

BRINGING IDENTITY THEORY INTO LEISURE

A Dissertation

by

JINHEE JUN

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of  
Texas A&M University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

December 2008

Major Subject: Recreation, Park & Tourism Sciences

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## ABSTRACT

Bringing Identity Theory into Leisure. (December 2008)

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Despite a substantial volume of research on identity in the social and behavioral sciences, identity theory has existed on the margins of the leisure literature and contributed to the understanding of leisure behavior only in occasional illustrative references. The purpose of this dissertation was to incorporate identity theory in the understanding individuals' leisure behavior within the context of recreational golf. Three independent studies were conducted to address different yet interconnected research topics. The first study identified conceptual links between identity theory and the concepts of enduring involvement, commitment, loyalty, specialization and serious leisure. Guided by identity theory, it was suggested that identity-confirmation is the underlying reason why individuals become involved in a leisure activity and develop a commitment and side bets. Further, this study proposed that self-verification processes underline why individuals value certain lines of action (i.e., enduring involvement, commitment, and specialization) and, in turn, become specialists, amateurs or loyal clients. The second study investigated the relationship between gender identity, leisure identity and leisure participation. Using data collected from recreational golfers, results

showed that both leisure identity and masculine identity positively influenced respondents' participation in recreational golf. Furthermore, the findings illustrated that masculine identity plays a formative role in the development of a leisure identity, which in turn is an antecedent of leisure behavior. The third study adopted the concept of identity conflict/facilitation to provide a theoretical framework for understanding the experience of constraints to leisure and constraint negotiation. Using data collected from recreational golfers, analyses provided evidence in support of the contention that identity conflict/facilitation is an antecedent of perceived constraints and negotiation efforts. The findings also illustrated that the ability to negotiate constraints depends on the compatibility between the leisure identity and the other identities an individual holds. Finally, a summary and synthesis of the findings and agenda for future research were discussed.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

The effect of an identity on individuals' behavior has received considerable attention in social and behavioral sciences cutting across disciplines from psychoanalysis and psychology to political science and sociology (Burke, Owen, Serpe, & Thoits, 2003). According to identity theory, an identity defines what it means to be who one is in that role or situation (Burke & Tully, 1977; Stryker, 1980). Identity theory maintains that people seek to verify self-identity (Burke, 1991; Foote, 1951). Consequently, people choose behaviors that reflect their identity in order to maintain consistency between an identity and perceived self-meanings in social situations. In other words, individuals' behavior reflects their identity (Stets & Burke, 2003). What identity theorists emphasize is that an identity is a primary source of motivation for action (Burke & Reitzes, 1991; Foote, 1951; Gecas, 1982; Heise, 1979). When individuals incorporate a recreational activity and meanings associated with the activity into their self-definition, they define themselves in terms of the activity. Consequently, leisure identity - the set of leisure relevant self-meanings- drives leisure conduct.

### 1.1. Identity in the Context of Leisure

Dimanche and Samdahl (1994) asserted that the need to express and affirm self-identity motivates leisure behavior. In the context of leisure, people have relatively less social constraints and restrictions than in other life domains, thus gaining opportunities for expressing the true self. Leisure researchers have defined leisure identity as a self-presentation that is internally motivated by the desire for expressing the true self (Dimanche & Samdahl, 1994; Kelly, 1983; Samdahl, 1988; Shamir, 1988, 1993). People's commitment to a leisure identity drives engagement in specific leisure behaviors.

According to Haggard and Williams (1992), knowledge of the self and desire for expressing the true (or ideal) self can predict people's leisure behavior. In the investigation of the relationship between self-image and leisure activities, Haggard and Williams (1992) found that respondents expressed themselves by participating in recreational activities which reflect specific sets of character traits or self images. For instance, backpacking, outdoor cooking and kayaking are perceived to convey self images such as adventurous, fun loving, likes scenic beauty, naturalist, outdoorsy, and social. Thus, a person with this set of self-images (i.e., adventurous, fun loving, likes scenic beauty, naturalist, outdoorsy, and social) may engage in any one of these activities because of their desire to affirm his/her leisure identity (Haggard & Williams, 1992).

While individuals' identity-expression is internal, their desire to affirm identity for an external audience also drives leisure behavior (e.g., Dimanche & Samdahl, 1994;

Hutchison & Samdahl, 1999; Laverie, 1995; Schlenker, 1984; Veblen, 1899). Thus, leisure identity represents membership to a certain group that is differentiated from other groups. It has been argued that the symbolic value of leisure activities has a significant influence on the selection of activities (e.g., Bourdieu, 1979, 1984; Dimanche & Samdahl, 1994; Frey & Dickens, 1990; Rojek, 1990; Urry, 1990; Veblen, 1899). In his analysis of leisure class, Veblen (1899) asserted that leisure consumption has symbolic meanings which people use to reflect their association with a certain social class.

Engagement in some forms of leisure activity delivers an impression related to social class or status. This sign value attached to certain types of activities is symbolically exchanged among group members and between different groups. Therefore, leisure is conspicuously consumed in the display of its sign value to others. Consumption of leisure sign values can be observed in everyday life. For example, wearing running shoes, bowling shirts, football jackets, fishing hats, hiking boots and skijackets, etc., all display to others one's affiliation with a leisure group (Kelly, 1983). By wearing a golf hat, a person is stating that, 'I am a golfer; I am one of them' toward the presumed audience from whom they pursue validating responses. As Kelly (1983) noted, "when we dress for a social occasion, we dress 'toward' the presumed audience..., there is a symbolic 'leisure ethnicity' in which actors seek not only symbolic identity, but also to signal others with the same leisure identification" (p. 101). Those symbols of social leisure (e.g., running shoes, football jackets, fishing hats, etc.) are used to signify that one has 'significant leisure identification' (Kelly, 1983). As Schlenker (1984) asserted, people display signs and symbols to affirm their leisure identity.

## 1.2. Understanding Leisure from an Identity Theory Perspective

Although leisure researchers have long commented on the importance of identity for understanding leisure behavior, identity theory has remained on the periphery of leisure studies. In the leisure literature, constructs such as enduring involvement, commitment, loyalty, serious leisure, and specialization have more often been used to explain enduring leisure behavior associated with activities or particular products/service providers. Although there is little reference of identity theory in the above noted constructs, elements of the theory are most reflected in their operationalization. The leisure-related concepts are generally considered to contain multiple sub-dimensions and the self is conceived as one of sub-facets. Similar to identity theory, leisure researchers have conceptualized these constructs in terms of the strength or extent of cognitive linkage between the self and a leisure activity. Additionally, multidimensional operationalizations imply that, beyond self-verification, there are several other underlying facets of individual's enduring leisure engagement and all facets operate simultaneously. Identity theory, however, maintains that the identity is a primary motivation of people's behavior. This perspective implies that identity-confirmation needs to be an analytical starting point that leads to lasting, intense, and progressive leisure involvement; i.e., enduring involvement, commitment, loyalty, serious leisure, and specialization. Thus, this dissertation incorporates identity theory in an attempt to identify shared conceptual linkages among these leisure-related constructs and to advance our understanding of people's enduring leisure engagement.

Understanding the effect of an identity on leisure behavior also requires examining the interplay between the identities a person holds. A person has as many identities just as s/he occupies multiple and diverse roles in the social structure (James, 1890). Given that the leisure experience exists within the context of a person's life related to work, family, friends, school, religion and so on, her/his leisure identity is tied to other role identities (Kelly, 1988; Samdahl, 2005). In the study on the relationship between gender identity and mastery identity, Stets (1995) found that two identities are linked through shared meaning concerning the degree to which the person controls the attributes of her/his environment. There is also the causal relationship between two identities in that gender identity, which has already been established, influences mastery identity which comes later in life (Stets, 1995). Therefore, one identity facilitates the salience of the other identity and two identities simultaneously influence behaviors (Burke, 2003; Heise, 1979; Hoelter, 1986; Osgood, Suci & Tannenbaum, 1957; Stets, 1995). Alternatively, when meanings of two identities are not compatible, the verification of one identity causes an increase in a level of discrepancy between self relevant meanings and the other identity (e.g., Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, & Rosenthal, 1964; Rizzo, House, & Lirtzman, 1970). In this case, the identity which comes later in life becomes less important or salient in order to reduce/avoid the discrepancy (Burke, 2003). Similarly, leisure identity and gender identity might be related to each other through the common dimensions of meanings, thus concurrently influencing leisure behavior. The attributes of being masculine such as mastery, independence, competence, and self-directedness correspond with the values identified with the leisure experience

while characteristics of being feminine are aligned with 'no-leisure' elements such as passivity, dependency, and other-directedness (Kane, 1990). Given the shared semantic dimensions between leisure identity and masculine gender identity, individuals with more salient masculine identities would more likely have a stronger leisure identity and more likely engage in a leisure activity. On the other hand, people with a stronger feminine identity would more likely have a weaker leisure identity and be less likely to engage in a leisure activity.

With respect to the consequences of multiple identities, two very different perspectives have been offered; identity conflict (Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, & Rosenthal, 1964; Rizzo, House, & Lirtzman, 1970) and identity facilitation (Marks, 1977; Sieber 1974). Kahn et al. (1974) suggested that individuals experience conflict or strain as a result of being subjected to the demands of multiple identities. From this perspective, the requirements of different identities compete for an individual's limited time and resources (Kahn et al. 1964). The adoption of an identity necessitates expending time, energy and resources to meet the role expectations that accompany the identity. Because of our limited resources, the possession of multiple identities can be burdensome. The demands stemming from leisure and the roles that accompany other identities compete for limited resources (Stebbins, 1979). The realization of this conflict gives rise to the experience of constraints to leisure and the perception of limited available resources to negotiate these constraints. Alternatively, proponents of the identity facilitation perspective contend that possessing multiple identities is advantageous (Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Marks, 1977; Sieber, 1974; Thoits, 2003).



From this perspective, an individual's commitment to one identity can generate fiscal, social and psychological resources (e.g., skills, abilities, competence, social support, privileges, status security and personality), that enhance success in the other domains. Thus, from an identity facilitation perspective, there is evidence to suggest that the accumulation of multiple identities can alleviate the experience of constraints and facilitate negotiation. While these two perspectives appear to offer opposing hypotheses relating to the role of multiple identities, Tompson and Werner (1997) have suggested that the two perspectives lie along a continuum with identity conflict on one end and identity facilitation anchoring the other. The perception of identity conflict/facilitation is conceptualized as the extent to which individuals perceive the identities they carry facilitate or conflict with one another (Tompson & Werner, 1997). Therefore, greater conflict between a leisure identity and other identities would yield stronger perceptions of constraints. Alternatively, lower conflict between a leisure identity and other identities would yield stronger constraint negotiation behavior.

### 1.3. Organization of the Dissertation

This dissertation examines how identities a person holds influence various aspects of her/his leisure behavior within the context of recreational golf. The remaining sections are each presented in the format of a journal article to address different yet interconnected research topics.

Section 2 identifies links between identity theory and the concepts of enduring involvement, commitment, loyalty, specialization and serious leisure. This section

outlines how tenets of identity theory are reflected in each of the above noted constructs. By highlighting similarity and distinction between identity theory and the constructs, directions of future research are suggested.

Section 3 investigates the relationship between gender identity, leisure identity and leisure participation. Guided by identity theory, it is hypothesized that gender identity predicts leisure identity, which in turn determines individuals' level of participation. This study aims to advance our understanding of the way how identities are related to each other and jointly influence leisure behavior.

Section 4 adopts the concept of identity conflict/facilitation to provide an alternative theoretical framework for understanding the experience of constraints to leisure and constraint negotiation. Following the notion that the accumulation of multiple identities inherently generates both positive and negative outcomes, it is hypothesized that identity conflict/facilitation is related to the experience of constraints to leisure and the efforts of constraints negotiation.

The final section concludes the dissertation by summarizing three papers and provides suggestions for future research.

## 2. THE SALIENCE OF IDENTITY: THE COMMON THREAD LINKING CONCEPTS DESCRIBING LEISURE EMERSION

Identity theory has been broadly employed to provide insight on a diverse range of individual behavior in the social and behavioral sciences (e.g., psychoanalysis, psychology, political science, sociology, and history). In the context of leisure research, identity is more often alluded to through researchers' use of constructs such as enduring involvement, commitment, loyalty, serious leisure, and specialization. In varying ways, these constructs have been used to explore recreationists' lasting and deep ties to leisure and related products/services. Although identity theory has not been a prominent theoretical framework for understanding leisure behavior, there are elements of the theory that, to varying degrees, are reflected in components of each of these leisure-related concepts. Thus, the aim of this section is to identify links between identity theory and concepts such as of enduring involvement, commitment, loyalty, serious leisure, and specialization. In doing so, this study offers a theoretical based link for these related concepts that purport to examine similar phenomena.

Overall, similarity between the tenets of identity theory and the above noted constructs lies in the assumption that confirming the self is the reason for individuals' consistent behavior. Distinction, however, can be observed in the focus of the self. Depending on the researchers' conceptualization and operationalization, these constructs are generally comprised of several dimensions that tap into different elements underlying

recreationists' enduring engagement. These dimensions are also considered to operate on the same temporal plane. Alternately, identity theory views the self as the primary driving force of human behavior. Individuals constantly seek to verify their identities (Burke, 1991; Swann, 1990). Identities are verified when perceived self-meanings in social situations match identity. In this context, self-processes (i.e., verification/expression) precede other attitudinal and behavioral manifestation of recreationists lasting ties to leisure.

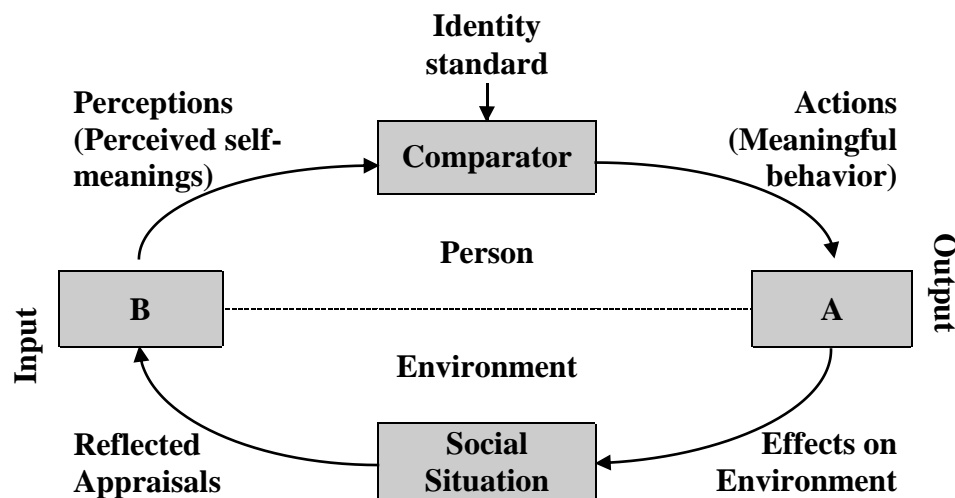
The review that follows begins with a brief overview of identity theory. Then an outline is presented of how identity is reflected in each of the constructs of interest; i.e., enduring involvement, commitment, loyalty, serious leisure and specialization. The section concludes with suggestions for future research.

## 2.1. Identity Theory

From a structural symbolic interactionist perspective, an identity is comprised of a set of meanings individuals attach to themselves (Stets & Burke, 2003). Identity theorists note that an identity has important implications for behavior as it provides an individual with (1) a direction of action, (2) a standard or reference used to evaluate her/his performance as an occupant of a particular social position (McCall & Simmons, 1978); and (3) motivation to behave in ways consistent with self-views in order to verify one's identity.

Following this perspective, Burke (1991) conceptualized identities as cybernetic control systems. According to Burke, the identity a person holds operates as a control

system. When an identity is activated in a situation, a feedback loop is established which consists of four components (Burke & Reitzes, 1991; Powers, 1973) (see Figure 1): 1) a *standard* of the self in role (identity standard); 2) a perceptual *input* of self relevant meanings from the situation including how one sees oneself (a meaningful feedback in the form of reflected appraisals); 3) a *comparator* which constantly examines the degree of congruency between one's standard of the self in a role and one's perception of role performance; and 4) a behavioral *output* to the environment that is a product of the comparison process (Burke, 1991; Stets & Burke, 2003). In essence, the goal of the identity system is to match environmental inputs to the internal standard. When the match occurs, there is self-verification. When there is a perceived lack of self-verification, the identity process operates by modifying the output (behavior) to the social situations in order to achieve congruence between the input from the perceived situation and the identity standard.



**FIGURE 1** Model of identity process (Burke, 1991)

To explain the identity control process, Burke (1991) used the analogy of a thermostat. The thermostat has a standard or setting for room temperature. The thermostat compares the setting (a standard) with the input which is the current room temperature. If there is a difference between the setting and the input, the heating or cooling switch is activated until the room temperature (input) equals to the setting on the thermostat. Likewise, an individual has an identity standard which defines what it means to be who one is. The input is the perceived meaning of who one is as implied by the social setting or others (Burke & Reitzes, 1991). When the input is perceived as being incongruent with the standard through comparison, a person modifies her/his behavior in order to alter perceived self-meanings to be consistent with the standard. The outputs from the identity process to social situations are meaningful behaviors which modify the environment (resources or/and the behaviors of others) (Burke, 1991). According to Burke (1991), negotiation with others over the resources is undertaken to achieve congruence between perceptions of self and identity standards. Negotiations include either changing the output by modifying behavior or altering the input by thinking about the situation in a different way (Burke, 1991, 1996). Therefore, an identity (1) guides behaviors to reflect its self-meanings in social settings, (2) compares the perceptual input with the identity standard to evaluate the consistency, and (3) drives behaviors to modify the environment to achieve congruity between the perceptual input and the identity standard if a discrepancy is detected.

## 2.2. Enduring Involvement

Pioneering work on the involvement construct can be traced back to the work Sherif and Cantril (1947). Sherif and Cantril conceptualized the construct in terms of the ego (self) and postulated that ego-involvement is aroused when a cognitive connection is made between stimuli (i.e., the attitude object) and elements of the ego or self system. In this context, the ego consists of:

a constellation of attitudes... All attitudes that define a person's status or that give him [sic] some relative role with respect to other individuals, groups, or institutions are ego-involved... [The] values, goals, standards, or norms which become our attitudes are represented by, set by, or created by group activities and social situations that form the constellation of social relationships with which come in contact ... Ego-striving, then, is the individual's effort to place himself securely in those constellations of human relationships that represent *for him* [sic] desirable values, that will make his status or position secure (pp. 92, 96, 114, 115).

The content of the ego and ways of conducting oneself provide the standards of judgment or frames of reference which determine an individual's social behavior and reactions (Sherif & Cantril, 1947). Sherif et al. (1973) argued that ego-attitudes are aroused by ongoing events, are generally stable over time, and are revealed in less situation-specific behavior. Because both identity theorists and Sherif and Cantril make reference to representation of self, identity and ego can be considered synonymous terms.

### 2.2.1. Enduring Involvement in the Leisure Literature

Leisure researchers have drawn heavily on the consumer literature for their conceptualizations and operationalization of involvement (Havitz & Dimanche, 1997). Although the involvement construct was originally introduced in social psychology, it has been studied most extensively by both attitude researchers examining persuasion and consumer behaviorists (Costley, 1987). Adapted from Rothschild (1984), Havitz and Dimanche (1997) defined the construct of involvement as “an unobservable state of motivation, arousal or interest toward a recreational activity or associated product. It is evoked by particular stimulus or situation and has drive properties... In other words, leisure involvement refers to how we think about our leisure and recreation, and it affects our behavior” (p. 246). According to Havitz and Dimanche (1997), although the definition of involvement holds situational properties, leisure research has primarily focused on the enduring elements of the relationship between the self (ego) and leisure activities.

