

## **Transcending Potential Antecedent Leisure Constraints: The Case of Women Motorcycle Operators**

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The purpose of this paper was threefold: 1) to describe past methodological approaches to the study of leisure constraints and evaluate the impact of these approaches on theoretical development, 2) to provide the results of a survey of individuals who have transcended potential antecedent leisure constraints in order to evaluate the applicability of the "enrichment hypothesis", and 3) to discuss the implications of these findings for future research on leisure constraints. The "enrichment hypothesis" suggests that those making nontraditional leisure choices would need exposure to a special social environment that would provide an awareness of and support for such a choice. The findings from this survey of 453 women who are motorcycle operators, a statistically male-dominated and stereotypically masculine leisure activity, lend support to the "enrichment hypothesis"; most women had been passengers, knew someone close to them who was a motorcyclist, and were taught to ride by a family member, thus emphasizing the importance of significant others. The impact of these findings on the theoretical constructs associated with the literature on leisure constraints is also discussed.

**KEYWORDS:** *Antecedent constraint, gender, leisure constraints, motorcyclist, women*

### **Introduction**

Over the past two decades, the literature on leisure constraints has advanced in terms of theoretical and conceptual constructs and the variety of types of respondents who have been studied. Early conceptualizations of leisure constraints tended to focus on intervening constraints or barriers, those which intercede between a preference for a specific leisure activity and participation in that activity (see review, Goodale & Witt, 1989). Since intervening constraints addressed only those factors which posed difficulties for individuals who already had a preference and wished they could transform that leisure preference into actual participation, scholars recognized the need for an expanded conceptualization of leisure constraints. By the late 1980s, a distinction was made between intervening and antecedent constraints (Crawford & Godbey, 1987; Henderson, Stalnaker, & Taylor, 1988; Jackson, 1990). Antecedent constraints are those factors that inhibit or negatively influence

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The author wishes to thank Ed Youngblood, former President of the American Motorcyclist Association, for generously providing the data which served as the basis of the empirical analysis and also Stanley A. Mertzman for his careful reading and editing of this manuscript.

one's preference for or interest in particular leisure activities and, thus, precede the desire to transform leisure preferences into participation. Since antecedent constraints may suppress the preference for a particular leisure activity as a consequence of either the lack of awareness of or interest in that activity, the likely result is non-participation. The notion of antecedent constraints was found to be a useful concept and a welcome addition to the existing conceptualization of leisure constraints (for review, see Jackson, 1988).

Although gender socialization and the resulting perceived or actual constraints affect both women and men (Henderson, 1991, 1994a, 1994b), scholars have shown a particular interest in the effect of gender socialization as an antecedent leisure constraint on women's leisure choices and participation. To illustrate this point, consider that while both boys and girls have joined suburban soccer leagues across the United States, the sex-typing and sex segregation of leisure activities is reflected in, for example, the disproportionate number of men compared to women joining ice hockey and football teams and the disproportionate number of women compared to men signing up for dancing and quilting classes. Leisure scholars would attribute such choices to a combination of antecedent and intervening constraints. The antecedent constraints could include the effects of gender socialization, while intervening constraints could include the difficulty of finding partners or overt discrimination against those of one's sex participating in the activity. Henderson (1993, 1994b) further indicates that particular activities may be seen as more appropriate for one sex than for the other, and Hultsman (1993a) and Shaw (1994) mention the problem of the stereotyping of activities by gender.

Despite the sex segregation of some leisure activities (Lenskyj, 1990) and the acknowledgement that gender socialization can influence leisure preferences and participation (Henderson, 1990, 1991; Henderson & Bialeschki, 1997; Hultsman, 1993a; Shaw, 1994), individuals choosing leisure activities nontraditional or atypical for their gender have been largely overlooked. The purpose of this paper is threefold: 1) to describe past methodological approaches to the study of leisure constraints and evaluate the impact of these approaches on theoretical development, 2) to provide the results of a survey of individuals who have transcended potential antecedent leisure constraints in order to evaluate the applicability of the "enrichment hypothesis," and 3) to discuss the implications of these findings for future research on leisure constraints. The reasons for the empirical component are to illuminate the factors that contribute to the choice by women to operate a motorcycle, a stereotypically masculine leisure activity, and to consider the role of age or generational differences on a variety of aspects of that choice. Using both objective and subjective criteria (Standley & Soule, 1974), operating a motorcycle can be classified as a masculine activity. Objectively, men statistically dominate this leisure activity with women comprising less than 10 percent of American motorcycle operators (Motorcycle Industry Council, 1998) and, subjectively, the image of the motorcyclist is stereotypically masculine.

Consequently, the choice by a woman to become a motorcycle operator constitutes a nontraditional leisure choice.

Such a choice raises many interesting questions because these women motorcycle operators have transcended potential antecedent leisure constraints, namely gender socialization and cultural expectations. How would individuals transcend these potential antecedent leisure constraints and come to choose a leisure activity nontraditional for their gender? Did these women tend to be motorcycle passengers, a more traditional role for women in this activity, and make a transition to becoming operators, or did they begin as operators? Were these women living in households where motorcycling was already a part of life, or did they essentially take up motorcycling on their own and rebel against those around them in their choice of motorcycling as a leisure activity? If there was a particular influential person in the choice to become a motorcyclist, what was the gender of the "role model" and the relationship between the respondent and her "role model" (e.g., husband, parent, sibling, friend)? Will the answers to these questions differ by the age of the respondents, as an indication of generational differences? An examination of the answers to these questions and the factors which led these women to cross gender boundaries and make a nontraditional leisure choice should lead to conceptual advancement and offer challenges to the development of methodology in the area of leisure choices and constraints.

### Literature Review

#### *Methodological Approaches to Leisure Constraints*

More so than ever before, scholars are studying a wide variety of types of respondents and considering important demographic variables, including age (Hultsman, 1993a, 1993b; Jackson, 1990, 1993; Raymore et al., 1994), race and ethnicity (Floyd, Gramann, & Saenz, 1993; Hultsman, 1993a; Philipp, 1995), immigrant status (Stodolska, 1998); social class (Raymore et al., 1994), country of citizenship (Carroll & Alexandris, 1997; Kay & Jackson, 1991; Veal & Cushman, 1996), and gender (Henderson et al., 1988; Raymore et al., 1994). Nevertheless, most researchers have used relatively similar methodological approaches to study the subject of leisure constraints. Researchers often ask respondents to think of an activity in which they would like to participate and then ask them to consider the extent to which they feel items on an already formulated list interfere or prevent them from actually participating in the desired leisure activity. In some studies, as a preliminary question, subjects may be asked "to indicate if there was 'an activity in which they currently were interested but had not begun'" (Hultsman, 1993b, p. 323). For others, the preliminary question has taken the form of "Is there any leisure or recreation activity that you do not take part in, but would like to start doing regularly?" (Jackson, 1983, p. 50, 1990, p. 62, 1993). The most significant question that respondents have been asked in studies of leisure constraints has taken the form of ". . . How important is each of the following

for not participating or for having limited participation in leisure or recreational activities?" (Stodolska, 1998, p. 536), "What prevents you from doing the leisure activity you'd like to do?" (Henderson, 1997, p. 455), or "Why don't you participate in this activity" (Jackson, 1983, p. 51). In other studies, respondents have been asked, for example, "to rank up to the five most important reasons (1 = most important) from a list of fourteen reasons for not joining an activity" (Hultsman, 1993a, p. 153) or ". . . to indicate the extent to which each of the 21 statements would affect their decision to begin a new leisure activity" (Raymore et al., 1994, p. 105).

