators, there exists, therefore, a challenge and opportunity to raise key issues that should be addressed if reconstruction is to be achieved. The development of a sound understanding of the social forces operative within South African society must be seen as a prerequisite for establishing holistic agendas in academic, as well as private and public organisations. I argue that though investigations into the dynamics of apartheid are indeed extensive, they provide us with a far from complete understanding of the full impacts and consequences of social discrimination.

The topic of leisure, in particular, is one in which the potential to draw out the dynamics of social processes has seldom been realised. Conspicuous gaps exist within available research, where details about the impacts of apartheid upon leisure experiences are sketchy and vague, if they have been considered at all. It is difficult to pinpoint the exact cause of such neglect. On one hand, it is possible to argue cogently that such disregard is a consequence of the wider academic framework which has informed South African leisure studies. Like their contemporaries in the international community, geographers in South Africa have remained preoccupied with production processes, and the significance of leisure is seen as being linked to its influence upon

the sphere of work. This approach, together with the existence of an analytical framework centered upon individual choices and motivation can not accommodate the complexities of individual/structure dialectics. On the other hand, it is possible to explain the failure to recognise leisure as a political variable as the product of more parochial influences. The South African academic community in the discipline of geography, as Rogerson and Parnell (1989) have argued, has been often regarded as politically conservative.

Whatever the exact cause, it is a major weakness within geography that leisure was not recognised as a key area of social relations central to the exposure of individual/collective tensions. In the context of South African history, in particular, the assertion that leisure is characterised by implicit freedom and the opportunity for self expression has been inappropriate, given that leisure experiences, like all other facets of South African life, have been shaped extensively by manipulative apartheid planning agendas. Open recognition of the value of leisure as an instrument of social control has been expressed by both government officials and private individuals. This fact, together with the current reality of severe inequalities in leisure resource distribution, illustrates the absurdity of regarding leisure as an arena untainted by political considerations.

Examination of South Africa's past reveals that leisure has long been an important issue in establishing social segregation and in reinforcing ideologies related to racial superiority and control. The fundamental, political nature of leisure activities is manifested in the wide range of institutions that have explicitly acknowledged the importance of the world of recreational activities to their attempts to propagate their own ideological positions. It is useful, at this point, to examine specific examples within South African history that illustrate the political nature of leisure.

Badenhorst and Rogerson, in a 1986 article on the history of organized black sport on the Witwatersrand, highlight the fact that the policies and programmes of a range of

organisations contained references to the value of leisure experiences as a means of establishing social order in 'black' areas. At a time of increasing unemployment and political instability during the 1920s and 1930s, liberal organisations, missionary associations and private enterprise, as well as state bodies, gave increasing attention to the provision of recreational resources. While few had intervened or been concerned with such issues earlier, the lack of facilities at such a time was seen as a direct threat to the safety of society at large. Commentators argued that widespread worklessness, together with a lack of leisure options, gave 'blacks' a chance to reflect upon their situation and made them more susceptible to political radicalization.

The way to reduce increases in crime, antisocial behaviour and political discontent, it was argued, was to provide "healthful uplifting recreation" to improve "the raw native [tempted by] the gleaming allurement of city life" (Rich, 1984 p12). Similar sentiments were expressed by Ould, a member of the International Labour Office, who regarded rigid state control of working life without a corresponding interest in the free time of 'black' workers, to be a problematic issue. In an article advocating greater municipal and capitalist intervention he wrote

> By a natural evolution, the location system, at first a mere measure of police, becomes an instrument of civilisation. And since it is not through their work, but by the use of their leisure, that men become civilised the organisation of spare-time activities has a special importance where undeveloped races are concerned.
>
> (Ould, 1938 p28)

Significantly, as Couzens (1983) argues, the investments of state, capitalist and missionary institutions were not based entirely upon philanthropic principles. The joint efforts of the Chamber of Mines and the Johannesburg City Council gave rise to organisations such as the Bantu Sports Club that provided local 'black' residents with football and tennis facilities (Couzens, 1983). But the rhetoric of 'civilising the native', as Badenhorst and Rogerson (1986 p201) argue, served to mask more powerful preoccupations with social control. In mine compounds in particular, capitalist leisure investments in sport were strongly linked to the overtly expressed intention of cultivating leisure activities as a means of diverting workers' attention from labour and

living conditions, and to providing recruitment incentives (Couzens, 1983). Not coincidentally, these investments aimed only to ensure the stabilisation of social relations on a localised and temporary scale. At no time were they linked to a unified, long term policy aimed at addressing the wider infrastructural inadequacies within 'black' residential areas, or the causes of larger scale inequalities in leisure resource distribution.

The importance of leisure as a forum for social control is reflected most clearly and overtly in the rapid development of formal, legal constraints designed to minimise contact between different population groups following the National Party's rise to power in 1948. Backed by rigid and often brutal enforcement by local state bodies, leisure time soon came to be a pivotal site for the successful expression of apartheid control. The realization of apartheid ideals in leisure time was not simply the product of impacts arising from general apartheid legislation. A major component of apartheid zoning policy was the creation of distinct, 'racially' separate units of residence which under 'ideal' conditions, had no points of contact between them. Roads, open spaces, railway networks and city infrastructures were used as key elements in preventing or minimising contact between these areas. Thus, racial separateness in leisure time was enforced by the fact that even when no specific law existed to reserve particular amenities such as churches for the use of particular 'racial' groups, residential segregation inevitably ensured that facilities were used primarily by the surrounding community only.

The state went one step further in its quest for racial separation, by attempting to directly constrain and minimise ***all*** potential points of contact. The Separate Amenities Act of 1953, for example, was used to entrench the policy of separate 'development' and to reinforce the sense of racial differences. Amenities such as beaches were strictly categorised for use by specific 'races'. At the height of apartheid social segregation, the municipality of Port Elizabeth had five strictly demarcated beach zones for each of the five main population groups - 'white', 'black', 'coloured', 'Indian' and 'Chinese'.

The scale and effort put into maintaining such segregation until the demise of overt official support for apartheid, is testimony to the degree to which leisure was recognised by the government as a critical arena for the establishment and entrenchment of social control.

The Separate Amenities Act was by no means an isolated example of attempts at social engineering within the sphere of leisure. Its effectiveness lay in the fact that it was surrounded by complementary laws and regulations, serving to create a network of controls that reinforced the underlying principles of racial difference. The Liquor Amendment Act (1963 after the Act of 1923), for example, served to reinforce apartheid divisions by barring 'Africans' from consuming alcohol except on their own premises. This proved to be an effective barrier to cross-'racial' interaction by limiting the opportunities and range of social contexts for contact between people assigned to different racial categories (Archer and Bouillon, 1982). "For those who are too young to remember" wrote the editor of the Cape Times (May 9, 1990 p6)

> or old enough to want to forget, it is as well to recall the absurd lengths to which the government went to separate white people from black, coloured and Indian.... a thousand and one facilities were separated. They included railway stations, toilets, subways, benches, bridges, trains, buses, taxis, ambulances, entrances (including those to the Cango Caves), post office counters, lifts, libraries, hotels, restaurants, cinemas, theatres, town halls, parks, sportsfields, swimming pools and, naturally, beaches

The existence of marked spatial gradients in the availability of leisure resources, as the legacy of such planning, is further testimony to the fact that it is impossible to analyse individual or localised leisure opportunities without reference to wider themes of spatial inequality and social control.

On paper, the principle behind the Group Areas Act was that all communities would be allowed to live in separate areas of equal quality. But in practice, city planning has been largely based on assumptions of 'white' racial superiority; fractured administrative networks, based on racial grounds, gave rise instead to severe resource disparities.

While the Separate Amenities Act stipulated that separate facilities were necessary, there was no legal obligation to provide facilities of comparable standards.

Booth and Mbona (1988) have claimed that township life is associated with drudgery and toil. Excursions to places such as beaches and parks are, as they reason, a time of "ecstatic release from work" [and] an escape from "the burden of township life" (p40). Such reasoning is problematic for it points to a disregard for community cohesion and solidarity within townships, but their arguments do carry validity in terms of the shocking conditions of many recreation facilities within such areas.

According to the logic of apartheid planning, black residents were tolerated in cities only insofar as they were required as labour. For the remainder of the time, they were to be located in areas as far from the central metropolitan districts as possible. Investments in these peripheral areas were therefore minimal, aimed only at maintaining the basic reproduction of social relations. Ultimately this had the effect of creating severe gradients of inequality across the urban landscape, as money was channelled into providing particular areas with adequate resources, while others, predominantly those areas in which 'non-white' residents lived, received less financial support (See Basson, 1990).

Though it was compulsory for authorities to ensure that state-provided facilities were 'racially' exclusive, little attention was paid to whether the facilities were inadequate or even non existent. Dewar and Ellis (1979) have shown that apartheid policies have been directly linked to the formation of areas characterised by stark landscapes, particularly suburbs occupied by members of the 'coloured' and 'black' communities. In the case of Khayelitsha, as Cook (1992) has shown, problems in such areas were created because planning was rooted in a crisis response, aimed primarily at housing as many people as quickly as possible, rather than being part of a clear, long term objective to cope with urban expansion.

The net result of the constraints of past policies of social control has been, in the example of Port Elizabeth's townships, the severe neglect and decay of recreational facilities. While the previously 'white' areas of Port Elizabeth are often marketed as ideal tourist destinations, the outlying township areas, containing 470,000 people, have almost no adequate recreational amenities. Monitor magazine, in their July 1989 article titled 'Township Recreation Facilities', drew attention to this dilemma, showing that although these areas fell under the jurisdiction of both the Ibhayi City Council and the Cape Provincial Administration, there were no "public swimming pools, tennis courts, squash courts, badminton halls, cricket pitches, golf courses, bowling greens or parks" (p50). Soccer facilities, despite this being one of the most popular sports in many townships, were also poorly maintained, with only two fields in good condition being found in the towns of Motherwell and Zwide.

A more subtle structural influence upon the leisure experiences of individuals is linked to differences in the proportion of open space across suburbs of different racial composition. In their study of the provision of leisure space in municipal areas in South Africa, Steyn and Swart (1983 p60) found "remarkably uniform percentage division[s] regarding the different population groups". 'Whites', as they showed, had the highest proportion of open space relative to population numbers. The percentage of 'white' areas, for example, having more than 20ha per 1000 residents was found to be consistently higher throughout all four provinces, relative to 'Asian' and 'coloured' areas. And, significantly, though only 38,92% of municipalities across South Africa reserved less than 2ha per 1000 inhabitants, 'white' municipalities were the least represented in this category. It is possible to explain such variations simply on the basis of differences in planning standards and norms.

I suggest, however, that such differences cannot be separated from the wider history of racial discrimination. The very departments that have governed such areas have been formulated along racial lines, with variations in funding availability also being directly

linked to the skin color of those concerned. "The instrumental use of space and financial resources" writes Merrett (1986 p4)

> is explained by a powerful triple alliance between white-elected municipal authorities, big business and local official sports bodies.... In a social democracy, such as Britain for example, a familiar feature of the urban landscape will be municipally funded and maintained tennis courts, playing fields and even golf courses, open to all. In South Africa these are notable for their absence

Finally, it is contended that a consideration of wider social forces is essential in the South African context, for without such reference, an understanding of the complex relationship between individual choice and the macro-scale constraining context of the spatial structure of the apartheid city cannot be grasped. Issues of accessibility are vital to understanding social dynamics within cities, given that the mere provision of amenities and services cannot be seen as being synonymous with their effective utilisation (Smout and Naidu, 1986).

For the poorer members of society living in peripheral areas, low incomes have limited the possibility of reaching better facilities in more central metropolitan areas. This factor, combined with the deliberate state policy of designing inadequate road links to ensure minimum inter-neighbourhood travel (Dewar and Ellis, 1979), and a poorly developed public transport system, have served to exacerbate further the problem of already limited leisure options.

Having recognised the importance of structural constraints upon individual decisions and localised opportunities, it is to this issue of community resistance that attention is now turned.