In the leisure literature, there has been general acknowledgment that involvement is best viewed as a multidimensional concept (Havitz & Dimanche, 1997; Kyle & Chick, 2002; Laurent & Kapferer, 1985; McIntyre & Pigram, 1992). Three dimensions (i.e., attraction, centrality, and self expression) have consistently been shown to be reliable and salient within leisure contexts (Dimanche, Havitz & Howard, 1991; Havitz & Dimanche, 1997; McIntyre & Pigram, 1992; Wiley, Shaw & Havitz, 2000). *Attraction* is conceptualized in terms of individuals’ perceptions of activity importance and the pleasure or hedonic value derived through the activity. *Centrality* focuses on the extent



to which other aspects (e.g., social relations) of an individual's life are centered on a chosen leisure activity. Finally, *self expression* refers to the extent to which a leisure activity provides an opportunity to express a desired image that individuals wish to convey to others.

### 2.2.2. Enduring Involvement and Identity Theory

Similarity exists between Sherif and Cantril's (1947) conceptualization of involvement and identity theory in terms of their central premise that the self is a fundamental motivator of individual behavior. The similarity, however, attenuates in the context of the leisure literature, especially where the operationalization of enduring leisure involvement is concerned. According to Kyle and Chick (2004), the multidimensional approach (i.e., attraction, centrality and self-expression dimensions) acknowledges the potential of leisure activities to arouse multiple ego-attitudes or to be personally relevant for several different enduring reasons. This conceptualization, however, illustrates that the focus of work related to enduring involvement in the leisure literature has diverged from the self which is the central feature of Sherif and Cantril's original conceptualization of ego involvement. Because the conceptualization and operationalization of enduring involvement in the leisure literature has drawn heavily from the consumer behavior literature, where perspectives differ from social psychology, it is not surprising that the conceptualization and measurement of enduring leisure involvement weakly reflects the original work of Sherif and Cantril.

From an identity theory perspective, the self-related component of enduring involvement (i.e., *self expression*) is an antecedent of other dimensions of involvement (i.e., *attraction* and *centrality*). Identity theory suggests that positive emotions and affect (i.e., *attraction*) are outcomes of self-verification processes (Burke & Stets, 1999; Smith-Lovin, 1995; Stets & Tsushima, 1999). When identity standards and perceived self-meanings are congruent, self-verification emerges. Successful self-verification brings about positive emotions such as esteem, happiness, pride, mastery and efficacy (Burke & Stets, 1999; Smith-Lovin, 1995; Swann, de la Ronde & Hixon, 1994; Swann, Hixon & de la Ronde, 1992; Stets & Tsushima, 1999). For instance, Burke and Stets' (1999) longitudinal study of married couples showed that the confirmation of spousal identity produced positive self-feelings. According to Burke and Stets, the greater the self-verification, the more positive emotions individuals will experience. People also experience stronger emotions and regard the outcomes (self-verification) as more important or valuable when the outcomes are relevant to the aspects of a more important identity (Stets & Burke, 2003; Stryker, 1987). Thus, greater confirmation of a leisure identity and the more important the identity confirmed, the stronger the perceived importance and pleasure (i.e., *attraction*) people will experience.

Identity theorists suggest that individuals play an active role in maintaining their identity by seeking out certain situations in which their identity can be played out (i.e., *centrality*) (Leary, Wheeler, & Jenkins, 1986; Sampson, 1978; Snyder, 1981; Swann & Read, 1981). Self-verification is accomplished by altering the current situation or by seeking and creating new situations in which perceived self-relevant meanings match

those of the identity standard (Stryker & Burke, 2000). For instance, Leary et al.'s (1986) work illustrated that people manage areas of their lives such as their occupation and recreation in order to establish a sense of continuity and stability to their identity. Thus, as a specific leisure identity becomes more important to individuals, they are more likely to organize their life around the leisure activity in order to affirm their leisure identity. This process is captured in enduring leisure involvement's *centrality* dimension.

### 2.3. Commitment and Behavioral Loyalty

In the leisure literature, two differing approaches to the study commitment have emerged. These alternate perspectives are the product of the disciplinary biases reflected in the theories employed to frame each conceptualization, namely psychology and sociology. The most salient distinction for each approach lies in the object of commitment. Psychological approaches use the term commitment to refer to service providers or brands. Alternately, sociological approaches use commitment to refer to factors that underlie recreationists' persistence in a specific activity. In this context, particular emphasis is placed on the social factors which bind individuals to consistent behavior. The latter approach shares some conceptual similarity with enduring involvement. Leisure researchers (Havitz & Dimanche, 1997, 1999) discuss this distinction in the object of commitment by referring to activities as products and service providers as brands.

### 2.3.1. Psychological Approaches to Commitment, Behavioral Loyalty and Identity

Psychological approaches to commitment have been defined in terms of cognitions that underline consistent behavior (e.g., Crosby & Taylor, 1983; Freedman, 1964; Pritchard et al. 1999). These approaches suggest that commitment can be described as the tendency to resist change in brand preference (Crosby & Taylor, 1983; Pritchard et al. 1999). Leisure researchers drawing from the psychology/consumer behavior literature also define commitment in terms of individuals' unwillingness to alter their preferences for a specific brand (e.g., leisure service provider) and consider the construct to be an antecedent of behavioral loyalty (Iwasaki & Havitz, 2004; Kyle, Graefe, Manning & Bacon, 2004).

Leisure researchers adopting psychological approaches consider self-identity as one of the key elements comprising individuals' commitment to a service agency. For example, Pritchard, Havitz and Howard (1999) proposed that the tendency to resist change is girded by several formative processes; i.e., informational, volitional and identification. The identification process, referred to by Pritchard et al. as position involvement, reflects the degree to which self-image is linked to a particular brand preference. They suggested that part of recreationists' lasting relationship with service providers was ground in their evaluation of the consistency between the self-images perceived in public associated with the brand and their own view of self (Pritchard et al., 1999). The highest form of commitment can be driven by a need for symbolic representation and self-identity (Pritchard et al., 1999).

Leisure researchers have also suggested that enduring involvement precedes the development of psychological commitment, which in turn, is an antecedent to behavioral loyalty to a brand or organization (Iwasaki & Havitz, 1998, 2004; Kyle, Graefe, Manning & Bacon, 2004). That is, an individual becomes a loyal client when s/he is highly involved in a leisure activity, develops specific brand preferences which are then manifested in consistent behavior often reflected in repeat patronage (i.e., behavioral loyalty). Iwasaki and Havitz (2004) argued that the relationships between leisure involvement, psychological commitment, and behavioral loyalty are consistent with belief-attitude-behavior linkage/hierarchy (Ajzen, 1991, 2000; Albarracin, Johnson, Fishbein & Muellerleile, 2001). Leisure involvement represents people's attitude toward an activity while psychological commitment reflects people's attitude toward a brand of service provider.

### 2.3.2. Sociological Approaches to Commitment and Identity Theory

Sociological perspectives on commitment have emphasized societal and social factors which bind individuals to consistent patterns of action (Becker, 1960; Johnson, 1973, 1991; Shamir, 1988). Sociological approaches to commitment consider "side bets" as important underlying mechanisms or processes. Side bets are "costs" such as staking effort, financial resources or friendships. Because the costs of discontinuing the line of action become prohibitive, involving the loss of investments (e.g., equipment, time, skill development, social networks), the recreationists are bound to their continuing involvement with an activity. In the context of the leisure literature, Kim, Scott and

Crompton (1997) conceptualized the notion of “side bets” as one of the underlying dimensions of commitment to a leisure behavior. Identity theorists, however, suggest that identity is central to understanding why individuals make commitments and develop side bets in the first place, and why certain lines of action are valued (Burke & Reitzes, 1991). When individuals are committed, they “need” not be tied to a specific leisure activity but, rather, they are tied to verifying the self and maintaining particular perceptions of the meaning for one’s identity in social situations (Burke & Reitzes, 1991; McCall & Simmons, 1966; Stryker, 1980). When an identity is confirmed (i.e., self-verification), individuals experience positive feelings such as esteem, happiness, pride, mastery and efficacy (Burke & Stets, 1999; Swann, de la Ronde & Hixon, 1994; Swann, Hixon & de la Ronde, 1992). The central premise of identity theory is that in order to experience positive emotions people seek ways to establish and maintain the situations and relationships in which their identities are verified (Stryker, 1981; Burke & Stets, 1999). Thus, commitment emerges from this process of self-verification (Burke & Stets, 1999).

The notion of side bets being an underlying mechanism for sociological commitment is captured in the process of self-verification. Since self-verification occurs during interaction with others (Swann, 1987; Swann, Pelham & Krull, 1989; Stebbins, 1992; Stone, 1962), individuals tend to facilitate the process through selective interaction (Swann, 1987). That is, people choose to interact with others who affirm their identity and to avoid those who do not (Swann, Pelham & Krull, 1989). When the identity is repetitively verified during interactions with others, an emotional attachment to others

and a perception that one is part of a group increase, resulting in an increased commitment to the other participants or a specific group (e.g., social world) (Burke & Stets, 1999). The self-verification process can also involve commitment to the physical environment where the interaction takes place; e.g., parks, festivals and recreational facilities. Therefore, discontinuing participation in a leisure activity or visiting a certain location could also entail the loss of the relationships with a group of people and the social bonds built through self-verification process (i.e., side bets).

Individuals also display signs and symbols to express their identity related to a leisure activity or service provider (Bhattacharya & Sen, 2003). Such identity expression and affirmation take place not only in the presence of relevant others but also to general public (Stebbins, 1992; Stone, 1962). Participants make financial investments in attire, accessories, or instruments in order to be perceived in certain way so that others recognize their identity and react appropriately, thereby confirming their identity (Stone, 1962). Financial investments which individuals make in order to claim their identity will also be perceived as costs (i.e., side bets) if they decide to discontinue maintaining the identity. As McCall and Simmons (1966) have suggested, when an individual is committed, the person gambles his regard for himself on living up to his self conception.

#### 2.4. Specialization

The concept of recreational specialization has received considerable attention in the leisure literature (Scott & Shafer, 2001). The construct was developed by Bryan (1977, 1979) based on his work on diverse outdoor activities such as angling, hunting,

skiing, birdwatching, mountain climbing and backpacking. While there has been some disagreement on the conceptualization and measurement of the concept (McFarlane, 2004; Oh & Ditton, 2006; Scott & Shafer, 2001), Scott and Shafer's (2001) synthesis of specialization research identified three dimensions underlying a developmental process; i.e., behavior, cognition and affective attachment. The affective attachment dimension has been operationalized using constructs such as sociological commitment (Buchanan, 1985), enduring involvement (McIntyre & Pigram, 1992; Selin & Howard, 1988; Siegenthaler & Lam, 1992) and centrality to lifestyle (Kuentzel & McDonald, 1992; McFarlane, 1994; McIntyre, 1989; Wellman et al., 1982). Specialization researchers typically conceptualize the commitment construct in line with Becker's (1960) notion of side bets (i.e., sociological approaches to commitment) (Lee & Scott, 2006). *Centrality to lifestyle* represents social ties to the activity and the role of the activity in an individual's life (McIntyre, 1989; McIntyre & Pigram, 1992; McFarlane, 2004). According to Scott and Shafer (2001), centrality entails "a rejection of alternative leisure activities, making family and career decision in light of one's interest" (p.330). In addition, the affective dimension has been operationalized in terms of the *enduring involvement* construct, especially the aspect of self-identity. It reflects the development of self-identity, which "entails a strong affective attachment and inner conviction that the activity is worth doing for its own sake" (Scott & Shafer, 2001, p. 329).



#### 2.4.1. Specialization and Identity Theory

As manifested in the operationalization of specialization, the elements of identity theory are also reflected in its sub-dimensions consisting of enduring involvement and sociological commitment. Consistent with the earlier discussion, identity is a primary reason why individuals develop commitment and make side bets in the first place and, in turn, progress along the specialization continuum. It is also reflected Bryan's (1979) original work of specialization. Bryan asserted that individuals' desire to find a meaning of self or be special is an underlying force for a progression along the specialization continuum. Individuals may "find their 'specialness' in the high degree of manipulation and control they bring to... [a leisure] activity and the status from their leisure world reference group that such performance brings" (Bryan, 1979, p. 55).

A leisure identity predicts the extent to which individuals invest their time and effort to advance along the specialization continuum (Burke & Reitzes, 1991). According to Burke and Reitzes (1991), variations in people's investment of time and other resources in activities related to identities are explained by the different meanings tied to the identities (Burke & Reitzes, 1991). In their study of commitment and student identity, Burke and Reitzes (1991) revealed that students' academic performance and time spent for studying are determined by the meanings they associate with being a student. If the meanings of student identity do not include high levels of academic responsibility, students tend not to spend time studying and display lower levels of academic performance. Similarly, a person will not expend time and resources to progress in a certain leisure activity if the meanings of her/his leisure identity do not

consist of the persona of a recreation specialist or a serious participant. The person will be a more casual or a social recreationist.

## 2.5. Serious Leisure

The concept of serious leisure was coined by Robert Stebbins based on his extensive ethnographic studies (1979; 1982; 1992; 2001). Serious leisure is defined as “the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer activity that is sufficiently substantial and interesting for the participant to find a career there in the acquisition and expression of its special skills and knowledge” (Stebbins, 1992, p.3). Stebbins (1979) identified six defining qualities of serious leisure. First, serious leisure participants have a need to persevere through adversity. The second element of serious leisure is the tendency for participants to find a career path in the chosen activity marked by stages of achievement or involvement. According to Stebbins (1979), serious leisure participants are likely to go through five career stages: beginning, development, establishment, maintenance, and decline. Third, serious leisure requires significant personal effort to develop special knowledge, training, and skills associated with the chosen leisure activity. Fourth, participants receive eight durable benefits or rewards from the chosen leisure pursuit: self-actualization, self-enrichment, self-expression, renewal or recognition of self, feelings of accomplishment, enhancement of self-image, social interaction and belongingness, and lasting physical products resulting from the activity. Fifth, participants develop a unique ethos or subculture that consists of distinct values, beliefs, norms and tradition associated with the chosen leisure pursuit. The last quality of

serious leisure is the formation of a strong identity with the activity which results from the other five qualities.

### 2.5.1. Serious Leisure and Identity Theory

As manifested in the key qualities of serious leisure, Stebbins (1979) contended that serious leisure participants develop a strong identity related to the chosen leisure pursuit. It is consistent with identity theory in terms of the relationship between identity salience and commitment to the identity. As people become more committed to their leisure pursuit, the activity becomes a more salient component of their identity (Laverie, 1995). Indeed, many leisure researchers have observed the salient identity associated with a leisure activity among serious leisure participants (e.g., Baldwin & Norris, 1999; Crouch, 1993; Gibson, Willming & Holdnak, 2002; Kellert, 1985; Mittelstaedt, 1995; Scott & Godbey, 1992; 1994; Stebbins, 1979; 1992; Yoder, 1997). For example, in a study of participants of American Kennel Club (AKC) activities and events, Baldwin and Norris (1999) found that active participants in AKC activities and events tend to identify strongly with their pursuit. People in AKC events called themselves as “dog people.” Dog people had profound knowledge of the training and breeding of dogs and an understanding of the AKC subculture. Gibson, Willming and Holdnak (2002) also showed that individuals who were seriously involved with the University of Florida Football often made self-references such as ‘a Gator football fan’ or even ‘a Gator.’ Serious leisure provides the right context for developing identity and sense of belonging (Gibson, Willming & Holdnak, 2002; Stebbins, 1979).

## 2.6. Conclusion

This section began with the assertion that identity theory and leisure-related concepts (i.e., enduring involvement, commitment, loyalty, serious leisure and specialization) examine similar process related lasting and intense engagement in leisure. This section offered a theoretical framework for both the reconceptualization of several constructs related to their dimensional structure in addition identifying commonalities.

The central premise of identity theory (i.e., self verification) is that identity has important behavioral consequences (Stryker, 1980; Stryker & Serpe, 1982, 1994). Identity defines both who we are and why and how we are to behave in a specific ways. Individuals continuously seek a self-verification which generates positive emotions through self-appraisals and fosters beliefs in self-efficacy, i.e., one's ability to produce desired outcomes (Thoits, 2003). Regardless of how behavior is initiated, behavior settles into a consistent pattern only as a result of a match between one's identity and perceptions of self-relevant meanings in interactions (i.e., self-verification). Guided by identity theory, it was suggested that identity-confirmation is the underlying reason why individuals become involved in a leisure activity and develop a commitment and side bets. Further, self-verification processes underline why individuals value certain lines of action (i.e., enduring involvement, commitment, and specialization) and, in turn, become specialists, amateurs or loyal clients.

Future research should empirically test the role of identity in leisure, and a theoretical model of the relationship between identity and enduring involvement, commitment, loyalty, specialization, and serious leisure. When examining the proposed

model, researchers should also consider the effect of leisure constraints. Leisure research has illustrated that constraints to leisure negatively influence the development of individual's loyalty or specialization, sometimes resulting in discontinuing participation (Backman, 1991; Backman & Crompton, 1989; Gillespie, Leffler, & Lerner, 2002; Jones, 2000; McQuarrie & Jackson 1996). The inclusion of perceived constraints will undoubtedly add strength to the model.

Future work also requires the development of a valid and reliable measure of a leisure identity. It has been suggested that individuals consume leisure for symbolic values as well as self-expression (Bourdieu, 1979, 1984; Dimanche & Samdahl, 1994; Haggard & Williams, 1992; Hutchison & Samdahl, 1999; Laverie, 1995; Rojek, 1990; Samdahl 1988; Schlenker, 1984; Veblen, 1899; Urry, 1990). That is, engagement in leisure activities enables people to both express their leisure identity to others and to affirm the identity to themselves. While the operationalization of the identity processes in most leisure studies has failed to reflect this proposition, one study has conceptualized the connection between the self and leisure experience in terms of identity expression (sign value) and identity affirmation (self-expression) (Kyle, Absher, Norman, Hammitt & Jodice, 2007). Using data collected from campers and anglers, Kyle and his colleagues (2007) showed good supports for two distinct components of the identity processes as evidenced in validity and reliability tests (i.e., validity- discriminant, convergent and nomological; reliability- internal consistency and composite). Continued efforts are required to develop a broader range of items conceptually consistent with each of the identity components.

### 3. BRINGING IDENTITY THEORY INTO LEISURE

The concept of identity has been ubiquitous within the social and behavioral sciences (Stryker & Burke, 2000). An underlying assumption of the research on the self and identity is that the self is a primary motivator of behavior (Stets & Burke, 2003). In order to explain why and how individuals behave in a certain way, we need to study the identities that people hold and the corresponding meanings of these identities (Stets & Biga, 2003). Indeed, an impressive amount of research has identified the relationship between identity and behavior (Burke, 1989a, 1989b; Burke & Hoetler, 1988; Burke & Reitzes, 1981; Burke, Stets, & Pirog-Good, 1988; Callero, 1985; Charng, Piliavin, & Callero, 1988; Stets, 1997; Stets & Burke, 1996; Stryker & Serpe, 1982). For instance, Callero (1985) and Charng et al. (1988) found that identity is a meaningful predictor of activities such as blood donation and Stets and Biga (2003) demonstrated that an environment-oriented identity is related to pro-environmental behavior.

Despite the empirical support that has accumulated for the self-relevant behaviors, leisure researchers have paid less attention to the effects that self and identity might have on leisure behavior. It has been asserted that the essence of an individual's personal commitment to leisure lies in the opportunity to express and affirm the self (e.g., Buchanan, 1985; Havitz & Dimanche, 1990; Pritchard, Howard, & Havitz, 1992; Scott & Shafer, 2001; Shamir, 1988). This is reflected in Shamir's (1988) suggestion that, "In full sense, internal commitment exists when the person defines himself or herself in

terms of the line of activity, role or relationship he or she is committed to” (p. 244). Shamir (1992) defined identification as a feeling of ‘oneness’ with the object of identification or as self-definition in terms of that object. When the object of identification is a social subject or a social role, identification means the incorporation of a certain identity into self-concept. This implies that people can incorporate a recreational activity and meanings associated with the activity into their self-definition, defining themselves in terms of the activity. Consequently, leisure identity drives leisure conduct.

