Articles

One Size Doesn't Fit All:
The Meanings of Women's Leisure

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Researchers who study women's leisure in the 1990s are moving into a discourse about the inability and inadequacy of determining that leisure is the same for all women or that "one leisure size fits all." The purpose of this paper is to extend an integrative review undertaken in 1990 to ascertain what we know about women's leisure in 1996. An integrative review was the strategy for reviewing research that focused on inferring generalizations about substantive issues from a set of studies directly bearing on these issues. The analyses resulted in three themes grounded in the literature of the past six years along with guiding hypotheses developed within each theme. The "megathemes" included gender, continua of meanings, and diversity.

KEYWORDS: *women, gender, feminism, diversity, meanings, leisure, social change*

Introduction

Until 15 years ago, women's leisure was an invisible area of study relatively devoid of theory. Attempts to make generalizations about the common world of women with a focus on understanding the social psychological "meaning" of women's leisure in a one size fits all approach have been the focus of the past decade. These attempts at generating universal understandings have been a necessary, but insufficient, step for understanding leisure behavior. The research about feminism and women's leisure in the 1990s is now moving into a discourse about the inability and inadequacy of determining that one leisure size fits all. As Dustin (1992) suggested, we must return to the same starting point if we are to begin anew our quest for a greater understanding. The new quest, however, has shifted from "meaning" to "meanings" regarding women's leisure. This shift also parallels the role of the new wave of thinking about feminism from totalizing and universalizing women's experiences to seeing the need for many feminisms (Henderson, Bialeschki, Shaw, & Freysinger, 1996).

The purpose of this paper is to extend the integrative review undertaken in 1990 (Henderson, 1990a) to ascertain what is known about women's lei-

sure in 1996. In this earlier review, the stated purpose was to synthesize the literature to explore the complex interrelationships and dimensions of women's lives. I concluded that frameworks for understanding women's leisure were emerging, a variety of methods were being used, and possibilities existed for empowering women through continued leisure research (Henderson, 1990a). Further, I suggested that a "meaning" was emerging (i.e., women share a common world in their inequality in leisure when compared to male privilege, social interactions represent a common focus of women's leisure, women tend to use the home and nonstructured activities as the primary place and means for leisure expression, much of women's leisure is fragmented, and many women do not feel they are entitled to leisure). The reality is that a single meaning has not manifested itself in the past six years, as will be shown in this updated integrative review. Rather, numerous meanings have arisen based on the life situations of women and the changing nature of the understanding of gender and leisure.

Background: Finding the Right Fit

In the past few years, researchers have constructed a body of knowledge about women's leisure. We have begun to move from using gender as a variable to making it a central theoretical concept. The main North American concerns, as well as those of other Western countries, have been in exploring women's experiences of leisure within the context of women's lives (Yule, 1992). For example, we have learned about social psychological ideas such as the ethic of caring (e.g., Gilligan, 1982) that drives many of the decisions about what women do with their "free" time (e.g., Henderson & Allen, 1991; Harrington, Dawson, & Bolla, 1992). Scraton (1994) suggested that studies done in Britain (e.g., Deem, 1986; Green, Hebron, & Woodward, 1987) about women's leisure have resulted in structural analyses such as problematizing the definition of leisure and situating leisure within the holistic context of women's lives. Gender and the acknowledgment of differences between males and females are more commonly acknowledged in the work of many leisure researchers than in the past (Henderson, 1994b).

Approaches including research on women, feminist research, and gender-based research have contributed to the breadth and depth of understanding women's leisure. Each of these approaches is related because women are placed in the center of analysis, but each has a slightly different focus. Research about women, for example, has made the leisure or lack of leisure experiences of females visible. Feminist research has had agendas leading to uncovering oppression and empowering women through leisure for individual and social change. Gender-based research, whether related to differences or the cultural connotations associated with one's biological sex, has resulted in broader analyses of the gendered meanings of leisure (Henderson, 1994a, 1994b).