5.3: Leisure as a Site of Struggle and Resistance

For social scientists, the importance of the penetration of apartheid into leisure experiences lies not only in the way in which it facilitates studies of wider structural control, but also in the fact that free time necessarily becomes an important focus of resistance and opposition. South African history is filled with examples of community antagonism towards the apartheid status quo. The influence of apartheid ideology upon 'free time' experiences, it may be argued, should provide the researcher with valuable material to counteract earlier structuralist emphases upon production processes and the pivotal influence of manipulative agendas upon individual choice.

Frequent attempts have been made, as Pirie (1986) has argued, by the government to portray social segregation in the world of leisure as a minor irritation and inconvenience. "The government's own labelling of social segregation as 'petty'", he explains (p75), "accords with the view of leading scholars that, in a comparative sense, this form of segregation was ... 'a relatively superficial complement' to more fundamental racialism". Even as resistance to social segregation grew in the 1970s, the government continued to underplay or disregard the penetration of apartheid policies into leisure experiences; instead, constant emphasis was placed upon the potential unity and cohesion that could be achieved in communities through leisure activities. By embracing the concept of leisure as a forum of reconciliation, the government could project an image of reform to foreign observers through international events.

The government, as has been shown, frequently attempted to propagate the view that the significance of leisure activities lay only in the potential for establishing cross cultural interaction and understanding. Yet, while it strongly dismissed political interference by opposition groups, it adopted an expedient agenda by blatantly using leisure as a platform of opposition against anti-apartheid groups, and for perpetuating ideologies linked to racial superiority and difference.

Davies (1986) notes that in the face of increasing international hostilities, the government attempted to introduce reforms in legislation directly related to leisure activities. So, for example, in its attempts to "depoliticise sport" (official state wording as given in Policy Review, 1990 p18), various amendments were made to laws contained in, for example, the Separate Amenities Act. These amendments, however, while appearing to facilitate greater cross-community contact, were rooted in changes that were merely cosmetic (Davies, 1986).

The government's reluctance to promote far-reaching, irreversible change, at this time, is reflected in the incongruities evident in the logic of Gerrit Viljoen, minister for sport in 1983. In an attempt to smooth the re-entry of South Africa into international sport in 1983, the said minister, according to Davies, dismissed any existing discrimination in the world of sport as being anomalous and the vestige of a bygone era. According to him, at this time "there [was] no racial discrimination in South African sport" (The Citizen, April 25, 1983 cited in Davies, 1983). But, a mere two years later, the same man directly obstructed the promotion of a non-racial agenda, when he dismissed a report published by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) that had recommended the integration of sports administrators and an increase in contact between colour-coded population groups at school level.

Numerous examples of the government's expedient use of a conservative discourse are also evident in the realm of international sport. While claiming that leisure should be a facet of life free of political interference, the state, during the 1970s and 1980s, on numerous occasions attempted to contravene the code of international isolation.

Changes within sport were slow; the shift from apartheid racism to the concept of multi-racialism did not require a major ideological shift, and was still used as a basis for keeping apart people assigned to different racial classifications. Nevertheless, the government touted shifts in policy, such as the mixing of 'races' at international sports

events such as the South African Games, as evidence that a serious programme of reform was underway (see Deacon, 1986). In 1986, for instance, though the Separate Amenities Act remained in force, and though severe distortions in municipal expenditure were still apparent (Merrett, 1986), it was claimed that the repeal of separate amenities at sports meetings and the free association of athletes at such events indicated that discrimination had all but ended (Deacon, 1986). For a government wanting to remain in power, high-profile shifts in leisure policies were critical insofar as they masked the maintenance of apartheid's remaining pillars: the Population Registration Act, the Land Act, and the Group Areas Act (Beresford, 1986) while still attempting to restore lost credibility.

The task of opposing government policies was complicated further by the fact that the state attempted not only to trivialise leisure but also to divorce it from the political arena. The combined use of these two discourses enabled the government to obstruct criticism related to resource distribution inequalities and, at the same time, to monopolise leisure as a realm in which its own political objectives could be realised. In both instances the government made expedient use of the commonsense notion that leisure is an area free from social constraints. By utilising the concept of leisure as an arena of activity divorced from politics, changes in this realm were relatively unthreatening to a conservative electorate.

Importantly, this discourse also allowed for antagonisms between the electorate and any who opposed the government's ideals, to be reinforced. The aspirations of anti-governmental groups came to be presented as a front of irrational political responses impinging upon the freedoms and pleasures inherent in leisure activities. Sport, presented as a meritocracy, was portrayed as being threatened by inappropriate 'political' concerns. The utilisation of this logic is evident in the state's commentary on the 1986 South African Games:

> Sadly ... for the first time ever, many local Black athletes and Black members of some communities boycotted the South African Games, ostensibly because they were associated with the Johannesburg festival

> "and what has Johannesburg ever done for Blacks" .... Mr Hugo Olivier, president of the South African Sports Federation, says some Black sporting champions were threatened that if they participated ... their homes would be burned down or they could be bodily harmed.
> (Deacon, 1986 p4)

In an article written in 1990, the government subtly attempted to distance leisure activities from their inherently political nature when claiming that sport was an important bridge-builder between communities. The very foundation of the sports policy given official sanction in this review of South African sports is overtly political, but its contentious nature is entirely disregarded. Johan Barnard (chairperson of the South African Tennis Union at the time), in stating that sporting activities will take place in such a way that "people are developed alongside one another in an equal, similar and natural manner" (Policy Review, February 1990 p17), provides little more than a clear draft of an apartheid policy in which multi-racialism rather than non-racialism is advocated. The only political influence that is recognised is that of interference and hostilities towards South African sportspeople, dismissed as being the product of "political considerations".

Reports published by the Department of Sport and Recreation point to a rapid shift in government policy, from portraying leisure as a neutral variable in social relations to acknowledging it as vital to issues of ideological struggle and control. This marked change of emphasis was apparent in the annual reports of 1978 and 1979. Whereas in the 1978 report, stress was placed upon reforms within South African sport, and how "all [was] well with sport and recreation in South Africa", the 1979 report, by contrast, was marked by contempt for outside 'interference'. "The Total Onslaught against South Africa," the report trumpeted, "and in particular the country in the field of sport, has increased in intensity during the past year" (cited in New Era, April 1987b p39). In the following year, General Geldenhuys, Chief of the South African Defence Force (SADF), reiterated this apparent change in sentiment when discussing the Australian rebel tour. "The arms boycott and the sports boycott have been the most damaging of our enemies' weapons - that is why my army is so concerned that teams from overseas keep coming here" (ibid p39).

The large sums of money invested by the state to promote rebel cricket and rugby tours, as noted by New Era (1987b p40), are further indications that the issue of intervention in the sphere of leisure was a central issue on government agendas. In its attempt to rally support for a Total Strategy against the 'enemies' of South Africa, subsidies of between 40 and 90 percent were offered to promote foreign sports tournaments. Thus, as New Era argues, though the company National Panasonic donated R1,000,000, it paid a mere R100,000 after tax concessions had been implemented. Commenting on the West Indian tour in 1984, Finance Minister Barend du Plessis underlined the importance of leisure in the quest for social control when he claimed:

> It will break the boycotts against South Africa ... its good for morale ... it is good to stand together and rub their noses in the ground.
> (From: New Era, 1987b p40)

Similar conservative discourses are prevalent in liberal arguments where leisure is portrayed as an arena separate from the political sphere. A conspicuous example of such reasoning is found, for example, in the article on township recreation facilities in Monitor magazine (1989 p50). The idleness of youth at a time of high unemployment, according to the logic of the contributor, was directly linked to increasing political instability. "One is left to wonder" they wrote, "if it is systematic policy to leave township youth with nothing to do but throw stones at policemen?"

Implicit within this logic is the assumption that there exists a sharply defined duality between leisure and political arenas. The processes operative within leisure time are thus simplified and the inherently political nature of leisure is negated. We are presented, instead, with the contention that anti-social behaviour is the result of a failure to realise the constructive potential of leisure time, rather than being a valid response to, and product of, wider political injustices.

Had such logic been restricted only to the realm of right wing, conservative groupings, the possibility of establishing insight into the dialectics of control and resistance may have been a relatively easy task. Under such circumstances, the perpetuation of commonsense reasoning on the part of the government would have been a clear indication of attempts to disguise hidden agendas. But the complex processes operative within leisure control have been clouded also by the fact that anti-governmental organisations have also relegated the realm of leisure in the world of political struggles to secondary status in the face of more 'pressing' political concerns. The task of establishing a debate sensitive to the dialectics of control and resistance in the South African context is not an easy one, despite the wide ranging impacts of state policy. This is because there exists an intersection between both radical and right wing groupings regarding an understanding of the nature and role of leisure in social processes.

While recognising that leisure was a realm of life deeply affected by discrimination and inequality, it has often been portrayed as something that could be attended to only after satisfactory progress had been made in eliminating disparities in other, more critical areas. This relegation of struggles within leisure time to secondary status is, for example, suggested in the reasoning of Sam Ramsamy, the chairperson of the South African Non-Racial Committee (SANROC), in the interview he gave in Southern Africa Report (Kidd, 1987).

Commenting on the future of sport in Southern Africa, Mr. Ramsamy argued that damage to frontline states inflicted by the South African government had limited the amount of money available for new investments in these countries, particularly those related to leisure. This reality, as he reasoned, was the product of events arising from the continual aggression neighbouring countries had faced from South Africa over the last ten years. Leisure was necessarily going to be absent from the key considerations of politicians and community leaders given that, as he claimed, "the Front Line States have spent more than $10 billion in repairing the military and civilian facilities".

While leisure may be regarded as important in terms of its role in reconciliation, there was as Mr Ramsamy claimed, simply "less and less money, especially hard currency, to spend on activities like sport and culture" (Kidd, 1987 p32).

Some researchers, while critical of governmental apartheid policies, have adopted similar arguments, and based their analyses upon the assumption that while leisure may not be a neutral issue in the matrix of social relations, it is still an issue that is of lesser significance relative to more crucial struggles of survival. An example of this problematic line of reasoning is provided by Merrett (1986 p6). Perhaps in an attempt to reinforce his own perception of the critical importance of the need for infrastructural reconstruction, Merrett undermines leisure as a sphere of both control and opposition when he comments, for example, on the lack of sporting facilities within South Africa:

> ...[in] townships [and] ... bantustans ... controlled by comprador elites ... the scope for 'normal' sport ... is negligible given that they are racially segregated segments of the South African polity and so poverty stricken that basic social services are at a premium...

Ultimately, this argument is rooted in the same conservative discourse favoured by the government in its attempt to neutralise efforts to recognise leisure as a sphere of struggle. This logic is inappropriate to the deconstruction of past oppositions to apartheid for two key reasons. Firstly, it serves to negate the overt struggles that have taken place against discriminatory policies. Secondly, it cripples resistance to government control.

Leisure, while not always recognised as a crucial political forum has, nevertheless, been the focus of numerous visible contests against apartheid. The Defiance Campaign of 1952, for instance, is one of the earlier examples of community attempts to express their contempt for the spread of apartheid within the reproductive sphere. Advocating an organised campaign of civil disobedience, the African National Congress (ANC) sought to oppose apartheid by, amongst other things, defying segregation rulings on recreation facilities. Racist legislation at places such as railways and post offices were key targets at this time (New Nation, August 1989 p2). The importance of this

opposition to government rulings in the sphere of leisure lay in the impact that it had upon the anti-apartheid movement. It was this very campaign, as New Nation contends, that enabled the ANC to become a cohesive, mass based organisation; a change that later would have historical significance in the history of the struggle against apartheid.

Similar examples of successful oppositions to apartheid are contained in South African history from the 1960s through to the 1990s, providing further evidence that leisure-based struggles cannot simply be relegated to a position of secondary status. At the forefront of these stand the accomplishments of the sports and cultural boycotts. These campaigns centred upon the objective of isolating South Africa from international cultural arenas, and led to a string of instances in which South Africa was expelled or banned from international organisations.