The tenets of identity theory also imply that individuals pursue behaviors that are consistent with their gender identity (i.e., degree of their masculinity and femininity) and avoid behaviors that violate their meanings associated with the opposing genders. Western culture defines personal attributes and behaviors as appropriate or inappropriate for each gender (Anderson 2005; Henderson, Stalnaker, & Taylor, 1988; Messner 1988, 2002; Messner & Sabo 1990; Ross & Shiner, 2008; Shaw, 1994; Snyder & Spreitzer 1983). Consequently, many social activities are labeled as masculine or feminine, and the leisure experience is not an exception to this gender stereotyping. Traditional masculine attributes (e.g., independent, mastery, and inner-directedness) are considered to be compatible with values of the leisure experience while feminine features (e.g. dependence, passive, and other-directed) are associated with the value thought to indicate a ‘lack of leisure’ (Kane, 1990). Given the gender stereotyping of leisure activities, individuals’ behavior and identity in leisure contexts also need to be understood in relation to gender identity.

This section explores the interrelationship between leisure identity, gender identity and leisure participation. Leisure identity in this study refers to a set of meanings attached to the self that serve as a standard or reference that guides a person's leisure behavior (adopted from Burke and Tully's definition of identity in 1977).

### 3.1. Identity Theory

Despite a considerable body of research in contemporary social science including psychoanalysis, psychology, political science, sociology, and history, the conceptualization and theoretical role of identity differs across disciplines (Stryker & Burke, 2000). For example, in political science and some fields in sociology, the term identity is considered as a social category, paired with a belief that all individuals within the same category have the same identity (Burke, 2003). This view of identity is often seen in work on national identity or ethnic identity within a national boundary. Another view built upon the work of Erikson (1968) sees an identity as an individual's subjective sense of persistent sameness within oneself, paired with a persistent sharing of world image. Burke (2003, p. 1) called this view 'ultra-individualistic with each person being and becoming his or her own unique self.' Growing out of the structural symbolic interaction perspective (Stryker, 1980), a third view conceptualizes the concept of identity falling somewhere between these two perspectives; i.e., identity as a social category and identity as a unique individual. In this interpretation, an identity refers to a set of meanings applied to the self in a social role or situation defining what it means to be who one is (Burke & Tully, 1977; Stryker, 1980). The meanings are understood



through the interaction with others in which those others respond to the self as if the person had an identity appropriate to their role behavior (Stets & Burke, 2003). The person also creates internalized meanings and expectations with regard to her/his own behavior, having a unique interpretation that the person brings to the role. Variation across individuals in internalized meanings exists but they still share the core meanings and expectations, being a part of the general culture.

This section adopted the third approach to identity that built upon Stryker's perspective of the symbolic interaction framework. Stryker (1980) who adopted Mead's dictum (1934) of a reciprocal relationship between self and society proposed a general set of premises as underlying the symbolic interaction perspective on identity. His first proposition stated that behavior depends upon a named or classified world and that these names or class terms carry meanings in the form of shared responses and behavioral expectations that grow out of social interaction. Second, Stryker suggested that among the class terms learned through interactions are symbols that designate positions in the social structure. The positions carry the shared behavioral expectations which are not only created through interaction and negotiation with people, but also exist to be seen, reacted to, and labeled as 'roles' in society. His third proposition asserted that individuals in society are named or labeled as occupants of the positions. In the fourth proposition, Stryker (1980) suggested that people also name themselves in terms of positions they occupy. The meanings and expectations attached to the positions become internalized and are a part of our self (Burke, 2003).

From this perspective, identity theory maintains that people seek to verify self-identity and identities serve as standards or references that guide future behaviors (Burke, 1980). Consequently, in Western democracies, people choose behavior which reflects their identities in order to maintain consistency between their perceptions of self-relevant meanings (i.e., the reflected appraisals) and their identity (Burke, 1991; Swann, 1990). In other words, identities are a source of motivation for action (Burke & Reitzes, 1991; Foote, 1951; Gecas, 1982; Heise, 1979).

### 3.1.1. Identity and Commitment

Individuals engage in the establishment and maintenance of their identities through commitment processes (Burke & Reitzes, 1991). According to Burke and Reitzes (1991), commitment can be understood as a mechanism to maintain/confirm one's identity. Regardless of how behavior is initiated, behavior settles into a consistent pattern only as a result of a match between one's identity and perceptions of self-relevant meanings in interactions (i.e., the reflected appraisals). The individual will tend to behave in ways to establish congruity. Burke and Reitzes (1991) referred to commitment as the strength of the force or pressure that drives people to maintain correspondence between the self and reflected appraisals. The more an individual is committed to an identity, behaviors enacted by the person are more likely to correspond with the identity. Since the reflected appraisals are partially determined by the individual's behavior in the interactions, the evaluative responses of others to the identity in the interaction (i.e., the reflected appraisals) are more likely to be consistent

with the individual's identity. Therefore, greater commitment implies stronger congruity between the identity and the reflected appraisals which confirms one's identity (Burke & Reitzes, 1991). For example, Burke and Reitzes (1991) showed that individuals with higher levels of commitment to a 'student identity' had a stronger link between identity and behavior than those with lower levels of commitment.

According to Stryker (1968, 1980), commitment also has a strong influence on the salience of identity. In the context of identity theory, the self is a collection of identities rather than an undifferentiated whole. A person has multiple identities just as the person occupies multiple and diverse roles in the social structure (James, 1890). These multiple identities are organized in a salience hierarchy which reflects the likelihood that each identity would be activated (Stryker, 1968). For instance, if a person has a salient 'father identity,' his father identity is likely to be invoked across a variety of situations. Salient identities have a significant motivational effect on related activities even though the choice of behavior might be controlled by the nature of the situation with extreme contextual demands present (Stryker, 1968). According to Stryker (1968, 1980), the higher the level of commitment to an identity, the higher the respective identity will be in the salience hierarchy and the more likely it will be invoked in any given situation. A body of research has supported the relationship between identity salience and behavior. For instance, Stryker and Serpe (1982) found that salience of a 'religious identity' is a meaningful predictor of time spent in religious role. Likewise, Callero (1985) and Charng et al. (1988) demonstrated that the salience of the 'blood-donor role identity' is related to frequency individuals donate blood. In addition, Stets

and Biga (2003) demonstrated that people with a salient 'environmental identity' are more likely to engage in environmental behavior.

### 3.2. Leisure Identity

According to Dimanche and Samdahl (1994), an individual is internally motivated by the desire for expressing the true self. In the context of leisure, people have relatively less social constraints and restrictions than in other life domains, gaining an opportunity for truer self-expression. While our normal behaviors are confined by social norms - roles and expectation of others - leisure behavior is comparatively less impacted by those expectations and more reflective of the desire of the true self (Samdahl, 1988). Leisure provides an opportunity for the self to match the true (or ideal) self compared to other life situations. People wish to reflect who they really are through leisure participation. Similarly, Kelly (1983) asserted that leisure provides individuals a fertile context for constructing a sense of self and conveying the ideal self. To create and affirm the sense of identity, people often go through five processes: 1) selective participation in occupations, tasks, and hobbies associated with particular self images; 2) displays of signs and symbols of identities through the display of possessions; 3) selective affiliation with others who appraise and support our desired identities; 4) interpersonal behaviors designed to shape identity affirming responses in others; and 5) cognitive processes such as selective attention and interpretation of self-referent information (Schlenker, 1984). Given relatively fewer restrictions as well as more autonomy and freedom embedded in

leisure activities, leisure activities offer the 'right' context for the working out of identities (Kelly, 1983).

The process through which an individual starts to take and commit to an identity related to a leisure activity was described in Laverie's (1995) identity development stage. In her study of aerobic participants, Laverie demonstrated that there are several stages that individuals pass through when adopting an identity related to an activity. These identity development stages consist of varying levels of identity importance, participation in identity related activities, social connections, and duration of identity related behavior. In her study, it was clear that individuals' identities as 'aerobics participants' begin to take shape and the identities become a more important part of who they were. The way people become committed to their leisure identity was also depicted in Stebbins' (1992) research on amateurs, professionals and serious leisure participants. According to Stebbins, there are typical career stages through which people are likely to progress: a beginning, development, establishment, maintenance, and decline. Throughout these stages, as people become more engrossed in an activity more, so too does their satisfaction with the activity, thereby reaffirming their leisure identity.

As Stryker (1968, 1980) noted, commitment has a strong influence on the salience of a leisure identity. Therefore, it is not surprising that a salient leisure identity has been observed among people in serious leisure (e.g., Baldwin & Norris, 1999; Crouch, 1993; Gibson, Willming & Holdnak, 2002; Kellert, 1985; Mittelstaedt, 1995; Scott & Godbey, 1992; 1994; Stebbins, 1979; 1992; Yoder, 1997). For example, in a study of participants of American Kennel Club (AKC) activities and events, Baldwin

and Norris (1999) found that active participants in AKC activities and events tend to identify strongly with their pursuit. People in AKC events called themselves as ‘dog people’ who have profound knowledge of the serious training and breeding of dogs and an understanding of the AKC subculture. Gibson, Willming and Holdnak (2002) also showed that individuals who were highly involved with the University of Florida Football often made self-references such as ‘a Gator football fan’ or even ‘a Gator.’

Few studies have empirically explored the link between leisure identity and leisure behavior. Notable exceptions include the work of Shamir (1992), and Laverie and Arnett (2000). Shamir (1992) used the concept of identity salience to explain different behaviors in a leisure context. With results of three studies, one among students and two among participants in serious leisure activities, he found the salience of leisure identity was strongly related to time investment, continuance commitment, the level of effort and skill invested in a leisure activity. Laverie and Arnett (2000) also demonstrated that identity salience is an effective predictor of sport event attendance. Using a sample of college students, the authors found that the salience of ‘fan’ identity related to a women’s basketball team was an important determinant in explaining fan-related behavior (i.e., a frequency of attendance in the basketball games).

Previous studies on identity theory and leisure allow for predictions of who will be more likely to engage in behaviors associated with a given identity. Therefore, in this study it was expected that those with a stronger leisure identity are more likely to engage in related behaviors associated with the identity.

*H<sub>1</sub>: Individuals with a stronger leisure identity are more likely to engage in the identity related activity than those with a weaker leisure identity*

### 3.3. Gender Identity

The meanings of gender (i.e., gender identity) also guide individuals' behavior (Burke, 1989). Although gender identity is related to one's biological factor (i.e., sex, hormonal balances or anatomical differences), the meanings of being one sex is considerably influenced by societal factors (e.g., cultural expectations, norms or stereotype about constitutions of the ideal male and female) (e.g., Bem, 1981; Spence & Helmreich, 1978; Weitz, 1977). While a person may know herself to be biologically female and cognitively classify herself as such, she may see herself as more feminine or more masculine only because she views herself in a stereotypical female or male manner. People respond to themselves as objects along the female-male dimension of meanings, defining themselves as more feminine or masculine or as a mixture (Burke et al. 1988). The meanings of gender guides individuals' behavior in a way which has been socially defined as more feminine or more masculine. Individuals with more feminine gender identities, for example, choose more feminine behaviors, when possible, and avoid more masculine behaviors.

#### 3.3.1. Gender Stereotyping of Activities

Historically, most leisure and physical recreation activities have been considered masculine (Anderson 2005; Birrell & Theberge 1994; Bryson 1987; Cszima, Wittig, &

Schurr, 1988; Hargreaves 1986; Messner 1988, 2002; Messner & Sabo 1990; Ross & Shinew, 2008; Snyder & Spreitzer 1983). It is primarily a social construction associated with stereotyped expectations regarding gender, femininity, and masculinity (Koivula, 1995, 2001; Kolmsten, Marsh & Skaalvik, 2005; Metheny, 1965; Matteo 1984, 1986; Ross & Shinew, 2008). Metheny (1965) was one of the first sociologists to identify gender stereotypes in physical activities. Her analysis showed that the majority of physical activities were considered to be 'masculine' although some activities were seen to be more 'appropriate' for women than men. The categorization of a specific activity as masculine or feminine was based on several factors such as the aesthetic nature of the activity, use of physical force, and endurance (Metheny, 1965). Although Metheny proposed the gendering of physical activities almost 40 years ago, it has remained relatively unchanged (Cahn, 1994; Colley, Nash, O'Donnell, & Restoorick, 1987; Kane & Snyder, 1989; Koivula, 1995, 2001; Matteo, 1986, 1988; McCallister, Blinde, & Phillips, 2003). For example, Colley, Roberts and Chipps (1985) surveyed students to identify their perception of gender appropriateness of 50 activities. The majority of sports were classified as inappropriate for females because of the perception that women don't have required attributes (i.e., masculine characteristics) such as assertiveness and aggressiveness. Similarly, Koivula (1995) investigated the consensual perception of college students about gender appropriateness of 41 physical recreational activities. Fifteen activities were perceived as masculine and 7 as feminine. Subsequently, Koivula (2001) classified physical recreation activities based on 12 factor-based scales and found that the degree of appearance and attractiveness (i.e., aesthetical, beauty, graceful, and



sexy) determine activities as feminine. The attributes of speed, strength and endurance were strongly related to what is perceived as masculine activities.

### 3.3.2. Gender Identity and Participation in Leisure and Physical Recreation

Several studies have provided empirical support for the effect of gender identity on participation in physical recreation (Colley, Roberts & Chipps, 1985; Engel, 1994; Guillet, Sarrazin & Fontayne, 2000; Guillet, Sarrazin, Fontayne & Brustad, 2006; Marsh & Jackson, 1986; Matteo, 1984, 1986; Salminen, 1990). The sex-typed individuals (i.e., males high in masculine identity but low in feminine identity; and females low in masculine identity but high in feminine identity) are motivated to keep her/his behavior consistent with their meanings associated with their gender. The sex-typed persons select behaviors that enhance their self-relevant image and avoid behaviors that violate the image (Colley, Roberts & Chipps, 1985; Engel, 1994; Guillet, Sarrazin & Fontayne, 2000; Guillet, Sarrazin, Fontayne & Brustad, 2006; Marsh & Jackson, 1986; Matteo, 1984, 1986; Salminen, 1990). For example, early studies by Matteo (1984, 1986) examined the participation of college students to analyze how the gender-orientation affected their participation in what they perceive as gender-appropriate activities. She found that males who scored high on masculinity dimension reported significantly less experience with and commitment to feminine sports than those who scored high or low on both masculine and feminine dimensions. Similarly, female respondents who score high on the sex congruent scale (i.e., femininity) and low on the sex incongruent scale (i.e., masculinity) reported significantly less commitment to masculine physical

activities compared with those who scored high or low on both scale. Additionally, Colley, Roberts and Chipps' (1985) inquiry into gender identity and participation in team and individual sports found evidence that participants were higher on masculine identity than nonparticipants. Their results were also attributed to the more masculine nature of team sports that attract female college students who scored high on masculine dimension. Salminen (1990) study of adolescents, reported similar findings in that masculine adolescents were more likely to participate in all kinds of physical recreation.

A number of studies focused on the gender identity of female athletes as compared to female non-athletes. The research findings revealed that masculine identity successfully differentiated female athletes from their non-athlete peers in that sport participants were more likely to identify themselves as masculine (Hall, Durborow, & Progen, 1986; Marsh & Jackson, 1986; Miller & Levy, 1996). In more recent study testing the expectancy–value model of Eccles and colleagues (1983), Guillet, Sarrazin, Fontayne and Brustad (2006) investigated the effect of gender role orientations of female athletes on the likelihood of continued participation in a handball. In their study, players who participated following season scored higher on masculine identity than those who discontinued participation. Studies documenting the results of femininity and participation in sports, however, have been conflicting. While some researchers reported that female participants displayed lower levels of femininity compared to female non-participants, others found no differences between female athletes and non-athletes on levels of feminine gender identity (Burke, 1986; Colker & Widom, 1980; Guillet et al., 2006; Hall et al., 1986; Lantz & Shroeder, 1999; Marsh & Jackson, 1986; Miller &

Levy, 1996). In spite of these mixed findings, most of research has showed that gender identity affects the leisure choices of both women and men. Based on the conceptual and empirical work appearing in the literature, two hypotheses established guided my analyses.

*H<sub>2a</sub>: Individuals with a stronger masculine identity are more likely to report higher levels of leisure participation than those with a weaker masculine identity.*

*H<sub>2b</sub>: Individuals with a stronger feminine identity are more likely to report lower levels of leisure participation than those with a weaker feminine identity.*

### 3.3.3. Relationship between Gender Identity and Leisure Identity

Identities are said to be related to each other through a common dimension of meanings (Burke, 1980; Heise, 1979; Stets, 1995). According to Stets (1995) the meanings associated with one identity can overlap with the meanings of another identity. In the study on the relationship between gender identity and mastery identity, Stets (1995) found that two identities are linked through the shared meaning of ‘control’ where mastery was defined as “the extent to which people see themselves as being in control of the forces that importantly affect their lives” (p.132). Her study also showed the causal relationship between two identities in that gender identity affects mastery identity. This causality was a product of the construct’s temporal distinction such that the identity which has already been established influences one which comes later in life (Stets, 1995). Because one’s core or basic gender identity is formulated by age two or three (Katz, 1986), an individual’s gender identity affects mastery identity which is

formulated after gender identity. Accordingly, one identity has implications for the other identities because the self strives to be consistent (Stets, 1995). More recently, Stets and Biga (2003) hypothesized that gender identity would be positively associated with the environmental identity (i.e., identity related to environmental behavior) through overlapping meanings along the dimension of care and other-directedness. In their study, they found that gender identity influences pro-environmental behavior through the awareness of consequences of environmental condition. The idea of relating identities was also suggested by Hoelter (1986). He proposed that identities are conceptually linked in semantic space which is defined by the universal dimensions of evaluation, potency, and activity (Osgood, Suci & Tannenbaum, 1957). Likewise, Heise (1979) argued that people choose identities on similar dimensions of meanings located in semantic space.

Burke (2003) described how multiple identities are related and how a person manages to maintain congruence between the meanings of each identity in terms of a salience hierarchy of identities. Identities at a higher level in a hierarchy are more likely to be invoked in more situations than those at a lower level. In addition, higher level identities control lower level identities in order to uphold their meanings by altering one or more standards (self-meanings) at lower levels. In doing so, the hierarchy system can maintain congruence in self-relevant perceptions at all levels simultaneously (Burke, 2003). This process illustrates that the behavior of an individual should satisfy the standards of multiple identities simultaneously. The process occurs by altering the situation in ways that meet the self-relevant meanings perceived by all of the different

identities. Burke argued that for this to happen, the self-relevant meanings of identities cannot remain in opposition. For instance, one cannot be both strong and weak or good and bad. According to identity theorists, having two incompatible identities activated concurrently results in distress because the verification of one causes an increase in a level of discrepancy for the other (e.g., Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, & Rosenthal, 1964; Rizzo, House, & Lirtzman, 1970). As Burke (2003) hypothesized, one or the other identity might become less important or salient in order to reduce/avoid the discrepancy. Since those identities at the top of the hierarchy act as ‘organizers’ of identities lower down, identities at a lower level would become less important or salient. Most often higher level identities include gender, race, ethnicity or age which parallel those great structural divisions of society (Burke, 1980). The idea shared among all of these researchers is that identities that have common meanings are likely to be activated and work simultaneously in the self verification process. On the other hand, lower level identities whose meanings are incongruent with those of identities higher in the hierarchy become less important or salient.

