Gender Identity, Leisure Identity, and Leisure Participation

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Abstract

We adapted identity theory to explore relationships between gender identity, leisure identity, and leisure participation. Based upon the premise of identity theory, we hypothesized that the intensity of participation in recreational golf would be predicted by their gender identity (masculine/feminine) and leisure-related identity of "golfer." Our analyses explored these relationships among men and women golfers. Our data offered partial support for our hypothesized model. For men, masculine identity had both direct and indirect effects on golf participation-partially mediated by "golfer" identity. Alternately, for women, masculine identity indirectly influenced leisure participation, also mediated by "golfer" identity. These findings provide insight on the utility of identity theory for understanding leisure behavior, in general, and the influence of gender on leisure, in particular.

KEYWORDS: Identity theory, gender identity, leisure identity, leisure participation

Identity theory has provided broad insight on a diverse range of behavior in contemporary social science, cutting across psychoanalysis, psychology, political science, sociology, and history (Burke & Stets, 2009; Cast, 2003; Stryker & Burke, 2000). An underlying assumption of the research on the self and identity is that the self is a primary motivator of behavior (Stets & Burke, 2003). In order to explain why and how individuals behave in a certain way, we need to understand the identities they embrace and the corresponding meanings of these identities for the individual (Stets & Biga, 2003). Consistent with the work of identity theorists, leisure researchers have long asserted that the essence of an individual's commitment to leisure lies in the opportunity to express and affirm the self (e.g., Buchanan, 1985; Havitz & Dimanche, 1990; Kyle, Absher, Norman, Hammitt & Jodice, 2007; Pritchard, Howard, & Havitz, 1992; Scott & Shafer, 2001; Shamir, 1988). According to Shamir (1988), "In full sense, internal commitment exists when the person defines himself or herself in terms of the line of activity, role or relationship he or she is committed to" (p. 244). Shamir (1992) defined identification as a feeling of 'oneness' with the object of identification or as self-definition in terms of that object. When the object of identification is a social subject or a social role, identification is the incorporation of a certain identity into the self-concept. This implies that people can incorporate recreational activities and the meanings associated with these activities into their self-definitions, defining themselves in terms of the activity. Consequently, leisure identity drives leisure conduct.

In the context of gender, identity theorists also maintain that individuals pursue behaviors that are consistent with their gender identity (i.e., the degree to which they embrace masculinity and/or femininity) and avoid behaviors that violate the meanings associated with their gender identity. Western culture also defines personal attributes and behaviors as appropriate or inappropriate for each gender (Anderson 2005; Henderson, Stalnaker, & Taylor, 1988; Messner, 1998, 2002; Messner & Sabo 1990; Ross & Shinew, 2008; Shaw, 1994; Snyder & Spreitzer, 1983). Consequently, many social activities, including leisure, are often labeled masculine or feminine. Traditional masculine attributes (e.g., independent, mastery, and inner-directedness) are considered to be compatible with values of the experience in leisure while feminine features (e.g. dependence, passive, and other-directed) are associated with values thought to indicate a 'lack of leisure' (Kane, 1990). Thus, individuals' behavior and identity in the context of leisure needs to be understood in relation to their gender identity.

To date, there has been scant effort devoted to understanding how gender identity and leisure identity function together to guide leisure behavior. Identity theory that is rooted in sociology asserts that identity is a primary motivator of behavior (Stets & Burke, 2003) and a person has multiple identities—one for each position s/he occupies in society. Research has illustrated that behavior is the product of the interplay of multiple identities. With this in mind, we adapted identity theory to explore the relationships between gender identity, leisure identity, and leisure participation in the context of recreational golf. We also examined these relationships separately for men and women.