Although some leisure researchers have addressed issues related to women, few have grounded their work in a feminist framework. Perhaps the

assumption exists that all research on women is feminist, but this assumption may not always be true. Those individuals (e.g., Fox, 1992; Henderson, 1991b, 1993; Henderson, Bedini, & Bialeschki, 1993; Shaw, 1992a; Yule, 1992) who have specifically used a feminist framework have been explicit in its value. Yule (1992), in particular, presented a rationale for using theoretically informed feminist research to develop leisure policy. She also illustrated how feminism resulted in different questions asked and approaches taken than when leisure was viewed from a patriarchal perspective. Fox (1992, 1994) addressed the structure of current discourse on feminism and leisure sciences and described the complexity of feminist thought and the current development of feminist theory-in-progress.

Gender-based research, research on women, and feminist research have also contributed to a broader understanding of the epistemology and methodology used by leisure researchers. Dustin (1992), for example, questioned the wisdom of the patriarchal view underlying social science. He provided a foundation for using feminist research as a way to challenge the world view, the separation of humankind from nature, and the objectivity of science. Fox (1994) argued for how an idea such as ecofeminism might inform future research because it typically is contextualist, structurally pluralistic, focused on theory-in-process, and inclusivist. Gloor (1992) suggested that certain gender differences remain "hidden" if reliance is placed only on quantitative methods. She advocated that by focusing on context to examine perception and valuation, researchers have understood better what is happening in people's lives. In the 1990s, most researchers studying women and gender recognize that no singular feminist research method exists (Henderson & Bialeschki, 1992) and varied methods are needed to understand the meanings of leisure in the lives of women and men.

Methods: Trying on Sizes

The intent of this integrative review was to examine the growing literature about gender and women's leisure to determine the status of current research and to suggest implications for the future. An integrative review was the strategy used for reviewing research that focused on inferring generalizations about substantive issues from a set of studies directly bearing on these issues. The following tasks constituted this integrative review: the research review questions were delimited, the studies to be analyzed were identified, the findings from the studies were presented, the findings were analyzed, the results were interpreted, and the review was written (Jackson, 1980). Metaphorically, this integrative review was an attempt to examine the many "sizes" of leisure in women's lives. As Deem (1992) suggested, feminist researchers and those researchers studying women and gender have gone beyond the additive approach to examine different areas of experience for women including structural analyses. This integrative review was undertaken to summarize where our understanding of women's leisure currently is so that the next research steps can be undertaken.

The research review questions for this integrative review related to the topic of study, the methods used, sample selected, and theoretical implications of the results. All research studies from eight primary English language refereed journals were identified for the following years: *Leisure Sciences* (1990-1995 through Volume 2), *Leisure Studies* (1990-1995), *Journal of Leisure Research* (1990-1995), *Journal of Applied Recreation Research* (1990-1994; 1995 not available yet), *Therapeutic Recreation Journal* (1990-1995), *Journal of Park and Recreation Administration* (1990-1995), *Australian and New Zealand Association for Leisure Studies Leisure Research Series* (1993-1994), and *Loisir et Société/Society and Leisure* (1990-1995). All articles using the keywords of women, men, girls, boys, feminism, gender or related female words such as widow or lesbian either in the title or among the identified keywords were examined. Those articles that dealt with professional issues regarding women, recreation careers, and leadership were excluded. Although additional manuscripts were delivered at conferences and included in book chapters, I focused on only these refereed journal articles because they are most easily available in research libraries. A further delimitation was the predominance of English language research except studies reported in journals like *Loisir et Société/Society and Leisure* where English abstracts were provided. The delimitation to English literature did not mean to imply that nothing happens outside the English speaking countries (Karsten, 1995), but translation of other research into English was not available for this project.

On the basis of an examination of these refereed articles, the findings were analyzed and the interpretations integrated using constant comparison (Henderson, 1991a). I read through all the articles and categorized them according to the integrative review questions (i.e., topic, sample, methods, themes). I conceptually grouped articles together regarding how they related to similar topics, themes, and samples. The salient themes were delimited through these comparisons to gain parsimony and scope. Guiding hypotheses became evident within the broad "megathemes." The integrative review provided implications for how the themes might serve as propositions for future research on women's leisure.

Results: Many Sizes

The analysis resulted in three themes grounded in the literature of the past six years along with guiding hypotheses developed within each theme. These broad "megathemes" included gender, continua of meanings, and diversity. The hypotheses represent illustrations of the themes and build rationales for the meanings of the themes. They represent no hierarchical order.

