

Context and Dialogue in Research on Women and Leisure

Karla A. Henderson, Sonja Hodges, and Beth D. Kivel
Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies,
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Research about women and leisure in the past twenty years has expanded as researchers from around the world have examined leisure and its meanings from different perspectives. In the past five years, researchers have used a variety of theoretical perspectives to examine women's leisure. The suggestion by Henderson (1996) that "one size doesn't fit all" has been applied in new studies related to girls and women in various life situations. The purpose of this paper was to extend the past integrative reviews about women's leisure to include emerging research trends and outcomes. For this review, research articles appearing from 1996-2000 in selected major research journals of English speaking countries (e.g., *Journal of Leisure Research*, *Leisure Studies*, *ANZALS Journal*) were analyzed to ascertain emerging themes. Dialogical issues surfaced related to the inward examination of how research on women is currently being conducted as well as how this research needs to move toward an examination of ideologies that shape girls' and women's experiences. Contextually, the literature has broadened to address new areas of inquiry. This integrative review points to the sophistication and breadth surfacing in research on women and leisure, and also offers some critical perspectives on future directions.

KEYWORDS: *Critical theory, family, culture, adolescence, space, research methods*

Introduction

Research on women and leisure became visible about 20 years ago. During that period of time this literature has evolved in both context and epistemology. Research about women and leisure in the past five years has expanded further as researchers from around the world have examined leisure and its meanings from a range of cultural, theoretical, and methodological perspectives. This evolving research builds on previous studies to create new ways of understanding human behavior not only for girls and women, but also for boys and men, as well as other groups that have not been typically researched over the years. Researchers have constructed this knowledge base in particular ways by the topics addressed and the approaches used to collect and interpret these data.

The purpose of this paper was to extend two past integrative reviews (Henderson 1990; 1996) about women's leisure to include research trends and outcomes from the past five years (1996-2000). The integrative review is a strategy for analyzing literature focused on inferring generalizations about

Address correspondence to: Karla A. Henderson, Professor and Chair, Department of Recreation and Leisure Studies, CB #3185 Evergreen, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3185; 919-962-1222; karla@email.unc.edu (E-mail).

substantive issues from a set of studies that address these issues (Jackson, 1980). Themes in the literature were uncovered and described as a means for ascertaining topics and approaches used in researching this corpus area.

Earlier Reviews

Henderson (1990) concluded in the first integrative review that in the 1980s, frameworks for understanding women's leisure emerged using a variety of methods with a focus on empowering women generically to find meaning in leisure. The content of that literature suggested that a "meaning" of leisure for women was emerging. This analysis demonstrated that women shared a common world in their inequality regarding opportunities for leisure (e.g., Glyptis & Chambers, 1982; Woodward, Green, & Hebron, 1988), sought social relationships in leisure (e.g. Henderson & Rannells, 1985; Leaman & Carrington, 1985), had fragmented leisure time (e.g., Deem, 1982; Shaw, 1985), found the preponderance of leisure in the home and through unstructured activities (Bialeschki & Henderson, 1986; Gregory, 1982), and lacked a sense of entitlement to leisure (e.g. Glyptis & Chambers, 1982; Shank, 1986).

The most recent integrative review (Henderson, 1996) broadened the basis of understanding to address multiple "meanings" of leisure with the notion that "one size doesn't fit all." This growing body of literature in the early 1990s debunked the idea that a common world of women existed except, perhaps, related to living in a patriarchal world. Henderson suggested that the mega themes were emerging related to gender explanations (e.g., Deem, 1992; Jackson & Henderson, 1995; Karsten, 1995), a continua of meanings associated with leisure that were sometimes contradictory for different groups of women (e.g., Bolla, Dawson, & Harrington, 1991; Datillo, Datillo, Samdahl, & Kleiber, 1994; Shaw, 1994), and a focus on the diversity that existed within women who live in western cultures (e.g. Freysinger, 1994; Hunter & Whitson, 1991; Riddick & Stewart, 1994). Henderson recommended that researchers interested in addressing women and gender must continue to explore all possible dimensions of women's AND men's lives. She also recommended that although individual empowerment is important, collective action might be an important focus if leisure for girls and women is to change.