Past Work

Identity Theory

According to Burke and Tully's (1977) conceptualization of identity theory, an identity is defined as the set of meanings applied to the self in a social role or situation, defining what it means to be who one is in that role or situation. This set of meanings serves as a standard or reference that guides future behavior. In Western democracies, people are thought to act in a self-regulatory manner with the goal of achieving consistency between the meanings of their identity, which define them in a specific role, and what they perceive to be the meanings for that specific identity in any situation (Burke, 1991; Burke & Stets, 1999; Cast & Burke, 2002; Smith-Lovin, 1995; Stets, 2006; Stets & Tsushima, 1999). When consistency between the two sets of the meanings is established, identity is successfully verified (i.e., self-verification). What identity theorists emphasize is that identities motivate individual behavior through the process of self-verification (Burke & Reitzes, 1991; Foote, 1951; Gecas, 1982; Heise, 1979). A body of research has provided empirical support for the influence of identity on individuals' 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, Stryker and Serpe (1982) found that the salience of a "religious identity" is a meaningful predictor of time spent in religious role. Likewise, Callero (1985) and Charng et al. (1988) demonstrated that the salience of the "blood-donor role identity" is related to the frequency with which individuals donate blood. More recently, Stets and Biga (2003) demonstrated that people with a salient "environmental identity" were more likely to engage in environmentally responsible behaviors. As Stryker (1968, 1980) noted, the more salient an identity, the more committed an individual will be to that identity and the greater correspondence between behaviors enacted by the person and the identity.

In the leisure literature, the salience of leisure identities has been discussed in the context of serious leisure (e.g., Baldwin & Norris, 1999; Crouch, 1993; Gibson, Willming & Holdnak, 2002; Kellert, 1985; Mittelstaedt, 1995; Scott & Godbey, 1992; 1994; Stebbins, 1979; 1982; Yoder, 1997). For instance, based on participant observation and in-depth interviews, Baldwin and Norris (1999) documented that people who identify strongly with activities surrounding American Kennel Club (AKC) events were highly committed to AKC-related activities. They referred to themselves as "dog people" and had profound knowledge of training and breeding dogs and an advanced understanding of the AKC subculture. Similarly, Gibson et al. (2002) observed that individuals who were highly involved with the University of Florida Football program often made self-references such as "a Gator football fan" or even "a Gator."

Beyond the serious leisure literature, few studies have directly examined the effect of leisure identity on leisure behavior. Drawing from the findings of three studies conducted with college students and participants in serious leisure activities, Shamir (1992) illustrated that the salience of a selected leisure identity was strongly related to time investment, continuance commitment, and a level of ef-

fort and skill invested in a leisure activity. Similarly, Laverie and Arnett (2000) observed that the salience of "fan" identity related to a women's basketball team was an important element explaining fan-related behavior; i.e., a frequency of attendance in the basketball games. Haggard and Williams (1992) also reported that knowledge of the self and desire for expressing the true (or ideal) self predicted people's leisure behavior. They observed that respondents expressed themselves by participating in recreational activities which reflect specific sets of character traits or self images. For instance, backpacking, outdoor cooking and kayaking were perceived to convey self images such as adventurous, fun loving, likes scenic beauty, naturalist, outdoorsy, and social. Thus, a person with this set of self-images (i.e., adventurous, fun loving, likes scenic beauty, naturalist, outdoorsy, and social) would be more inclined to engage in any one of these activities because of their desire to affirm his/her leisure identity. Last, research has also illustrated that leisure can also be a context for the resistance of dominant ideologies and associated role expectations. For example, in their review of research on gender and leisure, Shaw (2001) and Shaw and Henderson (2005) noted that women often resist repressive aspects of societal views concerning women's expected roles and behavior through leisure activities, especially sports or physical activities that provide opportunities to challenge traditional gender roles (Freysinger & Flannery, 1992; Shaw, 2001; Wearing, 1990, 1992; Wiley, Shaw & Havitz, 2000).

Last, leisure research examining commitment has also addressed identity and its relation to behavior. In the context of this line of research, commitment has been conceptualized as a multidimensional construct consisting of "personal and behavioral mechanisms that bind individuals to a consistent pattern of leisure behavior" (Kim, Scott & Crompton, 1997, p. 323). These mechanisms instill a tendency to resist change which is girded by several formative processes; i.e., informational, volitional and identification. The identification process reflects the degree to which self-image is linked to a particular leisure service provider or their service offerings (Pritchard, Havitz & Howard, 1999). Part of recreationists' lasting relationship with agencies is ground in their evaluation of the congruence between the perceived identity of the brand/service provider and their own sense of self (Gahwiler & Havitz, 1998; Iwasaki & Havitz, 1998, 2004; Kyle, Mowen, Absher, & Havitz, 2006; Pritchard et al., 1999). Pritchard et al. suggested that the highest form of commitment is evidenced when identity-related meanings associated with the brand are positive and the individual considers (and/or aspires) them to consistent with their own conception of self.

