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The Effect of Identity Conflict/Facilitation on the Experience of Constraints to Leisure and Constraint Negotiation

Jinhee Jun
Texas A & M University

Gerard T. Kyle
Texas A & M Univeristy

Abstract

Using theory on identity conflict/facilitation, the purpose of our investigation was to explore the role of identity in the experience of constraints to leisure and constraint negotiation. Identity conflict/facilitation suggests that individuals' commitment to various identities influences their perception of constraints to leisure and constraint negotiation processes. Data collected from recreational golfers provided evidence in support of our contention that identity conflict/facilitation is an antecedent of perceived constraints and negotiation efforts. Respondents' experience of identity conflict/facilitation between their leisure identity and other role identities influenced their perceptions of constraints to golf and negotiation of these constraints. The findings also illustrated that the ability to negotiate constraints is dependent on the compatibility between leisure identities and other identities held.

KEYWORDS: Identity conflict/facilitation, leisure constraints, constraint negotiation

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Jinhee Jun is a research associate in Human Dimensions of Natural Resources Laboratory at Texas A&M University. Gerard T. Kyle is an associate professor in Human Dimensions of Natural Resources Laboratory at Texas A&M University.

Address correspondence to Jinhee Jun, 2261 TAMU, College Station, TX 77843-2261, Phone (979) 862-3068; email: jjun@tamu.edu, website: www.humandimensionslab.org

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Introduction

The development of the hierarchical leisure constraints model (Crawford, Jackson, & Godbey, 1991) was a dramatic leap forward for the field in terms of providing a conceptual framework for understanding processes underlying people's negotiation of leisure constraints. In spite of the considerable contribution of the hierarchical model in leisure studies, there has been persistent concern over the absence of theory for understanding individuals' perception of leisure constraints and the abstraction of the leisure experience from individuals' broader life context (Mannell & Loucks-Atkinson, 2005; Samdahl, 2005; Shaw & Henderson, 2005). With reference to the absence of theory, little effort has been made to adopt a theoretical framework to understand the processes that drive individuals' experience of leisure constraints. Several authors have also argued that the experience of leisure cannot be understood in isolation from the broader context of an individual's life (Deem, 1999; Kelly, 1983; Samdahl, 2005; Samdahl & Kelly, 1999; Stebbins, 1979). The leisure experience exists within the context of people's lives related to work, family, friends, school, religion, and so on. Thus, for some, the experience of leisure constraints emerges from the complex and competing demands of other life domains (Samdahl, 2005). In these contexts, the negotiation of constraints to leisure is facilitated by consuming resources that could otherwise have been used to support responsibilities linked to other domains of life. Identity theorists have explained the consequences of these competing demands in terms of identity conflict and facilitation (e.g., Burke, 2003; Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, & Rosenthal, 1964; Marks, 1977; Rizzo, House, & Lirtzman, 1970; Sieber, 1974; Thoits, 1992, 2003). With this in mind, the purpose of our investigation was to adopt the concept of identity conflict/facilitation as a theoretical framework for understanding the experience of constraints to leisure and constraint negotiation processes.

Literature Review

In the review of literature that follows, we begin with an overview of leisure constraints research focusing on its development over the years and more recent efforts to model constraint negotiation processes. We then turn our attention to the theories of identity conflict and facilitation. In this section of the review, we highlight these theories' central tenets and discuss their utility for examining constraint negotiation processes. This utility lies in (a) the provision of a theoretical framework that allows for understanding of processes underlying the experience of constraints that transcends leisure contexts, (b) an understanding of the experience of constraints that is rooted in the broader socio-structural context in which leisure experiences are embedded, and (c) the development of a theoretical framework that provides a foundation for guiding future research efforts. We conclude the review with the presentation of the hypothesized model driving our analyses.

Constraints to Leisure

Constraints can be defined as factors that affect people's leisure preferences, limit participation, or reduce the level of enjoyment and satisfaction (Jackson, 2005; Tsai & Coleman, 1999). Over two decades ago, Crawford and Godbey (1987) proposed a "tripartite approach" to classify constraints consisting of intrapersonal, interpersonal and structural. Intrapersonal constraints are considered psychological states which shape leisure preferences and predispose people to define leisure activities, locales or services as appropriate or inappropriate, interesting or uninteresting. These kinds of constraints could be personality needs, prior socialization, perceived reference group attitudes, religiosity, and perceived skills and abilities. Interpersonal constraints are those factors which arise out of interpersonal interaction or the relationships with friends, family and others. Finally, structural constraints are identified as factors intervening between leisure preferences and participation (e.g., cost, time, and transportation).

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

In a further development, Jackson et al. (1993) later proposed that variations in the reporting of constraints are a result of variations in success negotiating them. Negotiation refers to cognitive and behavioral strategies that people adopt to confront and overcome constraints (Jackson et al., 1993; Jackson & Rucks, 1995). Behavioral strategies include actions such as better organizing schedules or developing skills. Cognitive strategies include the ways of thinking about constraints such as perceiving an activity less attractive or focusing on benefits while disregarding costs involved. Support for the negotiation process has been documented in several studies. For example, Henderson and her colleagues (1993, 1996) and Frederick and Shaw (1995) observed that women were successfully able to participate, maintain, or increase their level of involvement in leisure activities using strategies such as resisting or minimizing concern for gender role expectations and stereotypes, balancing the benefits with the costs of participation, and modifying preferences to continue to participate in leisure activities. Past studies have also illustrated consistency between the types of constraints encountered and the types of strategies adopted to overcome constraints (Jackson & Rucks, 1995; Mannell & Loucks-Atkinson, 2005). For example, a person who has difficulty with time management tends to negotiate this class of constraint by modifying their use of time.

Jackson et al. (1993) also suggested that "both the initiation and outcome of the negotiation process are dependent on the relative strength of, and interactions between, constraints on participating in an activity and motivations for such

participation" (Proposition 6, p. 9). In recent years, researchers have increasingly examined the possible relationships among motivation, constraints, negotiation and participation based on Jackson et al.'s proposition (Hubbard & Mannell, 2001; Loucks-Atkinson & Mannell, 2007; Son et al., 2008; White, 2008). Notably, Hubbard and Mannell (2001) tested four alternative models reflecting the interrelations among motivation, constraints, and negotiation efforts and their effect on participation in employee recreation programs. They observed strongest support for the model in which negotiation efforts were directly and positively influenced by motivation and perceived constraints. Later, Son, Mowen and Kerstetter (2008a, 2008b) extended Hubbard and Mannell's research and examined a sample of volunteers and visitors to a Midwest metropolitan park agency. In their study, motivation positively predicted respondents' negotiation efforts while no significant relationship between constraints and negotiation was found. In an effort to improve Hubbard and Mannell's model, Loucks-Atkinson and Mannell (2007) incorporated a negotiation-efficacy construct (i.e., individuals' confidence in their ability to negotiate a particular constraint) to explain constraint negotiation processes. Their findings illustrated that, in addition to motivation and constraints, negotiation-efficacy had a positive and direct influence on negotiation efforts associated with participation in physical leisure activities among individuals with fibromyalgia.

The role of negotiation-efficacy in the constraints negotiation process was also tested by White (2008) within the context of Arizona State parks. Although White claimed further support for the interrelationship among these constructs (i.e., motivation, constraints, negotiation, and negotiation-efficacy) and the process by which these factors influence participation, his data do not support such claims. The model fit was shown to be inadequate using commonly accepted criteria for making such determinations[1] and the strength of their reported factor loadings provides little evidence in support of construct validity (see Fornell & Larcker, 1981).

