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Spending leisure time in retirement

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The purpose of this article is to get an insight into ways of spending leisure time in retirement and satisfaction with it. The differences in the ways of spending leisure time as related to adjustment to retirement and income per member of household have also been examined.

The sample consisted of 100 respondents (53 women and 47 men) from the area of Novi Zagreb. The men and women were between 60 and 92 years old, the mean value was 71.6. The sample was convenient. The data was collected by a survey which consisted of questions on socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents, their ways of spending leisure time and their satisfaction with it, as well as questions on their adjustment to retirement and their household income.

Although a large number of participants estimate their adjustment to retirement as easy, their satisfaction with leisure time is very low. Statistically significant differences have been found for sports activities, social games and reading. These activities were pursued mostly by people who did not know what to do after they had retired or those who said their adjustment to retirement was very difficult and who would have preferred to continue working. Participating in activities of religious communities and watching television were highest among people who said their adjustment was very good or easy. Cultural events were significantly more often attended by respondents with higher income, while watching television and taking part in activities of religious communities were higher among respondents with lower income. The results point to the conclusion that what is needed is a better preparation and a higher awareness of retirement as a period in which we can develop our personal potentials through leisure, which should be filled with a higher level of activity and an increased satisfaction.

INTRODUCTION

The definition of old age is changing. One of the most popular concepts has become the newly-coined *active ageing*, as opposed to perceiving the old age as a dependent and passive period of life. Harmony between activity and ageing has also been translated into a more practical and pragmatic political program under the label of "active ageing policies" (1). The term "active ageing" is currently one of the most frequently used terms in gerontological studies, as well as in national and international documents related to the issues of ageing. The most quoted definition is that of the WHO, which very broadly defines active ageing as a "process of optimizing opportunities for health, participation and security in order to enhance the quality of life as people age" (2). According to Katz (3), activity is becoming the key conceptual framework in the current perception of ageing. Furthermore, it also

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entails an ethical dimension, as it clearly defines activity as a universally desirable condition.

Activities of elderly people during their leisure time represent one aspect of active ageing. Generally, leisure is an indispensable domain of life (4). The term leisure refers to free or unobligated time, the time during which work, life-sustaining functions, and other obligatory activities are not performed. In classification of leisure-time activities, the type of activities that the elderly participate in is pretty much the same as with other groups. The only difference is the degree of participation and the fact that the elderly tend to do activities that are purely recreational or those that require less effort, such as watching TV and making tea. "The amount and the quality of leisure time is important for people's well-being because of the direct satisfaction it brings. Additionally, leisure, used in certain ways, is important for physical and mental health. Leisure also contributes to the well-being of people other than the person directly enjoying leisure. When a person engages in leisure, the benefits gained are shared with others in a multitude of ways, including improvements in personal relationships, family functioning, and in terms of creation of social capital networks" (5). According to Mbuthia, the essence of activity at free-time for elderly should be therapeutic, enhance the quality of life, arrest mental decline, maintain self--esteem and enable friendship (6).

The research literature on leisure in old age finds that the most popular leisure activities tend to be sedentary and done alone (e.g., watching television), most leisure activities occur at home or close to home, participation in physically active leisure is relatively low, and more meaningful leisure activities are needed that would place an increased emphasis on cognitive and physical abilities (7). Previous studies indicate that leisure activities in later life are sedentary, the most popular ones being watching television, reading, gardening, and indoor hobbies (8). A study of socio-cultural activities of the elderly (aged 56–80) found that the leisure-time activities, hobbies and habits of these old people included reading newspapers, listening to the radio, watching television, gardening, participating in religious activities and talking (9).

Participation in leisure activities among the elderly may be constrained and complicated by a variety of factors which include being empty-nested, economic adjustments, being responsible for a single-parent household, the changing sociodemographic composition, the lack of an elderly-friendly environment and physical infrastructure necessary for the ageing population (10). Although each individual certainly experiences differences in ways of spending leisure during different stages of life, a habit of spending every single free moment in a quality way before retirement stays present after retirement as well.

RESEARCH GOALS

The goals of this research were:

1. To examine the satisfaction of the participants with their leisure time, as it relates to their adjustment to retirement. 2. To examine whether there are differences in spending leisure time, considering the participants' adjustment to life in retirement after leaving the labor market.