Gender Identity

Although gender identity is related to biological attributes (i.e., sex, hormonal balances, or anatomical differences), the meanings of being one sex is influenced by societal factors; e.g., cultural expectations, norms or stereotypes about constitutions of the ideal male and female (Bem, 1981; Spence & Helmreich, 1978; Weitz, 1977). While a person may know herself to be biologically female and cognitively classify herself as such, she may see herself as more feminine or more masculine only because she views herself in a stereotypical female or male manner. People respond to themselves as objects along the female-male dimension of meaning, defining themselves as more feminine or masculine or as a mixture of the two (Burke

et al., 1988). The meaning of gender guides individuals' behavior in a way that has been socially defined as more feminine or more masculine. Individuals with more feminine gender identities, for example, choose more feminine-congruent behaviors and avoid masculine behavior.

Society and culture have broadly clustered a heterogeneous collection of social behaviors into two dominant categories; masculine and feminine (Anderson, 2005; Henderson et al., 1988; Messner, 1998, 2002; Ross & Shinew, 2008). Leisure behavior is not immune to gender stereotyping in spite of definitions of leisure that emphasize the concept of perceived freedom (Mannell & Kleiber, 1997). In western culture, the values identified with the leisure experience and 'leisure-like' behaviors correspond with attributes and associated meanings tied to masculinity such as mastery, independence, competence, and self-directedness (Chambers, 1986; Deem, 1986; Green & Hebrom, 1988; Griffin, 1981; Henderson & Bialeschki, 1991; Kane, 1990). Alternatively, attributes associated with a 'lack of leisure' are more closely aligned with characteristics associated with femininity such as passivity, dependency, and other-directedness (Chambers, 1986; Deem, 1986; Green & Hebrom, 1988; Griffin, 1981; Henderson & Bialeschki, 1991; Kane, 1990). Gender stereotyping is also more pronounced inactive pastimes such as sport and outdoor recreation (Anderson 2005; Birrell &Theberge, 1994; Bryson 1987; Cszima, Wittig, & Schurr, 1988; Hargreaves,1986; Messner,1998, 2002; Messner & Sabo 1990; Ross & Shinew, 2008; Snyder & Spreitzer,1983; Wiley, Shaw & Havitz, 2000). Most sports and physical activities, including golf, are believed to possess qualities associated with effectiveness, competitive spirit, discipline, stamina and power, which are more often associated with traditional masculine attributes (Cahn, 1994; Colley, Roberts & Chipp, 1985; Koivula, 1995, 2001; McCallister, Blinde, & Phillips, 2003; McGinnis & Gentry, 2006; Metheny, 1965; Postow, 1980; Weinstein, Smith, & Wiesenthal, 1995; Wiley et al., 2000).

Relationship between Gender Identity and Leisure Identity

Given that the meanings associated with one identity can overlap with the meanings of another identity, the identities that a person embraces are not independent of one another (Burke, 1980, 2003; Burke & Stets, 2009; Heise, 1979; Stets, 1995; Stets & Biga, 2003). According to Stryker (1968), identities are organized within the self in the form of a salience hierarchy reflecting the likelihood that each identity would be activated in any given situation. He suggested that identities at a higher level within the hierarchy (i.e., more salient identities) are more likely to be invoked in more situations than those at a lower level (i.e., less salient identities).

A body of research has highlighted the relevance of identity hierarchies in social psychology and sociology. Building upon Stryker's work, these studies have focused on: a) how multiple identities concurrently operate in self-verification processes (Burke, 2003; Burke & Stets, 2009; Stryker & Burke, 2000); b) the ways in which commitments to identities reinforce, conflict with, or are independent of one another, and in turn influence on emotions and health (Smith-Lovin, 2003; Thoits, 1983, 1992, 2003); and c) the manner in which emotions fit the framework of identity theory (Bartels, 1997; Burke, 1991, 1996; Burke & Stets, 1999; Cast & Burke, 2002; Francis, 2003; Stets, 2003; Stryker & Burke, 2000). Burke (2003) noted