Henderson (1994), in an earlier article examining the approaches and methods used in research studies, also indicated that the study of women's leisure has evolved through several dimensions that parallel the work occurring in other areas of women's studies. The phases of research described included invisibility, add women and stir, dichotomous sex or gender differences, women centered scholarship, and gender studies. She noted that a progression has occurred as researchers have incorporated all the phases into the evolving body of knowledge about women and gender. Aitchison (2001) also noted a similar evolution and analyzed the relationships between gender, power, and knowledge in the construction of leisure theory. She

described how complex and contested this knowledge development has been in our field. Nevertheless, these progressions and critiques have opened more doors to explore the emerging issues of the 1990s related to the content areas of gender, including the contradictory meanings and the diversity among girls and women.

Henderson and Bialeschki (1999) and Coalter (1999) suggested that gender-based research, research on women, and feminist research have contributed to a broader understanding of the epistemological and theoretical aspects of leisure studies. From another perspective, however, concerns also have been expressed about how leisure itself (Samdahl & Kelly, 1999) and research on women and leisure (Deem, 1999) have been "ghettoized." Samdahl and Kelly, along with Deem, argued that the examinations of leisure and of women's leisure, respectively, have not been acknowledged and integrated outside the narrow confines of those who directly study these areas. The discussions about the "crisis" in leisure studies (cf. Aitchison, 2000; Coalter, 1999) also pointed to the variable nature of how leisure is understood not only for women and girls, but also for all people. The ongoing challenge is to not only uncover what the research about girls and women means related to the theory of leisure studies and the field of leisure services, but to also move that research into broader areas of social and cultural studies. The implications of an analysis of the sociocultural and sociopolitical nature of gender have broad implications that are just beginning to be addressed to any extent in the leisure literature (e.g., Aitchison, 2000; Betschild & Simons, 1998; Jeffreys, 1999; Kay, 2000; Yule, 1997a, 1997b).

Integrative Review Approaches

The intent of this integrative review was to examine the literature about the leisure of girls and women to ascertain the status of this research and the directions that researchers have taken in the past five years. As in any area of study, acknowledging the trends and current understandings can influence the directions of future research. If the direction of the trends is producing new knowledge leading to compelling questions, then that literature should be expanded. If the direction is leading down paths that seem to dead-end, or repeat what already seems to be known, other directions might be chosen. With this examination, we will offer our analyses about the "state of the art" of research on women and leisure so that others may draw additional conclusions and insight.

Similar to the past two integrative reviews about women and leisure, the research review questions for our analysis related primarily to the topic of study and the emerging theoretical implications. Studies from eight primary English language refereed journals were identified for the following years: *Australian and New Zealand Association for Leisure Studies Journal/Annals of Leisure Research* (1995-2000), *Journal of Applied Recreation Research/now Leisure* (1996-2000), *Journal of Leisure Research* (1996-2000), *Journal of Park and Recreation Administration* (1996-2000), *Leisure Sciences* (1996-2000), *Leisure Studies*

(1996-2000), *Society and Leisure/Loisir et Societe (1996-2000*)*, and *Therapeutic Recreation Journal (1996-2000)*.

The purpose of this paper was to extend the past integrative reviews about women's leisure to include recent research trends, outcomes, and implications. To understand more about women's lives and leisure, we examined all articles using the keywords of women, men, girls, boys, feminism, gender or related words such as widow, caregiver, family, or lesbian either in the title or among the identified keywords or in the discussion section were examined. Those articles that dealt with professional issues regarding women, recreation, careers, and leadership were not included. In addition, we excluded articles that dealt with tourism because we did not feel that the sample in these journals represented the breadth of research that might exist on women and tourism. Tourism has a body of knowledge sufficient to warrant its own analysis, but not in this integrative review. Although additional papers have been delivered at conferences and included in book chapters, we focused on only these refereed journal articles because they were more readily available. Further, we delimited the work to the English language not because no other work is occurring outside English speaking countries, but because translations from other languages were not available.

Seventy-four (74) articles met these criteria. Findings were analyzed using qualitative constant comparisons (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) of the content of the selected articles. This technique allowed the researchers to compare and contrast the articles selected to determine common and divergent themes. The authors read the articles independently and categorized them according to topic and theoretical foundations and implications. The methods used and samples selected were also noted. The authors then compared the coding and notes they made and discussed the patterns and themes that emerged. For this paper, the articles were conceptually grouped and themes identified that provided a summary of the literature published in these journals from 1996-2000. In the discussion section of this paper, we offer our collaborative synthesis and interpretation of the meanings associated with the studies.