The attributes of masculinity such as mastery, independence, competence, and self-directedness correspond with the values identified with the leisure experience while characteristics of femininity are aligned with ‘no-leisure’ elements such as passivity, dependency, and other-directedness (Kane, 1990). Given the compatibility of the leisure experience and masculine gender identity, leisure identity, especially related to physical recreation might also be linked to masculine gender identity through the shared semantic dimensions. Based on this literature, it is expected that individuals with more salient

masculine identities will more likely have a stronger leisure identity while people with a stronger feminine identity will more likely have a weaker leisure identity. In spite of a considerable amount of research on the relationship between gender identity and participation in physical recreation, only one study has empirically investigated on the influence of gender identity on leisure identity. Lantz and Schroeder's (1999) study of four hundred college students revealed that identity related to physical recreation activities was positively related to masculinity and negatively related to femininity.

With this literature in mind, the following hypotheses are offered:

*H<sub>3a</sub>: Individuals with a stronger masculine identity are more likely to report a stronger leisure identity than those with a weaker masculine identity.*

*H<sub>3b</sub>: Individuals with a stronger feminine identity are more likely to report a weaker leisure identity than those with a weaker feminine identity.*

#### 3.4. Scope Conditions

Hypothesized relationships between gender identity, leisure identity and leisure participation might be only observed well in certain conditions contingent to a type of leisure activities and a presence of leisure identity that an individual holds. That is, the proposed link among the variables (i.e., gender identity, leisure identity and leisure participation) might emerge only given that the related leisure activity requires the attributes of strength, endurance and competition and that a person already has a leisure identity at some levels.

### 3.5. Methods

#### 3.5.1. A Questionnaire Design and Data Collection

A web-based survey was employed to examine hypothesized relationships among gender identity, leisure identity and leisure participation. While it has been suggested that the design principles used for traditional mail survey can be applied to the web surveys (Couper, 2000; Crawford, Couper, & Lamias, 2001; Dillman 2007; Kiernan, Ellen, Kiernan, Oyler, & Gilles, 2005; Sax, Gilmartin, & Bryant, 2003; Schaefer & Dillman, 1998; Solomon 2001), O'Neill (2004) suggested several principles for conducting online research. The guidelines are a) develop the concise, motivational, and clear introductory screen; b) provide clear instructions how to proceed; c) make the first question easy to answer and fully visible on the first screen; d) construct the consistent visual appearance of questions; e) use the consistent format for question and answer; f) use drop down boxes sparingly, and identify them with a "click here" command; g) do not require respondents to answer each question before they can answer subsequent questions; and (h) allow respondents to scroll from question to question rather than one screen at a time. Hence, the combination of O'Neill's principles for conducting online research and principles of Dillman's (2000) traditional design method were used to design the web-based self administered questionnaire in this study.

Survey Monkey ([www.surveymonkey.com](http://www.surveymonkey.com)), a website that manages a survey and stores the responses in an online database was chosen as the host website for the questionnaire. It allowed me to easily construct the questionnaire and distribute the e-mail invitation with attached Web links to the survey, view real time reports of the

survey results, and export the final results into an analysis software program.

The population of this study was recreational golfers who were older than 18 years. Data were collected via two sources. First, an online database of recreational golfers was purchased from a commercial database agency. The link to the survey (i.e., Survey Monkey) was sent to approximately 60,000 email addresses. This yielded 137 completed surveys. At the same time, an invitation email was sent to several Yahoo-sponsored golf discussion groups. This second procedure yielded an additional 348 completed questionnaires. Combined, the total sample size was 485 cases. The response rate couldn't be calculated since both the commercial database agency and the Yahoo-sponsored golf discussion groups were reluctant to issue the exact number of their members.

### 3.5.2. Measures

To measure leisure identity, Cieslak's modified Athletic Identity Measurement Scale (AIMS-Plus) (Cieslak, 2004) was adopted. AIMS-Plus was originally developed by Brewer, Van Raalte, & Linder (1993). It requires participants to rate themselves on a 22-item scale with responses ranging from 1: "strongly disagree" to 5: "strongly agree". Within the 22-items, there are five established factors; i.e., Social Identity, Self Identity, Exclusivity, Negative Affectivity, and Positive Affectivity. *Self identity* represents the degree to which an individual views her/himself as an athlete and the importance of being 'athlete' to the individual (4 items). *Exclusivity* measures the extent to which an individual's self-worth is determined solely by performance in the athlete role (7 items).



*Negative Affectivity* refers to the extent to which an individual experiences negative affect in response to undesirable outcomes of sport participation (3 items). *Positive Affectivity* measures the extent to which an individual experiences positive affect in response to desirable outcomes of sport participation (4 items). *Social Identity* refers to the extent to which an individual views her/himself as a member of athletic group (4 items). In addition to adapting items from Cieslak's modified Athletic Identity Measurement Scale (AIMS-Plus), four additional items for the social identity facet were utilized (see Table 1); 'it is important that other people know about my involvement in golf,' 'you can tell a lot about a person by seeing them playing golf,' 'when I play golf, other see me the way I want them to see me,' and 'if I stopped golfing, I would probably lose touch with a lot of my friends.' The first three items were adapted from Kyle et al.'s (2007) measure of identity expression (i.e., social identity) which they used to measure campers and anglers' enduring involvement. The last item was constructed based on the premise of identity theory suggested by Stryker (1980). As identity is maintained in the reciprocal relationship between the self and social structure, social identity can be measured as the strength of one's relationship to others which is an extensiveness of relationships to others entered by virtue of having an identity (Stryker, 1968).

**TABLE 1** Leisure Identity Measurement Scale

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*Social identity*

- S<sub>1</sub> Most of my friends are golfers
- S<sub>2</sub> Other people see me mainly as a golfer
- S<sub>3</sub> It is important that other people know about my involvement in golf
- S<sub>4</sub> I play golf for the recognition/fame
- S<sub>5</sub> It is important that other people know about my involvement in golf
- S<sub>6</sub> You can tell a lot about a person by seeing them playing golf
- S<sub>7</sub> When I play golf, other see me the way I want them to see me
- S<sub>8</sub> If I stopped golfing, I would probably lose touch with a lot of my friends

*Exclusivity*

- E<sub>1</sub> My involvement in golf has influenced my day-to-day decision making
- E<sub>2</sub> I typically organize my day so I can play golf
- E<sub>3</sub> I continuously think about how I can become a better golfer
- E<sub>4</sub> I make many sacrifices to play golf
- E<sub>5</sub> Playing golf is the important part of my life
- E<sub>6</sub> I spend more time thinking about golf than anything else
- E<sub>7</sub> Playing golf is the important thing in my life

*Self-identity*

- SI<sub>1</sub> I consider myself a golfer
- SI<sub>2</sub> I have many goals related to golf
- SI<sub>3</sub> Being a golfer is an important part of who I am
- SI<sub>4</sub> I need to play golf to feel good about myself

*Negative affectivity*

- N<sub>1</sub> I feel bad about myself when I play poorly in practice or game
- N<sub>2</sub> I feel badly when I fail to meet my goals related to golf
- N<sub>3</sub> I would be very depressed if I were injured and could not play golf

*Positive affectivity*

- P<sub>1</sub> I get a sense of satisfaction when playing golf
  - P<sub>2</sub> I feel good about myself I play well
  - P<sub>3</sub> When I am playing golf, I am happy
  - P<sub>4</sub> Playing golf is very positive part of my life
-

For gender identity, Spence and Helmreich's (1978) Personal Attribute Questionnaire (PAQ) was used. PAQ is designed to capture two dimensions: (a) Masculine Identity (8 items) and (b) Feminine Identity (8 items). This is one of the most widely employed sets of bipolar adjectives used to capture the meanings of maleness and femaleness in our society (Stets & Burke, 2000). The PAQ lists a series of attributes that are positively valued for both sexes but are more normative for either males or females to endorse (Table 2). It is a self-report questionnaire in which respondents were asked to indicate the extent to which they can be characterized in terms of various adjective traits.

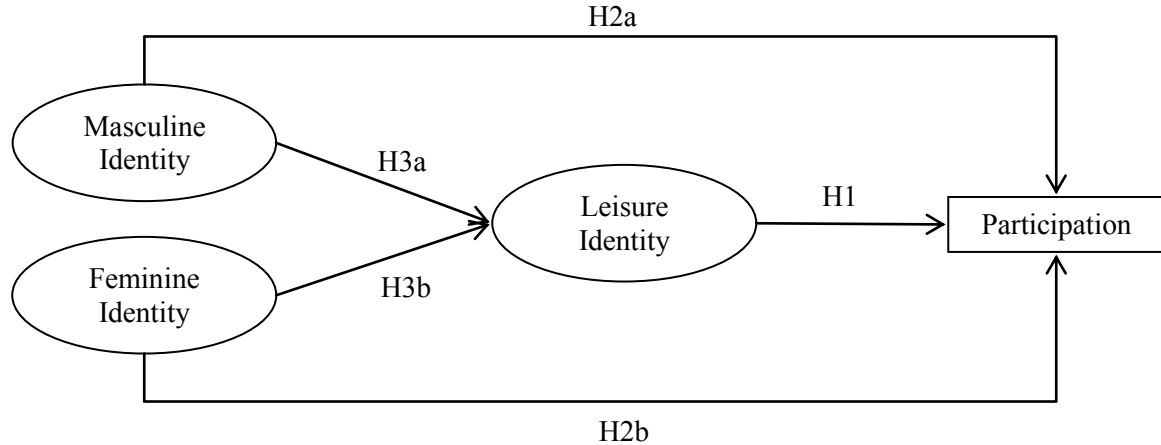
Leisure participation was measured by asking respondents to indicate how many rounds of golf they had played in the last 12 months.

**TABLE 2** Gender Identity Measurement Items

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<i>Masculinity</i>	
M <sub>1</sub>	Not at all independent – Very independent
M <sub>2</sub>	Very passive – Very active
M <sub>3</sub>	Not at all competitive – Very competitive
M <sub>4</sub>	Gives up very easily – Never gives up easily
M <sub>5</sub>	Feels very inferior – Feels very superior
M <sub>6</sub>	Goes to pieces under pressure – Stands up well under pressure
M <sub>7</sub>	Not at all self-confident – Very self-confident
M <sub>8</sub>	Can make decision easily – Has difficulty making decision
<i>Femininity</i>	
F <sub>1</sub>	Not at all able to devote self completely to others – Able to devote self completely to others
F <sub>2</sub>	Not all helpful to others – Very helpful to others
F <sub>3</sub>	Not at all kind – Very kind
F <sub>4</sub>	Not at all aware of feelings of others – Very aware of feelings of others
F <sub>5</sub>	Not at all understanding of others – Very understanding of others
F <sub>6</sub>	Very cold in relations with others – Very warm in relations with others
F <sub>7</sub>	Not at all emotional – Very emotional
F <sub>8</sub>	Very rough – Very gentle

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**FIGURE 2** Hypothesized model of the relationship between gender identity, leisure identity and participation

Figure 2 summarizes the hypothesized relationships between the constructs that have been discussed: gender identity (masculine identity and feminine identity), leisure identity and leisure participation. The hypotheses are constructed at the second order level owing to the paucity of empirical evidence in the sociology and leisure literatures that would guide the construction of hypotheses stipulating relationships among factor dimensions.

### 3.5.3. Data Analysis Procedures

The data were analyzed in three steps. First, the data were treated for missing values for further analyses. To avoid a potential bias in the results by deleting cases listwise for missing values, multiple imputation was implemented using PRELIS, a component of the LISREL program to replace the missing values. Second, a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was conducted to validate the structure of constructs (i.e., leisure identity and gender identity). The results of the CFA (i.e., factor loadings)

were also used to examine the reliability of measures (i.e., composite reliability). Third, the hypothesized model of relationship among constructs (i.e., gender identity, leisure identity and participation) was examined using structural equation modeling (SEM) using LISREL (version 8.70).

#### 3.5.4. Reliability and Validity of Measures

To examine the extent to which the observed variables employed to measure the latent variables (i.e., construct) were related to one another other, two reliability tests (i.e., coefficient alpha and composite reliability) were conducted. Cronbach's (1951) coefficient alpha ( $\alpha$ ) is widely used and the size of coefficient alpha represents the internal consistency of the items (i.e., average correlation size among items for a dimension). The standardized alpha takes into consideration the total number of items and the average inter-item correlation among the item. For Cronbach's alpha coefficients, the criteria of .70 is recommended (Nunnally, 1978).

While Cronbach's alpha assumes equal weight to each item, another method, the composite reliability (i.e., reliability coefficient  $\rho$ ) takes into account the actual factor loading (Bagozzi & Kimmel, 1995; Bollen, 1989; Leone, Perugini, & Ercolani, 1999; Perugini & Bagozzi, 2001; Raykov, 1997). For the composite reliability<sup>1</sup>, the criteria of .70 and .60 were suggested by Hair, Anderson, Tatham and Black (1998) and Bagozzi and Yi (1988), respectively.

The convergent validity and discriminant validity were assessed in order to

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<sup>1</sup> The formula to compute the composite reliability is  $\rho = (\sum \lambda_i)^2 / [(\sum \lambda_i)^2 + \sum \theta_i]$ , where  $\lambda_i$  is the completely standardized factor loading for the  $i^{\text{th}}$  factor and  $\theta_i$  is the  $i^{\text{th}}$  error variance (Hatcher, 1994).

measure the extent to which the items measured what they were designed to measure. The convergent validity refers to the degree to which the measurement scales represent the theoretical constructs to be measured (Trochim, 2001) while discriminant validity reflects the degree to which measures of different concepts are distinct. The significant factor loadings for a specific construct present evidence supporting the convergent validity (Bagozzi, Yi, & Phillips, 1991). Bagozzi (1994) suggested that discriminant validity exists when scales intended to measure different constructs have weak correlations with each other. Hence, the discriminant validity among constructs was assessed by examining correlations ( $\Phi_{ij}$ ) between constructs.

#### 3.5.5. Assessing Model Fit

The goodness of fit indices used to empirically assess fit of the model tested where the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA: Steiger & Lind, 1980), the comparative fit index (CFI: Bentler, 1990), and non-normed fit index (NNFI). Generally accepted values for each of these fit indices are (a) RMSEA values falling between .06-.08 indicate acceptable fit with .10 considered the upper limit (Byrne, 2000), (b) CFI values greater than .95 (Hu & Bentler, 1998), and (c) NNFI values greater than .90 (Hu & Bentler, 1998).

**TABLE 3** Socio-Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

Demographic characteristics	<i>n</i> (%)
Gender	
Male	240 (63.0)
Female	141 (37.0)
Education	
Less than high school graduate	5 (1.3)
High school graduate	19 (5.0)
Business school, trade, some college	138 (36.6)
College graduate	106 (28.1)
Some graduate school	33 (8.8)
Master, doctoral, or professional degree	76 (20.2)
Income	
Less than \$20,000	21 (6.5)
\$20,000 to \$59,999	88 (27.2)
\$60,000 to \$99,999	82 (25.3)
\$100,000 to \$139,999	64 (19.8)
\$140,000 to \$179,999	33 (10.2)
\$180,000 or more	36 (11.1)
Marital Status	
Married	225 (59.5)
Single/Never Married	108 (28.6)
Divorced/Separated	32 (8.5)
Widowed	13 (3.4)
Age	
M(SD)	43.2 (16.3)

### 3.6. Results

#### 3.6.1. Socio-Demographic Profile

Table 3 presents several demographic characteristics of respondents. Women were overrepresented (37%) in the sample when compared to US female golfer population (22.6%, National Sporting Goods Association (NSGA)). The respondent's age averaged 42 years. Their mean income fell in the range of \$60,000 to \$99,999 and most had, at minimum, graduated from high school (98.7%). There was a higher

presence of married (59.5%) than single (28.6%) respondents. Approximately 46% of the sample had children.

### 3.6.2. Data Reduction for Leisure Identity Construct

Confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was performed to test the theorized structure of leisure identity. Based on the modification indices for Lamda-y, eight items (i.e., S<sub>1</sub>, S<sub>4</sub>, S<sub>5</sub>, E<sub>6</sub>, E<sub>7</sub>, SI<sub>4</sub>, N<sub>3</sub>, and P<sub>4</sub>) were removed to avoid cross-loading of the items across different latent variables. Consistent with the theorized structure of the scale, the result of the CFA confirmed the five dimensional approach: 1) Social Identity, 2) Exclusivity, 3) Self Identity, 4) Negative Affectivity, and 5) Positive Affectivity. Fit statistics indicated satisfactory model fit ( $\chi^2 = 567.10$ ,  $df = 125$ ,  $p = .000$ ). Although the chi-square statistic was significant, it is understood that chi-square is sensitive to sample sizes greater than 100 (Byrne, 1998). Therefore, other indicators of model fit provided by LISREL were used to assess the adequacy of the hypothesized model. The results indicated satisfactory model fit (RMSEA=.088, NNFI=.97, CFI=.98). As shown in Table 4, the Cronbach's alpha coefficients were all greater than the recommended level of .70 (Nunnally, 1978) (.86 for Social Identity, .89 for Exclusivity, .90 for Self Identity, .80 for Negative Affectivity, and .89 for Positive Affectivity). In addition, the composite reliabilities were computed at all above .81 (.85 for Social Identity, .89 for Exclusivity, .90 for Self Identity, .81 for Negative Affectivity, and .89 for Positive Affectivity). Following the validation of the structure of leisure identity, new variables were created to reflect the dimensions underlying the latent construct of leisure identity.



These new variables were computed from the means of the items loading onto each factor. These variables were used in all subsequent analyses.

**TABLE 4** Confirmatory Factor Analysis – Leisure Identity

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Factor Loadings	<i>t</i> -value	$\alpha$	$\rho$
<i>Social Identity</i>	2.47	.84			.86	.85
S <sub>2</sub> Other people see me mainly as a golfer	2.19	1.02	.77	16.78		
S <sub>3</sub> It is important that other people know about my involvement in golf	2.15	.93	.75	16.35		
S <sub>6</sub> You can tell a lot about a person by seeing them playing golf	3.01	1.20	.66	14.12		
S <sub>7</sub> When I play golf, others see me the way I want them to see me	2.66	1.01	.68	14.53		
S <sub>8</sub> If I stopped golfing, I would probably lose touch with lot of my friends	2.33	1.08	.76	---		
<i>Exclusive</i>	2.67	.94			.89	.89
E <sub>1</sub> My involvement in golf has influenced my day-to-day decision making	2.59	1.05	.74	18.02		
E <sub>2</sub> I typically organize my week so I can play golf	2.74	1.17	.80	20.29		
E <sub>3</sub> I continuously think about how I can become a better golfer	2.94	1.16	.82	---		
E <sub>4</sub> I make many sacrifices to play golf	2.42	1.01	.78	19.61		
E <sub>5</sub> Playing golf is the important part of my life	2.66	1.22	.80	20.05		
<i>Self Identity</i>	3.00	1.06			.90	.90
SI <sub>1</sub> I consider myself a golfer	3.31	1.24	.85	25.59		
SI <sub>2</sub> I have many goals related to golf	2.85	1.11	.85	26.17		
SI <sub>3</sub> Being a golfer is an important part of who I am	2.86	1.15	.89	---		
<i>Negative</i>	2.89	.96			.80	.81
N <sub>1</sub> I feel bad about myself when I play poorly in practice or game	2.93	1.05	.78	24.40		
N <sub>2</sub> I feel badly when I fail to meet my goals related to golf	2.85	1.05	.87	24.40		
<i>Positive</i>	3.74	.91			.89	.89
P <sub>1</sub> I get a sense of satisfaction when playing golf	3.71	1.02	.91	---		
P <sub>2</sub> I feel good about myself when I play well	3.89	.96	.79	21.80		
P <sub>3</sub> When I am playing golf, I am happy	3.61	1.01	.87	26.13		

CFA fit indices:  $\chi^2=567.10$ ,  $df=125$ ,  $RMSEA=.087$ ,  $NNFI=.97$ ,  $CFI=.98$

### 3.6.3. Measurement Model

The overall measurement quality was checked through CFA (Anderson & Gerbing, 1992). In order to avoid cross-loading across different latent variables, four items (i.e., M<sub>7</sub>, M<sub>8</sub>, F<sub>7</sub>, and F<sub>8</sub>) were removed based on the modification indices for Lamda-y appearing in the LISREL output. Overall, indicators of the measurement model showed satisfactory model fit ( $\chi^2= 373.07$ ,  $df= 116$ ,  $RMSEA= .068$ ,  $NNFI= .96$ ,  $CFI= .96$ ). All constructs demonstrated adequate internal consistency (i.e., Cronbach's alpha and composite reliability). The Cronbach's alpha coefficients were all greater than .80 (.80 for Masculine Identity, .87 for Feminine Identity, and .89 for Leisure Identity). The composite reliability indices of each latent factor, which ranged from .80 to .89 were above the recommended level of .70 (Hair, Anderson, Tatham & Black, 1998).