3. To examine whether there are differences in spending leisure time, considering the financial capability of the participants.

SAMPLE AND METHODS

Sample

A total of 100 participants from the Zagreb City area (53 women and 47 men) took part in the research. Both men and women were between 60 and 92 years of age, the mean age being 71.6. The largest number of the respondents, 46%, were married, 35% were widowed, 8% were divorced, 6% said they were not in any kind of a union, while 5% of the participants lived with a partner in an unmarried union. Most of the participants, 50%, have finished high school. A significant percentage have finished primary school (21%). Fourteen percent have finished at least a four-year university education, and 9% had a two-year college education. The shortest period of time in retirement was half a year and the longest 37 years. The average pension of male participants was of 2895 kuna – 983 kunas more than the average pension of female participants. The difference in income between men and women during their working age is still present, despite the fact that the National Statistics Office data show that women are equally educated as men (at least when the higher education is concerned). The lowest pension was 700 kuna, the highest 7000 kuna. The sample was convenient. We conducted the study from May 2011 to August 2012.

Research Method

Before conducting the survey, we explained the purpose and goals of the research to the participants. We also asked each participant to give us his or her voluntary consent to take part in the research. After we got their consent, we asked the participants to honestly answer the questions because by doing that they would add to the quality of collected data. We conducted the survey individually, by means of a guided interview, which lasted for about 20 minutes. The participants were guaranteed anonymity and confidentiality.

Measuring Instrument

In order to collect data for this research, we used an anonymous survey made of 24 questions with ready-made answers. Most of the questions were close-ended, but in a few cases they were open-ended. The questionnaire consisted of questions on sociodemographic characteristics and questions on the type, frequency and satisfaction of leisure-time activities, as well as adjustment to retirement and household income.

Data Analysis

In our analysis we used the methods of descriptive statistics, such as frequencies and percentages of frequencies, as well as inferential statistics which included calculating statistical significance by using Chi-square test. All the applied tests were bivariate, and P values were considered significant if they were smaller or equal to 0.05. We analyzed the data by using Statistica 8 software.

RESULTS

Table 1 shows the results comparing the participants' satisfaction with the quality of spending leisure time in relation to their adjustment to retirement. According to the χ^2 test (19.66) and the level of significance (p=0.23), the results do not point to significant statistical differences in the participants' answers. We notice that the largest

number of the participants estimated that they had adjusted to retirement easily. Despite this, a large number of respondents in this group are unsatisfied with the way they spend their leisure time. An equal number of them are slightly ambivalent, that is, they do not know how to express their level of satisfaction. The second largest group is made of respondents who did not know what to do with themselves during the day for a long period after their retirement. Most of the participants in this group are unsatisfied with the way they spend their retirement days, which means that they were not able to find an adequate activity which would fulfill them. They are followed by respondents who found their retirement unusual for the first few months, but then they got used to it. This measure of ambivalence is also visible in the degree of satisfaction because most of them are neither satisfied nor unsatisfied with the way they spend their leisure time. Among the respondents in this category of adjustment to retirement,

TABLE 1

Differences in the adjustment to retirement in relation to the satisfaction of spending leisure time

Adjustment to retirement	Satisfaction with spending leisure time	Ν	%	Total
	I am very unsatisfied	4	10.26	
	I am unsatisfied	14	35.90	
Very easy, I was looking forward to it	I am neither satisfied nor unsatisfied	14	35.90	39
	I am satisfied	6	15.38	
	I am very satisfied	1	2.56	
	I am very unsatisfied	0	0.00	
	I am unsatisfied	2	11.76	
Unusual for the first few months, but I got used to it	I am neither satisfied nor unsatisfied	10	58.82	17
	I am satisfied	5	29.41	
	I am very satisfied	0	0.00	
	I am very unsatisfied	2	8.33	
I did not know what to do with myself during the day	I am unsatisfied	10	41.67	
	I am neither satisfied nor unsatisfied	7	29.17	24
	I am satisfied	4	16.67	
	I am very satisfied	1	4.17	
	I am very unsatisfied	0	0.00	
	I am unsatisfied	4	26.67	
Very difficult, I would have preferred to continue working	I am neither satisfied nor unsatisfied	5	33.33	15
	I am satisfied	4	26.67	
	I am very satisfied	2	13.33	
	I am very unsatisfied	1	20.00	
	I am unsatisfied	0	0.00	
I have not adjusted.	I am neither satisfied nor unsatisfied	1	20.00	5
	I am satisfied	2	40.00	
	I am very satisfied	1	20.00	