To provide further detail about how data were collected and summarized, we examined the methods and the samples that we uncovered in this integrative review. A variety of methods were described in these studies. We counted the research methods used and found these percentages: semi-structured and in-depth interviews (28%), conceptual, literature, and historical analyses (26%), quantitative questionnaires (23%), mixed methods (18%), case studies (4%), and focus groups only (1%). Mixed methods included a combination of data collection techniques such as focus groups along with interviews (e.g., Culp, 1998; James, 2000) or questionnaires and interviews (e.g., Jacobson & Samdahl, 1998; Shaw, 1996). The sophistication and variety of the data collection methods also reflected the diversity of populations that were studied.

The girls and women examined in the empirical studies varied regarding age, race and ethnicity, and sexual orientation. Although over half (55%) of the studies of women and gender were based on general populations, the

identification of particular identity characteristics of girls and women continued from the literature that emerged in the early 1990s (Henderson, 1996). Seventeen percent of the studies addressed adolescents specifically (e.g., James, 2000; Caldwell, Kivel, & Smith, 1998; King, 2000) and 5% described the leisure of older adult women (e.g., Anderton, Fitzgerald, & Laidler, 1995; Siegenthaler & Vaughan, 1998). Almost one-fifth (18%) of the studies described race and ethnicity specifically with 9% of the studies focusing on race differences (e.g. Arnold & Shiness, 1998; Bialeschki & Walbert, 1998) and 9% addressing non-Western cultures (e.g., Russell & Stage, 1996; Taylor & Toohey, 1996; Tirone & Shaw, 1997). Five percent of the studies also addressed lesbians as a specific study group (e.g., Bialeschki & Pearce, 1997; Jacobson & Samdahl, 1998).

The integrative review analyses resulted in topics that were divided into two broad categories: dialogue and context. Dialogue referred to the foundations and patterns regarding how women and leisure were studied and understood. Context applied to the emerging research topics and questions encompassed by topics addressed about women and leisure. Within these two broad areas, several major themes emerged.

Dialogue

Dialogical issues surfaced related to the theoretical foundations and patterns in the literature regarding women and leisure. This category sought to describe the ways that a knowledge base about women's leisure was developed and explained. An inward examination of how research on girls and women was conducted, the assumptions made and representations offered regarding women's leisure, and the ideologies that underpinned an understanding of female experiences provided this discourse. In examining the studies published in the last five years, the range of applications of the phases of research (e.g., Aitchison, 2001; Henderson, 1994) on women was evident. Studies related to dichotomous differences, women-centered experiences, and gender analyses co-existed. An emerging area concerned the intersection of gender with other characteristics such as race and class (e.g., Bialeschki & Walbert, 1998; Philipp, 1998; Scraton & Watson, 1998). The research studies on women's leisure seemed to be moving away from the notion of "either/or" toward a focus on "both/and" (Henderson, 2000) as a variety of perspectives were used to address this body of knowledge. That is, just because an individual was female did not mean that other aspects of identity such as race, class, sexual orientation, or cultural background did not also influence leisure behavior. In addition, these multiple identities seemed to be part of the construction of opportunity and constraint in leisure. The dialogical analysis of the literature suggested trends related to feminism, internal critique, and emerging ideologies.

Feminism as Implicit

As indicated in one of the previous integrative review (cf. Henderson, 1996), research about women was not necessarily feminist research unless it

focused on social justice and change. The articulation of a feminist perspective may not be necessary depending on the intent of the research, although the perspective one takes (e.g., poststructuralist, liberal) will influence the focus and analysis used. We were struck, however, with how few studies in the past five years emphasized a specific feminist approach (e.g., Aitchison, 2000; Culp, 1998; Thomsson, 1999; Yule, 1997a) even though underlying premises of feminism were evident in most studies. We are cautious to suggest that because a study addressed women or gender that it was necessarily feminist in its theoretical structure. Feminism as an underlying philosophy or theory was not often explicated, but the call for social action remained evident in many of the studies undertaken (e.g., Betschild & Simmons, 1998; Kay, 2000; Little, 2000).

This lack of mention of feminism may suggest that the research on women and leisure is in a postfeminist mode. That feminism does not need to be articulated might be a positive sign that the rationale for conducting this type of research need not be rationalized (Scraton, 1994). Yule (1997a) observed that maybe a postfeminist view has resulted in progressive and evolutionary changes that make feminism redundant. On the other hand, to not address the assumptions surrounding how research on women ought to contribute to social justice may mean that gender issues get lost, and we risk returning to invisible scholarship assuming that no inequities exist regarding women's leisure. Although the theoretical framework of feminism is made less explicit in many of the studies of women and leisure, the implications for social change are no less important today than in the past if leisure for women is to evolve in positive ways.