The validity of constructs (i.e., Masculine Identity, Feminine Identity and Leisure Identity) was addressed by examining correlations among independent latent variables (i.e.,  $\Phi$  matrix) (Table 5). As reported in Table 6, all factor loadings had significant  $t$ -values ranging from 11.12 to 35.23, providing evidence of convergent validity.

**TABLE 5** Correlation Estimates ( $\Phi$ )

<i>Variable</i>	(1)	(2)	(3)
(1) Masculine Identity	1.00		
(2) Feminine Identity	0.69	1.00	
(3) Leisure Identity	0.30	0.15	1.00

**TABLE 6** Confirmatory Factor Analysis – Gender Identity and Leisure Identity

		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Factor Loadings	<i>t</i> -value	$\alpha$	$\rho$
<i>Masculine identity</i>		2.80	.61			.80	.80
M <sub>1</sub>	Not at all independent – Very independent	3.15	.76	.60	12.01		
M <sub>2</sub>	Very passive – Very active	2.62	.88	.61	12.24		
M <sub>3</sub>	Not at all competitive – Very competitive	2.91	.90	.56	11.29		
M <sub>4</sub>	Gives up very easily – Never gives up easily	2.93	.95	.73	14.74		
M <sub>5</sub>	Feels very inferior – Feels very superior	2.30	.74	.55	11.17		
M <sub>6</sub>	Fall to pieces under pressure – Stands up well under pressure	2.94	.91	.77	--		
<i>Feminine identity</i>		2.95	.62			.87	.87
F <sub>1</sub>	Not at all able to devote self completely to others – Able to devote self completely to others	2.75	.87	.61	13.40		
F <sub>2</sub>	Not all helpful to others – Very helpful to others	3.15	.74	.81	--		
F <sub>3</sub>	Not at all kind – Very kind	3.11	.74	.78	18.06		
F <sub>4</sub>	Not at all aware of feelings of others – Very aware of feelings of others	2.92	.84	.68	15.30		
F <sub>5</sub>	Not at all understanding of others – Very understanding of others	2.95	.80	.75	17.16		
F <sub>6</sub>	Very cold in relations with others – Very warm in relations with others	2.89	.82	.74	16.82		
<i>Leisure identity</i>		2.95	.78			.89	.89
LI <sub>1</sub>	Social Identity	2.47	.84	.81	25.87		
LI <sub>2</sub>	Exclusivity	2.67	.94	.92	35.23		
LI <sub>3</sub>	Self Identity	3.00	1.06	.95	---		
LI <sub>4</sub>	Negative Affectivity	2.89	.96	.49	11.12		
LI <sub>5</sub>	Positive Affectivity	3.70	.91	.75	21.99		

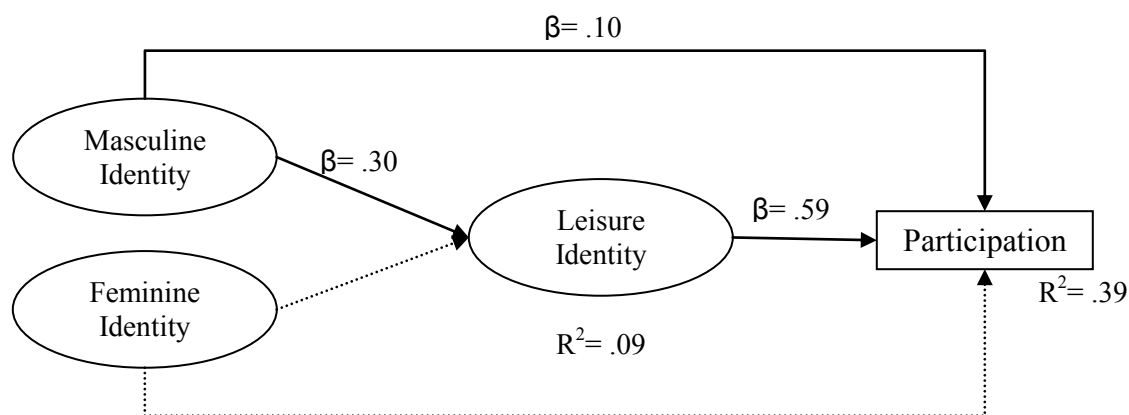
CFA fit indices:  $\chi^2=373.07$ ,  $df=116$ ,  $RMSEA=.068$ ,  $NNFI=.96$ ,  $CFI=.96$

#### 3.6.4. Structural Model

Five structural equations were constructed to examine the hypothesized paths between Masculine Identity, Feminine Identity, Leisure Identity and Participation. It was hypothesized that Participation would be positively predicted by Leisure Identity ( $H_1$ ) and Masculine Identity ( $H_{2a}$ ) while Feminine Identity would negatively predict Participation ( $H_{2b}$ ). It was also hypothesized that Leisure Identity would be positively predicted by Masculine Identity ( $H_{3a}$ ) and negatively influenced by Feminine Identity ( $H_{3b}$ ). A full structural model with all parameter estimates was computed. Then specification search (Leamer, 1978) of the resultant output was undertaken. The parameter estimates were first examined to identify non-significant structural coefficients. Two of the hypothesized paths (i.e., Feminine Identity  $\rightarrow$  Leisure Identity ( $H_{2b}$ ), and Feminine Identity  $\rightarrow$  Participation ( $H_{3b}$ ) were removed from the model on the basis of non-significant  $t$ -values (Schumacker & Lomax, 1996). The modification indices were then examined to identify model misspecification. These indices indicated that it was not necessary to specify additional parameters.

The resultant structural coefficients are reported in Table 7 and shown in Figure 3 and offer only partial support for the hypothesized model. Although this analysis produced a significant chi-square statistics ( $\chi^2 = 603.74$ ,  $df = 133$ ,  $p = .000$ ), other goodness-of-fit criteria shown in Table 7 indicate a satisfactory fit between this model and the data (RMSEA = .084, NNFI = .93, CFI = .94). The signs of structural paths are consistent with the hypothesized relationships among the variables. The model explains

10% of the variance associated with Leisure Identity and 39% of the variance associated with a level of participation.



Note: Dashed lines indicate paths that were not significant at .05

**FIGURE 3** Structural relationship between masculine identity, feminine identity, leisure identity and participation

**TABLE 7** Structural Path Estimates

Path	B	SE	$\beta$	t
H1 Leisure Identity → Participation	1.64	.11	.59	14.369***
H2a Masculine Identity → Participation	.42	.18	.10	2.403*
H3a Masculine Identity → Leisure Identity	.43	.08	.30	5.593***

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

*Goodness-of-fit indices*

$\chi^2 = 603.74$ ,  $df = 133$

RMSEA = .084

NNFI = .93

CFI = .94

*R<sup>2</sup>*

Leisure Identity = .09

Participation = .39

Overall, the findings illustrate that a level of leisure participation was positively predicated by Leisure Identity and Masculine Identity while Masculine Identity had a direct effect on Leisure Identity. Feminine Identity had no effect on Leisure Identity or participation in golf.

H<sub>1</sub> proposed a positive relationship between Leisure Identity and Participation. As hypothesized, Participation was positively predicated by Leisure Identity ( $\beta = .59$ ,  $t = 14.369$ ). Respondents' level of golf participation increased along with the salience of their 'golfer' identity.

H<sub>2a</sub> proposed a positive relationship between Masculine Identity and Participation. Consistent with previous research, this study showed that Participation was positively predicted by Masculine Identity ( $\beta = .10$ ,  $t = 2.403$ ). As masculine identity became more salient, respondents' level of golf participation increased.

H<sub>2b</sub> proposed that Feminine Identity would be negatively related to Participation. The structural coefficient was not significant (i.e.,  $t$ -values less than 1.96), indicating no empirical support for the influence of Feminine Identity on Participation. The path was removed from the model (see Figure 3).

H<sub>3a</sub> which stated a positive relationship between Masculine Identity and Leisure Identity was supported. As hypothesized, Leisure Identity was positively predicted by Masculine Identity ( $\beta = .30$ ,  $t = 5.593$ ). The value of 'golfer' identity increased along with the salience of masculine identity.

H<sub>3b</sub> which posited that Feminine Identity would be negatively associated with Leisure Identity was not supported in this study. The result shows that Feminine Identity

had no influence on Leisure Identity (i.e.,  $t$ -values less than 1.96). That is, the respondents who had a more salient feminine identity did not necessarily have a weaker ‘golfer’ identity. The path was removed from the model (see Figure 3).

The strength of the structural models was assessed using the squared multiple correlation coefficients ( $R^2$ ) for each of the dependent variables (see Figure 3 and Table 7). Masculine Identity accounted for 10% of the variation in Leisure Identity while Masculine Identity and Leisure Identity accounted 39% of the variation in Participation.

With regard to the indirect effect of Masculinity on Participation, the path through Leisure Identity (Indirect Effect= .71,  $t= 5.278$ ) was statistically significant (Table 8). The total effect size of Masculinity on Participation is 1.13 ( $t= 5.402$ ). These findings indicate that, in addition to its direct effect, the effect of Masculine Identity was also partially mediated by Leisure Identity.

**TABLE 8** Decomposition of Masculine Identity Effects on Participation

Path	Direct	Indirect	Total	SE	t
Masculine Identity → Leisure Identity → Participation		.71		.135	5.278***
Masculine Identity → Participation	.42			.177	
			1.13	.208	5.402***

\*  $p < .05$ , \*\*\*  $p < .001$

### 3.7. Discussion

Despite a substantial volume of research on identity in the social and behavioral sciences, a lack of attention has been devoted to the importance of identity for explaining individuals' leisure behavior. Furthermore, given that people have multiple identities, it is necessary to ask questions about how identities relate to each other and jointly influence leisure (Burke, 2003). The purpose of this study was to investigate how individuals' identities account for leisure participation and explore how those identities are related to one another. By relying on identity theory, this section constructed a theoretical model that incorporated the interrelationship between leisure identity (i.e., 'golfer' identity), gender identity (i.e., masculine and feminine identity) and leisure participation (i.e., playing golf). Using data collected from recreational golfers, this section examined the influence of leisure identity and gender identity as predictors of individuals' level of participation. It was also hypothesized that the two dimensions of gender identity (i.e., masculine and feminine identity) were antecedents of leisure identity.

#### 3.7.1. Identity as a Predictor of Behavior

Both Leisure Identity and Masculine Identity positively influenced respondents' participation in recreational golf. 'Golfer' identity was strongly and significantly related to the level of golf participation and, combined with masculine identity it explained a significant portion of the variance in golf participation (about 40%). This is consistent with the major proposition of identity theory suggesting that one's identity has a



motivational effect on behavior (e.g., Burke, 1989a, 1989b; Burke & Hoetler, 1988; Burke & Reitzes, 1981; Burke, Stets, & Pirog-Good, 1988; Callero, 1985; Chang, Piliavin, & Callero, 1988; Stets, 1997; Stets & Burke, 1996; Stryker & Serpe, 1982).

Results also indicate that the meanings associated with being masculine (i.e., masculine identity) is predictive of golf participation. As respondents' masculine identity grew, so did their participation in golf. With respect to the mechanism involved, Burke and Reitzes (1981) suggested that the relationship between identity and behavior in terms of semantic congruence. A person verifies her/his identity by choosing behaviors which have meanings similar to the meaning of the identity (Burke & Reitzes, 1981). Researchers have shown that leisure activities, especially activities that physically demanding, are perceived to be masculine (Anderson 2005; Birrell & Theberge 1994; Bryson 1987; Cszima, Wittig, & Schurr, 1988; Hargreaves 1986; Messner 1988, 2002; Messner & Sabo 1990; Ross & Shinew, 2008; Snyder & Spreitzer 1983). Thus, as the tenets of identity theory imply, one can expect that people with more masculine identity, more frequently engage in leisure activities. The present study revealed that masculine identity influences individuals' behaviors in such a manner. Respondents who defined themselves as more independent, active, competitive, superior, strong and self-confident behaved in a way which has been social defined as more masculine through continuous participation in golf.

### 3.7.2. Multiple Identities and Behavior

This study offered empirical support for the notion that one identity facilitates the salience of the other identity (Burke, 2003; Heise, 1979; Hoelter, 1986; Osgood, Suci & Tannenbaum, 1957; Stets, 1994). Results indicate that masculine identity plays a formative role in the development of a leisure identity, which in turn is an antecedent of leisure behavior. Respondents with a more salient masculine identity developed a stronger 'golfer' identity, and accordingly more often participated in golf. The findings reveal the hierarchical effect of masculine identity on a leisure behavior. Given the overlapping meanings such as independent, competitive and inner-directedness, gender identity encourages the maintenance of 'golfer' identity, which makes the self-verification process for both identities much more coordinated (Burke, 2003). As the process involves correspondence between the behavior of an individual and the standards of both identities, respondents' golf participation functioned to verify both masculine identity and 'golfer' identity. The mechanism by which identities are related to each other is also explained in terms of expectations of others in a group a person belongs to. According to Burke (2003), others in the group are likely to develop expectations about the way the person engages in behaviors relevant to each of the identities s/he holds. In a way to meet the expectations, these identities have similar levels of salience and commitment because they are often activated together and activated in the presence of common others (Burke, 2003).

### 3.7.3. The Effect of Feminine Identity on Leisure Identity and Leisure Behavior

In contrast with the assumption, the relationships between feminine identity, leisure identity and leisure participation were not significant. One explanation for this finding is that the impact of feminine identity on behavior and identity might be more evident in the early stages of the decision making process. Burke (2003) asserted that there is an overall perceptual control system which acts to maintain congruity in self-relevant meanings at all identity standards. Since gender is always present when individuals make decisions regarding their leisure, the perceptual control system will operate in favoring the meanings of feminine identity. If participation in a certain activity stands in opposition to being feminine, the system will impose constraints to further consideration of participation. In the same vein, Henderson (1991) noted, “definitions of what it means to be a ‘feminine’ woman in our society may result in antecedent constraints... that create an invisible barrier in making decisions about the ‘appropriate’ opportunities that may be available for leisure” (p. 368). Even if individuals maintain involvement with the activity and embrace their leisure identity, having a conflict with feminine identity might result in weakening of the leisure identity. As a result, the person will no longer consider his/her leisure identity important and withdraw from a relationship involved with the identity (Burke, 2003). There will be loss of commitment to the identity and accompanying roles. Given that, individuals with more salient feminine identity will less likely initiate leisure participation and/or more likely withdraw from ongoing participation.

It is also possible that feminine identity more likely operates in the experience of constraints to leisure and influences leisure behavior indirectly through the perceived constraints. Research on leisure constraints has discerned that gender role expectations are linked to the perception of constraints in both women's and men's lives (e.g., Culp, 1998; Jackson & Henderson, 1995; Henderson, 1991; Henderson & Hickerson, 2007; Shaw, 1994). People, especially women, who define themselves in terms of abilities to be committed, responsible and care for others tend to face identity conflicts if they respond to their own leisure needs rather than to the needs of others (e.g., children, husband, relatives, etc.). As a result, the individuals confront constraints to their leisure such as ethic of care, lack of entitlement of leisure and lack of time or energy. They often feel it necessary to use time for appropriate gender role tasks (socially considered as more feminine behaviors) which do not usually include leisure or physical recreation.

In keeping with the theoretical assumption and empirical support, future research requires examining the influence of feminine identity on non-participation, dropout,, or perceptions of leisure constraints.

#### 3.7.4. Limitations

Although these findings provided support for the proposed model, some limitations should be highlighted when interpreting these results. First, the data have limitations concerning their representation of the population from which they were sampled. The data were not collected in ways that systematically represent the defined

population. Therefore, the results reported in this study share some features that limit their generalizability and the level of confidence that can be associated with their results.

Second, this study was limited to recreational golfers. The extent to which these results generalize to participants in different leisure activities, especially a stereotypic feminine activity, is unknown. In the future, this study's model should be cross-validated with other samples in different settings (i.e., different types of activities).

Third, the relationship between gender identity, leisure identity, and leisure participation may be culturally determined because the relative importance of being one sex and leisure pursuits in general and certain activities in self-definition varies among cultures. For example, Western cultures place more of an emphasis on attending to the self and perceived freedom whereas Eastern societies place more of an emphasis on fitting in with others and work ethic (Markus & Mitayama, 1991). Note, however, that the theoretical ideas that have found some support in my study was generated in the US and Canada, and may therefore be valid beyond a single culture or society.

Lastly, the measurement of gender identity should be discussed. The masculine and feminine gender identities were measured in this investigation with reference to personality traits alone. Morawski (1987) contended, however, that people's perception of being masculine and being feminine is also depend upon other attributes such as physical appearance, movement, power, and status, which are not represented in gender identity measurement.

#### 4. THE EFFECT OF IDENTITY CONFLICT/FACILITATION ON THE EXPERIENCE OF CONSTRAINTS TO LEISURE AND CONSTRAINT NEGOTIATION

The development of the hierarchical leisure constraints model (Crawford, Jackson & Godbey, 1991) was a dramatic leap forward for the field in terms of providing a conceptual framework for understanding processes underlying people's experience of leisure constraints and their negotiation of those processes. In spite of the considerable contribution of the hierarchical model in leisure studies, there has been persistent concern about the absence of theory and the abstraction of the leisure experience from individuals' broader life context (Mannell & Loucks-Atkinson, 2005; Samdahl, 2005; Shaw & Henderson, 2005). Several authors have argued that the experience of leisure cannot be understood in isolation from the broader context of an individual's life (Kelly, 1983; Samdahl, 2005; Stebbins, 1979). The leisure experience exists within the context of people's lives related to work, family, friends, school, religion and so on. Thus, for some, the experience of leisure constraints emerges from the complex and competing demands of other life domains (Samdahl, 2005). In these contexts, the negotiation of constraints to leisure is facilitated by consuming resources that could otherwise have been used support responsibilities linked to other domains of life. Identity theorists have explained the consequences of these competing demands in terms of identity conflict and facilitation. In this investigation, the concept of identity conflict/facilitation is adopted to

provide an alternative theoretical framework for understanding the experience of constraints to leisure and constraint negotiation.

In the review of literature that follows, an overview of leisure constraints research and identity conflict and facilitation is provided. This review highlights the need to employ a theoretical framework which allows for understanding of the experience leisure and negotiation of constraints to leisure in a broad social context.