Though the country had begun to experience growing isolation since the 1950s, as an expression of disapproval over the government's apartheid policies, it was not until 1968, following South Africa's banning of a South African born, 'coloured' English cricket player, that the campaign to ostracise the country gained momentum. Between this time and 1970, the country was expelled from the Olympic committee and forbidden to participate in the games; the International Cricket Conference imposed a ban on all sporting competitions; and rugby tours were either cancelled or severely disrupted (New Era, April 1987b).

So powerful did the pro-boycott sentiment during this period become that a committee linked to the International Cricket Conference passed a resolution of support, not because they supported the boycott on "idealistic or ideological grounds" (Merrett, 1986 p6) but because they feared retribution from black members. Similarly, blacklistings and disciplinary measures faced artists who attempted to perform in South Africa in contravention of Declaration 2396 passed by the United Nations, advocating that

> ...all states and organisations ... [should] suspend cultural, educational, sporting and other exchanges with the racist regime and with other organisations or institutions in South Africa which practice Apartheid...
> (New Era, April 1987a p36)

The importance of these examples of resistance to state policy is clearly reflected by the extent of government intervention in the world of leisure, in its attempts to counteract the successes of these campaigns. Herein, I contend, lies the second reason why the relegation of leisure to a position of secondary status in the history of opposition to apartheid and discrimination is inappropriate.

The reality of anti-apartheid groupings rallying around issues of leisure resource distribution made government counteraction vital. Attempts by the government to highlight the normality of sporting opportunities under conditions which were clearly far from equitable, gave left wing organisations opportunities to highlight resource provision inequities. So, for example, during the Sri Lankan cricket tour of South Africa in 1982, twenty nine organizations in Pietermaritzburg used the event to highlight the existence of inadequate and, in some instances non-existent, facilities in black areas (Merrett, 1986). To ignore such challenges would be to allow the development of a strong platform of opposition which would ultimately draw attention to linkages between leisure-related inequalities and wider systems of discrimination.

In adopting the assumption that leisure is a variable that does not occupy a position of prominence within the matrix of social relations, one feeds in, therefore, to a conservative discourse in which both covert and clear political interventions are glossed over. The significance of this discourse lies not only in the fact that it disables critiques of social control and manipulation, but also that it serves to limit severely insight into the dialectics existent between state agendas and community resistance. By drawing attention, for example, to the political nature of variations in municipal funding allocations, and the extreme variations in leisure facility provision across South

African cities, one necessarily widens the analytical focus in which community oppositions can be identified.

In the context of South Africa, this broadening of emphasis will be axiomatic to the development of a coherent theory of leisure, and an essential means of counteracting the deconstruction of conservative discourses which have been utilised by state bodies, and permeated the reasoning of those within anti-state bodies.

Thus far in this chapter, a broad outline of key historical processes has been provided to illustrate the fallacy of regarding leisure as a variable in the matrix of social relations that is characterised by intrinsic freedom and independent choice. State apartheid planning, as has been argued, has long influenced and constrained the choices of individuals, and leisure itself has been the focus of governmental efforts to enforce and promote its own interests. The penetration of conservative discourses, as has been shown, necessarily complicates the task of understanding the complex dialectics of resistance and control. An appreciation of this intervention shows that community efforts share this approach to leisure with the very forces they attempt to challenge. In the past, this has enabled the government to adopt a deceptive agenda. As we have seen, this has been manifested in the fact that the state has alternately promoted leisure as a neutral meeting place for different communities, and then as a forum of political conflict, depending on its expedient needs.

The examples that have been provided so far, however, all have in common the fact that they are linked directly to state interventions upon the world of leisure. To regard community efforts only as the result of stimulus responses to outside constraints is to lack insight into the complexity of hegemonic power dialectics. The importance of recognising community based initiatives in leisure relations is clearly illustrated by the growth of the People's Parks Movement of the 1980s. It is to this phenomenon that attention is now turned.

5.4: Community Investments in Leisure Time: Further Lessons for the Development of a Comprehensive Theorisation of Leisure

Conditions in South African townships are typically believed to be unstable, unstructured and anarchic. But it is evident that the realities of life in these areas are far more ordered and complex than is commonly appreciated. In a study conducted under the auspices of the University of Natal, for example, it was found that despite the apparent lack of discipline and guidance for young children, leisure time was often governed by strict rules of conduct (Moller, 1991). Data gathered for the study showed that this structuring of leisure time was linked to the fact that leisure was regarded by young people "as the vehicle for social advancement denied to them through regular channels" (p10).

A marked difficulty arises, however, when attempting to analyse the nature and role of community-based efforts in the sphere of leisure insofar as they serve to shape social relations. The most obvious hindrance for those within the discipline of geography arises from the fact that the townships themselves have often remained terra incognita for academics. Together with the predisposition to analysis of factors regarded as more political and deserving of attention, such as housing and health, this has resulted in the lack of insight into social processes in the reproductive sphere.

In this regard, the available documentary evidence and analyses of the People's Park Movement of the 1980s are of particular significance to geographers. Few studies regarding this movement are in existence, and the details, where they exist in secondary sources such as newspapers, are often sketchy. Nevertheless, what is at hand is sufficient to draw out vital guidelines for future investigations into leisure patterns and reinterpretations of South Africa's past.

Started at a time when the struggle for control of townships was at its height, the origins of the People's Parks movement were at a point in history when the traditional leadership structures of townships were in tatters. The presence of government agents, informers and diverse political groupings, together with an increasing military presence and school boycotts, made the townships during this period particularly volatile (Sack, undated).

Under these fluid and apparently chaotic conditions, a systematic programme began in many areas such as Mamelodi, Soweto, Alexandria and Kagiso. Though the Movement, as Sack notes, was related to the United Democratic Front's call for a plan of action to demonstrate opposition to the government, its significance lies in the fact that it took the form of a non-militant response, using creative means of expression not typically associated with the realm of struggles against apartheid. Using local materials such as old tyres, bottles and corrugated iron, open spaces and neglected parks were transformed into safe areas in which children could play and, in some instances, youth clubs could meet (Sack, undated). As Sack (p2) contends, though many traditional forms of administrative control had broken down

> ...artists, gardeners, community workers, school children, traders ... all joined in this activity, intent on beautifying and reconstructing the township environment.

In the township of Mamelodi, in particular, the scale of transformation resulted in visible changes to the environment, with tree-lined streets softening an otherwise harsh landscape (Jaffee, 1986).

Though the Movement succeeded in bringing about extensive modifications in some townships, its successes were short lived. In part, this is because the transformation of open spaces did not simply involve the beautification of landscapes and the improvement of facilities. Instead, it became the forum for strong and subversive political sentiment. Sack (1989, p205, 208/9) writes:

> The 'people's parks' can also be viewed as part of the creation of an overtly political culture .... The kind of junk used and the choice of

> slogans serve[d] to define the socio-political context of the township[s] .... Wherever one went in Mamelodi there were groups of youths working together to make parks that were tributes to political heroes such as Lithuli, Mandela and Biko .... The residents took it upon themselves to grass and landscape these spaces creating not only a 'garden of Eden' but a 'political landscape'.

It was precisely this political theme, as Sack (1989) contends, that led to the parks being swiftly eliminated by security forces, early targets following the implementation of Emergency legislation at the end of 1985. The utilisation of tyres and stones in many of the parks provided the necessary justification for military personnel to destroy the reconstructed areas; these formed the basis of township arsenal against the police and the army. Residents, as Sack (undated) notes, in townships such as Mamelodi attempted to resist interference by rebuilding the parks whenever they were destroyed. But by the end of 1985, few traces of the parks remained. People were under strict instructions from the military not to attempt to paint or construct anything of a political nature in the open spaces throughout the townships.

What lessons, then, may be drawn from the phenomenon of the People's Parks Movement for the construction of a holistic theory of leisure? The significance of this Movement, it is contended, lies in the four key issues that it raises regarding the dialectics of control and resistance, and the deconstruction of the relationships between space and society.

Firstly, and most obviously, the existence of the Movement serves to reiterate the crucial importance of recognising the reproductive sphere as a site of struggle. Connected to this realisation is the additional issue of understanding that struggles within this sphere cannot be accommodated within dualistic models of stimulus and response, between production and reproduction. Frequently, as was shown in chapters three and four, structuralist theorists view the processes of production as being of paramount importance in social relations. These are regarded not as a fluctuating and dynamic framework, but as a rigid and constraining base that shapes and impinges upon decisions made in leisure time.

The People's Parks Movement represented an altogether different response at a time of increasingly violent opposition between the state and township communities. This is evident in the fact that the Movement, centred upon the beautification of areas and the reconstruction of broken services, was an altogether passive programme. Moreover, it was a programme characterised by the fact that the energies associated with it were directed towards the well being of the community, rather than simply direct opposition to military interference.

This inward-looking focus suggests that in the construction of a theoretical framework it is vital to move beyond broad divisions between oppressors and the oppressed, insofar as the actions of the oppressed are seen as being solely determined and defined by the whims of those in control. In the South African context one must identify the wider structural constraints within social relations given the extensive influence of apartheid planning. Nevertheless, to see community energies only as a response to outside influences is to negate the possibility that state decisions and strategies are influenced by community energies.

What the Movement was not, was an expression of a desire to seize control within traditional power structures. As Sack argues, "underlying all this activity ... was a struggle on the part of the community towards ***self determination*** and the reinstatement of their own political and cultural values" (Sack, 1989 p210; emphasis not in original text). Political conflicts within townships had resulted in the deterioration in the relationship between a more passive older community and a more militant younger generation. Through the establishment of creative projects, the Movement thus served the important function of establishing cohesion, as Sack (undated) argues, through helping to overcome some of the differences that had arisen. The prime objective, it may be contended therefore, was not the reclamation of political power outside the township environment, but rather the reclaiming of power inside the area through the restoration of public services such as garbage collection.

For researchers, this points to the importance of recognising a second key issue, namely that resistance and control dialectics involve more than direct confrontations and negotiations. This recapturing of community cohesion and structure was clearly no less political than any other option available to the community. Testimony lies in the degree of state intolerance towards this development and the fact that the successes of the Movement became pointed targets of the state following the implementation of Emergency legislation.

The construction of a coherent understanding of leisure, it is contended therefore, is dependent on the recognition of complex networks of social processes: some processes being directly linked to each other in a cause-and-effect relationship, and others linked in subtle and tangential, even contingent, ways. This understanding is a particularly crucial consideration with regard to South African leisure patterns and processes. The existence of extensive apartheid legislation in the past may easily predispose researchers to assumptions of monolithic state power and control; assumptions thus leading to the obstruction of insight into the nature and extent of community opposition.

The third key issue arising from a consideration of the People's Parks Movement that is important for the construction of a progressive and holistic appreciation of leisure processes, relates to the interconnections between society and space. The spatial form of the city, as has been argued, is one of the central interests for geographers who examine the way in which the wider mode of production translates into urban form. However, much of the interest shown in the relationship between society and space has been centred predominantly upon the sphere of production.

It is understandable that such an approach is considered to be of importance, for it is production processes that secure structural economic coherence and continuity. We may also argue that such an approach is also likely to have arisen simply because it is easier to map the relationship between capitalist interests and the transformation of the urban landscape. Private investments and state planning strategies typically have direct

and tangible effects upon urban form. Factories, roads, shops and parking lots, for example, are all clearly visible impacts arising from the pursuit of profit.

But such an approach, while telling us much about the direct origins of particular urban forms provides us with little insight into struggles within the reproductive sphere. Community interventions in the world of leisure, by contrast, inevitably do not impact on the tangible landscape to the same degree. This is because, particularly in South Africa, many communities lack the financial resources to back such developments, and because access to decision making structures is often minimal.

Fourthly, the fact that the Movement arose at a time of fluid and chaotic conditions illustrates my point that the breakdown in recognisable structure within society should be viewed as a potential moment of community intervention rather than a cause of despair. I have said that the People's Park Movement was directed towards the wellbeing of the community rather than simply a direct opposition to military interference. One learns from this that leisure is not simply a mirror image of work: the People's Park Movement was not simply a reaction to apartheid policies. Instead, leisure is a potentially autonomous sphere which can give space to community action which transcends the status quo, instead of merely reacting to it. Within the realm of leisure there is then, the possibility for the politics of change.