Internal Critique

The literature on girls' and women's leisure is visible in the leisure literature with a growing number and variety of studies. A breadth of literature has meant that researchers can provide critical insight regarding how research is conducted and what it means. Approaches in the past have included critiquing the literature that made women invisible. Literature of the past five years has become introspective regarding how researchers studying women have sometimes been too narrow in their perspectives. For example, Deem (1999) raised questions about how feminist studies in leisure might emerge from the "ghetto." She suggested that moving closer to sociological studies of consumption and commercial leisure as well as broadening the questions asked might make research on women and gender more visible to other academic fields and disciplines.

Kelly (1997) also provided a critical examination of the ways that research on family leisure has evolved over the years. He suggested that researchers need to avoid single-issue topics such as believing any one characteristic alone, such as gender, explains leisure. Kelly noted that researchers should be more aware of the assumptions made and the standpoints they hold in doing research, and not neglect the common ways that families ex-

perience leisure. Shaw (1997) also examined the approaches used in doing family research and how researchers have made assumptions about gender relations in society. Shaw suggested that conceptualizing family leisure as resulting in contradictory findings enables opportunities for more inclusive theorizing. In other words, one approach alone will not result in finding models of leisure that fit everyone. Other examples of the internal critique include Aitchison's (2000) work regarding poststructuralism and postcolonialism. She argued that the reluctance of leisure studies researchers to engage in poststructural discourses has made culture marginal to research, but that poststructural feminist theories can be helpful in addressing an analysis of power as well as the social-cultural nexus.

The internal critique suggests that this body of literature has moved from focusing on legitimizing research on women toward self-reflexivity. Researchers are recognizing how complicated the study of gender related to women's leisure is. Feminist researchers may no longer need to spend great amounts of time rationalizing their topics or methods, but can pursue new ways to address emerging issues and questions. The next step will lie in using the internal critique as a means to build on the previous work done to move forward in examining deeper meanings of the research that can lead to individual and collective empowerment.

Ideologies

Ideology suggests that ideas cannot be separated from practice. People have learned to take on certain roles in their lives because of a hegemonic world where individuals react to values and beliefs that support, often unconsciously, social relationships and structures of power. For example, when women make choices about how to engage in leisure, their choices are steeped in cultural ideologies about what types of behaviors are appropriate for women and men in society. Descriptions of behavior are a starting point, but explanations of behaviors are rooted in more complex phenomena.

The focus of much of the research we examined over the past five years addressed individual women and their identities (e.g., Bialeschki & Pearce, 1997; Culp, 1998; Thomsson, 1999; Tirone & Shaw, 1997). A growing area of emphasis was on the ideologies and hegemonies that shaped the experiences of girls and women and boys and men in society (e.g., Jacobson & Samdahl, 1998; Scraton & Watson, 1998; Shaw, 1996, 1999; Thompson, 1995). Although social psychological research on leisure behavior has generally addressed the individual in society, recognition of socially derived ideologies on the individual has become evident in more of the recent literature. Jacobson and Samdahl (1998), for example, uncovered that older lesbians found discrimination regarding leisure most evident due to dominant cultural ideologies. Older lesbians found the most support at the interpersonal and personal levels. Bialeschki and Pearce (1997) found that lesbian mothers were often able to find more leisure because of the absence of gendered social roles in their lives. The concept of "just recreation" (Henderson, 1997)

focused on how gender ideology needs to be practiced as an element of recreation programming.

Gendered ideologies also have implications for policy development as has been discussed by several British researchers (e.g., Aitchison, 1997; Kay, 2000; Yule, 1997a; 1997b). Kay described how policies about family influence gender relations and consequently, women's leisure. She suggested that policies typically benefit males more than females. Yule, in her two-part analysis of gender ideologies and professional ideologies, noted that the awareness of problems women face has been raised and it is now time to consider how to make policy that supports women. She argued, however, as did Aitchison (1997), that the predominance of the market ideology may be making women's issues invisible by focusing on the need for a healthy economy as more important for leisure than human rights.

Thus, discussions in the literature about women and leisure in the past five years have focused not only on what researchers have uncovered about women and leisure but how they have come to think about research on, for, and about gender. Assumptions about feminism, a critical analysis of the extant research, and an awareness of underlying ideologies have provided additional insights about the context of leisure in girls' and women's lives. This approach has opened the door for evolving discussions about the context of leisure for women and girls, and men and boys.