TABLE 2

Differences in various leisure-time activities in relation to the adjustment to retirement

Leisure activities	Adjustment to retirement	Yes	No	Total	χ^2	р
Sports	Very easy	3	36	39		
	Unusual for the first few months, but I got used to it	2	15	17		
	I did not know what to do with myself	9	15	24	21.64	0.00
	Very difficult, I would have preferred to continue working	7	8	15		
	I have not adjusted	4	1	5		
Nature walks	Very easy	29	10	39		
	Unusual for the first few months, but I got used to it	11	6	17		
	I did not know what to do with myself	16	8	24	3.81	0.43
	Very difficult, I would have preferred to continue working	7	8	15		
	I have not adjusted	3	2	5		
	Very easy	5	34	39		
	Unusual for the first few months, but I got used to it	3	14	17		
Trips, travel	I did not know what to do with myself	2	22	24	1.00	0.90
*	Very difficult, I would have preferred to continue working	2	13	15		
	I have not adjusted	1	4	5		
	Very easy	4	35	39		
	Unusual for the first few months, but I got used to it	6	11	17		
Social games	I did not know what to do with myself	16	8	24	27.33	0.00
0	Very difficult, I would have preferred to continue working	10	5	15		
	I have not adjusted	1	4	5		
	Very easy	1	38	39		
	Unusual for the first few months, but I got used to it	2	15	17		
Cultural events	I did not know what to do with myself	0	24	24	16.08	0.00
	Very difficult, I would have preferred to continue working	5	10	15	10100	0.00
	I have not adjusted	1	4	5		
	Very easy	8	31	39		
	Unusual for the first few months, but I got used to it	7	10	17		
Creative arts	I did not know what to do with myself	2	22	24	8.75	0.06
Greande ans	Very difficult, I would have preferred to continue working	2	13	15	0.75	0.00
	I have not adjusted	0	5	5		
	Very easy	25	14	39		
	Unusual for the first few months, but I got used to it	8	9	17		
Religious community	I did not know what to do with myself	2	22	24	24.43	0.00
Kengious community	Very difficult, I would have preferred to continue working	2	13	15	27.73	0.00
	I have not adjusted	2	3	5		
Reading		3	36	39		
	Very easy					
	Unusual for the first few months, but I got used to it	6 8	11	17	21.34	0.00
	I did not know what to do with myself		16	24	21.34	0.00
	Very difficult, I would have preferred to continue working	10	5	15 5		
	I have not adjusted	3	2	5		
Watching TV	Very easy	34	5	39		
	Unusual for the first few months, but I got used to it	9	8	17	20.22	0.00
	I did not know what to do with myself	11	13	24	20.33	0.00
	Very difficult, I would have preferred to continue working	6	9	15		
	I have not adjusted	1	4	5		

there are not many people who are very unsatisfied nor many people who are very satisfied. Among those who had a very difficult time adjusting to their retirement and would have preferred to continue working, there is also a largest number of those who are undecided when it comes to satisfaction with leisure time in their retirement. However, among these participants, there are also two very satisfied respondents who have, certainly after a longer search and a trial-and-error method, managed to find something that fulfills them. The smallest group was made of respondents who have not adjusted to retirement, however, among them there was only one person very unsatisfied with leisure-time activities.

A number of very interesting and statistically significant results which connect the ability to adjust to the life in retirement and the way of spending and filling participants' leisure time can be found in Table 2. People who said they did not know what to do with themselves during the day for a long time are the ones who practice sports the most. They are followed by participants who had a very difficult time adjusting and who would have preferred to continue working. By this they are statistically significantly different (p=0.00) from those who had a very easy time adjusting, as well as from whose who had a difficult time during the first few months of retirement, but got used to it.

Nature walking is mostly preferred and practiced by people who had a very easy time adjusting to retirement.