The importance of the People's Park Movement lies in the fact that it points to the need for a consideration of the transient, fleeting expressions of community values and priorities within leisure time. In essence, what is advocated in a holistic study of leisure, is a consideration of negotiations over the ***utilisation*** of space, and not only investigations into tangible signs of inequality such as unequal resource distribution. Such an approach is a prerequisite for a community centered framework for leisure studies; the emphasis is shifted from a preoccupation with the impacts of state and capitalist planning, to a consideration of the ***responses*** of communities to the environments in which they find themselves.

This is not to suggest that the extremes of resource distribution should be disregarded. Such inequalities form the basis of an essential point of resistance against bias in state budgeting, and a necessary platform for exposing the impacts of past apartheid planning. The severe lack of facilities in the townships outside Port Elizabeth, for example, that was discussed earlier, is one such context that could provide the basis for a powerful critique of past and present municipal programmes.

Such an approach, however, is two edged, for while it facilitates the exposure of injustice, it can also feed directly into a wider conservative discourse, in which black areas are portrayed as undeveloped and, above all, the site of anarchic energies that are difficult to contain. The conservatism of this discourse, it is contended, lies in the fact that it ultimately disempowers communities: the focus remains upon issues of decay, absence or neglect, and easily disregards less tangible indicators of community cohesion and solidarity. The existence of the People's Park Movement points to the need to extend analytical consideration beyond issues of accessibility to material leisure resources. For geographers, it is necessary to realise the potential for analysis in the corollary of Smout and Naidu's (1986 p627) claim that "the mere provision of amenities may ... have little or no utility value". This is, that even if a facility is not available, it does not mean that a community is in crisis, given that their value systems may come to be expressed in other forums.

The foundation for progress within leisure geography depends therefore on the recognition of the dual importance of resource distribution inequity, as well as the significance of social negotiations expressed through the utilisation of facilities and open space. Cognizance of transient struggles is as crucial to studies of leisure as a consideration of the material built environment; both are rich sources of detail regarding social relations within the wider mode of production.

5.5: Conclusion

This chapter has focused on issues relating to the interconnections between the public and private domains in the world of leisure, specifically in the context of South Africa. It has been shown that the extensive influence of apartheid planning makes reference to wider structural constraints essential when analysing individual decisions and local opportunities within cities.

Attention has also been given to issues related to the formulation of a progressive and holistic framework within which leisure processes can be studied. It was shown that the formulation of such an holistic approach is needed in view of the extensive influence of conservative discourses in the logic of right and left wing groupings which has served to obscure the overtly political nature of leisure.

Finally, with reference to the People's Parks Movement in the townships during 1985, four central issues for future leisure studies were highlighted. Having recognised the importance of establishing a debate that is sensitive to the subtle dialectics of resistance, control and transformation, the focus of this thesis is now turned to a case study in which the implications of the theoretical components of this thesis are explored in detail.

CHAPTER SIX

VALHALLA PARK: A CASE STUDY

6.1: Introduction

In order to gain insight into the socio-spatial dialectics within the apartheid city, it is necessary to identify processes which shape the severe spatial inequalities in the provision, distribution and utilisation of resources prevalent across the South African urban landscape. Such an approach is particularly necessary given the need to establish publically accountable and efficiently co-ordinated planning mechanisms at a time of rapid urban expansion, population growth and social change (Prinsloo, 1989).

Much academic effort has been expended upon exposing the injustices of apartheid through the analysis of, for example, gradients of wealth across cities reflected in variations in housing types. But it is seldom that leisure has been recognised as an important political arena, in which struggles of control and resistance are played out. My thesis was informed by this lack, and therefore motivated by the need for a sound analytical foundation which researchers may use to approach the study of leisure options. Hopefully, the preceding chapters have provided with such a foundation. At this point it is appropriate, therefore, to illustrate its practical value through the application of the theories to a case study.

The case study aims to challenge commonsense assumptions that lie behind dominant approaches within leisure research.
It serves, therefore, to address three issues within geography which must be addressed within geographical research - particularly within a South African context.

Firstly, by focusing on leisure the study serves to highlight the political importance of social contexts outside formal working environments - an area of discussion long neglected in structuralist geographical analysis. There is, within geography, a pervasive neglect of reproductive processes. This has obstructed insight into the subtlety of the interconnections between production and reproduction.

Secondly, this study will address the failure within much former leisure research to contextualise localised patterns and processes. In contrast to such approaches, I attempt to highlight the way in which apartheid planning related to leisure made a political impact upon the lives of individuals. This takes the form of developing insight into the way in which apartheid planning has impacted upon the lives of individuals. This has the function of highlighting the inherently political nature of leisure given the interconnection between the choices that can be made by individuals, and the context within which these decisions are made. The purpose of the practical investigation is thus to emphasise the way in which the contemporary localised leisure options of a community can only be fully understood with reference to the wider contemporary and historical context of the apartheid city.

Thirdly, by focusing on a community-based initiative, aimed at overcoming problems generated by poor state planning and discrimination, this study serves to illustrate that leisure must be recognised as a forum of resistance and opposition. Many structuralist explanations, such as those provided by Harvey (1989) are rooted in the belief that not only are production processes of paramount importance, but also that choices within the reproductive sphere are ultimately constrained by 'outside' forces.

As has been argued, a constant prioritisation of work and productive processes, *combined* with a deterministic conceptualisation of the impact of such processes on the

sphere of reproduction, obstructs insight into the dynamics of complex value negotiations and struggles within the sphere of leisure. To view leisure as being 'residual' to work or to define it in opposition to work is to trivialise the role and importance of community-based challenges and responses to prevailing social conditions. The aim of this study is, in contrast, to develop a more empowering critique of leisure-based social processes in South Africa, by stressing the role and impact of community responses to local circumstances. The case study is, therefore, the forum for the analytical application of some of the key assumptions and contentions presented in the first five chapters.

It must be noted that the function of the case study is not to provide, in every instance, quantitative data in support of particular hypotheses; the very nature of social dynamics in the realm of leisure makes an empirical, positivistic approach inappropriate. Insight into the dynamics of control, resistance and transformation is, rather, dependent upon a qualitative approach which explored the overt and covert agendas of affected parties.

In this regard, attention is given to the nature of the discourse which inform state and community organisations' priorities, rather than the specific logistics of long or short term leisure-related planning.

6.2: Objectives

The overarching objective of this study is to analyse the nature and importance of leisure as a forum of resistance and control in the context of the South African city from a structuralist perspective. These dynamics will be examined with reference to state, capitalist and community bodies. Reference is made to:

1. The historical development of apartheid planning within the city of Cape Town. As I have stressed throughout this thesis, to understand the nature of current, localised leisure options, patterns, and crises it is necessary to refer to the wider social forces that have shaped them.

2. The discourses of leisure that inform the foundation of state and community agendas. It is clear by now that this thesis serves to examine the degree to which the commonsense discourses of leisure as a neutral social variable has permeated the thinking of organisations, and to ascertain to what extent this has shaped leisure being perceived as a site of struggle between state, capitalist and community organisations.

3. Future planning objectives for community and state organisations.

With reference to point three above, it was decided to focus specifically on the two broad categories of community and state bodies. The third category outlined in this thesis, that of private organisations, is not given pivotal attention within the case study discussion. This is because no private investments were evident in Valhalla Park. One project, viz, the gang rehabilitation programme, may have been supported by private funding. However, the co-ordinator refused to divulge details of this scheme. In the absence of identifiable capitalist parties it was, therefore, not possible to assess the impact of such private intervention in the community. One could argue though, that the very lack of capitalist tangible investments in the area is an important issue for discussion. It tells us much about the priorities and agendas of investors, and the implications that these have for both community and state planning, insofar as capitalist initiatives cannot be relied upon to provide leisure alternatives in such areas.

A discussion of the complex relationships between bodies, such as the church, for example, and their role and influence with regard to the formulation of community leisure options, was considered to be irrelevant to the immediate concerns of this case study. The focus of the thesis, thus far, has been upon the development of a foundation for the analysis of leisure options, and a consideration of complex intersections between state, capitalist, and community discourses. A consideration of religious ideologies, while relevant to a larger scale study of leisure, would have diverted attention from the fundamental goal at hand. Given that the utilisation of church facilities in the area is primarily restricted only to those supportive of a particular ideology, it was decided that such facilities could not be regarded as relevant to a discussion of general, open public space.

6.3: The Location and Scale of the Study

The city of Cape Town (refer to Figure Three) was seen as an ideal location for a structuralist analysis of leisure patterns and processes, particularly related to resource provision and utilisation. The extensive range of structural forces shaping the process of urban planning, as well as state/community and capital dynamics, thus makes Cape Town an appropriate area for the analysis of the dialectics of control and resistance. It is, according to Western (1981), one of the most rigidly segregated urban centres in South Africa with conspicuous spatial inequalities in the distribution of recreational facilities (See Smit, 1987).

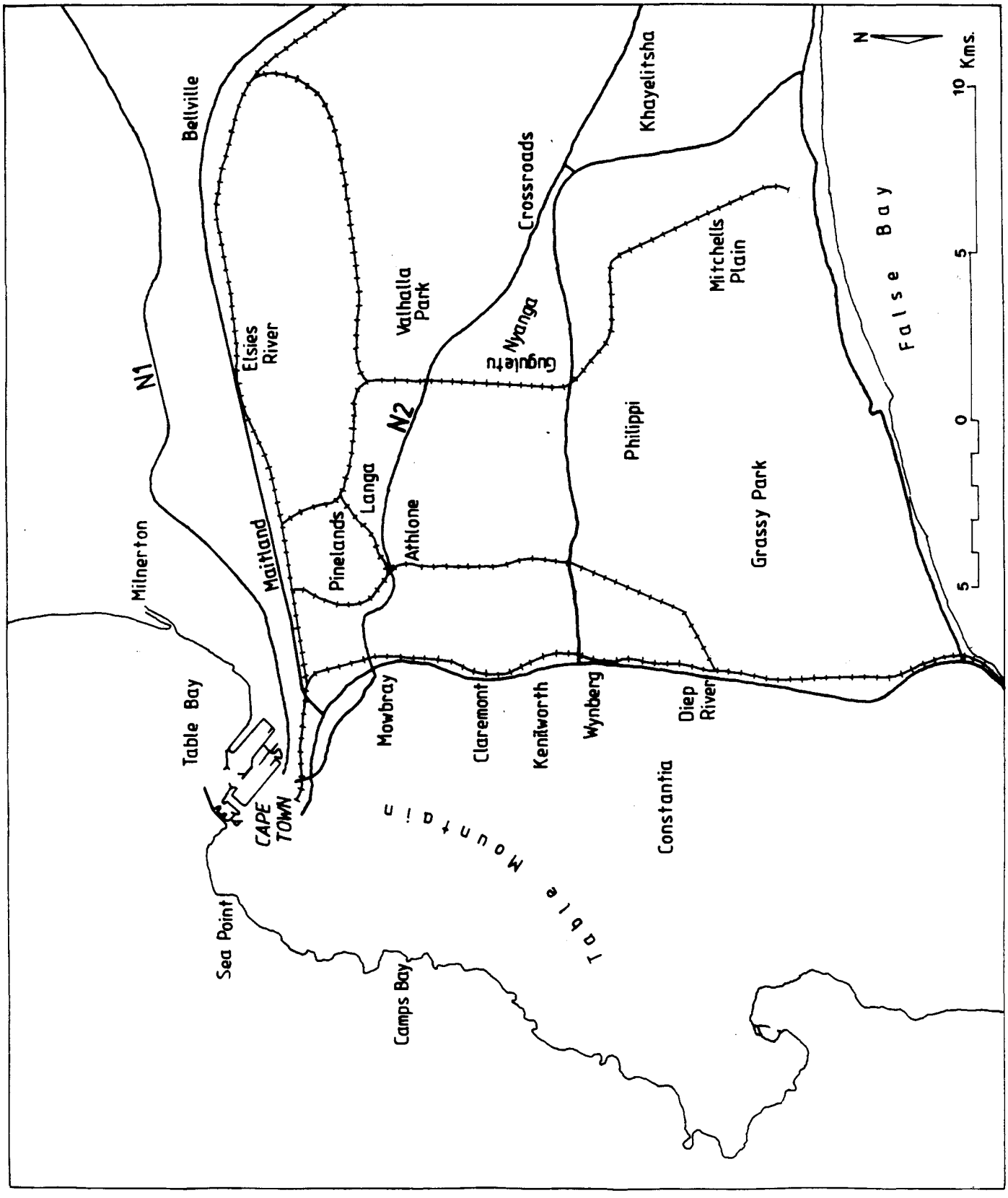

FIGURE 3:

CAPE TOWN
SELECTED RESIDENTIAL AREAS
(After: Cook, 1986 p59)

Furthermore, the urban landscape has been shaped by a particularly complex range of frequently conflicting ideological forces. In addition to the socio-economic tensions generated by the fragmentation of urban planning bodies, further structural social tensions have developed. This is as a result of the City Council administrators adopting hostile attitudes to apartheid planning on one hand, while capitulating or failing to resist conservative, central state interference, on the other (Pinnock, 1989; Todes, Watson and Wilkinson, 1989).