Gender and Theory: Expanding the Sizes

The use of feminism and theory-in-progress was inherent in the literature about women's leisure over the past six years. Henderson (1994b) de-

scribed the value of inclusive theorizing that not only helps to understand women's lives but broadens our understanding of leisure for all people. Sky suggested that "knowing is incomplete without feminist epistemology" (1994, p. 95). Feminism has given leisure researchers permission to create new approaches to understanding leisure behavior. Further, Scraton (1994) argued for a developed and reconstructed feminism that acknowledges political intent, the dynamism of theory, and the changing world in which we live. The value of theory, particularly embodied within either explicit or implicit feminism, is that it has allowed leisure researchers to make applications to practice (cf. Henderson et al., 1993; Sheldon & Caldwell, 1994) and to move toward social change (cf. Deem, 1992; Karsten, 1995; Shaw, 1994). Further, Deem (1992) described how examining feminism and gender has led to rethinking theoretical aspects of paid work, unpaid work, family, and leisure.

In examining gender and theory, the first guiding hypothesis presented is that most results can best be understood by recognizing that *the differences in leisure patterns between men and women are more contextual than biological.* Research on women's leisure has come a long way from when leisure for women and girls was assumed to be the same as for men and boys. Uncovering differences was the starting point for making women's leisure visible (Henderson, 1990b; Henderson, 1994b). Gender differences research has been important as descriptive information, but few new significant gender differences were found in the literature of the early 1990s. For example, Hutchinson (1994) found that women were underrepresented in park attendance and Malcolm and Mobily (1990) ascertained that girls were more likely to emphasize the social dimensions of play than boys. These findings were useful, but they begged for further theoretical and contextual analysis to understand why these conclusions existed. Gender differences, however, are not simple to understand as many researchers have shown (e.g., Firestone & Shelton, 1994; Harrington et al., 1992; Jackson & Henderson, 1995). Nevertheless, studies about gender differences have given us a broader understanding of areas such as tourism (Squires, 1994), adolescent behavior (Raymore, Godbey, & Crawford, 1994), and activity participation (Morin, 1992).

Examining gender differences has been a useful, but not sufficient, way to understand women's leisure. Researchers have made this point on numerous occasions (e.g., Deem, 1992; Henderson, 1990b). Further understandings of women's leisure have been most likely to occur when gender differences are not the conclusion, but when the research was focused on the meanings of gender based on theoretical perspectives (e.g., Jackson & Henderson, 1995). Therefore, a second guiding hypothesis is that *gender theory is emerging as a foundation for better understanding women's, as well as men's, leisure.* Much more is yet to be learned, however, about the myriad of gender theories (Henderson, 1994b).

Although many feminist theories have been about gender, confusion still surrounds the idea of gender. As a variable, gender has been important in helping to document differences between the social conditions of women and men. As a pervasive symbol of power, gender provides insight to the

construction of gendered leisure (Shaw, 1994) as well as the way that women and men experience gender in their lives (Jackson & Henderson, 1995). According to Henderson's (1994b) interpretation, gender is a set of socially constructed relationships produced and reproduced through people's actions. Gender is an essential stage of scholarship that offers relevance for the present and future understanding of women's leisure because it incorporates the social meanings of roles, unequal power, and cultural expectations. Gender analyses can combine agency and structure.

Several researchers have explored how gender influences leisure. Henderson, Bedini, and Hecht (1994) examined women with physical disabilities and how they developed self-identity through leisure as a potential means to come to terms with bodies that departed from the "norm." They found that the disability seemed to have the most negative influence on women's leisure when it disrupted a woman's actual or perceived abilities to perform important socially based roles such being a good mother or wife. O'Connor and Boyle (1993) explored how sports and soap operas were differentiated along gender lines and evoked a gendered identity. Sport affirmed fantasies and realities of power, control, and autonomous activity; soaps addressed and constructed a female audience in terms of tolerance and passivity clustering around family, motherhood, and romance. Sports was found to be a more highly regarded form of leisure than soaps. Lynch (1993) examined the implications of rugby for masculinity. Although little has been written about the implications of gender for men, this area has many possibilities for informing a broader understanding of leisure for the future.