However, one wonders what leisure activity or activities respondents have in mind when they are responding to an already formulated list of constraints or reasons. In one study, recreational activities referred to "all the free time endeavors which one might undertake, such as pleasure reading, sports, outdoor pursuits, cultural activities, socializing, etc." (Henderson et al., 1988, p. 73). This conceptualization is too general. In another study "students related their perceptions to the activity of their choice" (Hultsman, 1993a, p. 153). Here, one wonders if the results of this study would have been different if each student had been asked to think of a second or third activity and responded to the same list of leisure constraints. In this same study, activities were divided into school non-sports, community non-sports, and sports for additional analysis (Hultsman, 1993a). Yet, the activities within these categories could vary dramatically in terms of a number of characteristics of the activity, including the proportion of women and men already participating in the activity, and that this might affect the subjects' responses. One researcher took the over seventy activities provided by respondents as answers to an open-ended question and classified them into nine categories, such as exercise-oriented activities or creative, cultural, and social activities, and used those nine categories in the analysis (Jackson, 1983, 1993). As a result, the researcher was able to discern the category of leisure activity respondents had in mind when they completed the survey. On the other hand, the respondent might have answered the questions about constraints differently if a leisure activity in another category had been chosen or perhaps even if a different leisure activity in the same broad category had been chosen. If the gender ratios varied within these categories, that could potentially change the results in terms of the importance of particular leisure constraints. In fact, Jackson (1993) includes "a reluctance to participate because of gender" as one variable in the factor "social inappropriateness", which emerged from a factor analysis of leisure constraints. Despite these methodological limitations, the past research has been important and has led to additional theoretical developments in the area of leisure constraints.

### *The Impact of Methodological Approaches on Theoretical Development*

Certain aspects of leisure preferences, however, have been overlooked with the use of these methodologies. The theoretical literature suggests that antecedent constraints can play a role in leisure preferences such that an

interest in or a preference for particular leisure activities is limited, suppressed, or inhibited (Crawford & Godbey, 1987; Henderson et al., 1988; Jackson, 1990). Given this, when respondents are asked to think of a particular leisure activity or category of activities, it seems unlikely that certain leisure activities, such as those deemed more appropriate for the other sex, would be the first to come to mind. This would not be caused so much by the immediate constraints, but rather by years of gender socialization. If the gender norms are strong enough and deeply internalized, then it would not cross the mind of the respondent to consider an activity nontraditional for their sex as a preference. Consequently, it is unlikely researchers would learn about constraints when the preference is entirely suppressed.

Crawford and Godbey (1987) suggest that leisure barriers or constraints may be intrapersonal, interpersonal, or structural. "Intrapersonal barriers involve individual psychological states and attributes which interact with leisure preferences rather than intervening between preferences and participation" (p. 122). Intrapersonal barriers can include ". . . kin and non-reference group attitudes, prior socialization into specific leisure activities, perceived self-skill, and subjective evaluations of the appropriateness and availability of various leisure activities" (p. 122). The authors admit, however, that some of these intrapersonal barriers may be socially influenced. "Interpersonal barriers are the result of interpersonal interaction or the relationship between individuals' characteristics" (p. 123). Interpersonal barriers, such as the sex role attitudes of marriage partners, may affect the preference for as well as participation in particular leisure activities. Structural barriers are those which intervene between preference and participation and can include "reference group attitudes concerning the appropriateness of the certain activities" (p. 124). According to Crawford and Godbey's conceptualization of structural constraints, an individual can only be influenced by such constraints after the individual has a preference for the leisure activity. Thus, this model is hierarchical (Crawford, Jackson, & Godbey, 1991) with intrapersonal constraints encountered first, followed by interpersonal and structural constraints. Of course, one would not directly confront the latter two types of constraints if the intrapersonal constraint suppressed the preference. Since it appears that there are many ways in which the three types of barriers overlap and interact, this will be explored further in the examination of women motorcyclists.

For those for whom the preference to participate in a particular activity already exists, the concept of negotiation has been used to explain how individuals may choose to begin or continue participating in a leisure activity in which they encounter constraints (Henderson & Bialeschki, 1993; Jackson, Crawford, & Godbey, 1993; Jackson & Rucks, 1995). The notion of "balance" was added to conceptualize how the relative strength of the constraints and the motivation for participation affects participation or non-participation (Jackson et al., 1993, p. 9). Some researchers have found support for these conceptualizations of the relationship between preferences and constraints (Jackson et al., 1993; Jackson & Rucks, 1995; Kay & Jackson, 1991; Samdahl

& Jekubovich, 1997). Samdahl and Jekubovich (1997) argue, however, that some of the motives behind the negotiation of constraints are not necessarily what earlier researchers might have expected. For example, Samdahl and Jekubovich find that many of their respondents were motivated to overcome leisure constraints because of the significance of the social relationships and the desire to spend time with family and friends engaged in particular leisure activities. Moreover, this negotiation process is typically described in a way that implies that individuals consciously and actively respond to constraints they encounter (Jackson et al., 1993). But, it would seem impossible for an individual to actively and consciously respond to an antecedent constraint for which the effects are not apparent to him/her. Henderson and Bialeschki (1993) acknowledge that they encountered the problem of their respondents being unable to articulate invisible or subconscious antecedent constraints. Jackson (1997) takes this one step further in his current definition of leisure constraints which includes not only factors that may be perceived by the subjects of the research, but also those factors that are assumed by researchers to be influencing leisure preferences or participation.

Thus, if it is the case that some potential antecedent constraints, such as gender socialization, are so powerful that they suppress the awareness of, interest in, or desire for participation in certain leisure activities, then these antecedent constraints are unlikely to be identified by respondents as perceived constraints on their leisure choices or activities, particularly when questions are asked in the context of activities for which the respondent has a preference. Unlike intervening constraints which may be more readily identifiable by respondents, consideration of antecedent constraints may need to be identified by the researcher and then perhaps considered by respondents. However, since some of these antecedent constraints are not easily identified by individuals, individuals cannot actively and consciously overcome such constraints by working through a process of negotiation. This means that researchers may need to study individuals who have transcended antecedent constraints one would logically have expected them to encounter. The term transcend here implies that what was needed to overcome the potential antecedent constraints was not necessarily conscious action, but finding oneself in a social environment that provided a set of factors that outweighed the effects of the expected antecedent constraints. It is this notion of social environment or location that will be explored in this consideration of women motorcyclists. If, as Henderson suggests, "the overarching goal of constraints research is ultimately to reduce constraints so that leisure can benefit everyone" (1991, p. 373), it would seem to be of particular importance to examine those who seem to have transcended, overcome, or negotiated leisure constraints.