Many newly developed areas in the city are characterised by hostile, drab environments and recreational facilities are often sparse and inadequate. The urgent need for recreation facility provision and upgrading in Cape Flats communities, as described in Putterhill and Bloch (1978) remains a critical issue. A structuralist analysis of the social dynamics related to leisure time in Cape Town is thus a key to understanding the reasons for the continuation and perpetuation of crises in social conditions.

In 1987, Smit produced a masters thesis at the University of Stellenbosch, documenting leisure resource provision in the metropolitan area of Cape Town, in which demand patterns were examined and possible planning strategies for the area were presented. While the thesis is useful in terms of identifying macro-scale disparities in the spatial distribution of leisure facilities, the scope of the project obstructs insight into factors shaping variations in the utilisation of these resources. Furthermore, the emphasis on leisure activity preferences and patterns within the thesis resulted in a superficial evaluation of the broader economic and political dynamics shaping these patterns.

This study, in contrast, has a far more specific focus. Initially, the intention was to compare the recreational facilities and opportunities in one high- and one low-income community, but this idea was abandoned. Residents of high income areas are able, by

virtue of access to private transport to travel on more flexible routes, to utilise recreational facilities elsewhere. Low income residents, by contrast, are predominantly reliant on local facilities. It was decided, therefore, to focus on those people whose leisure options were more clearly delineated and confined. This focus, it was reasoned, would provide more visible linkages between macro-scale social forces and human agency; patterns of resistance, particularly, would be more easily mapped.

Having decided to restrict emphasis to lower income communities, it was then decided to narrow the focus still further, to one particular suburb. The purpose of this was to enable a more indepth analysis of complex, often hidden social relations reflected through the *range* of facilities, as well as their *utilisation*. Given that the provision of facilities is not inevitably associated with their effective utilisation (Smout and Naidu, 1986), a detailed investigation of such trends was seen as an ideal means of exposing forces of resistance and opposition that might well be obscured at a larger scale.

6.4: The Study Area

The area chosen as the site of analysis was the 'coloured' suburb of Valhalla Park. Situated approximately 17 kilometers east of central Cape Town, the suburb is bordered by neighbouring Bishop Lavis, Montana, Nooitgedacht and Kalksteenfontein (See Figure Four).

The final decision to conduct research there was taken following the appearance of a newspaper article in the Cape Times in which details of a gangster rehabilitation programme, initiated by the community, were outlined. According to the report, the

programme, run by a resident, Mr. George Rosenberg, was aimed at reducing crime in an area noted for extreme violence (Cape Times, 13/01/1990).

In view of the emphasis contained in this thesis, the programme was seen as an ideal, practical forum for examining the dialectics of agency and structure. Like the People's Parks Movement discussed in chapter five, it represented an important, overt front of community-based action. It was felt that this programme would be vital also to understanding the dialectics of resistance and control. The linking of Mr. Rosenberg's efforts to the wider context of crises within the apartheid city would provide a powerful base upon which to deconstruct the political nature of leisure time and choices.

The suburb was also regarded as an ideal site for research, given that the conditions contained within it were considered typical of many surrounding communities on the Cape Flats. Like other low income housing estates, Valhalla Park is characterised by a low level of public facility provision and by alienating, hostile environments. As a location for analysis it would typify the crises of recreation resource provision in a wider area.

Valhalla Park has been rated by the Department of National Health and Population Development as the third most deprived area in the Cape Peninsula (Cape Town City Council, 1990). While no accurate unemployment figures exist, a City Council social worker in the area estimated that the current percentage of jobless people in the community was approaching 60% (Hinton, pers comm, 1990). Together with the existence of gang activities in the area, this suggested that alienated leisure experiences would be prominent in the community. This added to the suitability of the area for a structuralist analysis of factors shaping leisure processes, that extended beyond rigid work/leisure dichotomies.

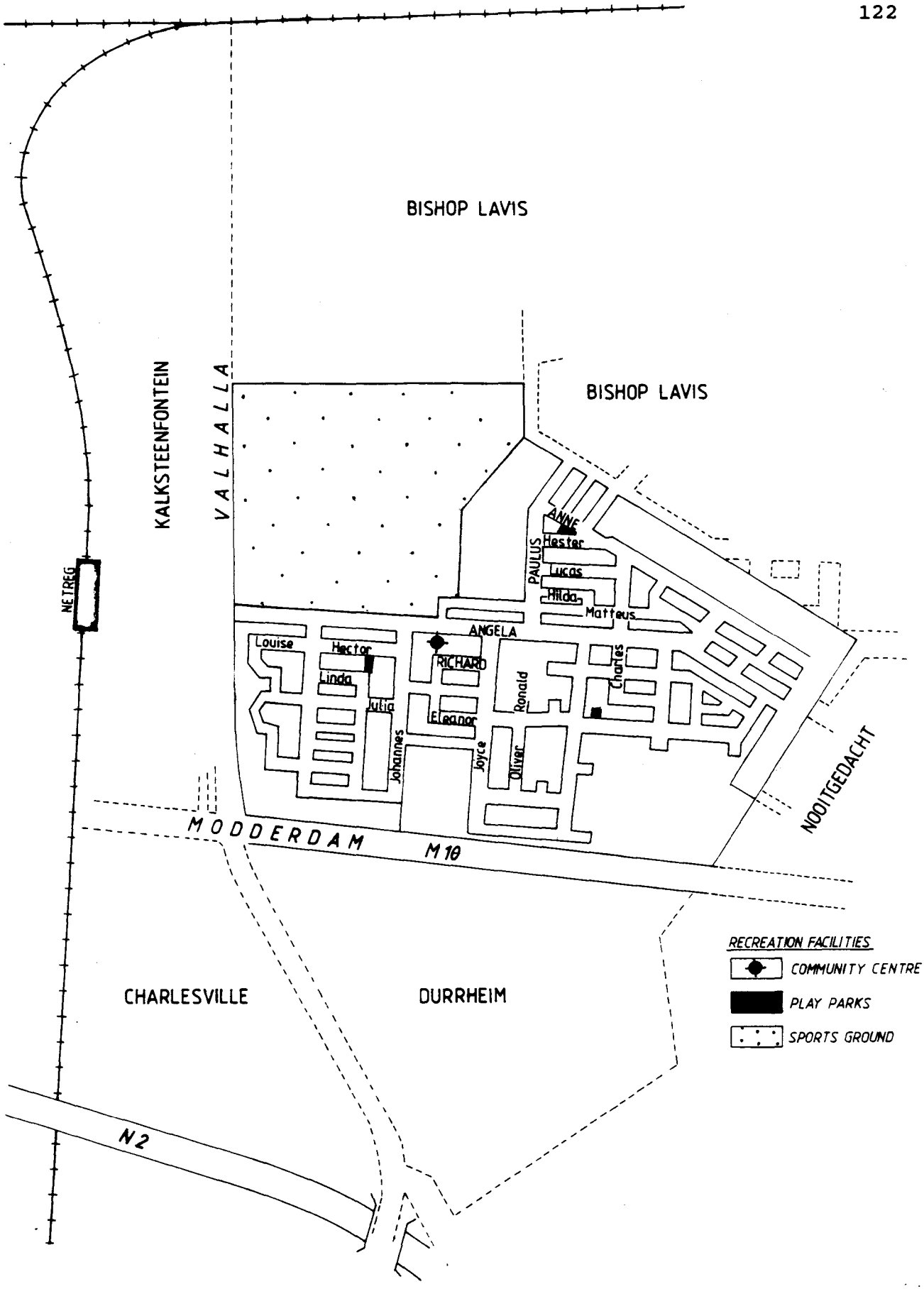

FIGURE 4: VALHALLA PARK
RECREATION FACILITIES

The area was also seen as suitable for analysis, given the existence of a large, open sports field in the north west segment of the suburb (See Figure Four). Emphasis has been placed in this thesis upon the importance of recognising the dynamics of social relations, expressed both through tangible investments, and through the utilisation of space. This sports field was considered an ideal means, therefore, of mapping out clearly discernible patterns of usage.

6.5: Method

Data was collected for the study by means of seven semi-structured interviews with representatives of state and community organisations. Questions were centred on the identification of key leisure-related issues and problems in the area. Four interviews were conducted with City Council personnel, and three interviews with members of community-based organisations and leisure programmes in Valhalla Park. The on-site City Council social worker, who operated from the Valhalla Park Civic Centre was interviewed first to ascertain the range of leisure programmes in the area, and to determine Council leisure-related priorities (See Appendix 1). Leisure programmes and facilities run by the schools in the area did not form part of the discussion. Instead, the focus was confined to those facilities that were available to the entire community. Ms. Hinton was also asked to establish contact with Mr Rosenberg, the head of the gang rehabilitation programme, who could not be reached by telephone.

Following the initial contact with Ms Hinton, an interview was conducted with Mr. Rosenberg (See Appendix 2); the Tenants Association of Valhalla Park, of which Mr Rosenberg was a member; and the Ratepayers Association, to obtain community perspectives on social issues in the area - particularly those related to recreational

activities (See Appendices 3 and 4). An interview was also undertaken with a member of the Housing Branch of the City Council (See Appendix 5), to establish contextual information regarding the historical development of the suburb, and also to develop further insight into what the Council perceived to be the critical problems and prospects facing residents in the area.

A member of the City Council's Amenities Branch - a Mr. Hagen - was also contacted to obtain details regarding the Council's broader planning perspectives with regard to leisure, as well as issues relating to facility distribution and utilisation (for question outline, see Appendix 6). Members of a leisure programme, called 'Come and Play', that is run by the City Council across the Cape Flats, were also interviewed (See Appendix 7).

No members of the community outside civic organisations were interviewed. While the input of residents would have been a valuable means of ascertaining perceptions of local leisure issues, this level of detail was considered to be inappropriate for the purposes of this thesis. It would, nevertheless, be a fruitful avenue for future research.

6.6: Problems Encountered During Research

One of the key difficulties encountered during the course of research was the degree of reluctance shown by some respondents to divulge details. This, sometimes, resulted in very sketchy replies. With regard to the City Council, this difficulty was experienced during the interviews with the worker at the Housing Branch, who did not want to be

identified, and rapidly suggested that the author contact more senior members of the Council at the head office in town.

Similarly, Mr Hagen, expressing concern regarding the purposes of the interview, would not allow it to be recorded, and the capturing of detail was thus extremely difficult. Such attitudes seemed to be linked to a fear of bureaucratic repercussions if responses were made public. As the worker at the Housing Branch stated, "I'd rather not say anything, I don't want this coming back at me later" (Housing Branch, pers comm, 1990). More candid opinions were expressed by the Council social worker, Ms Hinton, who did not indicate any unwillingness to respond to questions.