Gender analyses have been a useful way to probe new ideas about leisure in recent years. For example, Jackson and Henderson (1995) examined constraints to leisure according to both between gender differences and within gender differences. They found that differences emerged related to the intensity and nature of the leisure constraints and concluded that women met with more constraints in their leisure than men. Their data also demonstrated that the experience of leisure constraints was characterized by as many within-gender differences as between-gender differences. Variables such as age, income, and family structure were mediating factors that altered, reinforced, or alleviated constraints for women, depending on the nature of the context and the type of constraint. Rather than looking at conclusions about constraints or about differences between women and men, Jackson and Henderson (1995) pointed to the need to think in diversities and pluralisms rather than dualisms and universals. They concluded that the cultural interpretation and institutionalization of gender was more of a constraint than was actual biological sex. Thus, most individuals responsible for child care who were more likely to be women than men, were more constrained. Leisure constraints were a function of the gender role, therefore, and not inherently due to biological sex. More differences may exist among groups of women or men than between them. Further, the societal roles imposed upon groups of women (e.g., mothers, caregivers) often resulted in limited opportunities for leisure. Similarly, Altergott and McCreedy (1993) found

that both family context and gender-marital status influenced leisure patterns in daily life. They found both men and women have less leisure during parenting years.

Aspects of this gender research suggested a third guiding hypothesis that *the more roles undertaken by a woman, the more likely that individual is to have less personal leisure.* A need exists to understand leisure in the context of everyday life along with obligations and social structures. Since women often occupy more roles than men (e.g., mother, caregiver, chauffeur, housekeeper) they may have less time available for their own personal or autonomous leisure. Karsten (1995) presented a model of leisure, care, and labor and how they overlapped to influence women's leisure. For anyone who is in a caregiving role, leisure as free time may be irrelevant (Hunter & Whitson, 1991). Within the role of being a mother, for example, women have many expectations that must be addressed for leisure to happen either personally for a woman or within the family (Hunter & Whitson, 1991; Karsten, 1995). A contradiction seemed to exist between addressing the relationships and roles that are central to a woman's life and needing time for oneself. Wearing (1991) found leisure was a place where male power prevailed and where traditional feminine identities and roles often were associated with putting men's wishes and servicing men's leisure before most women claimed their own personal leisure. Further, as Jackson and Henderson (1995) discerned, role expectations were related to perceptions of constraints in both women's and men's lives.

The leisure research that has addressed women's leisure and gender over the past six years has focused on examining what gender and gender differences mean and how the contextual roles imposed on females and males may influence their leisure. The value of this research is the grounding of research in theory that is leading to broader understandings of how gender and roles affect the leisure possibilities of both women and men.

Continua of Meanings: Petite to Queen Sizes

Feminist research and research on women's leisure in the past six years have shown the contradictions preventing the discovery of any single meaning of leisure. We have moved beyond trying to find THE answer to explaining a range of possibilities resulting in continua of meanings for women's leisure. Shaw's (1994) identification of three approaches to an analysis of women's leisure constraints initially highlighted the continua of possibilities for understanding meanings. Her analysis, including constrained leisure, leisure as constraining, and leisure as resistance, provided a model for analyzing the complexities and contradictions surrounding meanings.

As I will show in this section of the paper, these continua of conclusions about women's leisure were reflected in findings such as the definitions of leisure, impact of paid work on women's leisure, leisure as empowering as well as victimizing, and leisure as an avenue for conformity or resistance to social roles. When considered independently, these aspects seem contradic-

tory but when examined across a spectrum, they reflect the real differences among women and the reasons why women's leisure does not have one size that fits all.

A fourth guiding hypothesis found in this integrative review was that *leisure has multiple and varied definitions when examined as self or other oriented.* The definition of leisure as a problem has been described by a number of researchers (e.g., Datillo, Datillo, Samdahl, & Kleiber, 1994; Henderson, 1990b; Scraton, 1994). Definitions related to how leisure was experienced as personal or social. For example, Freysinger (1995) described the variety and contradictions when the experience of leisure was defined as affiliation or agency. Affiliation included interactions with others while agency related to self expression, learning and development, challenge and accomplishment, and recognition and credibility. These descriptions referred to other-oriented and self-oriented ideas about leisure for both women and men. Within the role of being a mother, for example, women may have many expectations about leisure in the context of the family (Altergott & Mc-Creedy, 1993; Freysinger, 1994; Henderson & Allen, 1991; Hunter & Whitson, 1991; Karsten, 1995).