Because women comprise a small proportion of motorcycle operators and many masculine traits are stereotypically associated with motorcycling, one would expect women to experience a variety of constraints with regard to choosing to be a motorcycle operator. First, women encounter antecedent constraints in the form of gender socialization and societal expectations re-

garding women and men. The literature on the effects of gender socialization has tended to focus on factors, such as the ethic of care or the sense of a lack of entitlement to leisure, which differentially influence women and men in their leisure preferences (Henderson, 1990, 1991). Moreover, expectations about what constitutes femininity (Henderson, 1991) and masculinity as well as the sex-typing of leisure activities (Henderson et al., 1989) may have an impact on women's and men's leisure choices. Second, if socialization did not extinguish the preference for motorcycling, women could encounter additional barriers in the form of parental or peer disapproval. Third, women might experience discrimination in the form of exclusion from informal groups that are engaged in motorcycling. For all of these reasons, studying women motorcyclists as an example of individuals who transcended potential antecedent leisure constraints offers the promise of contributing to the empirical and theoretical literature on leisure choices and constraints.

### *The "Enrichment Hypothesis"*

Thirty years ago, in an attempt to explain women's choice to enter non-traditional occupations, Almquist and Angrist (1970) proposed an "enrichment hypothesis" that seems potentially applicable to nontraditional leisure choices. They argue that ". . . [a woman choosing a nontraditional occupation] is not so much a renegade as she is a product of additional enriching experiences which lead to a less stereotyped and broader conception of the female role. She does not reject the customary, time honored duties of adult women . . ." (p. 243). Although it is tempting to hypothesize that such a woman would have less positive attachments to family members, including parents, and would be rebelling against significant others, including family members, Almquist and Angrist's (1970) "enrichment hypothesis" emphasizes a "broadening" influence and suggests that such women recognize the additional options offered to them by significant others. This "enrichment hypothesis" was supported by a review of the literature on women in male-dominated occupations from 1930 to 1976 (Lemkau, 1979) as well as another review of two decades of research relating to factors influencing women's nontraditional occupational choice (Auster & Auster, 1981). This second review indicated, for example, that women entering nontraditional careers were more likely to emerge from an environment in which the mother worked, sometimes in a high level, nontraditional occupation; the father served an achievement role model; both parents were supportive of their daughter's career orientation; and the peer group acted as a supportive influence. Findings of later research further supported the usefulness of the "enrichment hypothesis" (see, for example, Cooper & Robinson, 1985; Gruca, Ethington, & Pascarella, 1988; Lemkau, 1983). Lemkau (1983) also found that compared to those women choosing more typical careers, those choosing atypical careers were likely to mention the influence of men, such as their fathers, boyfriends, husbands, and male teachers.

Consequently, if some women are exposed to significant others who provide alternatives for leisure that transcend traditional gender role expectations, by extension we can hypothesize that this may cause women to perceive and subsequently expect access to leisure activities they might otherwise deem inaccessible. This "enrichment hypothesis" seems to offer clues about individuals who might transcend antecedent leisure constraints and is used as the basis for specific hypotheses for women motorcyclists.

### *Life Course Analysis*

Age, stage of life, and cohort all potentially have an impact on individuals' leisure choices and the resulting leisure patterns. Moreover, the interaction between these variables may lead to a variety of leisure constraints. Depending on their age, different variables may influence individuals' desire to participate or not in a leisure activity. In Hultsman's (1993) study of early adolescents, parental influence and peer influence were cited among the top six reasons for nonparticipation in new activities. Kleiber and Rickards (1985) report the importance of peer groups as a reference group in the leisure decision-making of adolescents, while health concerns play a larger role in leisure decisions made in later life (McGuire, 1985). Jackson (1990) also found that the desire to participate in new activities decreased with age. Stage of life can be an influential variable, too. For example, family commitments are often a factor for individuals who are in the midst of child-rearing (Jackson, 1993). Work commitments are more likely to be mentioned as a constraint by middle aged adults (Bennett, 1985) than by those over 65 years of age (Jackson, 1993). Henderson and Bialeschki (1993) point out, more generally, that the process of the negotiation of leisure constraints is affected by both age and stage of life.

Although age and stage of life can be important factors in individuals' leisure choices, cohort or generational effects are potentially important, too. Elder (1994) describes the life course perspective as one that encompasses, among other things, the interplay between the historical times and human lives. This interplay becomes particularly salient in times of social change because individuals in one birth cohort may experience particular social changes differently from those in another birth cohort. This life course perspective is useful when considering patterns of leisure (Pronovost, 1998; Scott & Willits, 1988). Henderson acknowledges the importance of the historical setting (1993, 1994), recognizes the status of women in society as a potential antecedent condition (1991), and describes the literature on women and recreation in the twentieth century as reflecting the changing social roles of women (1989).

Over the past several decades, women's (and men's) roles in American society have changed in a variety of ways as a result of social movements, including the women's movement, and the concomitant alterations in laws and shifts in social norms. One of the most notable changes for women has been their increased participation in the work force, especially for married



women and married women with children. For example, while the labor force participation rate for married women with children was about 40% in 1970, it rose to over 70% by the late 1990s (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1999, Table 659). In addition, women's educational achievement and employment in previously male-dominated fields has grown over the past twenty-five years such that, for example, women received 5% of law degrees awarded in 1970 compared to over 40% of law degrees awarded in the mid-1990s (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1999, Table 333). In addition, the number of women participating in intercollegiate athletics has increased tenfold in the past twenty-five years and the number of colleges and universities with intercollegiate teams in cross-country, soccer, and softball has increased dramatically (Acosta & Carpenter, 1994). For example, about 30% of institutions of higher education had cross-country teams for women in the late 1970s compared to over 80% in the early 1990s. Furthermore, in many movies and television programs, women and men are found in a wider variety of positions and roles, display a greater repertoire of behavioral traits, and appear to experience a wider range of emotions. Yet, other movies and television programs depict women and men in very traditional roles and characters often behave in a manner strongly associated with traditional gender role stereotypes. Barriers to full equality still persist since remnants of traditional gender role expectations for women and men remain a part of the cultural fabric, but many societal changes have also occurred for women and men. Because of the shifts towards equality and women's advancements in the occupational, educational, and recreational worlds, it is important to consider the impact of age or generational differences on a woman's choice to become and her experiences as a motorcycle operator, a nontraditional leisure choice.