that within individuals' identity hierarchies, the meanings of higher level identities are maintained by directing and altering meanings of one or more identities at lower levels. This process is driven by the pursuit of self-verification. In this way, the hierarchical system can maintain congruence in self-relevant perceptions at all levels. If the meanings of identities are incompatible, one or the other identity may become less important or salient in order to reduce/avoid discrepancy (Burke, 2003). Burke noted that since those identities at the top of the hierarchy act as 'organizers' of identities further down the hierarchy, identities at a lower level whose meanings are incongruent with those of identities higher in the hierarchy become less important or salient. Most often, higher level identities include gender, race, ethnicity or age, which parallel those great structural divisions of society (Burke, 1980).

Stets (1995) also noted that individuals carry multiple identities that correspond with the roles they occupy (e.g., mother, student, daughter, etc.) throughout their daily lives and that these identities are not independent of one another. She suggested that gender identity and mastery identity are linked through the shared meaning of "control" where mastery is defined as "the extent to which people see themselves as being in control of the forces that importantly affect their lives" (p. 132). Using data collected from college students, Stets observed that gender identity influenced the development of mastery identity while there was no significant effect of mastery identity on gender identity. According to Stets, this directionality is a product of the construct's temporal distinction such that gender identity is established early in life whereas mastery identity develops later in life.

In this context, it is expected that individuals embracing a masculine gender identity would also embrace specific leisure identities given their shared meaning. Masculine-related meanings such as mastery, independence, competence, and self-directedness correspond directly with characteristics associated with a broad range of leisure pursuits. On the other hand, individuals embracing a feminine identity would be less inclined to engage in leisure, especially active leisure, owing to the incompatibility among meaning sets. As noted, feminine meanings embody passivity, dependency, and other-directedness, tendencies not reflected in most conceptualizations of leisure, which emphasize self determination (Mannell & Kleiber, 1997).

With this literature in mind, we proposed the model depicted in Figure 1. In this model, we hypothesize that respondents' *Leisure Identity* and *Masculine Identity* would positively influence their leisure participation whereas *Feminine Identity* would negatively predict *Leisure Participation*. We also hypothesized that *Leisure Identity* would be positively influenced by *Masculine Identity* but negatively influenced by *Feminine Identity*. We tested this model, independently, with both male and female recreational golfers. Research on gender and leisure has documented the influence of gender roles on leisure practices, opportunities, and experience (Shaw & Henderson, 2005). In particular, studies of women's leisure have illustrated that, compared to men, women's lack of leisure and access to valued resources can often be attributed to socially defined roles and responsibilities (Deem, 1986; Fireston & Shelton, 1994; Jackson, 2005; Shaw, 1985; Shaw & Henderson, 2005). Thus, the relative positions and differing expectations for women and men in so-

ciety create a context in which gender variations exist in the relationship between gender identity, leisure identity, and leisure participation (Aitchison, 2001; Green, Hebron & Woodward, 1987; Henderson, 1994; Henderson, Bialeschki, Shaw & Frysinger, 1996; Wimbush & Talbot, 1988).
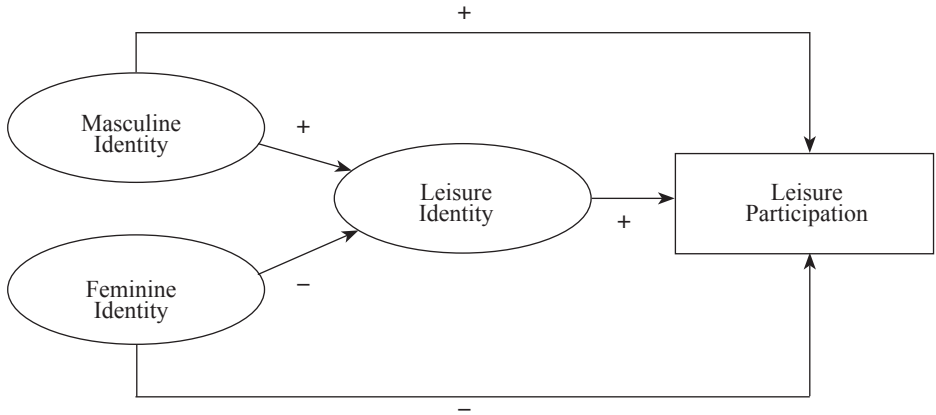