A contradiction often seemed to exist regarding definitions when the relationships and roles that were central to women's lives were juxtaposed with needing time for oneself. Samuel (1992) described how women aspire to personal leisure that is different from family leisure. In a similar study from France, LeFeuvre (1992) noted how leisure was an ideal of social relations for mothers. Seeking personal leisure even through the family leads women toward independence and autonomy and presents the possibility for the creation of new social relationships and values (Samuel, 1992). Hunter and Whitson (1992), however, described the effects of familism and patriarchy as a constraint to women's leisure with women's responsibility for family's leisure resulting in them making less time for themselves. They pointed to leisure as a means to the enjoyment of valued relationships not related to the activity per se, but the involvement with another family member. Similarly, both Cyba (1992) and Karsten (1995) suggested that most homemakers see their family as most important and cannot distinguish family time from leisure time. Even women who were happy with their lives wanted more time for themselves and more opportunities to develop their personal interests (Hunter & Whitson, 1992).

Related to the continua of meanings, the fifth guiding hypothesis uncovered in this integrative review was that *paid work is both an enhancement and a constraint to women's leisure.* The effect of work on women's leisure is an area that continues to result in varied and sometimes contradictory outcomes for women. Karsten (1995) described the growing divergence among women and the meanings of leisure as based upon either working for pay or not working. Datillo et al. (1994) examined the leisure orientations of women with low incomes who were predominantly Black and overweight and reported they felt they had little leisure despite being unemployed. Harrington and Dawson (1995) examined women's leisure meaning systems based

on individuals who were full-time employed, part-time employed, or home-makers not employed. Regardless of labor situation, leisure was not seen as activity or time. Homemakers were more constrained in their leisure than other women who worked part-time or full-time. Part-time workers perceived that they had it best in regard to their leisure.

Shaw (1991b) found that women's increase in the labor market may lead to some advantages, not related to more time, but to a sense of entitle-ment. Unfortunately, the division of labor in the home continued to be the same with women doing most of the housework and child care. Shaw sug-gested that several generations of women are likely to suffer time stress and lack of leisure as they increase their participation in a male-oriented labor market without significantly reducing or sharing their responsibilities for the household. Cyba (1992) discerned that employed women have the least lei-sure, but value it most. Desaulniers and Theberge (1992) analyzed work re-duction among employed Canadians and found that women showed a higher preference for work reduction than men but this desire was not based on desire for leisure but to fulfill family responsibilities. The possibilities for leisure were more likely to motivate men rather than women to reduce work. Less paid work for women seemed to open the possibility for more time to do housework.

Generally we assume that leisure is always positive. Yet, feminist research-ers have suggested that leisure may have the possibility of being both positive and negative. Therefore, another contradiction resulted in the guiding hy-pothesis that *leisure may be a context for the empowerment of women as well as a context for the victimization and concomitant disempowerment of women*. Some re-searchers described how leisure can be constraining for women (e.g., Shaw, 1991a, 1992b, 1994; Whyte & Shaw, 1994) while other authors have talked about ways that leisure can be empowering (e.g., Bialeschki, & Michener, 1994; Mowl & Towner, 1995; Sheldon & Caldwell, 1994). Henderson and Bialeschki (1991) described the sense of entitlement as both a constraint and an opportunity for empowerment. Similarly, Henderson and Allen (1991) explicated the constraints of and possibilities for leisure in an ethic of care. Shaw (1992c) noted how the research on women's leisure and fem-inism has emphasized both the constrained and exploited nature of women's leisure as well as the possibilities for change. Sheldon and Caldwell (1994) found that a key idea in applying any therapeutic intervention was to work toward helping an individual feel empowered in her life and recreational activities.

The irony and the contradiction for women often lies in how leisure could be either or both empowering and constraining. Bolla, Dawson, and Harrington's (1991) study of adult women in Ontario found the positive dimension of leisure involved feeling happy, free, and peaceful and the neg-ative experience of leisure involved feeling passive, selfish, and irritable. Shaw (1991a) examined body image and found that participation in aerobics had a negative relationship with body image; these who participated more tended to have lower body images. Related to the victimizing of women was

the work by Whyte and Shaw (1994) who explored the effects of fear of violence on women's leisure choices and enjoyment. They found that because of fear, young women altered their involvement and these modifications resulted in a lower level of enjoyment. Despite the constraining aspects of leisure, however, some women have empowered themselves by creating their own leisure spaces and opportunities (e.g., Mowl & Towner, 1995; Samuel, 1992). Even though women are often disempowered and are targets of discrimination and violence in this society, they are using leisure contexts to make choices and to empower themselves and others.