While Hubbard and Mannell (2001), Loucks-Atkinson and Mannell (2007), and Son et al. (2008) each developed models of the processes underlying constraint negotiation, they also fail to offer a theoretical framework for understanding why individuals experience constraints in their leisure. Furthermore, the models do not allow us to understand the experience of leisure constraints and negotiation efforts within the broader socio-structural context (Mannell & Loucks-Atkinson, 2005; Samdahl, 2005; Shaw & Henderson, 2005). Our leisure experiences occur in contexts where institutional identities (i.e., worker, student, caregiver, etc.) interplay with different role expectations. Thus, individuals' leisure behaviors are influenced by "institutional structure and negotiation of role identities" (Kelly, 1983, p. 191). Accordingly, the perception of leisure constraints and the negotiation of constraints need to be understood in light of the complex and competing interrelationships between role identities. We propose that theory pertaining to identity conflict/facilitation addresses each of these shortcomings.

[1]Criteria for assessing model fit outlined in methods section.

Identity Conflict and Facilitation

The central promise of identity theory lies in the suggestion that identity is a primary motivator of a person's behavior (e.g., Burke, 1989a, 1989b; Burke & Reitzes, 1991; Stets, 1997; Stets & Burke, 1996; Stryker & Serpe, 1982). Since an identity is comprised of a set of meanings defining who one is and expectations held for oneself in terms of a particular role, it provides a person with a sense of who s/he is and how s/he ought to behave. This set of meanings and expectations serves as a standard or reference for a person in their evaluations of behavioral choices. Accordingly, people behave in a way to reflect their identities. A body of research has provided evidence to support the contention that identity predicts behavior (Burke, 1989a, 1989b; Burke & Hoetler, 1988; Burke & Reitzes, 1981; Burke, Stets, & Pirog-Good, 1988; Callero, 1985; Charng, Piliavin, & Callero, 1988; Stets, 1997; Stets & Burke, 1996; Stryker & Serpe, 1982). For instance, Callero (1985) and Charng et al. (1988) found that identity is a meaningful predictor of activities such as blood donation. Stets and Biga (2003) also demonstrated that an environment-oriented identity is an antecedent of pro-environmental behavior.

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

Proponents of the identity conflict perspective have suggested that individuals experience conflict or strain as a result of being subjected to the demands stemming from multiple identities (Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, & Rosenthal, 1964; Sarbin & Allen, 1968; Stryker & Statham, 1985; Thoits, 1985). From this perspective, the requirements of different roles associated with different identities compete for an individual's limited time and resources (Kahn et al., 1964). These pressures lead a person to perceive increased demands on their limited commitment, energy, and fiscal resources. For example, employed parents experience conflict over how much time should be allocated between work and home. Student athletes face conflict over how much commitment and energy needs to be allocated between practice and study. Similarly, recreationists perceive conflict over how much time, money and energy should be spent between leisure and non-leisure activity, resulting in the perception of constraints to leisure and perceived lack of resources to negotiate them.

Because of limited resources, the possession of multiple identities can be burdensome. For example, researchers have observed that conflicting demands on time, energy and commitment from multiple identities can produce negative psychological consequences. For example, Coverman (1989) and O'Driscoll and col-

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

leagues (O'Driscoll, Ilgen, & Hildreth, 1992) identified a link between respondents' work-family identity conflict, dissatisfaction with their occupations and marriage, and psychological distress. Similarly, others have found that conflict between work identity (i.e., employee identity) and non-work identities (e.g., spouse, parent, and recreationist) is positively related to dissatisfaction with the work and life outside of the work (Cooke & Rousseau, 1984; Kopelmen, Greenhaus, & Connolly, 1983; Shamir, 1983), and a reduction in organizational commitment (Yogev & Brett, 1985). People who suffer identity conflict recognize the presence of constraints during their self-verification process and realize the limited sources (e.g., time, cost, and energy) to overcome these constraints. The difficulty in self-verification results in the experience of negative emotions (e.g., dissatisfaction) and the reduced commitment to the identity which is involved in the conflict.

In the context of leisure, several studies have identified that the leisure identity an individual holds is often incompatible with other identities (Green, Hebron, & Woodward, 1987; Henderson, Bialeschki, Shaw, & Freysinger, 1996; Henderson, Hodges, & Kivel, 2002; Herridge, Shaw, & Mannell, 2003; Hochschild, 1989; Shaw, 1994; Stebbins, 1979). For example, based on his interviews, Stebbins (1979) documented how amateurs and professionals in the fields of science, art, sport, and entertainment experienced identity conflict between their leisure identity and other role identities. Most of his informants faced "inter-role conflict" as they became aware that the demands of other roles in their lives (e.g., parent, employee, and caregiver) encroached on their ability to enjoy their chosen leisure. People faced difficult questions on how to balance the demands of these roles while maintaining ongoing involvement in leisure (Stebbins). As inter-role conflict is exaggerated, the perception of constraints to leisure and limited available resources to negotiate these constraints increases. One of his informants perceived a time conflict when he needed to make a choice between attending his children's activity and participating in an archeological excavation. The experience of time constraints emerged when two identities required incompatible behaviors; i.e., a parent and an amateur archeologist.

In another qualitative study of marathon runners and their spouses, Barrell, Chamberlain, Evans, Holt, and Mackean (1989) found that highly committed runners perceived increased conflictual demands between their leisure and family. The increased conflictural demand resulted in a reduced level of satisfaction obtained from running and increased difficulty with family. Due to the perceived conflicting demands from family and leisure, the runners experienced time constraints and a lack of energy to negotiate the problem. Fick, Goff, and Oppliger (1996) observed similar findings among recreational marathon runners who expressed difficulty in their ability to fully commit to running because of demands of work and family. Much of the research on women's leisure has also documented the incongruence between leisure, work and family identities (e.g.,Green, Hebron, & Woodward, 1987; Henderson, Bialeschki, Shaw, & Freysinger, 1996; Henderson, Hodges, & Kivel, 2002; Herridge, Shaw, & Mannell, 2003; Hochschild, 1989; Shaw, 1994). Women are more likely to experience negative outcomes when they add a leisure identity to their family identities (e.g., a primary caregiver, spouse, and mother). This is exacerbated if women are partly or fully employed. Because women's family

identities tend to be influenced by traditional gender roles, enacting a leisure identity often produces a direct challenge to their family identities. Because leisure and family have different expectations accompanied with the identities (i.e., caring for yourself versus caring for others first), these identities are perceived as distinct and conflicting. Therefore, women who are committed to both identities are more likely to experience leisure constraints and less likely to negotiate them (Green, Hebron, & Woodward, 1987; Henderson, Bialeschki, Shaw, & Freysinger, 1996; Henderson, Hodges, & Kivel, 2002; Herridge, Shaw, & Mannell, 2003; Hochschild, 1989; Shaw, 1994). In summary, the demands stemming from leisure and the roles that accompany other identities compete for limited resources. The realization of this conflict gives rise to the experience of constraints to leisure and the perception of limited available resources to negotiate these constraints.