We can generally establish that most of the participants in the survey practice this type of recreation (a total of 66). But, there is no statistically significant difference among the groups for this free activity, and the same is true for trips and travel. Since for the last two decades there has been a lot of talk about active and successful ageing, it is reasonable to expect that older people have themselves recognized the importance of physical activity for the quality of their life, and especially the importance of walking. In addition to this, walking does not require finances and it opens up a possibility of social interaction among people, so it has a beneficial influence on the psychophysical (both mental and physical) health of the participants. Social games significantly dominate among those who had no idea what to do with themselves during the day and the people who had a very difficult adjustment to retirement, as opposed to the respondents who had a very easy adjustment and who rarely practice this type of social activity (p=0.00). Cultural events are mostly attended by the people who had a very difficult time adjusting to retirement and who would have preferred to continue working. This group is statistically different (p=0.00) from the participants who had a very easy adjustment, but also from those who did not know what to do with themselves during the day for a long time. Participation in religious activities is the highest among those respondents who had a very easy adjustment to retirement, followed by (in quite a smaller number, though) people who found retirement unusual in

Leisure activity	Income per household member (260 Euro)	Yes	No	Total	χ^2	р
Sports	Less than 2000 kuna	9	44	53	4.13	0.12
	More than 2000 kuna	15	29	44		
Nature walks	Less than 2000 kuna	38	15	53	3.14	0.21
	More than 2000 kuna	27	17	44		
Trips, travel	Less than 2000 kuna	3	50	53	5.03	0.08
	More than 2000 kuna	9	35	44		
Social games	Less than 2000 kuna	20	33	53	1.68	0.43
	More than 2000 kuna	16	28	44		
Cultural events	Less than 2000 kuna	1	52	53	7.75	0.02
	More than 2000 kuna	8	36	44		
Creative arts	Less than 2000 kuna	9	44	53	0.42	0.81
	More than 2000 kuna	9	35	44		
Religious community	Less than 2000 kuna	23	30	53	1.16	0.55
	More than 2000 kuna	16	28	44		
Reading	Less than 2000 kuna	11	42	53	6.14	0.04
	More than 2000 kuna	19	25	44		
Watching TV	Less than 2000 kuna	42	11	53	17.34	0.00
	More than 2.000 kuna	17	27	44		

 TABLE 3

 Differences in leisure activities in relation to the income per household member

the first months, but who got used to it, unlike people who did not know what to do with themselves for a long time during the day and the respondents who had a very difficult adjustment or those who have not adjusted at all (p=0.00). The situation is completely opposite with reading. This activity is mostly practiced by people who had a very difficult time adjusting to retirement, followed by those who did not know what to do with themselves during the day for a long time. These answers are significantly different (p=0.00) from those given by people who had a very easy adjustment to leaving the labor market, and who were the most numerous in the sample. However, those who had a very easy adjustment are in the lead when it comes to the frequency of watching TV. Almost all of them said they engage in this activity. They are statistically different (p=0.00) from participants in all other categories of adjustment to retirement, which displays an almost equal rate of interest for this type of entertainment.

Table 3 shows the results related to participants' financial capabilities, that is, income per household member, and its relation to the type and frequency of leisure-time activities. To make the interpretation of the data easier and clearer, we divided the participants into two income categories: the first one under 2000 kunas per household member, and the second one over 2000 kunas per household member. What can be seen from the table is that a slightly higher number of people is in the lower-income category, but also that we got some interesting results, as well as statistically significant differences.

According to this data, sports is the preferred activity of more people with income over 2000 kunas per household member, which is understandable since memberships in sports clubs can be unacceptably expensive, as can the prices of sports equipment. On the other hand, nature walking is equally interesting to those with the lower as well as those with higher income per household member.

Traveling and taking trips are more frequent among those with income over 2000 kunas (\notin 260) per member, but even they have not identified themselves as excursionists or travelers in large numbers. This result was also expectable, since this activity too requires disposable financial means. Social games are preferred by people with lower income per member, but those with higher income are not far behind when it comes to this activity. We cannot say the same for cultural events which are much more frequently attended by participants with higher income per household member. Only one person in the lower income group engages in this kind of entertainment, which is a result with statistical significance (p=0.00).

An equal number of participants from both categories, regardless of their income, engage in some kind of creative arts. When it comes to the activities of religious communities, the two groups are also roughly equal, but participants with income under 2000 kunas were slightly more numerous in this study. Reading is more often done by people with income over 2000 kunas per member, but 11 people in the lower income census also liked this activity. This difference can be explained by the fact that poorer people are also less educated and have not formed a habit of reading. Some pensioners are acquainted with the discount on library memberships for the retired people, so money should not be an obstacle if this was something they had an inclination to. And finally, we see a statistically significant difference in the results on watching television (p=0.00). To a great extent television is a distraction, a type of entertainment, but also a source of information for people with incomes under 2000 kunas per household member.