Context

Contextually, the literature about women and leisure has broadened with the study of new topics about different populations across the lifespan who experience leisure in a variety of ways. In addition, the intersection of gender with other characteristics such as race and class has become evident in emergent global and cross-cultural perspectives (e.g. Bialeschki & Walbert, 1998; Russell & Stage, 1996; Taylor & Toohy, 1996). Women's role in families was an ongoing area of study where some attitudes have shifted, but behavioral changes regarding leisure have not necessarily followed (e.g., Larson, Gillman, & Richards, 1997; Peters & Raaijmakers, 1998). The issues surrounding spaces that women claim for leisure in both physical and symbolic spheres was a recent area of interest (e.g., Deem, 1996; Aitchison, 1999; Scraton & Watson, 1998). Further, the notion that leisure is inherently good was explored (e.g., Henderson & Gardner, 1996; Jeffreys, 1999) as one of the contexts that emerged in the literature from 1996-2000.

Lifespan Approaches

Lifespan examples representing the spectrum of female experiences with leisure are evident in the literature of the past five years. Although almost all of the studies have been cross sectional, studies of specific age groups have emerged with more focus on adolescent girls and older women. Research on older women, for example, has indicated how leisure became

more important as women got older and became less role bound (Anderton, Fitzgerald, & Laidler, 1995; Parry & Shaw, 1999; Siegenthaler & Vaughn, 1998).

A number of researchers have focused on adolescent girls during the past five years. The interest in recreation and leisure literature regarding youth has increased with particular attention paid to the meanings of leisure as a form of identity development. Henderson and King (1998) described some of the issues facing adolescent girls such as social contradictions of what it means to be female as well as body image and sexuality. They suggested that theoretical evidence indicated that recreation programs could influence positive youth development among girls. James (2000) noted how the negative aspects of leisure, such as girls feeling embarrassed at a public pool, might be a deterrent to leisure. Wearing and Wearing (2000) described the negative health experiences of smoking as a leisure choice for young women who saw smoking as part of their identity. King (2000) examined the notion of space and how girls perceived the opportunities for leisure interaction within those spaces. The emphasis of these studies was on the ways that girls defined leisure and its significance in their lives.

This emerging body of information about girls and older women potentially provides a basis for understanding more about how leisure patterns may be developed at an early age and how leisure opportunities and constraints change over the lifespan. Examining leisure across women's life course provided emerging perspectives on continuity and change in leisure behavior. Further, an examination of aspects of chronological age for women also intersected with other dimensions of personal identity such as gender, race, ethnicity, and social class that have social meanings in shaping individuals' experiences of leisure (Freysinger, 1999).

Intersection of Gender

The need for an examination of the intersection of gender particularly with race, ethnicity, and class became evident in the literature of the past five years. This awareness, however, has not necessarily resulted in studies using appropriate methodologies for exploring these connections. Nevertheless, the recognition continued to grow that being female alone did not solely influence leisure, but other aspects of privilege, power, and discrimination had significant influence. The research has only begun to examine the complexities of power (e.g., Aitchison, 2000; Henderson, 1997; Wearing, 1996) and the intersection of multiple forms of oppression (e.g., Arnold & Shinew, 1998; Jacobson & Samdahl, 1998), although a growing recognition of the need to examine these areas was evident.

Race and class have become visible as inclusion and exclusion issues are more widely examined in leisure studies. From an historical perspective, Bialeschki and Walbert (1998) examined the lives of women in the industrial new south related to race and class. They found different leisure patterns of behavior for white female workers as compared to black female workers.

These differences often related to the political nature of recreation as a vehicle for social change among African-American women. Philipp (1998) concluded that race more than gender was a defining feature of African American adolescent leisure behavior related to peer approval.

It is important and noteworthy that gender and other characteristics are being examined together. Useful methodologies and implications for doing this research are slowly emerging. A challenge exists in trying to link the meanings of these characteristics to practice. Arnold and Shinew (1998), for example, explored how gender, race, and income influenced park use. They found that a multiple hierarchy perspective was not supported (i.e., if a person was female, black, and low income did not necessarily mean that park use was more constrained) and concluded that constraints did not necessarily occur merely because an individual was in one subgroup of society. These findings make implications for practice unclear and more investigation is obviously needed. The paucity of research and inconclusive findings about the intersection of race, class, and gender also suggest the need to examine further how leisure may be contributing to the creation and structuring of differences.