A final guiding hypothesis of the continua of meanings in the emerging research on women's leisure related to empowerment and *how leisure is an avenue for conformity to social roles as well as resistance to those roles*. The research on leisure as resistance has opened ways of examining how autonomy and power can be found through leisure. Resistance is the struggle against institutionalized power; acts of resistance can occur in leisure settings (Henderson & Bialeschki, 1993; Scraton, 1994; Shaw, 1994). Thompson (1992) found that "mum's tennis day" affirmed dominant gender structures because tennis fit other roles and did not interfere with men. On the other hand, Bouillin-Dartevelle (1992) suggested that women are coming to see leisure as a significant part of their lives and as a means to express humanity and link disparate aspects of their lives. Freysinger and Flannery (1992) further found that self-determination in leisure challenged traditional roles and created a stronger sense of self for women. Leisure was one way to find autonomy and provided a context to renew or gain a different sense of self for some women.

Wearing (1991) examined the relationship between leisure experiences and the construction of gender identity in different stages of the life cycle and found that leisure both reinforced and allowed for resistance to traditional gender roles. She showed how leisure can be a place where male power prevails and traditional feminine identities such as nurturing, caring, passivity, gentleness, and dependent characteristics are maintained. She also found concurrent discourses on leisure that enable leisure to be a site for the construction of identities that resist male definitions and control of feminine identities, and allow individuality in leisure experience for women. Freysinger and Flannery (1992) also examined the question of when leisure might be seen as resistance and when it is likely to reproduce oppression. Shaw (1994) suggested that the emerging ideas related to negotiating constraints (e.g., Henderson, 1994a; Henderson, Bedini, Hecht, & Shuler, 1995; Henderson & Bialeschki, 1993) might be a starting place for further examining resistance.

The theme of continua and the four hypotheses generated point to the expansion of our views about the meanings of leisure to women. Clearly women have a variety of experiences surrounding leisure. Although gender differences may continue to influence how leisure is interpreted and experienced, the recent literature is providing a broader understanding of many dimensions and contradictions about leisure that may exist not only in the lives of women, but also in the lives of men.

Diversity: Sizes, Colors, and Styles

Diversity and women's leisure has been alluded to in the previous two sections on gender and continua. The leisure literature of the past six years reflects a greater concern with the diversity of women and the efforts to understand how gender combines with other lifestyle factors to create opportunities for, as well as constraints to, leisure. Feminist researchers are challenging the universalizing tendencies in the writing of White, middle-class American feminists (hooks, 1989). Today we recognize the need to illuminate the diversity and historical-cultural specificity of women's experiences and gender relations. Just as feminists have been critical of the patriarchy for not acknowledging the contributions of women, we can also be critical of how people studying women sometimes have ignored diversity. Race is an obvious omission as are class differences. Lesbians point out heterosexual assumptions in research and practice and women with disabilities suggest that normative models do not always work (Fine & Asch, 1988). Recently, research has been done on different groups of women including older women (e.g., Riddick & Stewart, 1994), low income women (Datillo et al., 1994), women with disabilities (Henderson et al., 1994; Rancourt, 1991; Stumbo & Little, 1991), women of color (Shinew, Floyd, McGuire, & Noe, 1995), and girls (Raymore et al., 1994; Shaw, Kleiber, & Caldwell, 1995).

One guiding hypothesis about diversity that has emerged is that *constraints to leisure may be more acute for women who are in nondominant groups or women who exist on the margins.* The diversity analysis underlined that some women are more disadvantaged in their leisure than others because of possible multiple layers of oppression. Yet, leisure researchers are beginning to uncover an understanding of the experiences of marginalized women. Henderson et al.'s (1994) research, for example, reflected the lack of information about women with disabilities and how being female and being disabled interacted to influence leisure. Stumbo and Little (1991) found that because of their unique needs and characteristics, female offenders are more often punished than rehabilitated because institutions have not been able to deal with problems of women. Wilhite, Sheldon, and Jekubovich-Fenton (1994) studied older widows living alone and discerned that both a strong ethic of care existed along with a high value placed on solitude; these findings had implications for leisure opportunities occurring in a variety of in-home and out-of-home settings. Riddick and Stewart (1994) studied Black and White female retirees and found that older Black women have had to deal with issues of racism, ageism, and sexism; their research confirmed a multiple hierarchy stratification perspective. Further, Hunter and Whitson (1991) found that constraints to leisure faced elsewhere may be more acute for women in small towns and hinterlands.