DISCUSSION

Namely, we can see that most of the participants are unsatisfied, or neither satisfied nor unsatisfied with the way they spend their leisure time, regardless of their adjustment to retirement. Retirement is a process which demands planning, preparation and adjustment from an individual. This makes retirement very complex, since there is a large number of factors that can and do affect this process. Some of these factors are: environmental factors, social and/or personal characteristics, as well as interrelations among all of these factors (11). People will adjust to retirement easier and better if they had hobbies (hiking, hunting, furniture making, book writing etc.) while they were still working. The more out-of-work activities, hobbies, the easier the adjustment (12). More activity "uses up" more time and makes a person more active and therefore more involved and more satisfied. Participation in these activities continues beyond working age, which has a positive impact on individuals because they stay connected with life of their community and lessens the possibility that they will suffer from loneliness, withdrawal and isolation after retirement, while those who do not engage in any activities can experience these negative consequences of retirement, which greatly complicate the adjustment. Still, some authors (13) warn us to be careful when we presume a causal relationship between retirement and adverse reactions, and also to the fact that the widely-held belief that retirement leads to adjustment problems is contradicted by many research findings which show that most people adjust well.

There is no doubt that television is the most dominant medium and the main source of entertainment and information for all age groups, including the elderly. However, spending time in this way has its advantages and disadvantages. The advantages are the following: it provides important information from home and abroad, it is a relatively affordable form of entertainment, it is accessible to the less mobile people, it offers an escape from everyday life through different content (especially entertainment), the program is suitable for all ages, it creates an illusion of having a social life (especially for people living alone). However, these theses can be seen as disadvantages as well, because no program can replace a human touch. A lot of the elderly are content with their "friends" on TV, so they do not seek out physical contact and real company. Also, a lack of mental and physical stimulation can occur as well (14).

A study that compared the involvement of older adults in leisure activities before and after retirement found that the time spent watching television, doing hobbies, reading, seeing relatives, seeing friends, taking part in religious activities, and traveling within a 100-mile radius increased after retirement. There was no change in the amount of time spent in physical exercise and social activities, but there was less time spent seeing former co-workers, drinking alcohol, and engaging in sexual relations (15). Another study that compared the leisure activities of adults with disabilities and without disabilities, aged 80 to 85, found that those with disabilities had a lower but undiminished commitment in overall activity. Overall, the preferred activities of both groups were in the emotional, spiritual, and social categories, and engagement in valued activities did not change significantly over a one-year period (16). American Heart Association (17) stated that approximately 40% of Americans aged 55 and over reported no leisure-time physical activity and that activity levels decreased with age. Therefore, it is probably an accurate estimate that among adults aged 80 and over, more than 90% are underactive and approximately 60% lead sedentary lifestyles. The factors affecting leisure-activity participation patterns of elders are numerous and complex. The data on the participation of elderly people in recreation programs in Croatia are even more problematic. Estimates show that only about 2000 people over the age of 65 do exercise in organized groups in Croatia - which is just 0.3% of the older population (18). According to the study by Searle and Iso-Ahola (19) on the determinants of leisure behavior of the elderly, leisure attitude is the most important factor influencing leisure behavior. Those with more positive attitudes toward leisure were more likely to participate in leisure activities. A longitudinal study (20) showed that respondents tended to continue their activities regardless of changes in work and age, with two exceptions, namely that retirement was positively related to having a hobby, and those who stopped working because of an illness experienced a significant decline in all three of the examined categories of activity.

Watching television is the cheapest, the most accessible and the easiest way of spending time for everyone, not just the pensioners. It would definitely be interesting and useful to examine whether these participants would have preferred a different way of spending their free time. Also, it is necessary to inform this large group of people of the way they could return to the community and the society through, for instance, volunteer work, and motivate them to pursue this type of activities. The knowledge and experience of the elderly people should be recognized as an important capital of modern society. Namely, in the context of growth of the elderly, and therefore of the dependent population as well, we must make sure that all available resources, both human and material, are used to fulfill needs of individuals. Changes in social and societal context demand a more active role from all citizens, including the elderly. Malcolm Payne (21) stresses that social workers are the ones who have the obligation

to promote a collective responsibility of people for each other in their search for personal growth through a better quality of life and personal and collective freedom.