Globalization of Gender

Although research on women, gender, and leisure has been conceptualized in western cultures for the past 20 years, studies of women and leisure in developing countries is a new phenomenon. Further, until recently, research about women's leisure in non-English speaking countries has not found its way into English journals. This new research brings with it problems in design and interpretation due to the ethnocentrism of some of the existing research approaches and the ignoring of postcolonial theory (Aitchison, 2000). For example, Western conceptualizations of leisure traditionally held as a work and free time dichotomy may not be appropriate in some cultures.

These global studies, however, point to new directions that may have an influence on the broader body of leisure knowledge. For example, Russell and Stage (1996) studied women in a Sudanese refugee camp and found that the women had huge amounts of meaningless free time that they did not consider to be leisure. Without meaningful roles, they also felt that leisure was meaningless even though it was those gender roles that constrained their leisure. Khan (1997) described how women in Bangladesh did not feel they had free time, but leisure and recreation became a part of their daily existence by incorporating activities within their work and family roles. Research done in Scandinavia (Thrane, 2000) and specifically Sweden (Thomson, 1999) further underlined descriptive gender differences that existed between men's and women's leisure and the "commonality" that continued to exist in terms of the leisure disadvantage of women compared to men. Another interesting area of globalization was the role of immigration related to women and leisure. Tirone and Shaw (1997) examined the importance of leisure in the lives of Indo Canadian women and found the

centrality of family and the lack of importance of private time and personal leisure. The studies of women, particularly in developing countries, in the past five years raised issues about the culturally bound meanings of leisure that change as the lives of women change.

These studies about women from varying cultural perspectives begin to provide a means for understanding leisure as a basic human right. They have the potential to enhance our understanding of both the meanings of leisure for girls and women as well as the ways that sociopolitical and sociocultural factors influence an understanding of gender and leisure. They also provide a way to apply postcolonial theory by focusing on the global rather than the western perspectives, the notions of what researchers describe as "other," and the ongoing influence of patriarchal power in all cultures (Aitchison, 2000).

Family Roles

Women's involvement in family structures and the social roles and leisure that emanate from those situations are an ongoing area of interest among researchers. The volume of studies about women's leisure in relation to the family remains consistent. The gap between changing attitudes about women, particularly in Western societies, and the lagging behaviors related to family leisure was one conclusion that emerged in examining literature of the past five years. For example, Kay (1998) found that even though many couples believed that domestic responsibilities should be shared in a dual-working household, women were still doing a disproportionate amount of the housework. Thompson (1995) suggested that women are more likely to establish their leisure around their family responsibilities and tasks while most men place no restrictions around their leisure. Larson et al. (1997) discovered that mothers often had a less pleasurable experience in family leisure because they could not disassociate themselves from the task and responsibility of being the caretaker. Peters and Raaijmakers (1998) described how Dutch women felt a time crunch regarding leisure and felt guilty when taking leisure for themselves when they could be with their families. These studies demonstrate how family continues to define leisure for many women.

Women in caregiving roles related to families were an emerging area that uncovered new responsibilities that women had and the impact on their leisure. Mactavish, Schleiein, and Tabourne (1997) found that mothers often were most involved with daily activities when a child with a developmental disability was in the home. Rogers (1997) studied the caregiving responsibilities of older married women and found different perspectives of leisure were uncovered relative to how much leisure was integrated or not integrated into the actual caregiving duties. Additionally, Dupuis and Smale (2000) noted that some women caregivers may experience leisure within their caregiving roles. The ethic of care that may be a constraint to some women can also be a source of identity and power within a family.

Davidson's (1996) study of the holiday and the work experience of women with young children showed that although holidays (vacations) were different from the daily routine, many women still felt responsible for the creation of a holiday experience for family members that often was at the expense of their own leisure experience. Similarly, Deem (1996) found that women felt dissatisfaction when conflicts and difficulties existed between participants in the same household during holiday leisure endeavors.

Studying women's leisure within a family context was not a new area of study. The literature over the past five years, however, provided additional documentation about how family leisure was the leisure of many women. Despite assumptions that women in many countries have equal rights, family responsibilities continue to be primarily the domain of women and have varying influences on how leisure is perceived as affiliative or self-determined (Henderson, Bialeschki, Shaw, & Freysinger, 1996).

Claiming Leisure Space

Spatial issues for women were an emerging analysis that spoke to the new visibility of women in societies and to ideologies related to leisure. Traditional leisure geographies have emphasized the absolute nature of space but feminist geographers have emphasized the social and material nature of space (Aitchison, 1999). Whether in the cities or the outdoors, the emerging research suggested that women were seeking to feel both physically and symbolically safe in public spaces that enabled them to enjoy leisure.