#### 4.1. Constraints to Leisure

Constraints can be defined as factors which affect people's leisure preferences, limit participation, or reduce the level of enjoyment and satisfaction (Jackson 2005; Tsai & Coleman 1999). In the last three decades, researchers have extensively explored constraints to participation across a variety of leisure activities (e.g., pool, golf, tennis, trailer use, bridge, hunting, physical exercise and sport). In most quantitative and survey-based research on leisure constraints, researchers have adopted an analytic approach using demographic characteristics (Jackson & Scott, 1999). The salience of constraints can vary depending on the personal, social, situational, and temporal contexts signified by sociodemographic characteristics such as gender, age, income and number of children (Jackson & Scott, 1999). Most literature on gender suggests that, compared to men, women are more constrained by time availability, transportation access, fear of crime, family responsibilities, lack of partners, lack of skill and ability, and a lack of self-confidence (Horna, 1989; Searle & Jackson, 1985a; Shaw & Henderson, 2005; Witt & Goodale, 1981). The experience of constraints throughout the lifecycle also illustrates a

pattern of variation. Jackson (2005) noted that there are four “typical” patterns concerning changes in constraints as the lifecycle progresses. Dimensions related to skill and ability gradually increase in importance across the lifecycle, whereas the importance of cost factors decline with age. Alternately, a level of commitment (e.g., work and family) increases in middle age but decline thereafter, which is typically characterized as an inverted U-shape relationship. The opposite pattern, a U-shape relationship, emerges for social relationship factors. A strong linear relationship is evident with regard to changes in constraints as individuals’ level of income and number of children increase. Problems related to cost, transportation, companionship, health and available activities/programs decline with increasing income (McCarville & Smale, 1993; Scott & Munson, 1994; Searle & Jackson, 1985b). The time and cost of participation increase as people have more children whereas the difficulty in finding a partner declines (Jackson & Henderson, 1995; Searle & Jackson 1985b). Even though no constraint is experienced with equal intensity by all, cost and time-related factors rank among the most widely and intensely experienced constraints (Jackson, 2000, 2005a).

#### 4.1.1. Classification of Leisure Constraints

Crawford and Godbey (1987) proposed a “tripartite approach” to classify constraints consisting of intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural. Intrapersonal constraints are considered as psychological states which shape leisure preferences and predispose people to define leisure activities, locales or services as appropriate or inappropriate, interesting or uninteresting. These kinds of constraints could be



personality needs, prior socialization, perceived reference group attitudes, religiosity, and perceived skills and abilities. Interpersonal constraints are those factors which arise out of interpersonal interaction or the relationships with friends, family and others. For example, an individual might confront interpersonal constraints if s/he is unable to find the suitable partner for a particular activity. Finally, structural constraints are identified as factors intervening between leisure preferences and participation (e.g., cost, time, and transportation).

While the tripartite approach has been acknowledged as a significant development in leisure constraint research, empirical research employing this conceptualization has found little supporting evidence. Specifically, items hypothesized to represent the specific constraint dimensions often load incorrectly or barely load at all (Raymore, 2002; Samdahl, 2005; Shaw & Henderson, 2005). Alternatively, in his comprehensive review of the constraint literature, Jackson (2005a) suggested there is a reasonably stable and replicable set of constraints dimensions – but not those suggested by Crawford and colleagues. Exploratory factor analyses of multiple data sets using similar words has revealed that factors such as the cost of participation, time and commitment, availability and quality of facilities, social and geographical isolation, and personal skill and abilities appear as salient constraints across multiple leisure contexts.

#### 4.1.2. Negotiation of Leisure Constraints

Much of the research conducted in the 1980s on constraints was based on the assumption that leisure constraints are insurmountable obstacles to leisure participation

and the effect of constraints is non-participation to leisure activities. In 1991, several researchers challenged the assumption by proving that constraints do not always prevent or reduce participation (Kay & Jackson, 1991; Scott, 1991; Shaw, Bonen & McCabe, 1991). For example, Scott (1991) demonstrated that many people stay involved in contract bridge by negotiating the constraints they face. In their study of constraints to leisure activities in general, Kay and Jackson (1991) identified that people do participate despite constraints. Using Canada Fitness Survey data, Shaw et al. (1991) showed that the more constrained individuals participate more frequently than the less constrained.

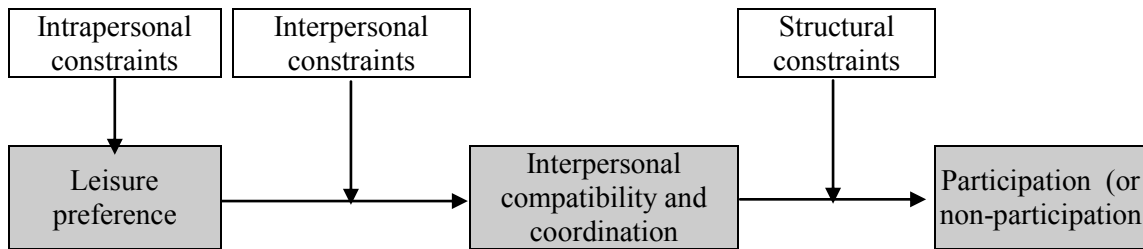
In response to these findings, Jackson, Crawford and Godbey (1993) developed propositions regarding the constraint negotiation process. The propositions explained the role of negotiation in individuals' engagement in leisure activities and the interrelationship between motivation, constraints, and negotiation. Jackson and his colleagues (1993) proposed that leisure participation is "dependent not on the absence of constraints (although this may be true for some people) but on negotiation through them. Such negotiations may modify rather than foreclose participation" (Proposition 1, p. 4).

Negotiation refers to cognitive and behavioral strategies that people adopt to confront and overcome constraints (Jackson et al. 1993; Jackson & Rucks, 1995). Behavioral strategies include actions such as better organizing schedule or developing skills. Cognitive strategies include the ways of thinking such as perceiving an activity less attractive or focusing on benefits while disregarding costs involved. Support for the negotiation process has been documented in several studies (Frederick & Shaw, 1995; Henderson, Bedini, Hecht, & Schuler, 1995; Henderson & Bialeschki, 1993; Jackson &

Rucks, 1995; Samdahl & Jekubovich, 1997). For example, Henderson and her colleagues (1993, 1995) and Frederick and Shaw (1995) observed that women were successfully able to participate, maintain, or increase their level of involvement in leisure activities through the adoption of negotiation strategies. The negotiation strategies included resisting or minimizing concern with gender role expectations and stereotypes, balancing the benefits with the costs of participation, and modifying preferences to continue to participate in leisure activities (Frederick & Shaw, 1995; Henderson, Bedini, Hecht, & Schuler, 1995; Henderson & Bialeschki, 1993). Past studies have illustrated the consistency between the types of constraints encountered and the types of strategies adopted to overcome the barriers (Jackson & Rucks 1995; Mannell & Lucks-Atkinson 2005). For example, a person who has problems related to time management tends to negotiate this class of constraint by modifying their use of time.

#### 4.1.3. Hierarchical Leisure Constraints Model

Crawford, Jackson, and Godbey (1991) introduced the hierarchical model in which the three types of constraints (i.e., intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural) sequentially influence individuals' leisure behavior. As shown in Figure 4, intrapersonal and interpersonal constraints operate individuals' leisure preference before structural constraints intervene between preference and participation. In order to progress along this sequence, people must negotiate through each of the elements to maintain "full participation" (Crawford et al., 1991).



**FIGURE 4** The hierarchical/negotiation model (from Crawford et al., 1991, p.313)

Jackson, Crawford and Godbey (1993) later proposed that variations in the reporting of constraints are a result of variations in success negotiating them. They also suggested that “both the initiation and outcome of the negotiation process are dependent on the relative strength of, and interactions between, constraints on participating in an activity and motivations for such participation” (Proposition 6, p. 9). Despite considerable attention to the model in the literature, only one study has empirically tested the hierarchical model (Hubbard and Mannell, 2001). Hubbard and Mannell (2001) assessed the extent to which respondents were motivated to participate in employee recreation programs. Their findings showed that negotiation efforts were directly influenced by motivation and perceived constraints.

While the hierarchical model proposes a potential relationship between motivation, constraints, and negotiation of constraints, it does not provide any theoretical explanation of how motivation and constraints to leisure stimulate negotiation processes and why individuals experience constraints in their leisure. Furthermore, the hierarchical model does not allow us to understand leisure constraints and negotiation efforts in a broad social context (Mannell & Loucks-Atkinson, 2005; Samdahl, 2005; Shaw & Henderson, 2005). Our leisure experiences occur in contexts where institutional

identities (i.e., worker, student, caregiver, etc.) interplay with different role expectations. Thus, individuals' leisure behaviors are influenced by "institutional structure and negotiation of role identities" (Kelly, 1983, p. 191). Accordingly, the perception of leisure constraints and negotiation of constraints need to be understood in the framework that encapsulates the complex and competing interrelationship between role identities.

#### 4.2. Identity Conflict and Facilitation

A person has as many identities as different social positions that s/he holds in society (James, 1890). Therefore, an individual can have multiple identities such as father, colleague, friend, church member and others corresponding to the various roles one may play in society. To understand the consequences of accumulating multiple identities, two very different perspectives have been offered: identity conflict<sup>2</sup> (Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, & Rosenthal, 1964; Rizzo, House, & Lirtzman, 1970) and identity facilitation (Marks, 1977; Sieber, 1974).

##### 4.2.1. Identity Conflict

Proponents of the identity conflict perspective have suggested that individuals experience conflict or strain as a result of being subjected to the demands of multiple identities (Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, & Rosenthal, 1964; Sarbin & Allen, 1968; Stryker & Statham, 1985; Thoits, 1985). From this perspective, the requirements of

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<sup>2</sup> Some researchers have used the label "identity conflict" while others have preferred "role conflict." Adopting a symbolic interaction perspective, Thoits (1992) argued that people conceive of themselves in terms of the roles that they occupy. That is, they do view their social roles as identities (Thoits, 2003). Following Thoits (1992), I refer not to "role" but to "identity".

different roles associated with different identities compete for an individual's limited time resources (Kahn et al., 1964). These pressures lead a person to perceive increased demands on the limited commitment, energy, and fiscal resources. For example, employed parents experience conflict over how time should be allocated between work and home. Student athletes face conflict over how much commitment and energy needs to be allocated between practice and study. Similarly, recreationists perceive conflict over how much time, money and energy should be spent between leisure and non-leisure activity, resulting in the perception of constraints to leisure and perceived lack of resources to negotiate them.

Because of our limited resources, the possession of multiple identities can be burdensome. For example, researchers have observed that conflictual demands on time, energy and commitment from multiple identities produce negative psychological consequences (e.g., Frone, Russell, & Cooper, 1997; Goode, 1960; Kossek & Ozeki, 1998; Merton, 1957; Settles, Sellers, & Damas, 2002; Tompson & Werner, 1997). For example, Coverman (1989) and O'Driscoll and colleagues (O'Driscoll, Ilgen, & Hildreth, 1992) identified a link between respondents' work-family identity conflict, dissatisfaction with their occupations and marriage and psychological distress. Similarly, others have found that conflict between work identity (i.e., employee identity) and non-work identities (e.g., spouse, parent, and recreationist) is positively related to dissatisfaction with the work and life outside of the work (Cooke & Rousseau, 1984; Kopelman, Greenhaus, & Connolly, 1983; Shamir, 1983), and a reduction in organizational commitment (Yogev & Brett, 1985). People who suffer identity conflict

recognize the presence of constraints during their self-verification process and realize the limited sources (e.g., time, cost and energy) to overcome these constraints. The difficulty in self-verification results in the experience of negative emotions (e.g., dissatisfaction) and the reduced commitment to the identity which is involved in the conflict.

In the leisure context, several studies have identified that the leisure identity an individual holds is often incompatible with other identities (Green, Hebron, & Woodward, 1987; Henderson & Bialeschki, Shaw & Freysinger, 1996; Henderson, Hodges, Kivel, 2002; Herridge, Shaw, Mannell, 2003; Hochschild, 1989; Shaw, 1998; Stebbins, 1979). For example, based on his interviews, Stebbins (1979) documented how amateurs and professionals in the fields of science, art, sport and entertainment experienced identity conflict between their leisure identity and other role identities. Most of his informants faced “inter-role conflict” as they became aware of that the demands of other roles in their lives (e.g., parent, employee, and caregiver) encroached on their ability to enjoy their chosen leisure. People faced difficult questions on how to balance the demands of these roles while maintaining ongoing involvement in leisure (Stebbins, 1979). As inter-role conflict is exaggerated, the perception of constraints to leisure and limited available resources to negotiate these constraints increases. One of his informants perceived a time conflict when he needed to make a choice between attending his children’s activity and participating in an archeological excavation. The experience of time constraints emerged when two identities required incompatible behaviors at the same time; i.e., a parent and an amateur archeologist.

In another qualitative study of marathon runners and their spouses, Barrell, Chamberlain, Evans, Holt, and Mackean (1989) found that highly committed runners perceived increased conflictual demands between their leisure and family. The increased conflictual demand resulted in the reduced level of satisfaction obtained from running and increased troubles with family. Due to the perceived contradictory demands from family and leisure, the runners experienced time constraints to leisure and lack of energy to negotiate the problem. Fick, Goff, and Oppliger (1996) observed similar findings among recreational marathon runners who felt difficulty in their ability to fully commit to running because of demands of work and family. Much of the research on women's leisure has also documented the incongruence between leisure, work and family identities (e.g., Green, Hebron, & Woodward, 1987 ; Henderson & Bialeschki, Shaw & Freysinger, 1996; Henderson, Hodges, Kivel, 2002; Herridge, Shaw, Mannell, 2003; Hochschild, 1989; Shaw, 1998). Women are more likely to experience negative outcomes when they add a leisure identity to their family identities (e.g., a primary caregiver, spouse, and mother). This is more exacerbated if women are partly or fully employed. Because women's family identities tend to be influenced by traditional gender roles, enacting a leisure identity often produces a direct challenge to their family identities. Because two domains (leisure and family) have different expectations accompanied with the identities (i.e., caring for others first versus caring for yourself), these identities are perceived as distinct and conflicting. Therefore, women who hold that pair of identities are more likely to experience leisure constraints and less likely to negotiate them (Green, Hebron, & Woodward, 1987 ; Henderson & Bialeschki, Shaw &



Freysinger, 1996; Henderson, Hodges, Kivel, 2002; Herridge, Shaw, Mannell, 2003; Hochschild, 1989; Shaw, 1998).

In summary, the demands stemming from leisure and the roles that accompany other identities compete for limited resources. The realization of this conflict gives rise to the experience of constraints to leisure and the perception of limited available resources to negotiate these constraints.

#### 4.2.2. Identity Facilitation

In more recent years, researchers have increasingly examined positive outcomes of identity accumulation. Following Marks (1977) and Sieber (1974), proponents of the identity facilitation perspective contend that possessing multiple identities is advantageous (e.g., Barnett & Hyde, 2001; Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Thoits, 2003). The advantages of identity accumulation have been discussed in the literature under diverse conceptual term such as enrichment (Kirchmeyer, 1992a; Rothbard, 2001), positive spillover (Crouter, 1984b; Grzywacz, 2000; Grzywacz, Almeida, & McDonald, 2002; Grzywacz, Marks, 2000a,b; Stephens, Franks & Atienza, 1997; Sumer & Knight, 2001; Voydanoff, 2001), enhancement (Ruderman, Ohlott, Panzer & King, 2002; Tiedje et al. 1990) and facilitation (Frone, 2003; Tompson & Werner, 1997; Wayne, Musisca & Fleeson, 2004).

From this perspective, an individual's commitment to one identity can generate fiscal, social, and psychological resources (e.g., skills, abilities, competence, social support, privileges, status security and personality) that enhance success in the other

domains (Marks, 1977; Sieber, 1974). In particular, an individual's engagement in one identity can generate resources such as skills and abilities developed through domain activity and the availability of social support from others involved in the identity. These enabling resources from the engagement in one identity contribute to facilitation by increasing the competence and capacities of individuals to perform other identities. For example, Ruderman et al. (2002) found that a variety of skills and abilities developed in non-work domains (e.g., interpersonal skills, multitasking, and appreciation of individual variations) facilitate work effectiveness of female managers. Rewards also include psychological resources such as positive self-evaluation which result in motivation, self-esteem, self-efficacy and a sense of accomplishment (Bandura, 1997; Brockner, 1988; Gist & Mitchell, 1992). Weithington and Kessler (1989) also observed that the accumulation of multiple identities helps individuals to be more successful in coping with role demands.

In the context of leisure, Stebbins (1979) indicated that identity facilitation between leisure identities and other role identities often alleviates perceptions of constraints and encourage negotiation of leisure constraints. For example, one of Stebbins' informants received strong support from his employer because he also shared the same interest in acting. Support from the employer included arranging his work schedule to accommodate acting needs and constant encouragement for his leisure pursuit. Such support, gained through his commitment to the work identity, eased constraints to acting and facilitated the efforts to negotiate the barriers. In another example, his informants successfully managed their work by utilizing benefits from

leisure engagement such as presentation skills, competence, social networking and visibility in community through leisure involvement. The realization of benefits from committing to their leisure identity helped to lower their perception of constraints and increased their competence and capacities to negotiate barriers. Goff and Fick (1997) also documented that runners with high commitment to both running and family experienced more benefits including improved overall mood, relaxation, and energy compared to those who were committed to running only. The authors suggested that the benefits obtained from running enhanced these individuals' ability to maintain a higher level of commitment to their families. Thus, from an identity facilitation perspective, there is evidence to suggest that the accumulation of multiple identities can alleviate the experience of constraints and facilitate negotiation.

#### 4.2.3. Merging Two Perspectives

While these two perspectives offer opposing hypotheses relating to the role of multiple identities, several researchers have suggested that a comprehensive understanding of identity aggregation requires an incorporation of the two perspectives because both negative and positive outcomes are inherent with involvement in multiple life roles (Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Baruch & Barnett, 1986; Edwards & Rothbard, 2000; Jackson, 1997; Frone, 2003; Menaghan, 1989; Rothbard, 2001; Thoits, 1992, 2003; Tompson & Werner, 1997). Barnett (1998) for example, contended that the combination of work and family identities results in both compatibility and conflict. More recently, Frone (2003) argued that a better understanding of the interaction between work and

family identities should include both conflict and facilitation. Operating within this view, Tompson and Werner (1997) suggested that the two perspectives (i.e., identity conflict and identity facilitation) lie along a continuum with identity conflict on one end and identity facilitation anchoring the other. The authors conceptualized that the perception of identity conflict/facilitation is the extent to which individuals perceive the identities they carry facilitate or conflict with one another (Tompson & Werner, 1997). Using a sample of full time MBA students, Tompson and Werner (1997) showed that a level of identity conflict/facilitation predicted job performance. They suggested that as individuals experience more conflict or less facilitation between work and family identities, the level of the person's work performance decreases.

Adapted from Tompson and Werner's (1997) conceptualization of identity conflict/facilitation, it was hypothesized that the experience of constraints to leisure and efforts to negotiate them depend upon the perceived quality of combination of identities; i.e., the degree to which people perceive the identities they carry facilitate or conflict with one another (see Figure 5). An unbalanced combination of identities (i.e., identity conflict) exacerbates the experience of leisure constraints and the perceived deficiency of available resources to overcome them. Alternatively, a balanced combination of identities (i.e., identity facilitation) lightens the experience of constraints and encourages negotiation. Thus, the perceived quality of identity combination accounts for variations in the perceived constraints to leisure and efforts to negotiate those barriers.



**FIGURE 5** Identity conflict and identity facilitation

*H<sub>1</sub>: Greater conflict between a leisure identity and other identities will yield stronger perceptions of constraints*

*H<sub>2</sub>: Lower conflict between a leisure identity and other identities will yield stronger constraint negotiation behavior*

#### 4.3. Methods

A sequential study design consists of two phases starting with a qualitative method and then a quantitative method based on the findings of the qualitative method. In the first phase, in-depth interviews were conducted with recreational golfers to explore the presence of any constraints that are exclusively relevant to golf participation and the strategies employed to negotiate the barriers. In the second phase, a self-administered questionnaire was developed based on the findings of the interviews. Last, survey data were collected online from recreational golfers.