## Method

### *Sample*

The main source of data was a study of women motorcyclists conducted by the American Motorcyclist Association (AMA). The American Motorcyclist Association, founded in 1924, is the main organization that motorcyclists join to support this leisure activity. As a result of a public relations campaign sponsored by the Motorcycle Industry Council and the AMA's upcoming opening of the Motorcycle Heritage Museum in Westerville, Ohio, with its first exhibit devoted to women in motorcycling, the AMA decided to survey a sample of their women members to collect a variety of types of information about them. Although a number of autobiographical and descriptive works about women motorcyclists exist (Ferrar, 1996; Kolb, 1983), this survey is believed to be the first systematic, large scale survey of women who operate motorcycles. Admittedly, it is a survey of women motorcyclists who chose to join an association and is not, therefore, representative of all women motorcyclists.

The survey, developed by the staff of the AMA, consisted of five sections that covered the general topics of motorcycle ownership and riding history,

factors associated with the most recent motorcycle purchase, riding habits, motorcycle interests and other recreational activities, and demographic information. Most of the over eighty questions were close-ended, but respondents were asked to fill in the blank for some questions, such as those about age, the number of motorcycles owned, and the number of miles ridden in the past 12 months. In addition, a space was provided for a narrative response to one open-ended question, "Why do ride a motorcycle?"

The AMA has about 200,000 members of which about 12,000 are women. The AMA used systematic sampling, a probability sampling method in which every  $k$ th element in the total list is chosen. Using a sampling interval of 10, their computer selected 1200 of the approximately 12,000 women motorcyclists who were members of the AMA. The survey was sent to these respondents along with a cover letter. Although the AMA did not provide incentives nor send follow-up reminders, 502 women responded, yielding a response rate of 42%. Because some family members join the AMA even when they are only passengers, of the 502 respondents, 49 were eliminated because they were not motorcycle operators. The analysis presented here is based on the responses of the 453 women motorcycle operators who returned the survey.

### *Hypotheses and Measures*

In order to test the applicability of Almqvist and Angrist's "enrichment hypothesis," the "enrichment hypothesis" was conceptualized into dimensions meaningful for leisure choice. The "enrichment hypothesis" implies that a broadening of options may occur as the result of interactions with significant others who may support, encourage, or even engage in the non-traditional leisure choice. Thus, two aspects of the "enriched" environment for the nontraditional leisure choice, here a woman becoming a motorcycle operator, would seem to be (1) exposure to motorcycling and (2) encouragement from significant others for motorcycling.

The family, as an institution, is known for its important role in shaping individuals' lives. As both the primary agent of socialization and the determinant of one's initial place in the stratification system, the family plays an important role in aspirations and opportunities (see, for example, Kelly, 1991). Familial attitudes, values, and behavior are active influences on individual's socialization. Thus, an individual's family, as an aspect of a potentially "enriched" environment, could play an important role in the learning of a set of alternative or nontraditional gender role expectations. One possibility is that certain families will be more likely to encourage and/or at least permit a wide range of gender role behavior. This broadening of acceptable gender role behavior could, in turn, lead the individual to consider choosing a leisure activity labeled by many as off-limits despite its seemingly nontraditional nature for their gender. Another more likely possibility is that rather than promoting androgynous leisure choices per se, these family members, if they are motorcyclists, hold more realistic images of what operating a motorcycle

entails and realize that their daughters, sisters, or wives could be capable of this, regardless of the statistical infrequency of women who operate motorcycles. Similarly, close friends might also provide special exposure to motorcycling where the family did not.

Thus, the relevant aspect of the "enriched" environment would be one in which a woman has opportunities to see motorcycling for what it really is, not just as a stereotypically male activity. She would need to be close enough to motorcycling to accurately assess whether she is capable of or interested in learning that skill. Similarly, knowing people who show an enjoyment of the activity and support for participation in that activity might lead a woman to choose motorcycling and break societal gender role norms even though that was the consequence of, but not the impetus for, the choice.

One measure of knowledgeability about motorcycling would be whether a woman had ridden as a passenger on a motorcycle before she operated one and/or whether any family members, other relatives, or close friends had motorcycles. More specifically, respondents were asked, "Before you first operated an on-road motorcycle, were you ever a passenger?" In addition, respondents were asked to indicate whether each of a variety of potential significant others (e.g. husband, boyfriend, sister, brother) owned/rode a motorcycle just before the respondent decided to start riding a motorcycle. Having people close to her, particularly family members, who ride motorcycles might help her transcend antecedent leisure constraints because she would be exposed to additional recreational options by significant others. Another measure of "enrichment" is whether she received encouragement from significant others, particularly those closest to her, family and peers. Here, her response to the question, "How did you learn to ride?" will be used as an indirect measure of encouragement. Certainly if a family member or friend taught her to ride, that person must have encouraged her desire to become a motorcycle operator. Her response to a question concerning her most recent purchase of a motorcycle will also be considered: "What influenced you most in selecting your motorcycle?" Furthermore, if the "enrichment hypothesis" suggests that these women perceive additional options and they are not rebelling against the female role, one would expect them to be quite similar to other women with regard to such variables as marital status and interest in other more typically feminine leisure activities. Thus, I will examine some questions about interest in other leisure activities, such as arts and crafts, and in certain types of magazines, including women's interest and fashion magazines.

In sum, if the results show that the women motorcycle operators are likely to have ridden as passengers, know significant others who are motorcyclists, are taught to ride a motorcycle by a friend or family member, report a family member or friend as being influential in their most recent motorcycle purchase, and report interest in other feminine activities, this would lend support to the "enrichment hypothesis" as a way of explaining how individuals transcend antecedent leisure constraints. The variables men-

tioned above will also be examined for possible variations by age. While older women may show more evidence of the “enriched environment”, younger women may have less need for the “enriched environment” because women’s advances in other areas may cause these women to perceive motorcycling to be very open to them. Throughout the analysis, chi-square will be used as the measure of significance of the relationship between two variables.

Data and Results

Before reporting the results related to testing the “enrichment hypothesis”, the demographic characteristics of the women motorcycle operators in this sample, displayed in Table 1, will be described. Those responding to the questionnaire ranged in age from 16 to 79 years old and the mean age was

TABLE 1  
*Demographic Characteristics of Women Motorcycle Operators*

Age	
Under 30	9.5
30-39	21.6
40-54	36.3
55 or older	32.6
Marital Status	
Single	14.6
Married	71.5
Divorced	9.0
Widowed	4.9
Employment Status	
Employed	72.2
Full-Time	58.0
Part-Time	14.2
Unemployed	1.1
Retired	13.3
Student	.7
Housewife	12.6
Household Income	
Less than \$20,000	28.6
\$20,000-\$34,999	32.1
\$35,000-\$49,999	21.2
\$50,000 or more	18.0
Educational Attainment	
Some high school or less	14.8
High school graduate	39.8
Some college	28.5
College graduate	13.0
Post Graduate Study	3.8

47 years old. The four categories of age shown in Table 1 will be used to examine whether these women motorcyclists differ on a variety of questions by age. The division of respondents into these four categories was admittedly arbitrary; yet, it was intended to provide the potential for examining general patterns by age as well as cohort or generation. In terms of marital status, a large majority was married; however, over 70% of those 30 and over were married compared to 17.7% of those under 30. In terms of employment status, nearly three-quarters of the respondents reported being employed and the modal household income was \$20,000 to \$34,999 per year. Furthermore, in terms of highest level of education, over 85% of the women had at least graduated from high school. Thus, what emerges so far is that the modal woman motorcycle operator is in her late forties, married, and employed.