In more recent years, researchers have increasingly examined the positive outcomes of identity accumulation. Following Marks (1977) and Sieber (1974), proponents of the identity facilitation perspective contend that possessing multiple identities is advantageous (e.g., Barnett & Hyde, 2001; Greenhaus & Powell, 2006; Thoits, 2003). The advantages of identity accumulation have been discussed in the literature under diverse conceptual terms such as enrichment (Kirchmeyer, 1993; Rothbard, 2001), positive spillover (Crouter, 1984; Grzywacz, 2000; Grzywacz, Almeida, & McDonald, 2002; Grzywacz & Marks, 2000a, 2000b; Stephens, Franks & Atienza, 1997; Sumer & Knight, 2001; Voydanoff, 2001), enhancement (Ruderman, Ohlott, Panzer & King, 2002; Tiedje et al., 1990) and facilitation (Frone, 2003; Tompson & Werner, 1997; Wayne, Musisca & Fleeson, 2004).

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

In the context of leisure, Stebbins (1979) noted that identity facilitation between leisure identities and other role identities often alleviates perceptions of constraints and encourages the negotiation of leisure constraints. For example, one of Stebbins's informants received strong support from his employer because he also shared the same interest in acting. Support from the employer included arranging his work schedule to accommodate acting needs and constant encourage-

ment for his leisure pursuit. Such support, gained through his commitment to the work identity, eased constraints to acting and facilitated the efforts to negotiate constraints. In another example, an informant indicated successfully managing work by utilizing benefits from leisure engagements such as presentation skills, competence, social networking and visibility in the community. The realization of benefits from committing to their leisure identity helped to lower their perception of constraints and increased their competence and capacities to negotiate constraints. Goff and Fick (1997) also documented that runners with high commitment to both running and family experienced more benefits including improved overall mood, relaxation, and energy compared to those who were committed to running only. The authors suggested that the benefits obtained from running enhanced these individuals' ability to maintain a higher level of commitment to their families. Thus, from an identity facilitation perspective, there is evidence to suggest that the accumulation of multiple identities can alleviate the experience of constraints and facilitate negotiation.

Merging Two Perspectives

While these two perspectives (i.e., identity conflict and identity facilitation) offer seemingly opposing hypotheses relating to the role of multiple identities and their influence on leisure, several researchers have suggested that a comprehensive understanding of identity aggregation requires the incorporation of the two perspectives, because both negative and positive outcomes are inherent with involvement in multiple life roles (Barnett, 1998; Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Baruch & Barnett, 1986; Burke, 2003; Edwards & Rothbard, 2000; Frone, 2003; Menaghan, 1989; Rothbard, 2001; Thoits, 1992, 2003; Tompson & Werner, 1997). Barnett (1998), for example, suggested that the combination of work and family identities results in both compatibility and conflict. More recently, Frone (2003) argued that a better understanding of the interaction between work and family identities should include both conflict and facilitation. Operating from this perspective, Tompson and Werner (1997) suggested that the two perspectives lie along a continuum with identity conflict on one end and identity facilitation anchoring the other. The authors conceptualized identity conflict/facilitation in terms of the extent to which individuals' adopted identities are perceived to facilitate or lie in conflict with one another (Tompson & Werner, 1997). Using a sample of full-time MBA students, Tompson and Werner illustrated that the level of identity conflict/facilitation predicted job performance; as individuals experience more conflict or less facilitation between work and family identities, the level of work performance declined.

With this in mind, we tested a model (see Figure 1) ground in the tenets of identity conflict and facilitation theories, Jackson et al.'s (1993) propositions, and recent empirical work. In our model, we hypothesized that the experience of constraints to leisure and efforts to negotiate them depend upon the degree to which people perceive the identities they carry facilitate or conflict with one another. An unbalanced combination of identities (i.e., identity conflict) exacerbates the experience of leisure constraints and the perceived deficiency of available resources to overcome them. Alternatively, a balanced combination of identities (i.e., identity

facilitation) lightens the perception of constraints and encourages their negotiation. Thus, the perceived quality of an identity combination accounts for variations in perceived constraints to leisure and efforts to negotiate those constraints. We also hypothesized that constraints would have a direct effect on both negotiation and leisure participation and that negotiation would positively influence leisure participation. Given that identity is considered a primary motivator of individual behavior (e.g., Burke, 1989a, 1989b; Burke & Reitzes, 1991; Stets, 1997; Stets & Burke, 1996; Stryker & Serpe, 1982), we also hypothesized that identity conflict/facilitation would have an indirect effect on participation through constraints and negotiation.

In this investigation, our intent is to offer an alternative theoretical perspective for examining constraint negotiation processes. To date, psychology-derived social psychological perspectives have been broadly employed with emphasis on the individual evidenced through the focus on motivation (Hubbard & Mannell, 2001; Loucks-Atkinson & Mannell, 2007; Son et al., 2008). While motivation (as conceptualized by leisure researchers) and identity theory within sociology share the idea that behavior is intentional and purposive, the level of analysis of each differs. Psychology's perspective on motivation focuses is on how a person makes choices and decisions regarding a specific activity or situation. As such, this level of analysis offers little consideration of the context in which the individuals live their lives. In this regard, Samdahl (2005) argued:

> This narrow focus is most appropriate in research on constraints to consumer behavior, particularly when studies from the perspective of marketing aimed at influencing a specific behavioral choice. That is perhaps the best practical application of leisure constraints and constraint negotiation, for marketing researchers are very clear about their desire to influence participation in a specific activity. However, most of the research on leisure constraints attempts to understand leisure in a broader social context, which makes that narrow focus on activity much too limiting… this approach barely captures the complexity within which individuals make choices about their leisure (p. 340).

Identity theory, ground in symbolic interactionism, attributes less to individual choice but more to the multifaceted nature of the individual and the social structure in which they are embedded (Stets & Biga, 2003). The meanings of identity are well stated by Stryker and Burke (2000):

> Acceptance of Mead's "self reflects society" dictum implies that the self is multifaceted, made up on interdependent and independent, mutually reinforcing and conflicting parts. Identity theory thus adopts James' (1890) vision of person possessing as many selves as groups of persons with which they interact. To refer to each group-based self, the theorist chose the term identity, asserting that persons have as many identities as distinct networks of relationships which they occupy positions and play roles. In identity theory usage, social roles are expectations attached to

position occupied in networks of relationships; identities are internalized role expectations (p.286).

Thus, theory on identity links individuals to the larger social structure in ways that the construct of motivation ignores. Our approach to identity and its driving force assumes that the individual does not exist within a vacuum, but rather, is part of a dynamic process of interpretation of multiple role expectations, self-reflection, and behavior.

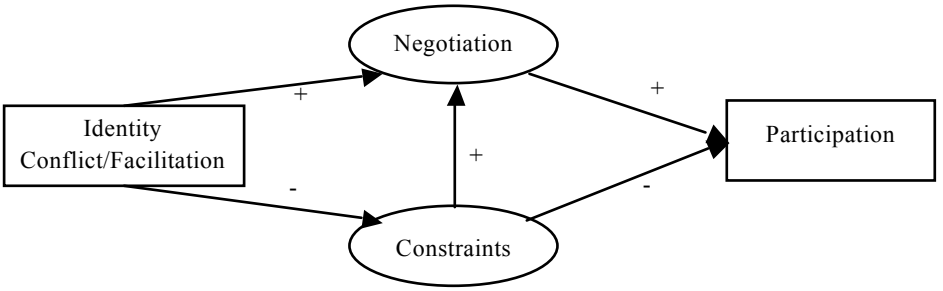


Figure 1. Hypothesized Model of the Leisure Negotiation Process

Methods

In response to Mannell and Iwasaki's (2005) recommendation to develop activity specific scales for use in research on specific leisure domains, our data were collected using a sequential study design. Because the focus of our investigation is on constraint negotiation processes, efforts were made to purposively sample from a population that had had some success in negotiating constraints to their leisure. Consequently, our data collection began with onsite in-depth interviews to identify constraints relevant to the specific recreational context and strategies informants employed to negotiate these constraints. We then developed a survey instrument based on our analysis of the interviews and the previous literature. This instrument was administered online to recreational golfers.