Figure 1. Hypothesized identity model

Methods

Data Collection

Data were collected from recreational golfers via two sources. 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 e-mail addresses. This yielded 137 completed surveys. Concurrently, an invitation e-mail was also sent to several Yahoo-sponsored golf discussion groups who had also played within the last 12 months. For both groups, four reminder e-mails were sent over a four-week period following the initial e-mail 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 more often 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 partic-

ipate 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% of the U.S. golfing population earned more than $57,000 per year, whereas approximately 51% of our sample reported household income 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 U.S. golfer population related to gender. Women in our sample were overrepresented (37%) compared to U.S. female golfer population (22.6%; NSGA, 2007).

While we return to the issue of sample representation and the use of golf for our study context in the discussion, we acknowledge that owing to the inability to definitively compare the characteristics of our sample with the complete panel and the masculine attributes associated with golf participation, there are limitations to our study. For our study purpose, however, the data still enable us to make tentative conclusions about the model and theory guiding the investigation.

Measures

To measure *Leisure Identity*, Cieslak's modified Athletic Identity Measurement Scale (AIMS-Plus) (Cieslak, Fink, & Pastore, 2005) was adopted (see Table 1). In AIMS-Plus, there are five established factors; i.e., *Social Identity, Self Identity, Exclusivity, Negative Affectivity,* and *Positive Affectivity*. *Social Identity* refers to the extent to which an individual views her/himself as a member of golf group or community[1]. *Self Identity* represents the degree to which an individual views her/himself as a golfer and the importance of being a golfer to the individual. *Exclusivity* examines the extent to which an individual's self-worth is determined solely by their performance in the role as a golfer. *Negative Affectivity* refers to the extent to which the individual experiences negative emotion in response to undesirable outcomes resulting from their golf participation. Last, *Positive Affectivity* refers to the extent to which an individual experiences positive emotion in response to desirable outcomes associated with their golf participation. The response options ranged from 1="strongly disagree" to 5="strongly agree."

Results

Sociodemographic Profile

We observed differences between male and female respondents with regard to their years of formal education, household income, marital status and age (Table 2). More than 60% of our male respondents (62%) indicated having graduated college compared to just over one-third of women (36.4%; χ^2=24.6, p<.001).

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[1]The leisure identity scale can be adapted for activities other than golf. In the context of this study, leisure identity represents a "golfer."

Approximately 70% of our male respondents (69.9%) reported being currently married compared to just over 40 percent of women (41.7%; χ^2=33.3, p<.001). Male respondents were significantly older (M=45.4, SD=14.9) than female respondents (M=39.6, SD=17.9).

Table 1

Items Means, Standard Deviations, and Construct Reliabilities—Leisure Identity

	M	SD	α	ρ
Social Identity	2.47	.84	.86	.85
Other people see me mainly as a golfer	2.19	1.02		
It is important that other people know about my involvement in golf	2.15	.93		
You can tell a lot about a person by seeing them playing golf	3.01	1.20		
When I play golf, others see me the way I want them to see me	2.66	1.01		
If I stopped golfing, I would probably lose touch with lot of my friends	2.33	1.08		
Exclusive	2.67	.94	.89	.89
My involvement in golf has influenced my day-to-day decision making	2.59	1.05		
I typically organize my week so I can play golf	2.74	1.17		
I continuously think about how I can become a better golfer	2.94	1.16		
I make many sacrifices to play golf	2.42	1.01		
Playing golf is the important part of my life	2.66	1.22		
Self Identity	3.00	1.06	.90	.90
I consider myself a golfer	3.31	1.24		
I have many goals related to golf	2.85	1.11		
Being a golfer is an important part of who I am	2.86	1.15		
Negative Affectivity	2.89	.96	.80	.81
I feel bad about myself when I play poorly in practice or game	2.93	1.05		
I feel badly when I fail to meet my goals related to golf	2.85	1.05		
Positive Affectivity	3.74	.91	.89	.89
I get a sense of satisfaction when playing golf	3.71	1.02		
I feel good about myself when I play well	3.89	.96		
When I am playing golf, I am happy	3.61	1.01		