The survey developed by the AMA did not include a question about why motorcycling was chosen as a leisure activity; however, respondents were asked why they ride a motorcycle. Each respondent's answer to this open-ended question was read by two coders. Regardless of the length of the response, the coders only considered the first three themes that the respondent chose to write about. We assumed that respondents would first write about those aspects of motorcycling that were most important to them. Each respondent's themes were coded into one of twenty-one categories that were developed from reading the responses and these three themes were used as three variables. That is, for each respondent, the coded response for first theme became the answer for the first variable, and so on. Obviously, each of these three variables had the same twenty-one possible responses. If a respondent's answer yielded only two themes, then the third variable was coded as a zero. If the open-ended response contained more than three themes, only the first three were analyzed. In the analysis below, I will be referring to the percent of respondents whose qualitative answer contained a particular reason for riding as one of their three themes.

Nearly 90% of the respondents replied to the question. In order to determine the most prevalent themes, the number of respondents whose answers, for example, reflected the theme of family for either the first, second, or third theme were added together and divided by 406, the number of respondents who answered this open-ended question. For the analysis, freedom and independence, previously coded separately were combined. Also, responses reflecting the exhilaration, challenge, or thrill theme were combined with those responses reflecting the thrill or power of controlling a machine. Only those themes which were part of the narrative response for 10% or more of the sample are presented in Table 2. Although the women provided a wide variety of responses, five themes emerged as most prevalent: 1) freedom and independence; 2) outdoors, fresh air, and nature; 3) fun and pleasure; 4) family; and 5) being with friends and meeting people.

Freedom or independence was mentioned most frequently (35.7%) by the respondents. The following response is typical of that theme as well as that of the approximately 15% who discuss the thrill and challenge of controlling a powerful machine.

TABLE 2  
*Percent Whose Response Reflected Each Theme as a Reason for Riding*

Reason	Percent*
Freedom and Independence	35.7
Outdoors, Fresh Air, Nature	34.8
Fun and Pleasure	34.6
Family	31.7
Seeing Friends, Meeting People	29.7
Therapy and Relaxation	16.4
Exhilaration, Thrill, Challenge, Control a Machine	15.9
Vacation and Travel	12.7

\*Percent is greater than 100 because the responses were not limited to one category only.

I ride a motorcycle because I enjoy the thrill and the control of the power, also the sense of freeness and the sound of the engine exhaust is music to my ears. Motorcycles are an inexpensive means of travel. I ride a motorcycle because I just plain love to ride.—56 years old

The next three responses include the theme of the outdoors mentioned by about 35% of the respondents.

I love the outdoors—it's a great way to really let go and feel in control yet free to go like the wind! —31 years old

It's fun, fresh air, good times, peaceful, exhilarating, can't really describe why—it just feels good when I'm riding!!!—37 years old

It is very relaxing—gives me time to be alone with no one to bother me. Let's me see more of the beautiful things in nature—slows down my pace considerably—I also enjoy having the wind and rain in my face on occasion.—44 years old

About 30% of the women also made particular reference to how it held their marriage or family together.

. . . We have raised three daughters and they all have their own bikes and I'm proud they are also riders. It is one way our family has been able to do things together, and stay together . . . —65 years old

I guess the main reason is because we have two children, a boy and a girl and we all wanted to ride with my husband on the back of his motorcycle. So, the easiest thing was for me to get a motorcycle and all four of us could go riding together. Now, our son is old enough, and he has his own bike. We enjoy motorcycling. I am sure our daughter will ride on road in a few years. She enjoys off road riding.—37 years old

It's enjoyable for me. Keeps my husband and I close . . . —48 years old

Pride (in being able to do it) Exhilaration (while doing it) People I meet, places that I have seen. And if I don't ride, my spouse will find someone else to ride with!!—59 years old

Motorcycling is great fun. My husband and I are generally alone when we ride, which is a great plus for us—we have time together.—37 years old

And along with other themes, some women made specific reference to their gender as it related to their reasons for riding.

Like the freedom and fun that unless you have experienced it, you can't describe. I like to see people's expression when I get out of "gear" and they see it's a woman.—30 years old

I ride because its fun, relaxing and makes me feel very independent. I've found that people are surprised to see a girl on a motorcycle. But there should be more. It's a sense of equality and independence.—23 years old

To enjoy myself. To let other women know you do not have to be male, tall or muscular to ride. To ride a long distance makes me feel great. To get to see more of this country.—42 years old

I enjoy fresh air. I like the adventure. When I started riding, females did not ride solo and were not really accepted. I tried to always dress clean, sharp, and look and act like a lady.—68 years old

I particularly enjoy the feeling of freedom, the sense of oneness between myself and the machine and the environment. I like feeling the power/excitement that come from driving my own machine. I enjoy the mostly positive comments/looks received when the motoring public realizes that it's a *woman* on the *big* motorcycle. Last but not least it's particularly gratifying to be perhaps a role model for women but more importantly for girls to reinforce that it's O.K. to want to learn to ride, that it's not just for men only. It's neat to see more and more women riding.—55 years old

I am 41, a mother, wife and secretary. I consider myself very feminine and always try to show consideration for others while riding. I think it's very important to do everything we can to change the image of motorcycling for the better. I notice people don't look at me so strangely anymore like they used to ten years ago.—41 years old

I started riding my own motorcycle because I had always enjoyed it as a passenger, and being a rebellious college student at the time, figured I could do it myself—I didn't need a man to have a good time . . . There is a certain physical pleasure in the control you have over maneuvering such force and speed with the use of your own body, There is pleasure in the beauty of the world around you when you ride in rural areas or by sandy beaches. There is a certain amount of thrill in danger, though I do not tempt fate—I wear a helmet, jacket, gloves, boots, and long pants on every ride. And, I admit, I enjoy the attention I receive as one of the few women riders in this area.—33 years old

Now, with some sense of the background of these women and their current reasons for riding, we will now move on to test the "enrichment hypothesis." Have these women been passengers before becoming operators? Will these women have lived in a household where someone else owned a motorcycle or have had a close friend who rode a motorcycle? If a large proportion of women respond affirmatively to these questions, that would lend support to the "enrichment hypothesis" as applicable to nontraditional leisure choice.

When asked about whether they had been a passenger before becoming an operator, nearly 90% of the respondents reported they had ridden as a passenger before becoming an operator. In addition to riding as passengers,

over 60% of the women reported that at the time they decided that they wanted to learn to operate a motorcycle, they were living in a household where someone else already owned a motorcycle and nearly one-third indicated that they had a close friend with a motorcycle.