In-depth Interviews

Our in-depth interviews were conducted with recreational golfers to explore constraints that are exclusive to golf participation and the strategies recreational golfers employed to negotiate the constraints. A snowball sampling technique was employed to recruit informants resulting in 21 interviews between October and December in 2006; the point at which we observed data saturation (i.e., redundancy). Of the 21 interviews, 16 were conducted on a driving range. All interviews

were tape recorded with the informants' consent and transcribed verbatim. The interviews lasted between 25 and 45 minutes. Informants consisted of 11 males and 10 females. Most were Caucasian (n=19) and the rest were African American (n=2). All of the informants had, at minimum, graduated from high school. Interviews were semi-structured and guided by two questions: "What problems do you experience in playing golf?" and "What strategies have you adopted to overcome these problems?" The purpose of conducting the interviews was to identify perceived constraints to golf participation and the strategies used to negotiate the constraints. For all transcripts, key words, sentences, or paragraphs that illustrated obstructions for golf participation were coded independently by each researcher. Results of coding were then compared to ensure inter-rater reliability. Inter-rater reliability was 90% and disagreements were resolved by consensus. The same process was conducted for constraint negotiation. Sentences or paragraphs which described informants' efforts to cope with the constraints in order to play golf were coded.

A list of constraints informants identified is presented in Table 1. Constraints related to other commitments and time (e.g., commitments to work, family and school, and lack of time for golf) were most frequently cited, followed by those related to cost (e.g., green fees and equipment) and the weather.

Table 1

Constraints to Golf Based on Interviews

I find my game inadequate in the company of others (7)
I don't have the time to practice to maintain my skill level (5)
I fear embarrassing myself (5)
My game is too inconsistent (5)
I get frustrated easily (3)
I don't seem to be able to improve (5)
I'm too inexperienced (4)
I am not very good at playing golf (4)
I believe I'm not a good golfer (3)
The game is too difficult (3)
I'm not fit enough (3)
The game takes too long to play (5)
I don't have the energy to play (3)
I have health problems (2)
I don't have friends to play with (8)
My friends have different interests (8)
My family/friends don't want me to play (5)
I don't have enough money to play (14)
I can't afford the green fees (10)
Cost of green fees is too expensive (10)
Equipment is too expensive (7)
Cost of carts is too expensive (5)
Other life commitments are a priority (21)
Time commitments to friends and family (18)
I have work commitments (18)
I can't afford to spare the time (17)
It is difficult to find the time to play and practice (14)
I have family commitments (8)
Weather makes it hard to play the game all year round (18)
I hate playing in hot weather (13)
I only like to play in nice weather (3)
I hate playing in cold weather (4)

Note: Numbers inside a parenthesis indicate the frequency of the statement mentioned by participants

A list of negotiation strategies informants adopted is presented in Table 2. Cognitive strategies (e.g., 'push myself harder' and 'accept inadequacies') were adopted for constraints related to intrapersonal issues (e.g., lack of skills or self-confidence) while behavioral strategies were employed for constraints related to interpersonal issues (e.g., lack of partners), commitments, time, cost, and weather. In order to overcome constraints associated to interpersonal issues, informants indicated looking for new social relations (i.e., new golf partners) or modified the behaviors of others (i.e., family or friends). For constraints related to time, informants adjusted schedules for their golf participation or other life domains (e.g., modify schedule for family responsibilities). Informants also indicated trying to find inexpensive alternatives (i.e., golf course or equipment) to alleviate fiscal constraints. For weather-related constraints, informants employed both cognitive (e.g., ignore bad weather) and behavioral strategies (e.g., wear proper clothing).

Table 2

Constraint Negotiation Strategies Based on Interviews

Try to push myself harder (8)
Try to accept inadequacies and play my best (7)
Try to ask for help with the required skills (4)
Try to swallow my pride and play the best I can (3)
Try to continue to play golf anyway with medical treatment (2)
Try to find a golf partner who lives or works close by (8)
Try to persuade close people (family or friends) to play golf (5)
Try not to think about that I'm not fit enough (2)
Try to play more golf to get better (2)
Try to find a golf partner who has similar work schedule (4)
Play where I can afford (14)
Buy inexpensive equipment (7)
Try to budget my money for golf (7)
Try to set aside a specific time when I'm allowed to play golf (17)
Try to budget time for golf (15)
Try to get up early in the morning to play or practice golf (14)
Try to better organize family responsibilities (12)
Try to play golf whenever possible (9)
Try to better organize what I have to do (6)
Try to drop other obligation or activity to play golf (3)
Wear proper clothing (good layering, winter gloves, hat, rain suit, etc.) (15)
Try to ignore bad weather (5)

Note: Numbers inside a parenthesis indicate the frequency of the statement mentioned by participants

Measures

Based on our interviews, a 32-item scale was developed to measure constraints to golf participation. These items were a combination of items that we developed based on the findings that emerged from our interviews which were conducted to develop activity specific scales (Mannell & Iwasaki, 2005) in addition to items that were adapted from existing research (Jackson & Henderson, 1995; Jackson & Rucks, 1995; Hubbard & Mannell, 2001). Respondents were first asked "do you play as much golf as you would like to?" (yes/no). All respondents indicated "no."

They were then instructed to indicate their level of agreement with the 32 potential constraints. The scale's stem was, "Can't play golf as much as I'd like to because…" The items were measured along a five-point scale where 1='strongly disagree' and 5='strongly agree. ' To measure negotiation of leisure constraints, 22 items were developed that reflected strategies informants used to mitigate identified constraints. The scale's stem was, "To overcome barriers to play golf, I…" Respondents were requested to indicate the frequency in which they adopted the negotiation strategy. These items were measured along a five-point scale where 1='never' and 5='very often. '

To measure the consequences of identity accumulation, we modified Tompson and Werner's (1997) scale in which they conceptualized conflict and facilitation as opposing poles along a continuum. A list of nine identities that were drawn from Tompson and Werner's study and identified during our interviews was provided to respondents from which they were instructed to identify each identity that s/he currently occupied. The list of identities included student, worker, retiree, spouse, primary care giver, volunteer, homemaker, friend and religious participant. Respondents were then requested to compare each of 11 identities including their gender (i.e., man/woman) and "other" with the leisure identity of "golfer." In so doing, they were instructed to report the degree to which commitment to one identity facilitated either the successful achievement of their golfer identity, did not affect the identity, or conflicted with their golfer identity. For instance, as for the comparison between gender identity and golfer identity, participants were asked "does being a woman or man have helpful or harmful effect on being a golfer?" Items were measured along a five-point scale where -2="a harmful or conflicting effect" through +2="a very facilitative or helpful effect." The scale was prefaced with the instruction specifying that "(-2) indicates that membership in a certain group or role makes it hard for me to be a golfer; or the two groups or roles expect conflicting behaviors from me. Alternatively, (+2) indicates that membership in one group or role makes it easy for me to be a golfer; or the two groups or roles expect the same behaviors from me." Behaviors, in this context, include concrete actions such as working on campaigns, taking care of others, taking exams, as well as less concrete behaviors such as acting friendly, shy, or aggressive. These items were used to form a summative index that provided respondents with an overall identity conflict/facilitation score (Tompson & Werner, 1997). A negative total score was indicative of high perceived conflict between respondents' golfer identity and other identities, while a positive score suggests greater overall facilitation.