Table 2

Sociodemographic Characteristics of Respondents

Demographic characteristics	Male (n=240)	Female (n=141)	
Education	n (%)	n (%)	χ^2=24.6, p<.000
Less than high school graduate	3 (1.3)	2 (1.4)	
High school graduate	11 (4.6)	7 (5.0)	
Business school, trade, some college	76 (32.1)	80 (57.1)	
College graduate	68 (28.7)	22 (15.7)	
Some graduate school	24 (10.1)	10 (7.1)	
Master, doctoral, or professional degree	55 (23.2)	19 (13.6)	
Income	n (%)	n (%)	χ^2=18.4, p=.002
Less than $20,000	19 (8.6)	24 (17.9)	
$20,000 to $59,999	49 (22.2)	40 (29.9)	
$60,000 to $99,999	49 (22.2)	34 (25.4)	
$100,000 to $139,999	44 (19.9)	19 (14.2)	
$140,000 to $179,999	28 (12.7)	6 (4.5)	
$180,000 or more	32 (14.5)	11 (8.2)	
Marital Status	n (%)	n (%)	χ^2=33.3, p<.000
Married	167 (69.9)	58 (41.7)	
Single/Never Married	51 (21.3)	57 (41.0)	
Divorced/Separated	18 (7.5)	14 (10.1)	
Widowed	3 (1.3)	10 (7.2)	
Age			
M(SD)	45.4 (14.9)	39.6 (17.9)	t=3.4, p=.004
Participation (Range)			
Years of experience	0 to 66	0 to 59	
Numbers of golf rounding	0 to 120	0 to 115	

Analysis

For leisure identity, we employed a partial disaggregation approach (item parceling) to improve the ratio of sample size to the number of variables (e.g., Hall, Snell, & Foust, 1999; Hau & Marsh, 2004; Marsh, Hau, Balla, & Grayson, 1998; Williams & O'Boyle, 2008). Partial disaggregation combines small sets of items from a scale to form indicators that are referred to as parcels (Williams & O'Boyle, 2008). The procedure is used when a hypothesized model contains a large number of manifest indicators and estimated parameters, and when the latent variable (2nd order factor) is multidimensional with multiple facets (1st order factors) but the researcher wants to represent it as a single latent variable (1st order factor). We parceled the manifest measures by creating new indicators to reflect the dimensions underlying the latent constructs. These new variables were computed from the means of the items loading onto each factor and used in the next step of data analysis.

As shown in Table 3, Confirmatory Factory Analysis (CFA) was performed to validate the theorized structure of our leisure identity and gender identity scales. The results of the CFA indicated satisfactory model fit (χ^2= 373.07, df= 116, RM-

SEA= .068, NNFI= .96, CFI= .96).[2] All constructs demonstrated adequate internal consistency. The Cronbach's alpha coefficients were all equal to or greater than .80 (.80 for *Masculine Identity*, .87 for *Feminine Identity*, and .89 for *Leisure Identity*). The composite reliability indices of each latent factor were also satisfactory and ranged from .80 to .89.

Table 3

Confirmatory Factor Analysis for Gender and Leisure Identity (Pooled Sample)

		M	SD	Factor Loadings	t-value	α	ρ
Masculine Identity		2.80	.61			.80	.80
M_1	Not at all independent – Very independent	3.15	.76	.60	12.01		
M_2	Very passive – Very active	2.62	.88	.61	12.24		
M_3	Not at all competitive – Very competitive	2.91	.90	.56	11.29		
M_4	Gives up very easily – Never gives up easily	2.93	.95	.73	14.74		
M_5	Feels very inferior – Feels very superior	2.30	.74	.55	11.17		
M_6	Fall to pieces under pressure – Stands up well under pressure	2.94	.91	.77	--		
Feminine Identity		2.95	.62			.87	.87
F_1	Not at all able to devote self completely to others – Able to devote self completely to others	2.75	.87	.61	13.40		
F_2	Not all helpful to others – Very helpful to others	3.15	.74	.81	--		
F_3	Not at all kind – Very kind	3.11	.74	.78	18.06		
F_4	Not at all aware of feelings of others – Very aware of feelings of others	2.92	.84	.68	15.30		
F_5	Not at all understanding of others – Very understanding of others	2.95	.80	.75	17.16		
F_6	Very cold in relations with others – Very warm in relations with others	2.89	.82	.74	16.82		
Leisure Identity		2.95	.78			.89	.89
SO	Social Identity	2.47	.84	.81	25.87		
EX	Exclusivity	2.67	.94	.92	35.23		
SE	Self Identity	3.00	1.06	.95	---		
NA	Negative Affectivity	2.89	.96	.49	11.12		
PA	Positive Affectivity	3.70	.91	.75	21.99		