Table 3 shows the percent of respondents who knew significant others who rode at the time they became interested in becoming a motorcycle operator. For each of the nine significant others, respondents were asked to place a check if the individual(s) rode a motorcycle at the time the respondent became interested; each of the nine could then be treated as a separate variable. For the responses of the sample as whole, the percents responding affirmatively are arranged in descending order under the heading "Total". In addition, the relationship between age and each of the nine variables was examined and also tested for statistical significance using chi-square.

As one can see, more women had husbands who rode than any other category of significant other and that was the only relationship which was not significant by age. It is not surprising given the low percent of women in motorcycling that more women reporting knowing men that rode rather than women. Interestingly, women under 30 years of age were more likely to mention their brother than anyone else. In addition, those under 40 were significantly more likely than those over forty to indicate that they had a female friend who rode. There were also significant differences among the age groups with regard to whether their fathers and mothers rode motorcycles. Again, the two younger age groups were significantly more likely to mention one of their parents or siblings than those in the two older age groups. About 10% of the respondents indicated there was another relative who rode; interestingly, son or daughter was most often written next to this category. Only 10% of the respondents did not check off any close relatives or friends here.

So, it seems that a very large majority of these women rode as passengers, knew someone close to them who rode a motorcycle, and may have even grown up in a motorcycling household. And it seems that the younger

TABLE 3  
*Percent Knowing Significant Others Who Rode a Motorcycle by Age*

Significant Other	Total	Under				Chi-square value	df	Significance
		30	30-39	40-54	55+			
Husband	51.0	42.9	46.9	52.8	53.8	2.4	3	ns
Brother	19.0	76.2	30.2	6.8	8.3	123.8	3	.001
Boyfriend	18.5	2.4	31.3	15.5	17.9	18.6	3	.001
Male friend	17.2	9.5	31.3	18.0	10.3	19.5	3	.001
Father	16.6	47.6	33.3	6.8	8.3	66.0	3	.001
Female friend	11.9	40.5	22.9	6.8	2.1	61.0	3	.001
Other relative	10.8	7.1	20.8	7.5	9.7	12.4	3	.007
Mother	7.7	23.8	24.0	0.6	0.7	70.9	3	.001
Sister	5.1	7.1	18.8	0.0	1.4	49.4	3	.001



groups were more likely to have a variety of family members involved in motorcycling at the time they decided to ride, with the younger two age groups being more likely to mention a female "role model" than the two older groups.

As mentioned above, the respondents were asked an open-ended question about why they ride a motorcycle. In response to that question, over 30% mentioned family. Some of those women even made reference to their early exposure to motorcycling.

I've been on a motorcycle since I was a baby.—29 years old

My family has ridden and owned cycles since I was born. It has just been a fun part of my life. When I turned seventeen, I took car and cycle driving tests the same day. I always rode my mother's cycle then my boyfriend bought me my own.—29 years old

My parent's participation in motorcycling included me, since I was 6 months old—when they bought a sidecar so I could join them! It was our main activity—we shared races, rallies, rides in the country. It was wonderful to me and so I got my own motorcycle at age 16 . . . I'll always be grateful to my parents for this experience.—35 years old

I was brought up on a motorcycle. It was and continues to be our family's hobby. All family vacations were taken on the motorcycles with my sister and me in a side car and then graduating to passenger when we could stay awake. My first motorcycle was purchased by my family at age 15, before I had my driver's license . . . —40 years old

I am a motorcycle rider because I was born and raised in a family that is all motorcycle . . . —39 years old

I have always enjoyed riding motorcycles as a small girl with my uncles, boyfriends, and then my husband.—55 years old

Although many of the women came from motorcycling families, the person who was often their "role model" was much more likely to be male than female; this is not surprising since more than 90% of motorcycle operators are male. Nevertheless, 17% of the women reported they knew a woman motorcycle operator, but the differences by age were significant. For example, two-thirds of women under 30 years of age knew a woman who rode compared to about one-third of those 30 to 39 years of age, and less than 10% of those 40 years of age or more.

My mother has been riding since 1961 . . . She was nine months pregnant and still riding with my Dad. So, I guess you can say it is in my blood.—23 years old

When I was 10 years old, a young woman neighbor drove her own motorcycle and I thought how marvelous and what ease she handled this 45 cubic inch big Harley. It became my dream to be fulfilled and I finally conquered my dream of owning and operating my own motorcycle to do some traveling and sightseeing.—49 years old

As you may recall, these answers were in response to a question about why the respondent rides a motorcycle, a question that for many women elicited descriptions of the experience of motorcycling. It is interesting that these early experiences were important enough to these women to be men-

tioned, particularly since some of these experiences occurred at such a young age that the respondent could not have remembered them actually happening but rather must remember these experiences as an important part of their family history and lore.

But, beyond their early connections to motorcycling, what about the encouragement of close significant others as another measure of the “enriched” environment. As suggested before, the response to who taught the respondent to ride will be used as an indirect measure of encouragement. The obvious assumption here is that if an individual was willing to teach her to ride, he/she was encouraging of the respondent’s new interest. The data reveal that a majority of the women motorcyclists were taught by family members (see Table 4). Given the previous findings about whom the respondent knew who rode by age, it is not surprisingly that there are also significant ( $X^2 = 38.5, df = 9, p < .001$ ) differences by age here. While over 90% of those under 30 were taught to ride by a family member, this was true for about 50% of those 40 and over.

Another indication of the involvement and support of significant others is indicated by the answers to a question about who was most influential in the selection of the women’s most recently purchased motorcycle (see Table 5). More women (42.6%) mentioned their spouse/boyfriend than anyone or anything else. Again, the relationship between this variable and age was significant ( $X^2 = 156.7, df = 12, p < .001$ ). The most notable variation by age was that 45.7% of those under 30 years age described a television or radio advertisement as the most influential, compared to less than 1% of the other three age groups. Consequently, about 45% of the other three groups said their spouse/boyfriend was the most influential, but only 20% of youngest age group said the same. Since many of the younger women are second generation motorcyclists, it may be that their families would have emerged as most influential had that been provided as a possible response.

But, how integrated are these women with the mainstream riders, men? Again, the relationship between age and riding partners was significant ( $X^2 = 61.7, df = 6, p < .001$ ). About two-thirds of the respondents said they

TABLE 4  
*How Respondents Learned to Ride a Motorcycle by Age*

How Respondent Learned to Ride	Total	Age of Respondent			
		Under 30	30-39	40-54	55+
Family member	57.0	92.9	58.5	49.0	53.0
Friend(s)	19.3	0.0	20.2	23.6	19.4
Self-taught	17.9	7.1	12.8	18.5	25.4
MSF course	5.7	0.0	8.5	8.9	2.2

$X^2 = 38.5, df = 9, p < .001$

TABLE 5  
*Most Influential Factor in Motorcycle Selection By Age*

Most Influential	Total	Age of Respondent			
		Under 30	30-39	40-54	55+
Spouse/Boyfriend	42.6	20.0	45.3	47.4	42.0
Dealer	26.3	20.0	29.1	21.1	31.9
Word of Mouth	17.7	8.6	19.8	19.5	16.8
Magazine Advertisement	8.9	5.7	5.9	11.3	9.3
Television/Radio Ad	4.6	45.7	0.0	0.8	0.0

$X^2 = 156.7$ ,  $df = 12$ ,  $p < .001$

usually ride with both men and women (see Table 6). However, about 75% of the two oldest groups reported co-ed riding as the most usual for them, but only 58.3% of the 30 to 39 year olds, and only 34.2% of the youngest group reported this. The under 30 group was, however, much more likely to report usually riding with all women than the other three groups.