With regard to community responses, both the Tenants Association and the Residents Association, were willing to respond to the questions asked. However, Mr Rosenberg, as leader of the gangster rehabilitation project, repeatedly refused to provide me with details related to funding. This was frustrating given that he hinted that private companies and embassies had offered financial support for the programme.

Another difficulty encountered during the course of research was related to the high crime rate in the area. At many instances, I felt decidedly vulnerable and at risk. For example, while I waited outside the community centre, for a meeting with the social worker, Ms Hinton, two children aged between eight and ten years, became involved in a fight outside the community centre, and tried to slash at each other with knives. Aggressive comments directed at me by a passing group of gang members also contributed to a sense of unease.

6.7: Discussion

To gain a full understanding of the dynamics operative within leisure time, as has been argued, it is necessary to give close attention to both tangible variables, such as investments in the urban landscape, as well as more transient negotiations occurring in the utilisation of leisure time and facilities. Attention is first turned to the current state of visible leisure investments to establish a contextual base upon which to scrutinise the current responses of both the City Council and the community itself.

6.7.1: The Current State of Leisure Facilities at Valhalla Park

Valhalla Park, like the surrounding suburbs, was characterised by drab housing and a hostile environment. The open space fringing the suburb on the south west side, for example, was poorly kept, covered with clusters of grass and strewn with litter. The area was clearly in desperate need of infrastructural improvement. The roads were in poor repair, street lighting was absent in many sectors of the suburb, and pavements were still gravel, despite the fact that the suburb has been in existence for over ten years.

Leisure facilities in particular were in poor repair. Of the open spaces available, none appeared to be maintained, except for the large sports field in the north west segment of the suburb (discussed further in this section). Three playgrounds were located in the residential area, but minimal facilities, such as jungle gyms, were available. (The parks and sportsfields are highlighted in Figure Four) Gang activity was evident in the

parks; surrounding walls at Hector Street park were daubed with territorial initial markings. Again, no facilities, such as goal posts, were in evidence on the sports field. The only other public facility, namely a council-run community centre, was located in Angela Road (see Figure Four), consisting of rudimentary facilities, and rooms which could be hired for occasions such as weddings or meetings, and in which leisure programmes were undertaken (These programmes are discussed in Section 6.7.4 below).

In deconstructing the social processes operative in leisure time in Valhalla Park, it is crucial to pay specific attention to the wider historical and contemporary context informing the localised options and choices. Current leisure choices are necessarily informed, both directly and indirectly, by past patterns and processes. It is this background of inequality within the apartheid city which highlights the urgency of recognising the importance of leisure options to the well-being of the community, as a forum for addressing and challenging these issues.

Developed in 1979, Valhalla Park was designed to house working class 'coloured' people. The history of the suburb, however, points to the fact that its development was more than simply the product of a need to provide more houses for the growing population of Cape Town. Rather, the establishment of the area formed part of the broader logic of city planning under the Group Areas Act, which designated colour-coded members of society to specific and separate sectors within the city.

Approximately one third of the original residents in the area came from District Six, an inner city suburb declared 'white' in 1966, and from which all residents were evicted. The remaining two thirds came from squatter communities in Retreat, and from the Council waiting list for housing (Cape Town City Council, 1990). This artificial social

engineering resulted in Valhalla Park becoming a potentially volatile concoction of socio-economic conflicts. The poorest members of society, who would, under typical capitalist circumstances, have gravitated as close as possible towards the centre of a city to be close to services and because of minimal transport costs (Dewar and Ellis, 1979), were now locked into an area seventeen kilometers from Cape Town.

The lack of recreational opportunities, as the City Council worker, Ms Hinton, argued, is a critical problem in the area (Hinton , pers comm, 1990) precisely because of the severe poverty and unemployment, and the associated issues of violence and deprivation. In a report written by City Council workers in the area, the average monthly income for Valhalla Park, when divided by all residents, including children, was reported to be a mere R62 (Cape Town City Council, 1990 p14). Overcrowding, due to housing shortages in the area, together with the problem of malnutrition, have resulted in "a high incidence of tuberculosis in the area" (ibid p14).

Low incomes have resulted, for instance, in only 25,39% of residents having access to private transport. Though public transport networks are nearby, such as the station at Kalksteenfontein, Ms Hinton noted that these were often the scenes of violent crime, and are therefore avoided, particularly by young women (Hinton, pers comm, 1990). The option of travelling to neighbouring recreational facilities, such as the squash clubs at Athlone, or those available at the University of the Western Cape, was not always viable given the lack of flexibility of many routes, and the high costs involved (ibid). This has meant that community members are largely dependent on the poor range of leisure options provided by the City Council.

The age structure of the area indicates that the rapidly growing population is characterised by a markedly high percentage of young people: most residents (78.9%)

are below the age of 34 years, while 44.1% are below the age of 20 years (Based on 1985 census data contained in the Community Profile - City Council (1990)). There is, as Ms Hinton, suggested, a "sense of aimlessness about the young people. They hang round all day with nothing to do .... They want some kind of structure to their day, but there just aren't the facilities to use" (Hinton, pers comm, 1990). It is this sense of frustration and boredom which is causally linked to problems such as gangsterism, alcohol abuse and domestic violence in the community (Hinton, pers comm, 1990; Rosenberg, pers comm, 1990).

6.7.2: The Utilisation of Leisure Facilities: Negotiations and Struggles

In highlighting the marked lack of recreational facilities, it is clear that the broader context of apartheid has been a central influence in the generation of crisis conditions within the suburb. Nevertheless, an approach centred only upon issues of tangible recreation investments is of limited value in establishing insight into complex, localised leisure dynamics. All public leisure facilities in the suburb are state investments. But while an emphasis upon visible resource provisions enables the construction of a useful political platform of opposition to inadequate planning, there is a very real danger that insight into more subtle, transient community dynamics may be obscured. What is essential, therefore, is an analytical framework that extends beyond resource provision, to include an examination of resource *utilisation*, and the interconnections between the two.

Given the low income levels within Valhalla Park, it is unlikely that intiatives from within the community will ever find expression in terms of tangible adjustments to, or investments in, the physical environment. Thus one may argue, an approach centred

upon resource provision only places community energies within a disempowering framework of external intiatives and consequent internal responses.

A departure from an exclusive preoccupation with visible investments is also essential given that such approaches are predisposed to creating bleak and debilitating images of community realities. These images arise when, in studies of low income communities, the absence of particular facilities is equated with a lack of social coherence and stability. There is undoubtedly a correlation between a lack of social services and community hardship, but often portraits of community life are tainted by an overemphasis upon the politics of exploitation, oppression and absence. So, for example, Ramphele (1992 p23) paints an unduly harsh image of township life, when she writes:

> the failure to service the resource base ... has undermined the very fabric of most black communities. Family coherence is threatened from all directions .... There has been a 'theft of hope' .... Despair is widespread. People are being compelled to use the least creative survival strategies such as crime ... and abuse of alcohol

(See chapter five for a discussion of liberal perspectives on the absence of leisure facilities in black townships). A focus upon issues of resource utilisation *and* availability was viewed as essential in the context of Valhalla Park given its low socio-economic status.

Attention is now turned to three aspects of leisure resource utilisation within Valhalla Park that point to the importance of extending analysis beyond tangible variables so that community struggles can be recognised.

6.7.3: Streets and Sportsfields: Claiming Leisure Resources

Many 'coloured' areas are noted for low percentage areas of open space (Swart and Steyn, 1983) and the need for recreation facility upgrading. The existence of a large open sports field in the northwest sector of the suburb (See Figure Four) was considered an ideal focus for exploring issues related to resource provision, as well as the relationship between resource distribution, access and utilisation. As Smout and Naidu (1986) contend, the mere provision of a resource cannot be regarded as being synonymous with its effective use.

The complexities of the dynamics between resource availability and utilisation were particularly evident in Valhalla Park. Despite the fact that leisure resources in the suburb were scarce, it was evident that this large expanse of land remained unused for lengthy periods of time during the week, as well as over weekends; the field was never used for recreation activities at night (Hinton pers comm, 1990).

This disjuncture between the urgent need for open spaces in an overcrowded suburb and the lack of use of the available facilities must be understood in the context of the violent crime in the area. Often, as Mr Rosenberg (pers comm, 1990) pointed out, residents remained too nervous to cross the field, even during daylight hours, because of the possibility of being attacked. The dangers associated with the field were clearly illustrated by the fact that, just prior to the case study being conducted, a woman was raped during the morning, behind a pile of rubble on the perimeter of the field. The rubble had been left there by the City Council during construction work. On weekends, Mr Rosenberg noted - particularly at night - the field became the site of gang warfare, and residents were reluctant to venture onto it. During the duration of the study no children were observed playing on the field, though the City Council's

'Come and Play' outdoor activities were reported by Ms Hinton to be held there occasionally.

This situation points clearly to the complex issues facing geographers when analysing leisure processes and patterns. In particular, it points to the fact that one cannot depend upon the mere presence or absence of facilities as a barometer of deprivation, or otherwise, in particular areas. Moreover, it points to the fact that one could well mistake the mere provision of a resource in an area for the satisfaction of localised needs. A similar facility in a wealthier suburb, for example, may well have been used far more extensively, in the absence of potential violence. Clearly, given the lack of similar large scale sports grounds in the neighbouring suburbs such as Kalksteenfontein, the field adjacent to Valhalla Park was intended to serve a large area. But the contextual circumstances militated against its effective use.

A further irony about the sports field existed insofar as it remained the only well maintained public leisure facility in the area. The play parks within the suburb were in poor condition, characterised by minimal playing facilities, uncut grass, and broken glass often scattered across the playing surfaces. In contrast, the sportsfield, also the concern of the City Council's Parks and Forests Department, was well maintained, with a wooden perimeter fence in some areas. Ms Hinton (pers comm, 1990) noted that the field was watered and mown on a regular basis. Other open areas within the suburb, which did not fall under the jurisdiction of this department, such as the strip of land alongside the suburb on the south west sector, were also poorly maintained, covered with large tussocks of grass and extensive litter.

The attention given to the sportsfield, despite the fact that residents could not use the area, suggests that Council priorities were centred upon the maintenance of specific

tangible investments without reference to the wider social conditions that informed the usage of such facilities. One could argue cogently, therefore, that this irony is not simply the product of misdirected energies, but rather that the Council is prioritising the maintenance of a state investment over the issues relating to community access to such resources.

All of this suggests that Council decisions should necessarily be undertaken only after informed consideration of the social conditions within areas. Simply within the confines of Valhalla Park, the extreme social deprivation in the area is a result of complex social forces that are difficult to address. A more incisive study of social conditions within the area would, however, probably suggest that the very existence of such a large space of recreational land is entirely inappropriate. Instead, the Council would probably gain indirectly by paying attention to those areas which are more utilised by residents. As Ms Hinton (pers comm, 1990) suggested, leisure activities are an important forum for the promotion of "community spirit". The maintenance of those recreational areas more utilised by residents could, therefore, contribute indirectly to the promotion of social 'stability'.

6.7.4: The Valhalla Park Community Centre

To gain a full understanding of the complex spectrum of social relations within Valhalla Park, it is necessary to turn attention to other forums of intervention within the sphere of leisure. In this regard, the Valhalla Park community centre is of particular interest to this study, for it is the only public centre within the suburb. By focusing on the nature of activities run by the City Council at this centre, and by outlining community responses to such programmes, the intention of this section is to examine the degree to

which the dominant discourse of leisure as a neutral social variable has penetrated the thinking of both state and community organisations.

Valhalla Park is a suburb characterised by an extreme lack of recreation options. The sports fields, as has been shown, are unsafe to use for large parts of the day; park facilities, such as jungle gyms, are often subject to vandalism. As the only public facility within the area, the Community Centre is, therefore, the central focus of organised public activities. Close attention to the programmes and priorities and agendas of the City Council; however, reveals that the role of this centre within the matrix of social relations, is an ambiguous one.

Various sports and cultural clubs operate from the Community Centre. According to the Community Profile of 1990, published by the City Council, these sports include karate, soccer and boxing; sporting equipment for activities such as table tennis, badminton, volley ball, rugby, netball and darts is also available. Netball courts within the confines of the Community Centre grounds are the only other public sports areas, outside the main sportsfield. No theatres or libraries are located within the suburb.