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

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[2]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).

The procedure we used for model comparison across gender groups is referred to by Bollen (1989) as invariance testing. Testing for model comparability across groups involves placing increasingly restrictive constraints on the measurement and structural components of the model. The hierarchy of invariance testing that was employed in our analyses included:

(H_1) equality of structure—examined the suitability of a five-factor solution across the two groups;

(H_2) equality of scaling—examined similarity in the pattern of factor loadings among the groups; and

(H_3) equality of structural coefficient estimated—examines the similarity of the regression paths between groups.

The focus of the invariance testing was to examine the similarity/differences in our hypothesized model among males and females. Failure to reject each these hypotheses would imply that the hypothesized relationship between *Masculine Identity, Feminine Identity, Leisure Identity* and *Leisure Participation* is identical for male and female golfers. Alternatively, the rejection of these hypotheses implies that the covariance structure for males and females differs. The chi-square difference test reported in Table 4 was used to assess support for invariance (Byrne, 1998).

Table 4

Summary of Tests for Invariance of Involvement Measurement and Structure

Model	χ^2	df	$\Delta\chi^2$	Δdf	RMSEA	NNFI	CFI
Baseline							
Men (n= 424)	353.56	131			.08	.89	.91
Women (n= 260)	216.85	131			.06	.93	.94
H_1- Equality of structure	509.66	260			.07	.92	.94
H_2- Equality of scaling	520.39	274	10.73	14	.07	.93	.94
H_3- Invariance of structure coefficients	586.08	281	65.69***	7	.07	.91	.92
Final model	583.68	276	63.29***	2	.07	.91	.92

Differences among groups were observed on all structure coefficients:
Masculine Identity →Leisure Identity, Feminine Identity →Leisure Identity, Masculine Identity → Participation, Feminine Identity → Participation, Leisure Identity → Participation
***$p<.001$

The first test (H_1) examined the suitability of the imposed factor structure for the two groups. The models were hypothesized to have the same pattern of fixed and free values in the matrices containing factor loadings, structural coefficients, and the variance/covariance matrices. Nonfixed parameters were not restricted to have the same value across groups in this first test. The fit of this

unconstrained model was considered adequate (χ^2=509.66, df=260, RMSEA=.07, NNFI=.92, CFI=.94). The model served as a point of comparison for the second test (equality of scaling).

The second test (H_2) examined the invariance of factor loadings across two groups. The fit of the model that required all factor loadings to be the same across groups (equality of scaling) was compared with the result of the first test (the fit of the model that did not require this invariance). The χ^2 difference test indicated this constraint did not significantly impair the model's fit to the data ($\Delta\chi^2$=10.73, Δdf=14). Thus, the pattern of factor loadings was held constant across the groups.

For the final test (H_3), equality constraints were placed on each element of gamma and beta matrices in order to test the equality of regression coefficients of the hypothesized model across two groups. The χ^2 difference test illustrated a significant deterioration in model fit ($\Delta\chi^2$=65.69, Δdf=7) after imposing this constraint. Successive independent tests indicated that the gamma and beta weights for all paths were significantly different between males and females and were freely estimated. This test indicated that the relationship between *Masculine Identity, Feminine Identity*, *Leisure Identity* and *Leisure Participation* differed between males and females.

In sum, these results offered partial support for our hypothesized model. Specifically, the following relationships were observed (Figure 2 and 3 and Table 5):

Leisure Identity was a significant and positive predictor of *Leisure Participation* for both groups (*b*=.55, *p*< .001 for men; *b*=.58, *p*< .001 for women). Both male and female respondents' level of golf participation increased along with the salience of their "golfer" identity.