#### 4.3.1. Phase 1: Qualitative Exploration of Constraints to Golf Participation and Constraints Negotiation

The snowball sampling method was applied to recruit study informants. Through this process, twenty one recreational golfers were interviewed. The informants consisted of eleven males and ten females. Most participants were Caucasian (n=19) and the rest were African American (n=2). All of the informants had, at minimum, graduated from high school. Interviews were semi-structured and guided by two questions; “what problems do you experience in playing golf?” and “what strategies have you adopted to overcome these problems?” All conversations were tape recorded with the participants’ consent and lasted between 25 and 45 minutes and transcribed verbatim. Most of the interviews were conducted on a driving range at Texas A and M University.

The purpose of Phase 1 is to identify the perceived constraints to golf participation and the strategies to negotiate the barriers. For all transcripts, key words, sentences or paragraphs that indicated obstructions of golf participation were labeled. Same process was conducted for constraint negotiation. Sentences or paragraphs which described informants’ efforts to cope with the constraints in order to play golf were labeled. Labels were usually between one and two words (e.g., health, cost, time, other commitments, and interpersonal).

A list of constraints encountered in golf participation is presented in Table 9. To help understand the perceived constraints to golf participation and negotiation strategies of the constraints, labels were analyzed and classified along with Crawford and Godbey's (1991) tripartite approach; intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural. Then, the structural constraints were subdivided into four groups (i.e., cost, other commitment and time, health and weather). The type of constraints mentioned most frequently by 21 participants were structural. Within the structural dimension, the issues related to other commitments and time (e.g., commitments to work, family and school, and lack of time for golf) were most frequently cited, followed by those related to cost (e.g., green fees and equipment) and weather. Weather-related factors seem to be exclusively relevant to golf given that the problems haven't appeared in previous research which examined constraints to different types of leisure activities (e.g., pool, tennis, trailer use, bridge, hunting, physical exercise and sport). Intrapersonal constraints were primarily associated with the interconnected issues of lack of skill and self-confidence while interpersonal constraints were related to different leisure interests of friends or family.

**TABLE 9** Classification of Constraints to Golf***Intrapersonal***

- I find my game inadequate in the company of others (7)
- I don't have the time to practice to maintain my skill level (5)
- I fear embarrassing myself (5)
- My game is too inconsistent (5)
- I get frustrated easily (3)
- I don't seem to be able to improve (5)
- I'm too inexperienced (4)
- I am not very good at playing golf (4)
- I believe I'm not a good golfer (3)
- The game is too difficult (3)
- I'm not fit enough (3)

***Interpersonal***

- I don't have friends to play with (8)
- My friends have different interests (8)
- My family/friends don't want me to play (5)

***Structural****Cost*

- I don't have enough money to play (14)
- I can't afford the green fees (10)
- Cost of green fees is too expensive (10)
- Equipment is too expensive (7)
- Cost of carts is too expensive (5)

*Other Commitments & Time*

- Other life commitments are a priority (21)
- Time commitments to friends and family (18)
- I have work commitments (18)
- I can't afford to spare the time (17)
- It is difficult to find the time to play and practice (14)
- I have family commitments (8)

*Health*

- The game takes too long to play (5)
- I don't have the energy to play (3)
- I have health problems (2)

*Weather*

- Weather makes it hard to play the game all year round (18)
- I hate playing in hot weather (13)
- I only like to play in nice weather (3)
- I hate playing in cold weather (4)

---

*Note:* the number inside the parenthesis indicate the frequency of the statement mentioned by participants



Negotiation strategies of constraints were also classified into three categories; intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural (Table 10). While two informants stated that they didn't have any specific strategies to overcome barriers to golf, the rest of participants were very articulate in explaining their efforts to negotiate constraints. Cognitive strategies (e.g., 'push myself harder' and 'accept inadequacies') were adopted for intrapersonal constraints while behavioral strategies were employed for interpersonal and structural constraints. In order to overcome interpersonal constraints, participants looked for new interpersonal relations (i.e., new golf partners) or modified leisure behaviors of others (i.e., family or friends). For structural constraints related to time, informants adjusted the schedule of their golf participation or other life domains (e.g., modify schedule for family responsibilities). Participants tried to find inexpensive alternatives (i.e., golf course or equipment) to alleviate fiscal constraints. For weather constraints, informants employed both cognitive (e.g., ignore bad weather) and behavioral strategies (e.g., wear proper clothing).

**TABLE 10** Classification of Constraint Negotiation Strategies

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**Intrapersonal**

- Try to push myself harder (8)
- Try to accept inadequacies and play my best (7)
- Try to ask for help with the required skills (4)
- Try to swallow my pride and play the best I can (3)

**Interpersonal**

- Try to find a golf partner who lives or works close by (8)
- Try to persuade close people (family or friends) to play golf (5)
- Try to find a golf partner who has similar work schedule (4)

**Structural***Cost*

- Play where I can afford (14)
- Buy inexpensive equipment (7)
- Try to budget my money for golf (7)

*Other Commitments & Time*

- Try to set aside a specific time when I'm allowed to play golf (17)
- Try to budget time for golf (15)
- Try to get up early in the morning to play or practice golf (14)
- Try to better organize family responsibilities (12)
- Try to play golf whenever possible (9)
- Try to better organize what I have to do (6)
- Try to drop other obligation or activity to play golf (3)

*Health*

- Try to continue to play golf anyway with medical treatment (2)

*Weather*

- Wear proper clothing (good layering, winter gloves, hat, rain suit, etc.) (15)
  - Try to ignore bad weather (5)
- 

*Note:* the number inside the parenthesis indicate the frequency of the statement mentioned by participants

## 4.3.2. Phase 2: Survey of Recreational Golfers

Data were collected from recreational golfers via two sources. First an online database of recreational golfers was purchased from a commercial database agency. The link to the survey (i.e., Survey Monkey) was sent to approximately 60,000 email addresses. This yielded 137 completed surveys. At the same time, an invitation email was sent to several Yahoo-sponsored golf discussion groups. This second procedure yielded an additional 348 completed questionnaires. Combined, the total sample size was

485 cases. The response rate couldn't be calculated since both the commercial database agency and the Yahoo-sponsored golf discussion groups were reluctant to issue the exact number of their members.

#### 4.3.2.1. Measures

Thirty two statements that were identified from the interviews were used to measure constraints to golf participation. The items were measured along a five-point Likert-type scale where 1= 'strongly disagree' and 5= 'strongly agree.' To measure negotiation of leisure constraints, twenty statements that were identified from the interview were used. The negotiation strategies were measured along a five-point Likert-type scale where 1= 'never' and 5= 'very often.'

To measure consequences of identity accumulation, this study modified Tompson and Werner's (1997) measure which assesses conflict and facilitation as opposite ends of the same continuum. Each of eleven identities (i.e., gender, student, worker, retiree, spouse, primary care giver, volunteer, homemaker, friend, religious participant and other) was compared with the leisure identity of "golfer" by asking participants ""Does being a (one of identities) have helpful or harmful effect on your playing golf?" These items were measured along a five-point Likert-type scale where -2="participation in one activity has a harmful or conflicting effect on the activation of leisure identity" through +2="a very facilitative or helpful effect". These items were used to form a summative index that provided respondents with an overall identity conflict/facilitation score. A negative total score is indicative of high perceived conflict

between their golfer identity and other identities, while a positive score suggests greater overall facilitation. Mean score of identity conflict/facilitation was .28 (SD=.58).

#### 4.3.2.2. Analyses

First, a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was conducted to validate the structure of constructs (i.e., leisure constraints and constraints negotiation). Second, tests of hypotheses were conducted in LISREL. For H<sub>1</sub>, a model that had identity conflict predicting each dimension of constraints was tested. Support for H<sub>1</sub> would be evidenced in a model that satisfactorily fit these data along with regression coefficients that held a negative valence and were statistically significant. Similarly, H<sub>2</sub> was tested using a model in which identity conflict was specified to predict each dimension of negotiation. Support for H<sub>2</sub> would be evidenced in acceptable fit of data and path coefficients that held a positive valence and were statistically significant.

#### 4.4. Results

##### 4.4.1. Measurement Model

Constraint items were first classified in accordance with the Crawford, Jackson, and Godbey (1991) tripartite approach (i.e., intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural constraints) and validated using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) in LISREL. The resulting fit indices indicated that the three dimensional model of constraints were a very poor fit to the data ( $\chi^2= 2433.02$ ,  $df= 320$ ,  $RMSEA= .153$ ,  $NNFI= .90$ ,  $CFI= .91$ ).

Due to the poor fit of three dimensional model of constraints, exploratory factor analysis (EFA) in SPSS (principal axis with varimax rotation) was then employed to identify the underlying dimensionality of the constraint items. As shown in Table 11, this procedure yielded five dimensions accounting for 66% percent of the variation in the data: (a) Interpersonal and Health (7 items;  $\alpha= .84$ ), (b) Intrapersonal (10 items;  $\alpha= .93$ ), (c) Cost (5 items;  $\alpha= .90$ ), (d) Weather (4 items;  $\alpha= .72$ ), and (e) Commitment (6 items;  $\alpha= .74$ ). The Cronbach's alpha coefficients were all greater than .72.

**Table 11** Constraint Item Factor Loading

<i>Constraints</i>		<i>Factor Loading</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Eigen values</i>	<i>Percent of variance</i>
<i>Interpersonal &amp; Health</i> ( $\alpha = .84$ )					12.08	31.8
IH <sub>1</sub>	I have health problems	.47	1.82	1.06		
IH <sub>2</sub>	I don't have the energy to play	.76	1.95	.99		
IH <sub>3</sub>	The game takes too long to play	.63	2.42	1.22		
IH <sub>4</sub>	I'm not fit enough	.72	1.89	1.03		
IH <sub>5</sub>	My family/friends don't want me to play	.69	1.80	.98		
IH <sub>6</sub>	I don't have friends to play with	.65	2.13	1.17		
IH <sub>7</sub>	My friends have different interests	.59	2.55	1.20		
<i>Intrapersonal</i> ( $\alpha = .93$ )					2.94	7.74
I <sub>1</sub>	The game is too difficult	.84	2.05	1.06		
I <sub>2</sub>	I'm too inexperienced	.87	2.28	1.34		
I <sub>3</sub>	I don't have the time to practice to maintain my skill level	.45	3.15	1.14		
I <sub>4</sub>	I fear embarrassing myself	.77	2.14	1.21		
I <sub>5</sub>	My game is too inconsistent	.86	2.51	1.18		
I <sub>6</sub>	I get frustrated easily	.52	2.18	1.12		
I <sub>7</sub>	I find my game inadequate in the company of others	.75	2.29	1.20		
I <sub>8</sub>	I don't seem to be able to improve	.50	2.27	1.11		
I <sub>9</sub>	I believe I'm not a good golfer	.76	2.38	1.25		
I <sub>10</sub>	I am not very good at playing golf	.75	2.46	1.29		
<i>Cost</i> ( $\alpha = .90$ )					2.72	7.17
CS <sub>1</sub>	I don't have enough money to play	.87	2.89	1.24		
CS <sub>2</sub>	I can't afford the green fees	.91	2.66	1.24		
CS <sub>3</sub>	Equipment is too expensive	.51	2.39	1.24		
CS <sub>4</sub>	Cost of carts is too expensive	.63	2.52	1.31		
CS <sub>5</sub>	Cost of green fees is too expensive	.72	2.72	1.35		
<i>Weather</i> ( $\alpha = .72$ )					2.31	6.07
W <sub>1</sub>	Weather makes it hard to play the game all year round	.61	2.85	1.27		
W <sub>2</sub>	I only like to play in nice weather	.68	2.80	1.13		
W <sub>3</sub>	I hate playing in hot weather	.58	2.80	1.17		
W <sub>4</sub>	I hate playing in cold weather	.68	2.84	1.22		
<i>Commitment</i> ( $\alpha = .74$ )					1.95	5.13
CO <sub>1</sub>	Other life commitments are a priority	.75	3.88	1.01		
CO <sub>2</sub>	I have family commitments	.64	3.41	1.17		
CO <sub>3</sub>	I can't afford to spare the time	.61	2.97	1.12		
CO <sub>4</sub>	I have work commitments	.59	3.34	1.22		
CO <sub>5</sub>	Time commitments to friends and family	.61	3.14	1.29		
CO <sub>6</sub>	It is difficult to find the time to play and practice	.54	3.11	1.25		

*Note.* Measured along a Likert-type scale where 1="Strongly Disagree" through 5="Strongly Agree."

Following EFA, CFA was conducted to validate the structure of the construct (Table 12). Based on the modification indices for  $\lambda$ -y, seven items (IH<sub>1</sub>, I<sub>3</sub>, CS<sub>3</sub>, W<sub>1</sub>, CO<sub>1</sub>, CO<sub>2</sub>, and CO<sub>4</sub>) were removed to avoid cross-loading of the items across different latent variables. Consistent with EFA, the result of the CFA confirmed the five dimensional approach: (a) Interpersonal & Health (6 items), (b) Intrapersonal (9 items), (c) Cost (4 items), (d) Weather (3 items) and (e) Commitment (3 items). The results indicated satisfactory model fit ( $\chi^2 = 875.88$ ,  $df = 263$ , RMSEA = .087, NNFI = .96, CFI = .96) (Table 12). The composite reliability ( $\rho$ ) indices of each latent factor, which ranged from .73 to .93 were above the recommended level of .70 (Hair, Anderson, Tatham & Black, 1998).

Since congruence between leisure constraints and constraints negotiation strategies has been emphasized in previous work (Jackson & Rucks 1995; Mannell & Lucks-Atkinson 2005), the factor structure reflected in the constraint dimensions was maintained: (a) Interpersonal and Health (4 items;  $\alpha = .75$ ,  $\rho = .77$ ), (b) Intrapersonal (4 items;  $\alpha = .81$ ,  $\rho = .81$ ), (c) Cost (3 items;  $\alpha = .73$ ,  $\rho = .73$ ), (d) Weather (2 items;  $\alpha = .63$ ,  $\rho = .63$ ), and (e) Commitment (4 items;  $\alpha = .90$ ,  $\rho = .90$ ). Overall, indicators of the measurement model showed satisfactory model fit ( $\chi^2 = 560.71$ ,  $df = 161$ , RMSEA = .087, NNFI = .96, CFI = .96). As shown in Table 13, all constructs demonstrated adequate internal consistency (i.e., Cronbach's alpha and composite reliability). The Cronbach's alpha coefficients were all greater than .73. The composite reliability indices of each latent factor ranged from .73 to .90.

**TABLE 12** Confirmatory Factor Analysis – Constraints

<i>Constraints</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Factor Loading</i>	<i>t-value</i>
<i>Interpersonal &amp; Health</i> ( $\rho = .85$ )				
IH <sub>2</sub> I don't have the energy to play	1.95	.99	.69	13.10
IH <sub>3</sub> The game takes too long to play	2.42	1.22	.64	12.01
IH <sub>4</sub> I'm not fit enough	1.89	1.03	.70	13.22
IH <sub>5</sub> My family/friends don't want me to play	1.80	.98	.54	9.84
IH <sub>6</sub> I don't have friends to play with	2.13	1.17	.80	--
IH <sub>7</sub> My friends have different interests	2.55	1.20	.79	15.24
<i>Intrapersonal</i> ( $\rho = .93$ )				
I <sub>1</sub> The game is too difficult	2.05	1.06	.64	13.98
I <sub>2</sub> I'm too inexperienced	2.28	1.34	.68	15.60
I <sub>4</sub> I fear embarrassing myself	2.14	1.21	.77	18.96
I <sub>5</sub> My game is too inconsistent	2.51	1.18	.72	17.05
I <sub>6</sub> I get frustrated easily	2.18	1.12	.70	16.16
I <sub>7</sub> I find my game inadequate in the company of others	2.29	1.20	.89	26.35
I <sub>8</sub> I don't seem to be able to improve	2.27	1.11	.78	19.56
I <sub>9</sub> I believe I'm not a good golfer	2.38	1.25	.92	--
I <sub>10</sub> I am not very good at playing golf	2.46	1.29	.92	28.96
<i>Cost</i> ( $\rho = .87$ )				
CS <sub>1</sub> I don't have enough money to play	2.89	1.24	.68	13.99
CS <sub>2</sub> I can't afford the green fees	2.66	1.24	.75	16.24
CS <sub>4</sub> Cost of carts is too expensive	2.52	1.31	.81	18.13
CS <sub>5</sub> Cost of green fees is too expensive	2.72	1.35	.93	--
<i>Weather</i> ( $\rho = .73$ )				
W <sub>2</sub> I only like to play in nice weather	2.80	1.13	.73	18.76
W <sub>3</sub> I hate playing in hot weather	2.80	1.17	.69	18.76
W <sub>4</sub> I hate playing in cold weather	2.84	1.22	.66	18.76
<i>Commitment</i> ( $\rho = .74$ )				
CO <sub>3</sub> I can't afford to spare the time	2.97	1.12	.49	8.09
CO <sub>5</sub> Time commitments to friends and family	3.14	1.29	.70	11.00
CO <sub>6</sub> It is difficult to find the time to play and practice	3.11	1.25	.87	--

Goodness-of-fit indices:  $\chi^2=875.88$ ,  $df=263$ ,  $RMSEA=.087$ ,  $NNFI=.96$ ,  $CFI=.96$

$\rho$ = composite reliability



**TABLE 13** Confirmatory Factor Analysis – Negotiation

<i>Negotiation</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Factor Loading</i>	<i>t-value</i>
<i>Interpersonal &amp; Health</i> ( $\alpha = .75, \rho = .77$ )	2.57	.88		
IH <sub>1</sub> Try to find a golf partner who lives or works close by	2.78	1.19	.77	--
IH <sub>2</sub> Try to find a golf partner who has similar work schedule	2.78	1.13	.48	8.45
IH <sub>3</sub> Try to continue to play golf anyway with medical treatment	2.12	1.21	.72	12.75
IH <sub>4</sub> Try to persuade close people (family or friends) to play golf	2.68	1.13	.70	12.50
<i>Intrapersonal</i> ( $\alpha = .81, \rho = .81$ )	3.20	.91		
IP <sub>1</sub> Try to accept inadequacies and play my best	3.53	1.10	.77	13.94
IP <sub>2</sub> Try to push myself harder	3.30	1.16	.73	13.15
IP <sub>3</sub> Try to ask for help with the required skills	2.79	1.03	.60	10.56
IP <sub>4</sub> Try to swallow my pride and play the best I can	3.19	1.26	.79	--
<i>Cost</i> ( $\alpha = .73, \rho = .73$ )	2.82	.94		
CS <sub>1</sub> Play where I can afford	3.39	1.25	.72	12.24
CS <sub>2</sub> Buy inexpensive equipment	2.49	1.10	.57	9.72
CS <sub>3</sub> Try to budget my money for golf	2.61	1.16	.77	--
<i>Weather</i> ( $\alpha = .63, \rho = .63$ )	3.06	.97		
WE <sub>1</sub> Wear proper clothing (good layering, winter gloves, hat, rain suit, etc.)	3.38	1.18	.66	15.34
WE <sub>2</sub> Try to ignore bad weather	2.75	1.10	.70	15.34
<i>Commitment</i> ( $\alpha = .90, \rho = .90$ )	2.98	.90		
CO <sub>1</sub> Try to better organize family responsibilities	2.86	1.11	.66	13.12
CO <sub>2</sub> Try to budget time for golf	3.09	1.19	.80	17.13
CO <sub>3</sub> Try to play golf whenever possible	3.26	1.19	.75	15.63
CO <sub>4</sub> Try to get up early in the morning to play or practice golf	2.55	1.20	.71	14.45
CO <sub>5</sub> Try to better organize what I have to do	3.13	1.02	.79	16.96
CO <sub>6</sub> Try to set aside a specific time when I'm allowed to play golf	2.94	1.25	.83	--
CO <sub>7</sub> Try to drop other obligation or activity to play golf	2.47	1.05	.70	14.27

*Note.* Measured along a Likert-type scale where 1="Strongly Disagree" through 5="Strongly Agree."