Many of the studies on spatial issues have emerged from British researchers such as Deem (1996), Aitchison (1999), Scraton and Watson (1998), Green (1998), and Rendell (1998). Scraton and Watson, for example, suggested that leisure spaces and places are sites where gendered identity can be produced, re-enforced, or countered; modern cities are shifting some of the traditional uses of spaces, for example, to make public spaces safer for women especially at night. New cultural geographies have addressed the relative and symbolic nature of space (Aitchison, 1999). Skeggs (1999), for example, described how heterosexual women have found it comfortable in gay male space because of the lack of judgment and elements of safety that exist. She found that lesbians also claimed space for leisure that felt comfortable to them and felt heterosexual women were sometimes encroaching. Green (1998) examined friendship and the spaces associated with how women view their friendships. She noted that "women's talk" is where traditional femininity is both supported and resisted. All these studies suggest that leisure spaces are sites where gendered identity can be produced, re-inforced, or resisted. These spaces also carried overtones of personal and psychological safety issues that emerged as women assessed how fear influenced their leisure.

The notions of changing traditional definitions of leisure involving time, activity, and experience to include space (Wearing, 1996) emerged in the

literature about women and leisure in the past five years. Although this approach is new to the leisure literature, it offers an avenue that may help gain additional insight about the diversity of women and their experiences with leisure.

Negative and Consumptive Aspects of Leisure and Women's Lives

A budding theme in the past five years has been the documentation of leisure as a negative factor in women and men's lives. The commodification of leisure is also linked to some of these negative aspects of leisure (Kelly, 1999). Topics addressed have included sexual exploitation (Jeffreys, 1999), pornography (Shaw, 1999), gambling (Hallebone, 1999; Bruce & Johnson, 1996), and drinking (Henderson & Gardner, 1996). For example, Shaw (1999) noted how pornography was an activity whereby women became the objects of men's leisure. Further, many women felt silenced about pornography and did not feel that they had the right to speak out about their negative feelings. The implications of sex on women's leisure and as a form of violence against women were an issue addressed by Jeffreys (1999).

These studies were a beginning in suggesting that leisure can be a context for the objectification of women as well as suggested how leisure might be commodified not only for women, but also in the broader ways that leisure is marketed. Aitchison (1997) advocated that analyses of leisure must examine both the direct and indirect implications for women. The commodification of leisure can lead to consumptive activities that do not necessarily have positive direct implications for women or for their leisure. On the other hand, Deem (1999) suggested that perhaps researchers could make women's leisure more visible by focusing on market forces that impact women. Either issue suggests that any analysis of women's leisure should consider both the positive and negative dimensions.

Discussion

This integrative review has delineated evolving areas of dialogue and context regarding women and leisure. Most of the themes have a small number of studies associated with them, but they do point to some of the emerging directions of the research about women, gender, and leisure. The studies examined in this integrative review suggested that our epistemological approaches in studying women's leisure have expanded. Feminism has become a commonly accepted philosophical approach to studying women, and the field of leisure research seems to be moving into a postfeminist age (Scruton, 1994). The exploratory approaches taken to study women's leisure have been helpful, but not entirely adequate because they tend to result in more questions asked than answered. We have thus seen a self-reflexivity and critical examination of the methods and analyses used to study women and leisure. Although some individuals have been examining ideological assumptions

about women's leisure for some time, the mandate to include that approach was evident particularly as researchers attempted to move beyond studying individual differences to determining how social differences were important.

The content and context of the studies of women's leisure continues to evolve. The changes were noted related to the ways that women across the lifespan, in a variety of life situations, with emerging identities, in global contexts, and within changing family roles influenced and were influenced by leisure. These contexts also contributed to a new focus on leisure spaces and the consumptive aspects of leisure. Methodological maturity existed in most of the articles. A variety of methods, including mixed methods, were used to address the nature of the research questions asked. The plethora of possible approaches to studying women and leisure expands the theoretical and contextual opportunities for future research.

The ideas that emerged in the past five years serve as a departure point for further research as well as a baseline for the current status of the body of knowledge. Based on this analysis of the literature, we offer several recommendations that might be considered in future research about women and leisure.