Although these women may be nontraditional in their choice to become a motorcycle operator, a number of aspects of these women's lives point to rather traditional roles. As mentioned before, a very large proportion of the women are married. Second, some of their other leisure activities are quite traditional and suggest the broadening of interests suggested by the "enrichment hypothesis" rather than a rebellion against the female role. For example, about half the respondents mentioned arts and crafts when asked about other recreational interests. Furthermore, about 60% of the youngest group said they regularly read women's interest and fashion magazines.

The respondents were also asked to what extent they agreed or disagreed with the following statement: "Things are changing in motorcycling today. It really doesn't matter whether you're a man or woman rider. Eve-

TABLE 6  
*Gender of Motorcycle Riding Companions by Age*

Gender of Riding Companions	Total	Age of Respondents			
		Under 30	30-39	40-54	55+
Women & Men	68.8	34.2	58.3	80.8	72.8
All women	12.8	47.4	19.0	4.1	7.9
All men	18.3	18.4	22.6	15.1	19.3

$X^2 = 61.7$ ,  $df = 6$ ,  $p < .001$

rybody can have a good time motorcycling.” The relationship between their feelings about this statement and the gender of riding companions was significant for women who had operated a motorcycle for a year or less ( $X^2 = 22.4$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $p < .001$ ), but not for those who had operated a motorcycle for longer ( $X^2 = 3.9$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $p > .05$ ). The findings show that less than 6% of first-year operators who ride mostly with women completely agreed with this statement compared to 66.7% of first-year operators who ride with men and 100.0% of the respondents who ride mostly with both women and men. But, for those who have been motorcycle operators for two or more years, more than 80% completely agreed with the statement regardless of the gender of their riding companions. And, first year riders (58.6%) were significantly ( $X^2 = 58.5$ ,  $df = 2$ ,  $p < .001$ ) more likely to usually ride with all women than those who had ridden longer (less than 15%). Therefore, it seems that despite the presence of female “role models,” many of the women in their first year of being a motorcycle operator strongly feel the pressure of the masculine tenor of this sport. Whether these first year women ride with other women by choice or not is not known. Nevertheless, their novice status has an impact on their attitude. Despite the effect of the “enriched environment” which broadens their interests enough to allow them to become motorcycle operators, the “enriched environment” is not enough to help them overcome their seemingly stereotyped impressions of motorcycling and to feel that motorcycling is equally open to all. Rather they come to this conclusion only after the experience of being a motorcycle operator for two or more years.

### Discussion and Conclusions

The purpose of this research was to examine individuals who transcended potential antecedent leisure constraints. Here, the aim was to illuminate factors that contribute to a woman’s choice to become a motorcycle operator, a stereotypically masculine leisure activity. A major thrust of this analysis was to evaluate the applicability of the “enrichment hypothesis,” the notion that these women would need a special social environment that would enable them to transcend potential antecedent leisure constraints, including the effects of traditional gender socialization and the image of motorcycling as a statistically male-dominated and masculine sport. In order to evaluate the “enrichment hypothesis,” two major aspects of the social environment were examined: (1) exposure to motorcycling and (2) encouragement from significant others. The indicators of this potentially enriched environment included whether the respondent had ridden as a passenger, who (if anyone) the respondent knew who was a motorcyclist, who taught the respondent to ride, and who was most influential in the most recent motorcycle purchase. The pattern of responses to all of these questions offered support for the “enrichment hypothesis.” Most women had been passengers, knew someone close to them who was a motorcyclist, were taught to ride by a family member or friend, and were likely to be influenced in their most recent motorcycle

purchase by a significant other. Those in the younger age group were even more likely than those in the two older age groups to have had family members in motorcycling, be taught to ride by a family member, and known women who were motorcycle operators. The younger women were often second generation riders in their own family and represent a second generation of women who ride motorcycles. Although these differences initially appear to age effects, they may better reflect generational or cohort effects. The many changes for women in the educational and occupational realms may have had an impact on women choosing motorcycling. That is, those women who made the choice to ride more recently may differ from those who made the choice one, two, or even three decades ago. Because the data provided by respondents about how long they had been riding was asked in terms of intervals of years, it was impossible to pinpoint the age at which the choice was made and, therefore, difficult to disentangle age, life stage, and cohort effects.

Nevertheless, the main findings suggest that even if the society as a whole is not supportive of nontraditional leisure choices, such as motorcycling for women, individuals may become aware of and find support for their leisure choices among those whose views mean the most to them, their significant others. These women motorcyclists are not rebelling against those around them, rather they emerge from an environment in which they have been exposed to motorcycling as a leisure activity and have found support for their choice to be a motorcyclist. The views of significant others, even when they differ from those of society, may be a more important shaper of views and viable leisure options than images provided by other agents of socialization, such as the media. As such, the findings described here lend support to the "enrichment hypothesis." These findings also suggest that a potential antecedent leisure constraint, gender, was transcended as a result of the "enriched environment." making less imperative the conscious negotiation of the constraints suggested by some (Jackson et al., 1993; Jackson & Rucks, 1995).

Furthermore, the number of years in motorcycling had an impact on how the women in this sample perceived the sport. First-year motorcycle operators, particularly those who ride mostly with women, were less likely than those who have been riding more than a year to give responses indicating the openness of this leisure activity to men and women alike. Despite the fact that these first-year motorcycle operators chose this leisure activity and transcended potential antecedent leisure constraints, they seem to remain keenly aware of the masculine image of motorcycling. Perhaps spending their time in this leisure activity with women, the atypical group and statistical minority, makes these women feel as if they have not been accepted by the statistically dominant or more mainstream group engaged in this activity, in this case, men. When these women feel more a part of the "social world" (Stebbins, 1996) of motorcycle enthusiasts, either with increased years in the sport or more time spent with riding with men or both women and men, then their perception may change.

This analysis has focused on women choosing a nontraditional leisure activity by studying women motorcyclists, but a number of questions regarding women motorcycle operators remain. Since all of the women motorcycle operators in this sample are members of the American Motorcyclist Association, we do not know the extent to which these findings are representative of women who are not members of an organization devoted to motorcycling. In terms of potential response bias, those women who responded to the survey were interested enough to do so; that may make the findings even less representative of all women motorcycle operators. Since this was only a survey of those engaged in this leisure activity, one wonders about women who do not become motorcycle operators despite the fact that they know significant others in motorcycling. How many of these women remain only passengers and why? What factors influence those who choose not to engage in this leisure activity at all? Knowing significant others who are motorcycle operators is not a sufficient cause; that is, it does not predetermine the outcome. A variety of intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural constraints unrelated to the sex-typing of the activity would seemingly play a role in lack of interest and nonparticipation by some women. These could include individual difference variables as well as life stage factors. Moreover, would a comparative study of women and men in leisure activities dominated one gender show an "enrichment" gap? In other words, would the masculine image of motorcycling and statistical domination of this leisure activity by men make it more likely that men would essentially take up motorcycling on their own and be less likely than the women, for example, to grow up with motorcycling or live in a household where there are already motorcyclists?