But while the professed aim of the City Council is to promote the utilisation of the Centre in any way the Valhalla Park community wishes (Hinton, pers comm, 1990), it is evident that this strategy is informed by an implicitly conservative discourse. This is apparent in the fact that while the Council actively encourages recreation activities within the centre, it has attempted to obstruct the utilisation of the hall for what are regarded as "political purposes" (Hinton, pers comm, 1990). Ms Hinton noted that while community members could approach the Council with ease to arrange the use of halls within the centre, political meetings could only take place following the payment of a R500 deposit.

This response on the part of the Council says much about its perceptions regarding the role of leisure. Firstly, it points to the fact that leisure activities are seen as clearly differentiated from the realm of the political. Secondly, and more importantly, it is evident that leisure is regarded as a less problematic, neutral variable within social relations. In the context of the social realities of Valhalla Park, this attitude is ironic: gangsterism, violence and alcohol abuse are all activities located within the realm of 'leisure', but these are seldom directly addressed within the programmes administered by the Council. For most of the day the Centre is the site of first aid courses, get-fit classes and sporting activities.

The utilisation of the Community Centre is also strongly influenced by the wider constraints of Council bureaucracy. In this regard, the Council has exhibited a marked degree of apathy past the point of merely providing the infrastructural investment of the Community Centre itself. Ms Hinton (pers comm, 1990) noted that while the Council had "fantastic sporting facilities on its inventory", these were not provided by the Council itself. Rather, this equipment had been raised by community members - Mr Rosenberg, in particular - and stored there for public use. This arrangement is of benefit to the community insofar as it would be replaced, at Council expense, if it was ever stolen. But this arrangement points to a fragile dependence on fortuitous, outside intervention on the part of the Council.

As such, it suggests that the Council is either unable or unwilling to extend its interventions within the realm of leisure. This partial intervention may well be due to the fact that the efficacy of recreation programme planning may be hampered by the division of recreation administration across three Council departments; namely the Parks and Forests Department, the Housing Branch, and the Civic Amenities

Department. Other departments also organized leisure schemes, an example being the Cleansing Department's anti-litter programme, 'Keep the Cape in Shape'. Ms Hinton noted that even within Valhalla Park, Council bureaucracy was clearly obstructive to the smooth running of the Centre. Curtains for the Community Centre hall, for example, were stored by the Housing Branch, located next door to the Community Centre. This meant that this resource, when required by social workers, would have to be especially hired from a separate branch of the Council.

To appreciate the full spectrum of leisure-related social dynamics and to develop a more empowering critique of state-community relations, it is necessary to focus attention on the role and nature of community responses to, and uses of, the Council Centre. The City Council operates a number of recreational programmes within Valhalla Park for young children under the auspices of its 'Come and Play' scheme. These activities, aimed specifically at young children up to the ages of ten to twelve, received strong support from the community. Face painting activities, stilt-walking competitions and sporting activities form part of the services offered by this City Council scheme, operated by three permanent staff and temporary volunteer workers (Dorman, pers comm, 1992).

Similar schemes held by the Council at the Centre, were reported by Ms Hinton (pers comm, 1990) to be immensely popular with children, school holidays being associated with the highest attendance figures. But the successes of such leisure schemes and programmes, as Ms Hinton noted, were predominantly confined to the youngest sectors of the community. Activities for teenagers, she admitted, were difficult to organise, for the poor socio-economic conditions contributed to adolescents soon dropping out of organised clubs and programmes. In the case of young women this was as a result of domestic pressures; daughters were often required to look after younger siblings, and

thus lacked the time to attend classes. If they did want to attend they often wanted to do so on condition that they could bring their charges and other family members. In view of the limited space available at the Centre, such an arrangement would be clearly untenable.

The community's usage of the Centre was further shaped by the negative social realities of the area insofar as utilisation was largely confined to daylight hours. While a woman's group once operated from the centre on Thursday evenings, this was abandoned due to the threat of violence facing attenders going home in the dark.

Ms Hinton noted that the generation of support for leisure programmes is also exceedingly difficult because of the pervasive apathy within the suburb. As she reasoned, Valhalla Park was a "depressed community in many ways", with residents lacking a sense of community cohesion and "collective purpose". Interviews conducted with the Tenants Association and the Ratepayers Association revealed, however, that the absence of community-based interventions in the realm of leisure was probably more closely related to the political position accorded to leisure-related activities.

Leisure was discussed only in terms of the disrepair or absence of facilities. These were, furthermore, only mentioned in passing. When asked what were considered to be the most pressing concerns in the area, both community organisations highlighted the severe housing crisis in the area, and resultant social pathologies such as alcohol abuse and gangsterism. Although these issues are related to leisure as a political sphere, residents clearly did not choose to make this connection. With the high unemployment levels in the area, as well as the existence of a disproportionately large number of young people, the author anticipated that leisure would have been a key area of vocalised opposition to Council planning and policies. This suggested that both the

Council and the community were informed by discourses of a similarly conservative nature, both viewing leisure as an area of concern, but not as a pivotal political issue.

The lack of expertise related to the establishment of community programmes, as well as the low potential for fundraising in a poverty stricken area, would lead one to anticipate minimal community initiatives in the realm of leisure. But within Valhalla Park, there exists a unique leisure programme aimed at rehabilitating gang members, pointing to the potential of leisure as a site of the transformation. It is to this programme that we now turn attention.

6.7.5: War Without Weapons: Gang Rehabilitation Through Sport

Gang activity within Valhalla Park is one of the key areas of concern to both City Council workers as well as community members. Operating from this area, two gang groupings, namely the Young Americans and the Hard Livings, have often been involved in extremely aggressive conflicts; members engage in battles armed with knives, axes, sticks and homemade shotguns capable of firing a variety of bullets, from AK-47 rounds to shotgun cartridges (Cape Times, 08/07/1989).

This violence has been of constant concern to other community members, because of the fact that it has impacted constantly upon those not directly involved (Residents Association, pers comm, 1990). In a report published in the Cape Times in 1989, for example, a story outlined how residents, faced with regular Sunday battles between the rival groupings, were forced to gather their children indoors, for fear of them being

hurt in spates of gunfire; this threat was prevalent particularly along the territorial dividing line of Angela Street (Cape Times, 08/07/1989) (see Figure Four).

Against this background of poverty and anti-social behaviour, Mr Rosenberg, attempted to alleviate the threat of gang-related violence by encouraging opponents to participate in sporting activities instead. The logic behind this scheme, started in 1987, as Mr Rosenberg explained, was that sport formed an ideal forum for the displacement of hostilities; cricket matches enabled members to express rivalry within the contained rules and confines of sport. These activities he argued, were essential in terms of helping to "[create] a unified community" (Cape Times, 13/01/1990). While aimed primarily at the gangs in the area, the programme was also devised to incorporate any other youngsters who wanted to become involved.

Mr Rosenberg was optimistic about the future prospects of his programme and claimed that it had led directly to a reduction in the crime rate. An article on the running of the health services in Valhalla Park, published in the Cape Times in November 1990, appeared to provide support to his claims. According to the reporter, while services in the past had been underutilised because of threats of gang violence, a decline in the threat of violence now enabled women to "not need protection when they visited clinics"; child health clinics were reported to be "operating without harassment from gangsters" (Cape Times, 06/11/1990).

But the reality of the impact of the gang rehabilitation programme was more complex than suggested by Mr Rosenberg. Certainly, the universal transformation of the adverse social conditions within the Valhalla Park community, aimed at by Mr Rosenberg, was not apparent. During the running of his programme, gang violence continued to flare within the suburb. A report published in the Cape Times during

March 1990 provided a brief outline of further gang related hostilities along Angela Road (Cape Times, 03/05/1990). Similarly, Ms Hinton, who worked daily within the community, stated that from her perspective, it was difficult to discern any positive, visible changes arising from the programme. While supporting the objectives of the programme, particularly insofar as it represented an important community-generated initiative, she remained doubtful of its success given the context of extreme hardship within which it was located.

For researchers within the field of leisure, this programme is significant for three key reasons. Firstly, it provides further evidence to support the contention that for researchers to deconstruct the complexities of leisure-related processes, it is necessary to progress beyond a preoccupation with tangible patterns of infrastructural investments. Centred as it was on the utilisation of existing facilities, the gang rehabilitation scheme found no expression in permanent or visible changes to, or in, the urban landscape. Nevertheless, it contributed in some way, as the article on health services indicated, to counteracting severe local crises. Such challenges and negotiations would be entirely overlooked by researchers utilising myopic frameworks centred exclusively upon resource distribution patterns.

Secondly, the programme points to the possibility of establishing empowering critiques of leisure that progress beyond the liberal despair of past analyses of conditions in township areas. The success of the programme initiated by Mr Rosenberg was clearly limited. Nevertheless, the existence of the scheme, prompted by widespread community concern, points to the fact that, even under conditions of extreme hardship and poverty, community-based organisation is possible.

Finally, I contend that the significance of the programme lies in the issues that it raises regarding future social negotiations within the realm of leisure, specifically related to state versus community priorities and planning strategies. The success of the programme was constrained by the broader context of poverty and social pathologies. Nevertheless, the fact that some degree of success was apparent raises a vital question: should such success be taken as an indication that communities should shift their energies from struggles regarding leisure resource distribution, to struggles regarding the utilisation of existing leisure resources?

During interviews with both the Tenants Association and the Ratepayers association, the lack of leisure facilities was noted as a point of contention. Members of both committees expressed concern that while other suburbs on the Cape Flats had superior facilities - Athlone was mentioned as an example of such a suburb, equipped as it was with a sports stadium and public swimming pool - Valhalla Park was noted for its conspicuous lack of leisure alternatives (pers comm, 1990).

While the marked gradient of resource distribution inequality is an issue of obvious concern, one may question whether, ultimately, community energies should be devoted to confrontations related to such issues. If community energies can result in successful value negotiations at the level of resource utilisation, one may argue that community energies would be better spent in this area, in terms of establishing self-sufficiency and cohesion.

This argument can be strengthened with reference to the realities of planning procedures as laid down by the City Council. Community input regarding desired changes is strongly encouraged by the City Council, according to Mr Hagen of the Amenities Department, given that accountability to communities is a priority on the

agenda of the Council. But investments and changes within particular areas had to be assessed within the context of the broader needs of the community. As he claimed, it was seldom that any community had an understanding of "the big picture", concerned as they were with local needs and issues. As Rommelspacher (1984 p47) points out:

> Although the public on the one hand is encouraged to show more interest in communal politics and increase their efforts to improve their environment, community discussions and direct interaction between developers, the public and official authorities seems to be generally discouraged by the very process aimed to help

With regard to leisure facilities, one may argue that struggles related to resource provision would be particularly problematic for communities, given that this issue is not always viewed as a critical priority by the Council. Mr Dorman, of the Come and Play programme, for instance, expressed concern that the urgent need for recreation facilities in the wider Cape Town region was not "taken seriously enough" by the Council (Dorman, pers comm, 1992). The fact that Come and Play was such a small programme (consisting of only three permanent workers) despite its critical value to communities was, he argued, symptomatic of this attitude.

At a time of severe budget constraints, the possibility of gaining support for an issue that features peripherally in the grand vision of the City Council, would seem minimal. In the context of paternalism and financial difficulties, community input in resolving such issues would need to be extensive, concerted and well-orchestrated. If demands for leisure resource provision were met at all, this would only be done at considerable cost to a poverty stricken community such as Valhalla Park.

6.8: Conclusion

While the above reasoning suggests that communities would be well advised to shift their efforts to the realm of resource utilisation, this undertaking should not take place *in isolation* from demands for resource provision. If so, a focus on utilisation could, in fact, work against the best interests of the community. While they may well be able to effect social changes through the adoption of utilisation strategies, a preoccupation with this issue will obscure the pressing urgency of addressing past inequities. Furthermore, the City Council has much to gain in advocating a planning scheme centred upon issues of resource utilisation rather than resource provision. Most obviously, such a strategy necessarily involves less commitments to costly investments.