Survey Sample and Data Collection

Quantitative data were collected from recreational golfers via two sources between June and September in 2007. First a commercial database agency was hired to send an invitation email to people who have played golf (including golf practice) within the last 12 months. The agency sent the link to the survey (i.e., Survey Monkey) to approximately 60,000 email addresses. This yielded 137 completed surveys. Concurrently, an invitation email was sent to several Yahoo-sponsored golf discussion groups who had also played within the last 12 months. For both groups, four reminder emails were sent over a four-week period following the ini-

tial email request to participate in the investigation. This second procedure yielded an additional 348 completed questionnaires. Combined, the total sample size was 485 cases.

The sociodemographic characteristics of each of the sampled groups were almost identical. Respondents were mostly male (Commercial=63.5%, Yahoo=63.1%) and had completed high school (Commercial=98.5%, Yahoo=98.9%). Less than half of the respondents indicated having one or more children in the household (Commercial=38.4%, Yahoo=47.6%). For both groups, the median income fell in the range of $60,000 and $99,999. The only notable difference between two groups related to age. Respondents from the commercial database were older (M=49.9, SD=16.8) than those from the Yahoo discussion groups (M=40.8, SD=15.7).

Response rates for both sampling techniques could not be calculated because both the commercial agency and the Yahoo-sponsored golf discussion groups would not disclose the exact number of members to which the invitation to participate was sent. In terms of overall sociodemographic characteristics, however, we observed little significant difference between our sample and the U.S. golfer population. According to the National Sporting Goods Association (NSGA, 2007), about 57 percent of the U.S. golfing population made more than $57,000, whereas approximately 51 percent of our sample reported household incomes over $60,000. The median age of both U.S. golfer population and our sample was between 35 and 44. Little difference was also observed for "having children in the household" (Sample=44.7%, Population=43%; NSGA, 2007).The only notable difference between our sample and US golfer population related to gender. Women in our sample were overrepresented (37%) compared to US female golfer population (22.6%; NSGA, 2007).

Scale Development

Constraint items were categorized into seven domains based on their face validity: (a) time and commitment (nine items; α=.77), (b) skill (four items; α=.84), (c) confidence (five items; α=.92), (d) social (five items; α=.74), (e) weather (five items; α=.76), (f) cost (five items; α=.90), and (g) health (three items; α=.79). Consistent with Anderson and Gerbing (1988), our model estimation first began with testing the measurement component (i.e., confirmatory factor analysis) followed by estimation of the structural parameters (Anderson & Gerbing, 1988; Brown, 2007; Byrne, 2000; Kline, 2005). Although six items were removed to avoid cross-loading, the results of CFA indicated satisfactory model fit (χ^2=990.54, df=277, RMSEA=.089, NNFI=.95, CFI=.96)[3] (Table 3). The Cronbach's alpha coefficients were all equal to or greater than .76.

[3]The goodness-of-fit indices that we used to empirically assess fit where the root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA; Steiger & Lind, 1980), the non-normed fit index (NNFI; Bentler & Bonnett, 1980) and the comparative fit index (CFI; Bentler, 1990). Generally accepted values for each of these fit indices are; (a) RMSEA values falling between .06 - .08 indicate acceptable fit with .10 considered the upper limit (Byrne, 2000), (b) NNFI values greater than . 90 (Kenny, 2003), and (c) CFI values greater than .95 (Hu & Bentler, 1995).

Table 3

Confirmatory Factor Analysis—Constraints

Constraints		M	SD	Factor Loading	*t*-value
Social (α=. 76)		2. 16	. 92		
SO_1	My family/friends don't want me to play	1. 81	0. 99	. 82	9. 98***
SO_2	I don't have friends to play with	2. 14	1. 17	. 86	17. 40***
SO_3	My friends have different interests	2. 56	1. 21	. 77	17. 40***
Health (α=. 84)		1. 89	. 86		
H_1	I have health problems	1. 82	1. 06	. 52	9. 69***
H_2	I don't have the energy to play	1. 95	1. 00	. 85	18. 17***
H_3	I'm not fit enough	1. 89	1. 03	. 85	18. 07***
Skill (α=. 85)		2. 28	1. 05		
S_1	The game is too difficult	2. 05	1. 07	. 82	17. 75***
S_2	I'm too inexperienced	2. 30	1. 34	. 86	18. 96***
S_3	My game is too inconsistent	2. 52	1. 17	. 79	16. 72***
Confidence (α=. 92)		2. 29	1. 06		
C_1	I fear embarrassing myself	2. 13	1. 20	. 79	17. 09***
C_2	I get frustrated easily	2. 17	1. 11	. 70	14. 44***
C_3	I find my game inadequate in the company of others	2. 29	1. 20	. 89	20. 93***
C_4	I believe I'm not a good golfer	2. 38	1. 24	. 91	21. 70***
C_5	I am not very good at playing golf	2. 47	1. 29	. 91	21. 78***
Cost (α=. 90)		2. 64	1. 08		
CS_1	I don't have enough money to play	2. 92	1. 24	. 66	13. 07***
CS_2	I can't afford the green fees	2. 68	1. 24	. 72	14. 91***
CS_3	Equipment is too expensive	2. 40	1. 25	. 79	16. 94***
CS_4	Cost of carts is too expensive	2. 54	1. 32	. 86	19. 11***
CS_5	Cost of green fees is too expensive	2. 74	1. 35	. 87	19. 57***
Weather (α=. 78)		2. 89	. 92		
W_1	I only like to play in nice weather	2. 82	1. 11	. 73	13. 72***
W_2	I hate playing in hot weather	2. 81	1. 17	. 67	12. 34***
W_3	I hate playing in cold weather	2. 85	1. 22	. 67	12. 31***
W_4	I hate playing in rain	3. 11	1. 29	. 64	11. 68***
Time and Commitment (α=. 76)		2. 89	1. 03		
TC_1	The game takes too long to play	2. 42	1. 22	. 68	12. 67***
TC_2	Time commitments to friends and family	3. 17	1. 28	. 72	13. 60***
TC_3	It is difficult to find the time to play and practice	3. 13	1. 25	. 77	14. 84***

Note. Measured along a Likert-type scale where 1="Strongly Disagree" through 5="Strongly Agree. "
Goodness-of-fit indices: χ^2=990. 54, df=277, RMSEA=. 08, NNFI=. 95, CFI=. 96
***p<. 001

Since congruence between leisure constraints and constraint negotiation strategies has been emphasized in previous work (Jackson & Rucks, 1995; Mannell & Loucks-Atkinson, 2005), the factor structure reflected in the constraint dimensions was maintained for negotiation: (a) time and commitment (seven items; α=.89), (b) skill (two items; α=. 60), (c) confidence (three items; α=. 80), (d) social (three items; α=. 79), (e) weather two items; α=. 63), (f) cost (three items; α=. 74), and (g) health (two items; α=. 75). Overall, the measurement model showed satisfactory

model fit (χ^2=659.68, df=188, RMSEA=. 088, NNFI=.97, CFI=. 96). As shown in Table 4, all constructs demonstrated adequate internal consistency (i.e.,Cronbach's alpha) with all alpha coefficients equal to or greater than .60 (Robinson, J.P., Shaver, R.P., & Wrightsman).