This research on women motorcycle operators also raises interesting questions more generally about women and men who choose leisure activities nontraditional for their gender. Would gender stereotypes affect individuals' perception of and willingness to participate in such leisure activities? Would various aspects of a decision to participate reflect the impact of gender role expectations and stereotypes of leisure activities? Would such women and men require "enriched environments" to overcome the effect of potential antecedent leisure constraints? These questions seem to call for a large scale study which compares men and women in a number of leisure activities which vary by the percent of women and men currently participating in the activity as well as the perception of the activity in terms of masculinity and femininity.

And what about the effect of other demographic characteristics on leisure choices? Would individuals making statistically unusual choices by race, ethnicity, social class, or age show similarly "enriched" backgrounds with encouragement by significant others, including family and friends? The significance of the notion of the "enriched environment" for the theoretical literature is that it ties together a number of threads. Using the language of researchers who have explored race and ethnicity as an influence on leisure choices, the importance of the "enriched environment" may be that it reduces the "social distance" and "cultural distance" (Floyd et al., 1993; Marger,

1985) between current participants in a leisure activity and potential participants who do not share the same characteristics, such as race, ethnicity, gender, age, or culture, of the majority of participants in that leisure activity. Although Stodolska (1993) describes a variety of aspects of assimilation, "primary structural assimilation," which seems most relevant here, refers to degree of personal interaction between the members of the minority and the majority (Floyd et al., 1993; Stodolska, 1998). The findings associated with this study of individuals choosing a nontraditional leisure choice would appear to indicate that the "enriched environment" provides a situation wherein "primary structural assimilation" is more likely to occur. Assimilation can then be extended beyond that of race and ethnicity and thought of in terms of personal connections to those already participating in a leisure activity, such that the individual could become more familiar with the culture and "social world" (Stebbins, 1996) of those already participating in that leisure activity. This familiarity would reduce the social and cultural distance and increase the likelihood of interest and participation.

The findings also have implications for Crawford and Godbey's (1987) hierarchical model of constraints for which they describe intrapersonal constraints as "individual psychological states and attitudes" (p. 122). Crawford and Godbey argue that these intrapersonal constraints, which may act as antecedent constraints, suppress the preference for particular leisure activities. They acknowledge that intrapersonal constraints may be socially influenced, but their construction may too forcefully locate the constraint within the individual. Philipp (1995) uses racial identity in his critique of intrapersonal constraints to suggest that society's view of the categories or groups to which individuals belong may affect their perceptions of themselves as well as the degree to which they would be welcomed into particular leisure activities. Although Philipp makes specific reference to the leisure preferences of African Americans, an extension of his argument would be that since group identities are an inherent part of individuals' psychological make-up, researchers should consider group identity characteristics as potentially important factors in leisure choice. Yet, because the perceptions of the meaning of those group identities is created by society, it is difficult to place the notion of intrapersonal constraint so squarely on the shoulders of individuals. In fact, Berger (1963), in his classic book, *Invitation to Sociology*, entitles two chapters, "Man in Society" and "Society in Man". The first of these two chapters emphasizes the ways in which society surrounds individuals and the many ways in which one's social location (e.g. race, social class) affects a variety of aspects of life. Shaw, Bonen, and McCabe (1991) reinforce this by pointing out that ". . . it is not being female . . . per se which is the constraint, but rather the way in which this social location is experienced in society" (p. 299). The second chapter emphasizes the ways in which society's norms are internalized by individuals through the process of socialization. Berger explains, ". . . identity is social bestowed, socially sustained, and socially transformed" (p. 98). Since societal expectations are internalized, in the analysis of some individuals' leisure choices, it becomes difficult to separate intra-

personal, interpersonal, and structural barriers. Group identities and group differences are internalized such that although they might be labeled intrapersonal constraints, society has more of hand in this than might initially be apparent. In addition, Crawford and Godbey (1987) discuss reference groups in the context of structural constraints. In the case of women motorcyclists, it seems that the reference group, here significant others, allowed these women to overcome potential intrapersonal constraints, including internalized gender expectations, further blurring both the differences between and the hierarchical arrangement of intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural constraints.

There are also several methodological issues to consider. First, it may that Crawford and Godbey's (1987) hierarchical model works well in explaining some patterns of leisure behavior, but not others. Perhaps the choice of a nontraditional leisure activity is most likely to reveal the overlaps between intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural constraints. Second, past methodologies have been more likely to uncover intervening than antecedent constraints because of the focus on activities for which respondents already had a preference. Developing methodologies that would uncover the effects of antecedent leisure constraints would be helpful. Third, although demographic characteristics and cultural background constitute the individual, it seems that researchers also need to more often consider characteristics of the leisure activity itself. This is brought forth here because of the disproportionate ratio of men to women engaged in motorcycling. Characteristics of the activity may well interact with social characteristics of the individual under study to affect leisure preferences and ultimately participation. Fourth, in a society in which we find inequality, it has been important to study constraints, particularly the ways in which variables such as gender, race, ethnicity, and social class (Veal & Cushman, 1996) as well as the intersection of these variables (Henderson & Bialeschki, 1993; Shaw, 1994) influence leisure outcomes. And one needs to recognize, for example, that men, as well as women, are gendered and thus constrained by societal expectations. Understandably, the focus typically has been on the negative impact of the variables on the choice of leisure activities. However, it would also be important to focus additional attention on the factors that positively influence or cause individuals to consider and participate in particular leisure activities.

Some of the above mentioned "enrichment" factors for women motorcycle operators and others making nontraditional leisure choices may become less necessary as gender, racial, ethnic, and social class segregation in the world of leisure decreases, thus broadening the supportive milieu. In the meantime, however, those making statistically unusual leisure choices will probably continue to be the products of "enriched" environments and need the support from significant others. For practitioners, this implies one could expand the pool of potential participants in some leisure activities by further encouraging and supporting categories of individuals atypical, in terms of their demographic characteristics or cultural backgrounds, for such activities. Henderson (1994) suggests, "Perhaps someday leisure behavior will be com-



pletely a matter of choice and not a result of constraints or lack of opportunities due to cultural expectations" (p. 134). The lack of constraints or opportunities does not imply that the patterns of leisure participation will or should be identical across varied groups. Rather, the goal should be for individuals to have a wide variety of leisure choices available to them and for those choices not to be limited by leisure constraints that result from their demographic characteristics or cultural backgrounds.

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