What is suggested instead, is a dual commitment, on the part of the community and the Council, to issues of both resource provision and utilisation. Smout and Naidu (1986) argued that there was not necessarily a direct link between resource provision and utilisation. This, then, could provide a powerful axis of struggle for communities. The disjuncture between the Council's intended usage of resources, and the actual usage, informed by localised crises and conditions, tells us much about the inter-relationship between wider social forces and the localised leisure experiences of individuals.

CONCLUSION

Leisure studies, as Rojek (1985 p6) has noted, are still in "a molten state" given that such research "is a relatively recent phenomenon in the development of western social science". In this thesis, it has been argued that the development of a sound geography of leisure is critical to progress within the broader discipline. For geographers who are concerned with understanding the "locational dynamics of urban space" (Leitner, 1987), an investigation of leisure patterns and processes is necessary when attempting to identify and deconstruct the full and complex range of social relations within cities. However, while the geography of leisure may well be in its early stages of development, it has been shown that such studies are tainted by key methodological and conceptual inadequacies. This thesis began by examining definitions of leisure within sociological theory. Theoretical progress within geography has been informed by wider theoretical developments, and the aim of this investigation, therefore, was to construct an understanding of the broader theoretical debates within the field.

With this as a theoretical background, attention was then turned from the specifics of definitions and meanings, to the identification of themes and interests within sociological and geographical research. An alarming lack of progress within the geography of leisure was noted. The state of crisis which characterises the geography of leisure was shown to be unfortunate given that geography, with its professed aims of holism, is a discipline ideally suited to the task of deconstructing social dialectics in the realm of leisure. The root causes of this lack of progress, it was contended, lay in the co-option of research energies on the part of private concerns. With geographers acting as planners and consultants for capitalist organisations, the possibility of developing a critical framework in leisure studies was shown to be minimal: the sheer diversity of market-related interests and the fragmentation of research efforts militate against the establishment of a coherent theory of leisure.

The structuralist paradigm, it was then argued, will provide the theoretical anchor necessary to future progress within leisure geography. At the heart of this paradigm lies a detailed attention to the subtle dialectics between agency and structure. Leisure is presented in commonsense discourses as a neutral social variable. But individual leisure options, as Jenkins and Sherman (1985) have shown, can only be understood with constant reference to the wider structural context of capitalist society. A structuralist approach was shown to be vital in analysing the balances of power relations between capitalist, state and community bodies.

Particular attention was given to the identification of many existing structuralist explanations of capitalist society, such as those provided by Harvey (1989). It was argued that such explanations were inappropriately deterministic and disempowering: the efforts of communities were seen as being continually subsumed, manipulated or crushed by more powerful capitalist interests. Close attention was given to the reasons why leisure occupies a problematic position within the matrix of capitalist social relations. The fusion of reproduction and production, it was contended, has rendered redundant the explanations of Harvey. This was shown to be due to the fact that leisure is the site of constant negotiations of power and control, rather than raw and easily discernible patterns of abuse and manipulation. The extension of production into the reproductive sphere was shown to provide valuable opportunities for resistance and identity affirmation.

The importance of recognising the contribution and role of community energies in the realm of leisure was illustrated in the chapters of the thesis concerend with leisure patterns and processes within South Africa. As a background to the case study, chapter five traced central issues in the history of leisure, pointing to the overtly political nature

of leisure processes in South Africa, informed as they have been, by a sordid history of discrimination and inequality. Particular emphasis was placed on the need for geographers to progress beyond a preoccupation with tangible patterns of resource distribution to include a consideration of more transient and intangible patterns of utilisation.

The thesis ended with a case study which drew together the key themes and concepts presented in the previous chapters. Focusing on the community in the suburb of Valhalla Park, the study stressed the analytical importance of locating localised options within broader socio-historical contexts: current community and state leisure-related options and strategies were shown to be directly influenced by past apartheid planning strategies. The study raised vital issues for geographers, particularly at a time when there is growing emphasis upon the need to address the gross inequalities of resources distribution across the landscapes of South African cities. A large open sports field adjacent to Valhalla Park was shown to be underused by the community due to the constant threat of crime. This underutilisation, it was argued, points to the fact that in analysing leisure processes it is vital that one moves beyond crude criteria for assessing inequality, based on inventories of available, tangible investments. It was argued that communities might be advised to shift their attention to struggles centred upon issues of resource utilisation, given the cost of intervention likely to be incurred in formal planning procedures, the climate of paternalism evident in the City Council; and the community's lack of financial power. It was argued, however, that a dual strategy, focusing on both resource utilisation and redistribution, was likely to provide the community with a broader front of resistance and was, therefore, a more viable and profitable alternative.

In the process of tracing an exploratory, analytical path from debates regarding definitions of leisure and recreation, through to the application of theoretical concepts contained in the case study, this thesis has demonstrated the potential that leisure geography has for the deconstruction of social systems. It has served to show that if a comprehensive understanding of urban systems is to be developed, leisure must necessarily be a pivotal focus of future research.

It would be naive to assume that theoretical progress within the field is likely to be made within leisure geography in the immediate future. The pervasive influence of capitalist interests in the world of leisure, as well as the powerful, pervasive influence of conservative discourses amongst researchers, are likely to hinder efforts in this regard. Nevertheless, the growing awareness amongst researchers regarding the need for more holistic understandings of leisure processes is encouraging. Writing about the future of leisure studies in sociology, Rojek's (1985 p179, 180) words are as appropriate to the discipline of geography:

> It is all too easy to conclude that sociology in general is fated to make the same mistakes for ever. I think that this view is reactionary and pessimistic. There is no reason why sociologists should be doomed to neurotically repeat established defects in theory and research .... The most formidable problems are not defined by the inherent complexity of field data. On the contrary, they are the products of the prestigious and influential traditions in theory and research which place the utmost 'scientific' value upon the construction of exhaustive, fixed theories of leisure practice.

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PERSONAL COMMUNICATIONS

Dorman (1992)	Personal Communication, June 1992
Hagen (1990)	Personal Communication, August 1990
Hinton (1990)	Personal Communication, June 1990
Housing Branch Member (1990)	Personal Communication, June 1990
Residents Association (1990)	Personal Communication, June 1990
Rosenburg (1990)	Personal Communication, June 1990
Tenants Association (1990)	Personal Communication, June 1990

APPENDIX 1

Questions asked to Ms Hinton, a social worker at the Valhalla Park Community Centre (June 1990)

1. What does your position entail? How long have you held this position?
2. Please provide a general description of the environmental and social conditions in Valhalla Park
3. What do you regard as the key problems within Valhalla Park?
4. What is being done to alleviate these problems?
5. When was the community centre established?
6. What is the role of the community centre?
7. What channels of contact exist between the City Council and the community?
8. What is your opinion regarding the recreational facilities in Valhalla Park.
9. What do you view as the key recreational needs in the area. Have you has any public input regarding these issues?
10. What City Council department is responsible for the planning and provision of facilities?
11. Are there any private leisure-related investments in Valhalla Park? Is it possible for private capital to be injected into City Council schemes?
12. Questions arising ...

APPENDIX 2

Questions asked to Mr Rosenburg, co-ordinator of the gang rehabilitation project in Valhalla Park (June, 1990)

1. What is your position and role in the community?
2. What are the major problems in Valhalla Park?
3. What activities are held in the playgrounds and sportsfields?
4. What is your opinion regarding the existing recreational facilities in Valhalla Park?
5. What are the key recreational needs in the area?
6. Have you had public requests and suggestions regarding the leisure facilities in the area?
7. Describe the recreational programme you are running?
8. Why did you start this programme?
9. Are you intending to expand this programme?
10. How many gang members, relative to the total gangster population population are taking part in your programme?
11. Would you be prepared to accept City Council and private involvement in your scheme?
12. Would you be prepared to use the facilities at the schools and churches in the area?
13. What are the channels of community between the community and the City Council?
14. Questions arising...

APPENDIX 3

Questions asked to the Tenants Association of Valhalla Park (July, 1990)

1. What is the function of the Tenants Association in Valhalla Park?
2. How long have you be established?
3. How does the Tenants Association differ from the Residents Association?
4. What do you regard as the key social problems in Valhalla Park?
5. What is the Association's opinion regarding the existing recreational facilities in Valhalla Park?
6. What are the key recreational needs in the area?
7. Have you had requests/suggestions from the community regarding recreation needs in the area? If yes, what were some of these suggestions?
8. What channels of communication exist between the Tenants Association and the Council?
9. Do you have meetings with City Council members? Do you send in written suggestions?
10. Do you have meetings with the community? If 'yes', when and where are these meetings held? What issues are usually discussed?

11. There seems to be an urgent need for upgrading recreational facilities and providing new ones. What are the Association's opinions regarding this suggestion?
12. Does the Association administer, or run recreation programmes or activities? If 'yes', please provide details of these programmes?

APPENDIX 4

Questions asked to the Residents Association of Valhalla Park (June, 1990)

1. What is the function of the Residents Association in Valhalla Park?
2. How long have you be established?
3. How does the Residents Association differ from the Tenants Association?
4. What do you regard as the key social problems in Valhalla Park?
5. What is the Residents Association's opinion regarding the existing recreational facilities in Valhalla Park?
6. What are the key recreational needs in the area?
7. Have you had requests/suggestions from the community regarding recreation needs in the area? If yes, what were some of these suggestions?
8. What channels of communication exist between your association and the Council?
9. Do you have meetings with City Council members? Do you send in written suggestions?
10. Do you have meetings with the community? If 'yes', when and where are these meetings held? What issues are usually discussed?

11. There seems to be an urgent need for upgrading recreational facilities and providing new ones. What are the Association's opinions regarding this suggestion?
12. Does you committee administer, or run recreation programmes or activities? If 'yes', please provide details of these programmes?

APPENDIX 5

Questions asked to a member of the Housing Branch, Valhalla Park (June, 1990)

1. What is you position within the Housing Branch?
2. How long have you held this position?
3. What is the role and function of the Housing Branch?
4. What are the major housing types in Valhalla Park? What percentage of houses are owned/rented?
5. Are there plans for further plans for housing developments in the area?
6. What are the major problems in Valhalla Park? (Environmental, social, etc.)
7. What is your opinion regarding the recreational facilities in Valhalla Park?
8. What are the key recreational needs in Valhalla Park?
9. Are there any future plans for recreational programmes in the area?
10. Have you had public requests and suggestions related to the leisure needs?
11. What channels of communication exist between the City Council and the public?
12. What department is responsible for the planning, provision and maintenance of recreational facilities in the area?

13. There seems to be an urgent need for the upgrading of recreational facilities? Does the Council have plans to upgrade these facilities?

14. Is it possible for private capital to be injected into City Council schemes and programmes?

15. Would the City Council link up with existing institutions such as churches and schools?

16. Questions arising ...

APPENDIX 6

Questions asked to Mr Dorman (Come and Play Programme, City Council: June, 1992)

1. What is your position in the Come and Play programme?
2. When did Come and Play originate?
3. Why was it started, and how is it linked to Council policy?
4. What areas does it cover? How often does it go to various areas?
5. What activities are undertaken?
6. Who is employed by the programme? How many full time/part time workers are there?
7. What has the response of communities been like?
8. What have the major benefits and impacts been?
9. What do you regard as the major obstacles to the development of Come and Play?
10. Is Come and Play connected to other recreation schemes?
11. How do see Come and Play developing in the future? Are similar projects been played?
12. Questions arising...

APPENDIX 7

Questions asked to Mr Hagen of the Amenities Branch, Cape Town City Council (August, 1990)

1. What is you position in the Amenities Branch?
2. How long have you held this position?
3. What is the role and function of the Amenities Branch?
4. What do you view as the key recreational needs in Cape Town?
5. What recreation programmes are administered by the Amenities?
6. What are the future plans of the Department regarding recreation programmes?
7. What channels of communication exist between the City Council and the community?
8. How would a community go about implementing changes to their particular area?
9. Questions arising...