Table 4

Confirmatory Factor Analysis—Negotiation

Negotiation		M	SD	Factor Loading	*t*-value
Social (α=. 79)		2. 72	. 96		
SO_1	Try to find a golf partner who lives or works close by	2. 74	1. 19	. 77	15. 73***
SO_2	Try to find a golf partner who has similar work schedule	2. 74	1. 12	. 74	14. 81***
SO_3	Try to persuade close people (family or friends) to play golf	2. 68	1. 13	. 72	14. 21***
Health (α=. 75)		2. 18	1. 06		
H_1	Try not to think about that I'm not fit enough	2. 24	1. 21	. 63	10. 92***
H_2	Try to continue to play golf anyway with medical treatment	2. 08	1. 19	. 81	13. 45***
Skill (α=. 60)		2. 97	. 91		
S_1	Try to ask for help with the required skills	2. 78	1. 02	. 52	9. 76***
S_2	Try to play more golf to get better	3. 14	1. 12	. 84	15. 95***
Confidence (α=. 80)		3. 34	. 99		
C_1	Try to accept inadequacies and play my best	3. 52	1. 10	. 78	15. 82***
C_2	Try to push myself harder	3. 28	1. 16	. 73	14. 44***
C_3	Try to swallow my pride and play the best I can	3. 16	1. 26	. 79	16. 18***
Cost (α=. 74)		2. 82	. 95		
CS_1	Play where I can afford	3. 40	1. 24	. 73	14. 20***
CS_2	Buy inexpensive equipment	2. 50	1. 10	. 57	10. 51***
CS_3	Try to budget my money for golf	2. 61	1. 16	. 76	15. 12***
Weather (α=. 63)		3. 06	. 97		
W_1	Wear proper clothing (good layering, winter gloves, hat, rain suit, etc.)	3. 37	1. 18	. 67	12. 02***
W_2	Try to ignore bad weather	2. 72	1. 09	. 69	12. 34***
Time and Commitment (α=. 89)		2. 90	. 90		
TC_1	Try to better organize family responsibilities	2. 86	1. 09	. 65	12. 99***
TC_2	Try to budget time for golf	3. 09	1. 18	. 80	17. 41***
TC_3	Try to play golf whenever possible	3. 26	1. 19	. 76	16. 11***
TC_4	Try to get up early in the morning to play or practice golf	2. 54	1. 19	. 71	14. 77***
TC_5	Try to better organize what I have to do	3. 11	1. 01	. 79	17. 08***
TC_6	Try to set aside a specific time when I'm allowed to play golf	2. 92	1. 25	. 82	18. 05***
TC_7	Try to drop other obligation or activity to play golf	2. 45	1. 04	. 70	14. 39***

Note. Measured along a Likert-type scale where 1="Never" through 5="Very Often"
Goodness-of-fit indices: CFA fit indices: χ^2=659. 68, df=188, RMSEA=. 08, NNFI=. 97, CFI=. 96
***p<. 001

Since our hypothesized model contains a large number of measured variables and estimated parameters, a partial disaggregation approach was employed to improve the ratio of sample size to the number of variables (e.g., Hall, Snell, & Foust, 1999; Marsh, Hau, Balla, & Grayson, 1998; Hau & Marsh, 2004; Williams & O'Boyle, 2008). Partial disaggregation sums or averages a subset of items from a scale to form indicators for a latent variable, with these indicators referred to as parcels (Williams & O'Boyle, 2008). The items grouped into a parcel are assumed to be psychometrically unidimensional and conceptually similar, and measure the same construct (Kishton & Widaman, 1994). The item parceling method (i.e., partial disaggregation approach) is preferred over the use of all items from a scale as an indicator of the latent variable (i.e., total disaggregation) if the goal is to understand relations among latent variables (Williams & O'Boyle, 2008). Accordingly, following the validation of the structure of constraints and negotiation, we created new indicators to reflect the dimensions underlying the latent construct of constraints and negotiation. These new indicators were computed from the means of the items loading onto each factor of the constructs and used in the next step of data analysis. The overall measurement quality was checked through CFA and indicators of the measurement model showed satisfactory model fit (χ^2=116. 47, df=40, RMSEA=.068, NNFI=.96, CFI=.97).

Tests of internal consistency for the identity conflict/facilitation measure were considered inappropriate given that the construct is not latent and items are not designed to covary (Tompson & Werner, 1997). For example, it would not necessarily follow that a person who experiences a conflict between 'golfer' identity and 'gender' identity would also perceive a conflict between 'golfer' identity and 'spouse' identity.

Findings

Descriptive Analyses

As shown in Table 5, the overall mean score of identity conflict/facilitation was .28 (SD=.58, five-point scale with a midpoint of 0). The relation of a "golfer identity" with a "retiree identity" was considered the least conflicting (M=.71, SD=.96) whereas the relation with a "homemaker identity" was rated the most conflicting (M=-.11, SD=.57). Other identities that were comparatively more conflicting with the "golfer identity" were "caregiver" (M=.0, SD=.96), "volunteer" (M=.0, SD=.74), "employee" (M=.10, SD=.99), and "student" (M=.14, SD=118).

Structural Model

Based on the literature reviewed, we tested the hypothesized model presented in Figure 1. We hypothesized that identity conflict/facilitation would have a negative influence on constraints and a positive influence on negotiation. That is, low scores on conflict/facilitation (indicating high conflict) were expected to correlate with high levels of constraints whereas high scores (high facilitation) were expected to correlate with high levels on negotiation. We also hypothesized that constraints would have a direct effect on both negotiation and golf participation while negotiation positively influences golf participation.

Table 5

Descriptive Statistics for Identity Conflict/Facilitation

Variables	M	SD
Conflict/Facilitation (Total Scale[1])	. 28	. 58
Gender	. 44	. 86
Friend	. 69	. 82
Employee	. 10	. 99
Retiree	. 71	. 96
Student	. 14	1. 18
Homemaker	-. 11	. 57
Spouse	. 49	1. 05
Caregiver	. 00	. 96
Volunteer	. 00	. 74
Religious participant	. 21	. 78
Other	. 25	1. 29

[1] Identity conflict/facilitation indicates the extent to which subjects perceived 11 identities they carry to facilitate or conflict with golfer identity. It was measured along a Likert-type scale where -2="a harmful or conflicting effect" through +2="a very facilitative or helpful effect."