Goodness-of-fit indices: CFA fit indices:  $\chi^2=560.71$ ,  $df=161$ ,  $RMSEA=.087$ ,  $NNFI=.96$ ,  $CFI=.96$

#### 4.4.2. Structural Model

Results of hypothesis test are presented in Table 14 and depicted in Figure 6 (broken arrows indicate non-significant paths). One hypothesized path (i.e., Identity Conflict/Facilitation → Weather Constraints) was removed from the model on the basis of non-significant  $t$ -values (Schumacker & Lomax, 1996). The results indicated satisfactory model fit ( $\chi^2= 2643.39$ ,  $df= 961$ ,  $RMSEA= .0736$ ,  $NNFI= .94$ ,  $CFI= .94$ ).

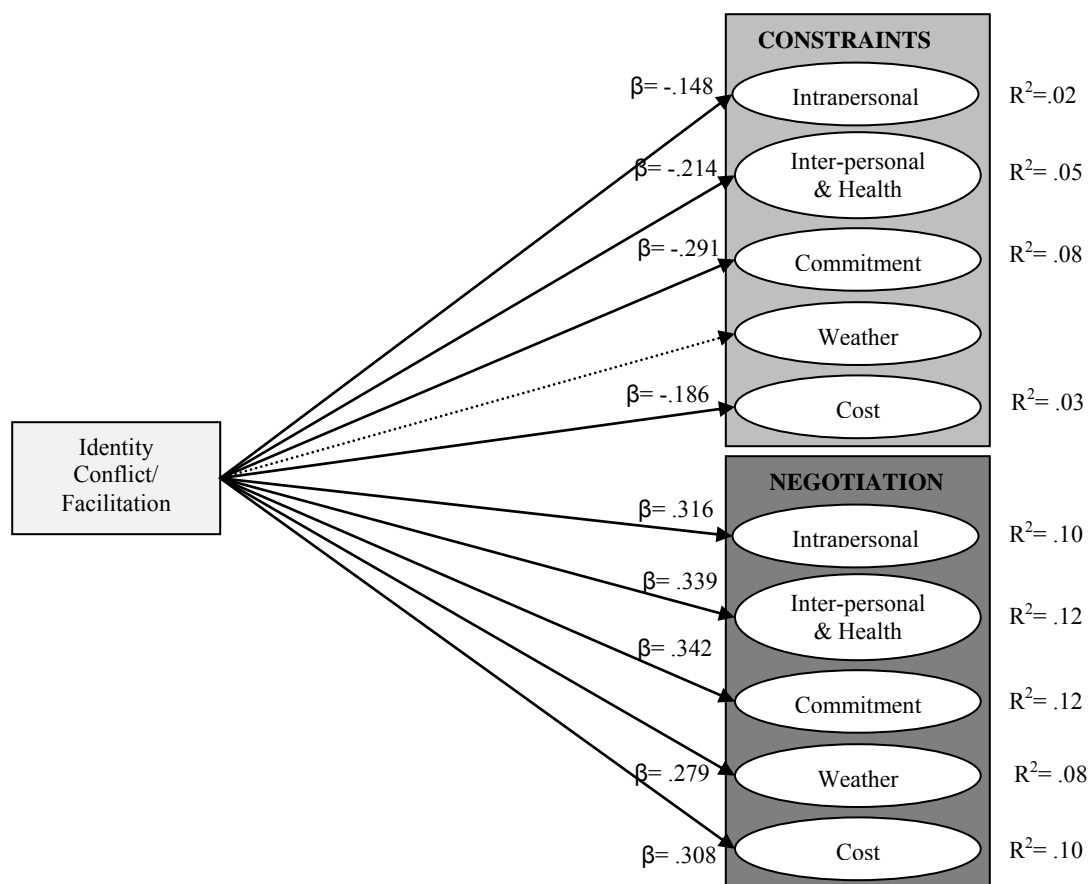
For  $H_1$ , the nature of the relationship between Identity Conflict and constraints was, for the most part, consistent with the hypothesis. All regression coefficients except one (i.e., Identity Conflict → Weather Constraints) were statistically significant. These results indicate that Identity Conflict negatively predicted Interpersonal and Health ( $\beta= -.241$ ,  $t= -3.929$ ), Intrapersonal ( $\beta= -.148$ ,  $t= -2.948$ ), Cost ( $\beta= -.186$ ,  $t= -3.402$ ) and Commitment ( $\beta= -.291$ ,  $t= -5.062$ ). The nature of these relationships indicated that as conflict increased so too did respondents' perception of constraints.

For  $H_2$ , all path coefficients were positive and statistically significant. The results indicate that Identity Conflict positively predicted Interpersonal and Health ( $\beta= .339$ ,  $t= 5.685$ ), Intrapersonal ( $\beta= .316$ ,  $t= 5.402$ ), Cost ( $\beta= .308$ ,  $t= 5.008$ ), Weather ( $\beta= .279$ ,  $t= 4.219$ ), and Commitment ( $\beta= .342$ ,  $t= 6.202$ ). These relationships illustrated that respondents' scores on the dimensions of negotiation increased with decreasing identity conflict.

**TABLE 14** Summary of Structural Path Estimates

	B	SE	$\beta$	<i>t</i>	R <sup>2</sup>
<i>Constraints</i>					
Interpersonal and Health	-.339	.086	-.214	-3.929	.05
Intrapersonal	-.290	.098	-.148	-2.948	.02
Cost	-.395	.116	-.186	-3.402	.03
Commitment	-.537	.106	-.291	-5.062	.08
<i>Negotiation</i>					
Interpersonal and Health	.536	.094	.339	5.685	.12
Intrapersonal	.538	.099	.316	5.402	.10
Cost	.474	.095	.308	5.008	.10
Weather	.477	.113	.279	4.219	.08
Commitment	.611	.098	.342	6.202	.12

Goodness-of-fit indices:  $\chi^2=2643.39$ ,  $df=961$ ,  $RMSEA=.0736$ ,  $NNFI=.94$ ,  $CFI=.94$



Note: Dashed lines indicate paths that were not significant at .05

Goodness-of-fit indices:  $\chi^2=2643.39$ ,  $df=961$ ,  $RMSEA=.0736$ ,  $NNFI=.94$ ,  $CFI=.94$

**FIGURE 6** Final model

#### 4.5. Discussion

Researchers have long commented on the importance of understanding leisure experiences within the context of people's lives related to work, family, friends, school, and so on (Kelly, 1983; Samdahl, 2005). There is, however, little empirical evidence available documenting the influence of multiple role identities (e.g., worker, parent, friend, and student) on individuals' decisions relating to their leisure experiences. In attempt to foster an appreciation of the interplay of multiple identities in the context of leisure, this study investigated how the perceived balance between a leisure identity and other role identities (i.e., identity conflict/facilitation) predicts the perception of leisure constraints and constraint negotiation. Adapted from Tompson and Werner (1997), this study hypothesized that identity conflict and facilitation lie along a continuum with identity conflict (i.e., unbalanced combination of identities) at one pole and identity facilitation (i.e., balanced combination of identities) anchoring the other.

Data were collected from recreational golfers. The analyses provided evidence in support of the contention that identity conflict/facilitation is an antecedent of perceived constraints and negotiation efforts. As identity conflict increased, so did the perceived constraints to golf participation. These findings illustrated that the experience of constraints to leisure arises from the perceived difficulty of maintaining a healthy balance between leisure and other domains of individual life. Respondents who experienced the more acute identity conflict between that of "a golfer identity" and other identities (i.e., gender, student, worker, retiree, spouse, primary care giver, volunteer, homemaker, friend, and religious participant) were more constrained in their

participation in their ability to enjoy golf. The findings also illustrate that the ability to negotiate constraints depends on the compatibility between the leisure identity and the other identities an individual holds. As the identity facilitation increased, so did respondents' efforts to overcome constraints to golf participation. How s/he perceives each of the roles that accompany identities determines how much effort s/he invests to overcome constraints. With respect to identity conflict and facilitation, Thoits (1983) suggested that the degree of interdependence between identities determines the balance of identity combination. Identities can be interdependent when there is overlap in the audience/social network of identities or role partners. Interdependence exists when the people (e.g., golf associates) to whom one is attached due to holding an identity (e.g., golfer identity) are the same as those (e.g., spouse, friends, coworkers) with whom one interact in order to confirm other identities (Stryker & Serpe, 1983). When identity interdependence is present, the limited sources such as time and energy can be spent maintaining multiple identities concurrently, thus reducing the chance of identity conflict. If a leisure identity and other identities (e.g., spouse, friend, worker) are mutually supporting each other, efforts to sustain a leisure identity simultaneously enhance the maintenance of other identities. Thus, individuals are more likely to engage in a process of leisure constraint negotiation to maintain not only the leisure identity but also other role identities. On the other hand, activities or roles which are independent from one another are segregated in time and space and their role partners (i.e., social networks) do not overlap. For these isolated identities, limited resources such as time,

money, and energy constrain choices for each identity because the resources invested in one set of role relationships must be taken away from investment in others.

While data have limitations concerning their representation of the population from which they were sampled, the intent of this study was to explore the plausibility of an alternative theoretical framework for understanding processes underlying constraints to leisure and their negotiation. The findings provide support for Tompson and Werner's (1997) conceptualization of identity conflict/facilitation. Identity conflict/facilitation offers an alternate perspective for understanding peoples' experience of constraints that is inclusive of the social context within which multiple role expectations play a part in decisions related to leisure participation. Identity conflict/facilitation also offers a sound theoretical framework for understanding the processes underlying the experience of constraints and negotiation. Continued empirical testing in other activity contexts will begin to better define the parameters of the theory.

Future work requires including the salience of each identity. To increase the comprehensiveness of and the variation in the effect of identity conflict/facilitation, the importance of each identity needs to be used as weights for each combination of identities. The salience of identity determines the allocation of the limited resources (e.g., the amount of time and energy invested in each identity) (Stryker, 1980; Burke & Stets, 1991; Goode, 1960; Thoits, 1995). Hence, identity conflict/facilitation weighted by the value of each identity should enhance its predictiveness for the perceived leisure constraints and endeavors to overcome the barriers to leisure participation. The more

salient an identity, the more committed an individual will be to it, and the greater the impact of its conflict/facilitation.

## 5. CONCLUSION

The purpose of this dissertation was to incorporate identity theory in the understanding individuals' leisure behavior within the context of recreational golf. Identity theory has existed on the margins of the leisure literature and contributed to the understanding of leisure behavior only in occasional illustrative references. However, when the tenets of identity are incorporated in the study of leisure, then people's desire to express and affirm their identities and the consequence of conflicting or facilitating demands tied to identities become salient. This dissertation offered identity theory as a theoretical framework for connecting different concepts which have been adopted to explain the variation in people's enduring leisure behaviors. By relying on identity theory and introducing the interplay between leisure identity and other role identities, this research also investigated the influence of multiple identities on individual's leisure behavior.

### 5.1. Theoretical Commensurability between Identity Theory and the Constructs in the Leisure Literature

From an identity theory perspective, Section 2 illustrated connection between identity theory and leisure-related constructs including enduring involvement, commitment, specialization, loyalty and serious leisure. These constructs, in different ways, explore individuals' enduring ties to leisure. An identity is a set of meanings that



serve as a standard or reference that guides behavior. In the identity control system, a leisure identity serves as a standard or reference used to evaluate the perceived self-relevant meanings (Burke, 1991; Burke & Reitzes, 1991). The identity control system works by altering behavior to maintain the consistency between a leisure identity and the perceptual input. The goal of identity system is to achieve self-verification by matching the perceptual inputs to the leisure identity (Burke, 1991). As a result of identity-confirmation (i.e., self-verification), individuals experience positive emotions and affect (e.g., Burke & Stets, 1991; Smith-Lovin, 1995; Stets & Tsushima, 1999). Furthermore, as a leisure identity becomes more important to individuals, they are more likely to organize their life around the leisure activity in order to affirm their leisure identity. Individuals continue to pursue or modify situations where their leisure identities can be confirmed and positive feelings are experienced. These outcomes of self-verification are captured in two dimensions of enduring involvement (i.e., *attraction* and *centrality*). In this context, identity predicts *attraction* and *centrality*. Tenets of identity theory are also reflected in the development of psychological commitment and behavioral loyalty. Leisure researchers have conceptualized enduring involvement as an antecedent of psychological commitment, which in turn, influences behavioral loyalty to service providers. Consistent with the assertion that self-verification precedes enduring involvement, as a person affirms her/his leisure identity through participation in a leisure activity, the person becomes more deeply involved in the activity, and then develops preferences to specific products or service providers. The specific brand preference is subsequently reflected in consistent behavior such as repeat patronage.

Identity theorists also assert that identity is the reason why people make commitments to leisure, such as social and financial investments, that act to bind them to the activity (Burke & Reitzes, 1991; McCall & Simons, 1966; Swann, 1987; Swann, Pelham & Krull, 1989; Stryker, 1980). Regardless of how leisure behavior is initiated, the behavior settles into a consistent pattern only as a result of a match between one's leisure identity and perceptions of self-relevant meanings in leisure settings (i.e., self-verification). Individuals value the leisure activity which provides opportunities for identity confirmation and the relationship with others who confirm their leisure identity. It results in increased commitment to the activity and the other participants. Furthermore, as individuals become more committed to a certain leisure identity, they make more financial investments to purchase attire, accessories, or equipment to display their leisure identity. Thus, discontinuing the engagement in the activity entails the loss of the social bonds built through self-verification process and the perceived financial costs. In the leisure literature, sociological approaches to commitment conceptualize the perceived costs associated with withdrawal from the activity as the underlying mechanisms of the commitment to leisure. Both activity commitment and enduring involvement are also conceived as dimensions of specialization. For specialization, leisure identity-confirmation is a primary reason why individuals progress along the specialization continuum and become recreation specialists or serious leisure participants.

## 5.2. Identity as a Predictor of Behavior

Using data collected from recreational golfers, the analyses revealed that people's leisure identity and masculine gender identity predicted their leisure participation. As respondents' leisure identity and masculine identity grew, so did their participation in golf. The positive effect of a leisure identity and masculine identity is consistent with the major proposition of identity theory suggesting that one's identity is an important motivator for behavior (e.g., Burke, 1989a, 1989b; Burke & Hoetler, 1988; Burke & Reitzes, 1981; Burke, Stets, & Pirog-Good, 1988; Callero, 1985; Charng, Piliavin, & Callero, 1988; Stets, 1997; Stets & Burke, 1996; Stryker & Serpe, 1982). Respondents' leisure identity- the set of meanings attached to a person as golfer- served as a standard or reference that guided their participation in golf. In addition, people who defined themselves as more independent, active, competitive, superior, strong and self-confident behaved in a way which has been socially defined as more masculine through continuous participation in golf.

## 5.3. Multiple Identities and Behavior

The findings of this study reveal the hierarchical effect of masculine identity on a leisure behavior. Masculine identity positively influenced the development of a leisure identity, which in turn positively affected golf participation. Through the overlapping meanings such as independent, competitive and inner-directedness, masculine gender identity facilitates the salience of a leisure identity, thus, indirectly affecting leisure behavior. Therefore, more masculine respondents developed a stronger leisure identity

and, accordingly, participated in golf more often. The relationship between masculine identity, leisure identity and leisure behavior provided insight on how one identity facilitates the salience of the other identity and how they jointly operate to influence leisure behavior (Burke, 2003; Heise, 1979; Hoelter, 1986; Osgood, Suci & Tannenbaum, 1957; Stets, 1994).

#### 5.4. The Effect of Feminine Identity on Leisure Identity and Leisure Behavior

In addressing individuals' multiple identities in this research, it was expected that feminine gender identity would be negatively associated with leisure identity and leisure participation. In contrast with the assumption, the relationships between feminine identity, leisure identity, and leisure participation were not significant. Burke's (2003) notion of overall perceptual control system offers some insight concerning this unexpected finding. According to Burke, an overall perceptual control system functions to sustain consistency among all self-relevant meanings tied to identities. Given that one's core gender identity is formulated by age two or three (Katz, 1986), the perceptual control system will operate behaviors in favoring self-meanings related to femininity. When one perceives participation in a certain leisure activity lies in opposition to one's feminine identity, the system will impose constraints to further consideration of participation, resulting in non-participation. Even if the person maintains involvement with the activity and embraces a leisure identity, having a conflict with feminine identity might result in weakening of the leisure identity. It will eventually lead a loss of commitment to the identity and accompanying roles; i.e., withdraw from ongoing

participation.

### 5.5. The Effect of Multiple Identities on the Perceived Constraints to Leisure and Negotiation of Leisure Constraints

Respondents' experience of identity conflict/facilitation between their leisure identity and other role identities influenced their perceptions of constraints to golf and negotiation of these constraints. These findings provide support for the notion that people's involvement in multiple role identities generates both negative and positive outcomes (Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Baruch & Barnett, 1986; Edwards & Rothbard, 2000; Jackson, 1997; Frone, 2003; Menaghan, 1989; Rothbard, 2001; Thoits, 1992, 2003; Tompson & Werner, 1997). As respondents experienced more identity conflict, they were more likely to face the problems in their participation in golf. On the other hand, as identity facilitation increased, so did the efforts to negotiate constraints to golf participation. These findings illustrate that the experience of constraints to leisure arises from the perceived unbalanced combination between a leisure identity and other identities an individual holds while the ability to cope with the constraints relies on the healthy balance between leisure and other domains of individual's life.

### 5.6. Study Limitations and Future Research Needs

By drawing an explicit connection between alternative conceptualizations of individuals' enduring leisure engagement, this dissertation proposes a casual structure where identity precedes the development of the leisure-related constructs exploring

lasting involvement. Future research should empirically test the conceptualized casual link between identity and enduring involvement, commitment, loyalty, specialization and serious leisure in varied leisure contexts.

When interpreting the findings of this dissertation, researchers should consider limitations of the data and differences in activity types and cultures. Although the findings of this dissertation provided support for the proposed models, the data have limitations concerning their representation of the population from which they were drawn. The data were not collected in ways that systematically represent the defined population. Therefore, the results reported in this study share some features that limit their generalizability and the level of confidence that can be associated with their results. Continued empirical testing with more representative sampling methods will need to be undertaken before generalizable relationships emerge.

In future, the models tested in this study should be cross-validated with other samples in different settings (i.e., types of activities or culture). One can expect that the nature of the relationships between gender identity, leisure identity and leisure participation varies depending on gender appropriateness of leisure activities. The extent to which these results generalize to participants in different leisure activities, especially a stereotypic feminine activity, is unknown.

Empirical examinations of the models must also acknowledge the diversity of values embedded in roles across different cultures. Since the meanings and values of identities are culturally shared, by definition, they also vary among between cultures (Stets, 1995). Therefore, the degree of identity conflict and facilitation might be

determined by the meanings and values of identities placed upon each social position within the individual's culture.

With respect to the influence of feminine gender identity, further investigation of its effect on non-participation or the cessation of participation is warranted. As discussed earlier, individuals with more salient feminine identities will less likely initiate leisure participation and/or more likely withdraw from ongoing participation.

Last, future work also requires including the salience of each identity. Given that commitment to identities in terms of the investment of resources varies with the salience of identities (Stryker, 1981; Burke & Stets, 1991; Goode, 1960; Thoits, 1995), the importance of each identity needs to be used to weights each combination of identities. Identity conflict/facilitation weighted by the value of each identity should enhance its predictive strength of respondents' perception of constraints and efforts to overcome the barriers to leisure. The more salient an identity, the more committed an individual will be to it, and the greater the impact of its conflict/facilitation.

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