The literature from the past five years has provided more information about the leisure experiences of women and has gone beyond a notion of a common world to examine the nuances of older women, women who are lesbians, women of color, and women from around the globe. This information contributes to a body of knowledge, but researchers might consider from a critical or feminist analysis why it is important to uncover these findings beyond their empirical value. In other words, the bulk of the research has been descriptive of women's and girls' experiences of leisure and this information has been necessary to establish a baseline. Future researchers, however, ought to incorporate critical approaches that focus on how leisure does or does not contribute to the lives of individuals and communities.

One of the consistent findings uncovered in the early literature about women's leisure has been the continued focus on differences between women and men. Although this phase continues, more recently differences among women across various markers of identity such as race and ethnicity have been addressed. In future studies, researchers need to examine the cultural-social factors that created these differences between women and men as well as among various groups of women who have dissimilar degrees of power and privilege. At this point in the evolution of the study of women and leisure, as well as in the past, raising issues of difference without analyses of how these differences are produced or constructed does little to further understandings of the leisure of either women or men. These discussions need to occur as both macro and micro examinations of the social constructions of gender. The norm for leisure research up until the early 1980s was the leisure experiences of men. In 20 years, a shift occurred in making women's leisure visible. Yet, the continued focus on women in relation to men without an explicit analysis of the complexity of the relationships will not move theoretical thinking forward. In addition, as Aitchison (2001) con-

cluded principles and practices must be adopted to encourage a greater diversity of researchers, as well as new topics and expanded methods of study.

Related to these ideas is the need to expand research to address the complexities of power and the multiple forms of oppression. A critical analysis of the structural issues of institutionalized sexism, racism, and homophobia is needed to move beyond discussions of race, class, and gender as the "other" (Aitchison, 2000). Although it has been important to make women visible along with their marginalized identities related to characteristics such as race or sexual identity, at the same time, the dominant values that have led to this marginalization of women and other groups must continually be examined. As Kelly (1997) suggested, dialectic models probably explain more and provide a better basis for research strategies.

The ways that research on, for, and about women has been conducted also influences the evidence uncovered. For example, perhaps researchers should move away from gathering individual evidence as a way of understanding and describing the leisure experiences of girls and women toward a process of analyzing and explaining how leisure operates to create and reinforce gendered identities in ways that may be oppressive for both women and men. Further, the research on women and leisure has not examined the discourses of gender relative to how women and girls are constructed in the research literature. These constructions may contribute to gendered ideologies that reinforce the marginalized status of girls and women and more specifically girls and women of color, girls and women with disabilities, or girls and women who are lesbian or bisexual.

The examination of girls and women relative to leisure has provided insight about the meanings of leisure. In the future, however, a broader understanding may be enhanced with the incorporation of studies related to maleness and masculinity related to leisure. Generally female researchers have examined women and leisure, but few men have been interested in deconstructing their gendered identities concerning leisure. Sports sociologists (e.g., Birrell & Cole, 1990; Messner & Sabo, 1994) provide models of researchers applying critical theory analysis to the study of gender as it relates to males and females. McKay, Messner, and Sabo (2000) suggested that, "The focus on 'difference' among women (or among men) and on multiple systems of inequality does not mean ignoring gender. It means starting with the recognition that gender tends to vary in salience in different time and at different social locations" (p. 9). In other words, leisure researchers should consider studying difference and inequality beyond simply reinforcing difference. For example, both female and male leisure researchers might consider the influence of gender processes in terms of the construction of masculinity and femininity as embodied in various cultural contexts.

If the direction of the trends is producing new knowledge leading to compelling questions, then that literature should be expanded. Such aspects as globalization, leisure spaces, and the intersection of race, class, and gender seem to be areas that offer great potential for future understandings of girls and women's leisure. If the direction is leading down paths that seem to

dead-end, or repeat what already seems to be known, other directions might be chosen. The research that is solely descriptive or uses gender differences as the conclusion requires greater theoretical underpinning.

Research on women and leisure has evolved over the past 20 years. The inclusion of gender and diversity analyses offers great potential for the future. New topics and evolving methodological approaches are needed. In addition, an explicit critical feminist analysis must continue as central to an understanding of women's as well as men's leisure. The vitality of the leisure research and the potential it has to lead to social change will be possible only through tackling the difficult issues and questions that have yet to be addressed. A major challenge for researchers examining women and leisure in the future lies in developing theoretical and empirical investigations that move beyond verifying differences toward explaining the complexities of leisure as a context for human and community development. The value of further research will depend on the willingness to ask new questions, make critical analyses, and build on the past to shape answers to the compelling questions of the future.

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