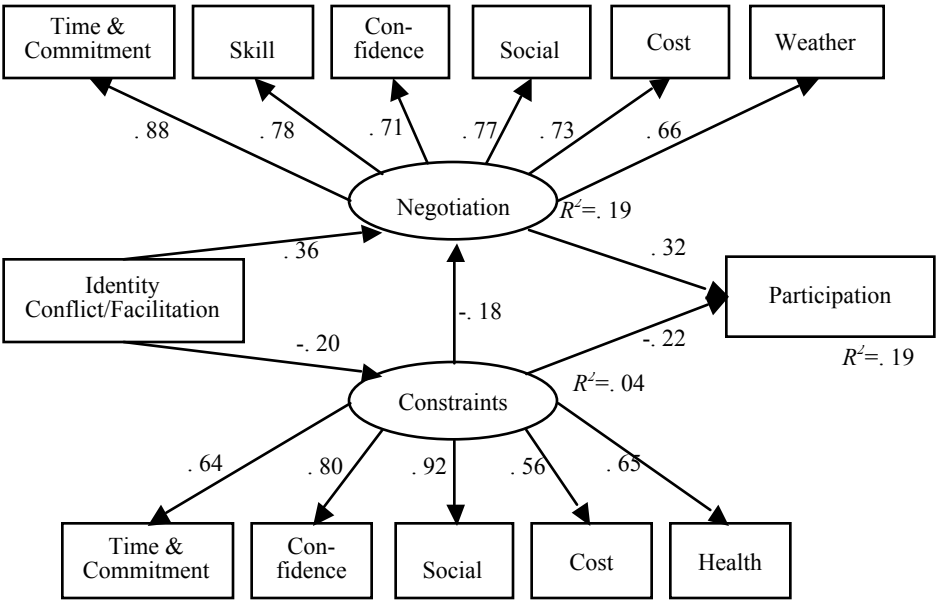
The model testing was conducted in LISREL. Our findings are presented in Table 6 and depicted in Figure 2. The results indicated satisfactory model fit (χ^2=190.14, df=59, RMSEA=.077, NNFI=.95, CFI=.96). Constraints (β=-.196, *t*=3.472) was negatively predicated by Identity Conflict/Facilitation, accounting for 4% of the variance. This finding indicates that as identity conflict increases so too does respondents' perception of constraints. Negotiation was positively influenced by Identity Conflict/Facilitation (β=.361, *t*=6.802) and negatively influenced by Constraints (β=-.177, *t*=-3.127). These constructs accounted for 19% of the variation in negotiation. These significant relationships illustrated that respondents' effort to negotiate constraints increased with increasing levels of identity facilitation but declined with higher levels of constraints. Participation was negatively predicted by Constraints (β=-.217, *t*=-4.032) and positively predicated by Negotiation (β=.324, *t*=5.985), accounting for 19% of the variance.

Table 6

Structural Model Analysis

Path		B	SE	β	*t*
Identity conflict/facilitation	→ Constraints	-. 220	. 063	-. 196	-3. 472***
Identity conflict/facilitation	→ Negotiation	. 488	. 072	. 361	6. 802***
Constraints	→ Negotiation	-. 212	. 068	-. 177	-3. 127***
Constraints	→ Participation	-. 985	. 244	-. 217	-4. 032***
Negotiation	→ Participation	1. 225	. 205	. 324	5. 985***

* p<. 05, *** p <.001
Goodness-of-fit indices: χ^2=190. 14, df =59, RMSEA=. 07, NNFI=. 95, CFI=. 96
R^2: Constraints =. 04
Negotiation =.19
Participation =.19



Note: Goodness-of-fit indices: χ^2 =190. 14, df =59, RMSEA=. 077, NNFI=. 95, CFI=. 96

Figure 2. Final Model

We also observed two two-path indirect effects through Constraints (Indirect Effect=.217, *t*=2.641), and Negotiation (Indirect Effect=.598, *t*=4.482) and three-path indirect effect, Identity conflict/facilitation → Constraints → Negotiation → Participation (Indirect Effect=.057, *t*=2.167) which were statistically significant as was the total effect size of Identity Conflict/Facilitation on Participation (Total Effect=.872, *t*=5.573).

These data provided support for identity theory and our hypothesized model. With the exception of constraints' effect on negotiation, the nature of relationship among the constructs was consistent with our predictions. The R^2 values ranged from a low of four percent for constraints through a high of 19 percent for negotiation and participation. While these values would not be considered high, they do indicate that respondents' experience of constraints and effort to negotiate them were accounted for by the nature of the combination of multiple identities.[4]

[4]Given the range of R^2 values (.02 to .19) reported in Loucks-Atkinson and Mannell's (2007) study, we believe the range of our R^2 values is not unique although they are lower than R^2 values (.13 to .27) reported in Son et al.'s (2008a) study. The other three studies (Hubbard & Mannell, 2001; Son et al., 2007; White, 2008) did not provide R^2 values.

Discussion

Drawing from the tenets identity theory (Burke, 2003; Thoits, 1992, 2003) related to identity conflict and facilitation (e.g., Burke, 2003; Edwards & Rothbard, 2000; Frone, 2003; Menaghan, 1989; Rothbard, 2001; Thoits, 1992, 2003; Tompson & Werner, 1997), the purpose of our investigation was to explore how individuals' commitment to various identities influences their perceptions of constraints to leisure and constraint negotiation within the context of recreational golf. Our analysis of data provided preliminary evidence in support of our contention that identity conflict/facilitation is an antecedent of perceived constraints and negotiation efforts. Further, the findings showed that identity conflict/facilitation influenced participation through constraints and negotiation. As identity conflict increased, so too did respondents' perceived constraints related to recreational golf participation. These findings illustrated that the experience of constraints to leisure can be partially explained by the perceived difficulty of maintaining a healthy balance between leisure and other domains of life. For example, a man who is committed to both his family-based identities (father and husband) and the golfer identity may be plagued by a lack of time. His perception of time constraints may derive from his endeavor to meet expectations from his family, which is to be physically present and engaged at home during the weekend, helping his wife with housework, and his children's homework. Since the requirements of the roles associated with these identities (father/husband and golfer) necessitate incompatible behaviors (being at home versus being at golf course), he realizes that there is just not enough time to play golf. In our study, respondents who experienced more acute identity conflict between that of "golfer" and other identities (i.e., gender, student, worker, retiree, spouse, primary care giver, volunteer, homemaker, friend, and religious participant) were more constrained in their participation and ability to enjoy golf. The findings also illustrate that the ability to negotiate constraints depends on the compatibility between the leisure identity and other identities an individual holds. For example, consider a man who is committed to both work-related identities (employee, coworker) and a golfer identity. Through his commitment to his work-related identities, the man might experience increased self-esteem and competence and broaden his social network. Such benefits from his commitment to work-related identities encourage him to engage in constraint negotiation processes. According to Burk (2003), identities that have common meanings are likely to facilitate each other because they can be verified together. As verifying one identity helps verify the other identity, the combination of these identities assists an individual to overcome constraints that prevent her/him from identity-relevant behaviors. For example, for a man who holds a golfer identity, the meanings of gender identity and golfer identity share a common dimension of being competitive, active and competent, playing golf then helps verify both identities. Thus, he would be more likely to engage in a process of leisure constraint negotiation for the verification of two identities.

The results of our study provided partial support for the proposed interaction of constraints, negotiation and participation. Consistent with previous studies (Hubbard & Mannell, 2001; Loucks-Atkinson & Mannell, 2007; Son et al., 2008),

golf participation was positively influenced by negotiation and negatively affected by constraints. On the other hand, the negative effect of constraints on negotiation was contrary to what we had anticipated. Given the inconsistent findings on the relationship between constraints and negotiation reported in previous studies (e.g., positive relationship in Hubbard & Mannell and Loucks-Atkinson & Mannell; no significant relationship in Son et al.), we were not especially surprised to observe the negative association. In this investigation, the introduction of identity conflict/facilitation into the model might have affected the observed negative relationship between constraints and negotiation. That is, the experience of constraints emerged from the competing demands of roles associated with different identities. These competing demands exacerbate the perceived deficiency of available resources used to negotiate the constraints. The comparisons between our results and previous studies, however, should be interpreted with caution given the different dimensions of constraints used in the studies. The fact that we created different domains of constraints makes it difficult to compare to previous work (e.g., Hubbard & Mannell, 2001; Loucks-Atkinson & Mannell, 2007; Son et al., 2008) that adopted Crawford and Godbey's tripartite approach (i.e, intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural).