Development of new abilities demands an effort of medium intensity. In this category we have: exercising, individual sports, intensive reading, learning, attending cultural events, travel, etc. Creative pleasure raises the level of necessary engagement. Here we primarily mean engaging in various creative arts, including painting, music, writing or similar. We could also include, for instance, doing charity work or perhaps some kind of political engagement. It is thought that the highest level of necessary engagement is required in efforts to achieve sensual pleasures. This includes any activity in which the senses receive an intense pleasure, satisfaction, excitement or joy. This can be achieved through intense religious experiences, highly competitive (adrenaline) sports, as well as sometimes dangerous activities like parachuting or rock climbing (22).

Research by Gordona *et al. (23)* shows that people from lower social classes usually spend their free time pursuing distractions and relaxation, as well as sensual pleasures, while people from higher classes participate in developmental and creative activities, as well as sensual pleasures. Stiggelbout *et al. (24)* argue that organized sports is practiced by primarily younger individuals; walking and exercising are more interesting to women, while men are more interested in skating and table tennis. Badminton and cycling have attracted individuals with relatively higher education; in contrast, less-educated participants have been particularly interested in general exercising. Biking, walking, swimming and gardening are the most popular activities among senior citizens.

Leutar and Lepan (25) state that the elderly who are engaged in recreational physical activities are more usually female, younger on average and more highly educated, while no differences were found in their material wealth. Those who engage in recreational physical activities report a higher satisfaction with life and, according to their own account, have better functional abilities.

We know that with retirement, the income decreases, so pensioners need to learn how to manage with a smaller amount of money to satisfy their basic needs: food, accommodation, clothes, medicine, transportation, entertainment, recreation. "From an economic point of view, we have two types of pensioners in the old age: a small number who managed to collect enough wealth to be able to live comfortably (annuities, rents, stocks, interests, inheritance, exceptional pensions) and the vast majority which depends only on an ordinary pension which is significantly smaller than their previous pay" (26). But, retirement has its advantages too. From a financial perspective, pension is a regular income, and retirement brings some privileges as well (discounts, payment exemptions) which ease the financial situation (12). In addition, due to a large amount of spare time, retirement enables those who are still active and healthy to earn some additional money through doing part-time jobs.

CONCLUSION

By conducting this research, we wanted to draw attention to the importance of the way of spending leisure time in retirement and the satisfaction with it, as well as its connection with the adjustment to retirement and the level of income. The results suggest that the participants estimate their adjustment to retirement as much better than their satisfaction with the way they spend their leisure time. For those participants who said their adjustment to retirement was very good, satisfaction with their leisure time was the lowest. On the other hand, those who had a more difficult time adjusting to retirement managed to find more interests that they took part in, and were more active than those who claimed that they had a very easy adjustment to retirement, but became passive and unsatisfied.

Looking at the statistical significance, the participants who have described their adjustment to retirement as difficult, or those who for a long time did not know what to do with themselves during the day, are active in sports and social games, they attend cultural events and read. People who have adjusted to retirement very easily and those with income under 2000 kunas (260 euros) for the most part watch television or actively participate in religious communities.

Most of the participants cannot afford to go to the cinema or the theater, nor for a trip or an excursion. According to the self-assessment of their material situation, 66% say that they live in bad or very bad financial circumstances, which is probably the main reason why they do not participate in these activities. Going in favor of this is the fact that the participants with higher income also attend cultural events significantly more and read more as well.

The results show that most of the participants are not satisfied with the way they spend their free time, and that the majority spends the leisure time passively, mostly watching television, which poses the question of how the elderly perceive their free time, whether they can enjoy it and fulfill their still unrealized or still unconscious wishes and ambitions. Since the time an individual spends in retirement is extended, the question for everybody primarily the professionals working with the elderly, but the leading members of local communities as well - will be how to recognize the needs, as well as the potentials of the elderly people, and how to adequately guide them for the benefit of all. Since the elderly are already big "consumers" of TV, an initial answer could be found through appropriate television programming, which would promote active and healthy ageing to which we all aspire.

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