Although Shinew et al. (1995) did not identify themselves as coming from a feminist perspective, their research that addressed women as well as men, also confirmed some of the new analyses about leisure and diversity. They found that leisure preferences were different for poor working-class

Black women compared to White men and women and middle-class Black men. This research pointed to the need to examine gender related to race and social class as the primary sources of stratification in the U.S. Freysinger (1995) in her in-depth interviews with middle-aged working and middle class White women and men explained that gender distinctions in adult leisure were modified, and perhaps even superseded, by social class and parental and marital status. Similarly, Mowl and Towner (1995) conducted research from the premise that only by developing a deeper understanding of the way individuals and groups perceive different places with their complex mosaics of gender and class relations, can a complete contextual representation of women's leisure emerge. They admonished that women are not one homogeneous, socially undifferentiated class.

Although a "common" world for women regarding their leisure may exist for some women related to such aspects as sense of entitlement and the ethic of care (Harrington et al., 1992), a great deal of diversity exists not only among women with varying demographic characteristics, but also in the complex, dialectical process of adult development as related to leisure theory (Freysinger, 1994). Diversity is an area that encompasses all aspects of meanings about women's leisure. Leisure researchers are only beginning to uncover the numerous dimensions of not only gender but also class, race, disability, sexuality, geographic location, and a multitude of other dimensions that can contribute to inclusive theories about leisure behavior.

The Demand for Different Sizes: Women's Leisure and Social Change

The leisure research on women's leisure and gender in the past six years points to "different sizes" related to leisure and the imperative for social change including both structural and personal changes. Scraton (1994) suggested that "Feminism demands answers because it remains committed to further change" (p. 260). When each of the guiding hypotheses is examined in relation to others, the need for more information and for applications of research findings becomes obvious. In summary, three themes and eight conclusions were uncovered in doing this integrative review. Each conclusion requires further research; collectively they have implications for social change:

1. Gender and Theory

   - The differences in leisure patterns between men and women are more contextual than biological.
   - Gender theory is emerging as a foundation for better understanding women's, as well as men's, leisure.
   - The more roles undertaken by a woman, the more likely that individual is to have less personal leisure.

2. A Continua of Meanings

   - Leisure has multiple and varied definitions for women when examined as self or other oriented.

- Paid work is both an enhancement and a constraint to women's leisure.
- Leisure may be a context for the empowerment of women as well as a context for the victimization and concomitant disempowerment of women.
- Leisure is an avenue for conformity to social roles as well as resistance to those roles.

3. Diversity

- Constraints to leisure may be more acute for women who are in nondominant groups or women who exist on the margins.

As researchers studying women's leisure seek further to understand its meaning and to determine the "so what?" of the research, issues of social change will continue to emerge. Scraton (1994) suggested that we cannot return to old theories of oppression with the difference theorized between categories of women and men. Although the themes being uncovered are important and useful, strategies and programs to enhance not only the leisure of women, but of all disenfranchised groups, are needed (e.g., Duquin, 1991; Henderson & Bedini, 1994; Kivel, 1995; Riddick & Stewart, 1994; Rowe & Brown, 1994; Shaw, 1994).

The literature about women's leisure does not "fit" all women. Leisure researchers interested in addressing women and gender must continue to explore all the potential dimensions of women's and men's leisure lives. Feminist thought, according to Collins (1991) emphasizes the ongoing interplay between women's oppression and women's activism as responsive to the situation. Although individual empowerment is key, only collective action can effectively generate lasting social transformation of political and economic institutions. A larger question that this analysis of women's leisure also raises is whether or not any singular "truth" exists. Going beyond dualistic, totalizing, and essentializing views of leisure may help us understand meanings in more encompassing ways. One size may not fit all, but many sizes will enable leisure to become empowering for women and men in numerous ways.

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