These findings also illustrate that the identity conflict/facilitation theoretical framework (Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Baruch & Barnett, 1986; Burke, 2003; Edwards & Rothbard, 2000; Frone, 2003; Menaghan, 1989; Rothbard, 2001; Thoits, 1992, 2003; Tompson & Werner, 1997) offers a unique perspective for understanding the experience of constraints to leisure and constraint negotiation processes. Thoits (1985) suggested that the degree of interdependence between identities determines the balance of an identity combination. Identities can be interdependent when there is overlap in the audience/social network of identities or role partners. Interdependence exists when the people (e.g., golf associates) to whom one is attached due to holding an identity (e.g., golfer identity) are the same as those (e.g., spouse, friends, coworkers) with whom one interacts in order to confirm other identities (Stryker & Serpe, 1985). When identity interdependence is present, limited resources such as time and energy can be spent maintaining multiple identities concurrently, thus reducing the chance of identity conflict. If a leisure identity and other identities (e.g., spouse, friend, worker) are mutually supporting each other, efforts to sustain a leisure identity simultaneously enhance the maintenance of other identities. Thus, individuals are more likely to engage in a process of leisure constraint negotiation to maintain not only the leisure identity but also other role identities. On the other hand, activities or roles that are independent of one another are often segregated in time, space, and role partners (i.e., social networks). For these isolated identities, limited resources such as time, money, and energy constrain choices for each identity because the resources invested in one set of role relationships must be taken away from investment in others.

The identity conflict/facilitation framework also anchors the experience of constraints and constraint negotiation processes within the broader life context in which the phenomena are experienced. Researchers have long commented on the importance of understanding leisure experiences within the context of people's lives related to work, family, friends, school, and so on (Kelly, 1983; Samdahl,

2005). There is, however, little empirical evidence documenting the influence of multiple role identities (e.g., worker, parent, friend, and student) on individuals' decisions relating to their leisure experiences. The roles that accompany these identities and their demand on individual resources are poorly understood.

The tested directionality of the relationship between identity conflict/facilitation and constraints and negotiation was derived from the sociology literature where the focus lies in understanding social influences driving human behavior. Sociologists establish "social causation" by examining the social arrangements and social relationships in which individuals are embedded (Thoits, 2003). Within the tradition of symbolic interactionism, researchers (Cooley, 1902; James, 1890; Mead, 1934) have focused on the various ways the self produces meaningful behavior. Because identity theory recognizes the important ways that social structure organizes the self and social behavior through the production of patterned interaction, the theory maintains that the relationship and compatibility among identities a person holds also reflects the organizational principles of society (Stryker & Statham, 1985). A social structure or society precedes its individual members so that the meanings and expectations associated with identity come before individual's evaluation of the compatibility between identities. As described in our literature review, the results illustrate how multiple identities function together within the self to determine the perceived availability of resources to activate identity-relevant behaviors. Perceptions of the lack of available resources emerging from identity conflict drive the perception of constraints, whereas a perceived abundance of resources as a consequence of identity facilitation encourages individuals to negotiate constraints. However, the premise of symbolic interactionism implies that people are always embedded in the very social structure that is, at the same time, being created by those persons (Stets & Burke, 2003). While research on how the self shapes behavior has dominated much of the research in symbolic interactionism, Cast (2003) suggested that individuals' behavior also has consequences for identity, especially during periods of identity acquisition and negotiation, or for persistent enactments of behaviors repeated over time in stable social structures.

Our sample and associated findings do have some limitations given that we are not able to precisely determine the degree to which the sample represents the population from which it was drawn (i.e., recreational golfers). Given that the purpose of the investigation, however, was to explore the tenability of the theory of identity conflict/facilitation for understanding the experience and negotiation of leisure constraints among recreational golfers rather than develop context specific implications for practice, we feel the limitation is of lesser import (Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Baruch & Barnett, 1986; Burke, 2003; Edwards & Rothbard, 2000; Frone, 2003; Menaghan, 1989; Rothbard, 2001; Thoits, 1992, 2003; Tompson & Werner, 1997).The sequential design of our investigation was purposive; guided by the phenomena of interest (i.e., constraint negotiation process). As with other purposive designs (see Patton, 1990 for discussion), the intent is not to generalize and offer broad implications to expansive populations, but rather toward the theory guiding the investigation. The findings provide support for the contention that holding multiple identities results in both positive and negative effects for leisure engagement (Barnett & Baruch, 1987; Baruch & Barnett, 1986; Burke,

2003; Edwards & Rothbard, 2000; Frone, 2003; Menaghan, 1989; Rothbard, 2001; Thoits, 1992, 2003; Tompson & Werner, 1997). Identity conflict/facilitation offers a theoretical perspective for understanding peoples' experience and negotiation of constraints that is inclusive of the social context within which multiple role expectations are at tension. Thus, it is to the theory and not the specific context to which our findings generalize. Continued empirical testing in other activity contexts will begin to better define the parameters of the theory.

Having said this, support for the identity-based framework does have broader implications for understanding society's ability to enjoy leisure. To varying degrees, we all face and attempt to negotiate tensions eschewing from the responsibilities that accompany the roles we occupy throughout our daily lives. Magnifying these tensions, however, are societal expectations and accommodations. These expectations are manifested in women's perceived ethic of care and the guilt and shame they experience during leisure (or constraint from). Accommodations in the workplace for shared parenting and the growing acceptance of sharing the responsibility of dependent care among both partners may help to minimize these feelings. While cases (and countries) can be identified as very progressive in establishing working environments that are accommodating of parenting and leisure, these tend to be the exception rather than norm. These cases ought to be seen as exemplars of how to proceed on this issue.

Future work should also consider including measures of respondents' perceived salience for each identity. Our measure of identity conflict/facilitation did not distinguish among identities in terms of their importance to respondents. The salience of identity determines the allocation of the limited resources (e.g., the amount of time and energy invested in each identity; Stryker, 1980; Burke & Stets, 1999; Goode, 1960; Thoits, 1995). Thus, identity conflict/facilitation weighted by the value of each identity should enhance its effect on perceived constraints and measures of respondents' endeavors to overcome the constraints to leisure participation. The more salient an identity, the more committed an individual will be to it, and the greater the impact of its conflict/facilitation.

Finally, in addition the inclusion of identity conflict/facilitation, other work has also included psychologically based indicators of motivation. Motivation in the psychology literature and previous constraints/negotiation research has viewed the construct in terms of individually oriented need satiation or internal compulsion. Alternatively, sociological conceptualizations of identity, similar to the framework we have adopted in this paper, considers behavior a manifestation of the desire for self-verification that is affirmed through a network of relationships and associated roles. Thus, while both approaches assume motivation, the processes driving behavior are distinctly different. Where theoretically feasible, it would be potentially informative to include other conceptualizations of motivation in these models. We emphasize, however, that determination of which constructs include in model development needs to be firmly ground within the theoretical framework adopted by the investigators. Without theoretical foundation, model development becomes a game of chance where the researcher is dependent on empirical anomaly. Model development in previous constraints research, while

conceptually feasible, has lacked an integrative theoretical framework guiding the temporal structure of the included constructs. While the expansion of path models abstracting the constraint negotiation process will likely better account for sample variation, model development needs to carefully follow the tenets of selected theory.

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