Leisure Participation was positively predicted by *Masculine Identity* for men only (γ=.13, *p*< .05). For male golfers, as masculine identity became more salient, respondents' level of golf participation increased.

Leisure Identity was positively predicted by *Masculine Identity* for both groups (γ=.20, *p*< .05 for men; γ=.24, *p*< .05 for women). The importance of 'golfer' identity increased along with the salience of masculine identity.

Masculine Identity had a positive indirect effect on *Leisure Participation* via *Leisure Identity* for both groups (Indirect Effect=.47, t=2.544, *p*< .001 for men; Indirect Effect=.88, *t*=2.102, *p*< .05 for women).

For both male and female groups, *Feminine Identity* had no influence on *Leisure Identity* and *Leisure Participation.*

For male golfers, *Masculine Identity* and *Leisure Identity* accounted for 35 percent of the variance in *Leisure Participation* while *Masculine Identity,* alone, accounted for four percent of the variance in *Leisure Identity*. For female golfers, *Leisure Identity* alone accounted for 37 percent of the variance in *Leisure Participation* while *Masculine Identity* accounted for six percent of variance in *Leisure Identity*.
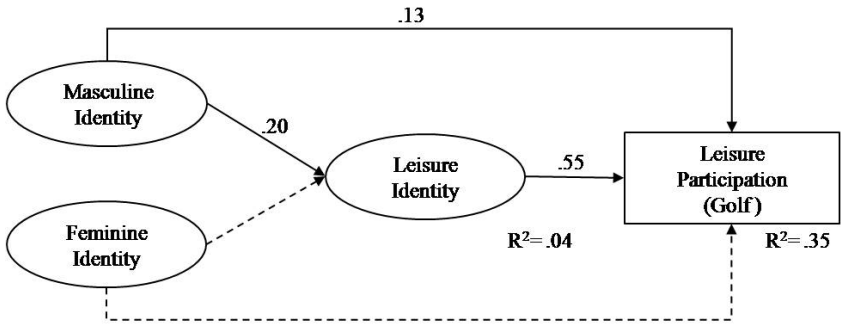
Goodness of fit indices:
χ^2=353.56, df=131, RMSEA=.08, NNFI=.89, CFI=.91

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

Figure 2. Final Identity Model for Men
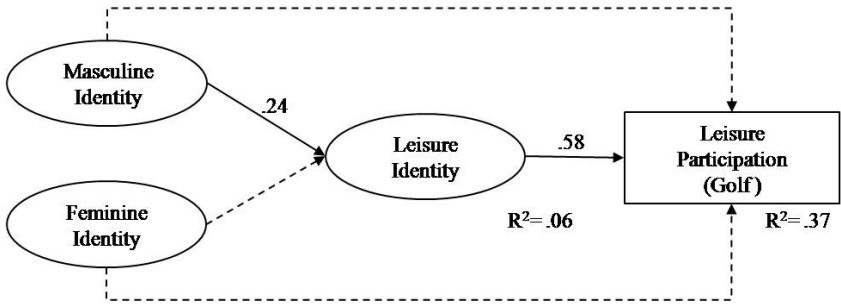
Goodness of fit indices:
χ^2=216.85, df=131, RMSEA=.06, NNFI=.93, CFI=.94

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

Figure 3. Final Identity Model for Women

Table 5

Summary of Indirect Effects

Path	Effect	Total	SE	t
Men				
Masculine Identity → Leisure Identity	.307		.118	2.602[***]
Leisure Identity → Leisure Participation (Golf)	1.515		.158	9.569[***]
Masculine Identity → Leisure Participation (Golf)		.465	.183	2.544[*]
Women				
Masculine Identity → Leisure Identity	.556		.258	2.156[*]
Leisure Identity → Leisure Participation (Golf)	1.590		.208	7.657[***]
Masculine Identity → Leisure Participation (Golf)		.884	.420	2.102[*]

[*]$p< .05$, [***]$p < .001$

Discussion

Historically, research on leisure has drawn from psychology theories and frameworks for understanding leisure behavior which focus on how the individual makes choices and decisions regarding a specific activity or situation. As such, the research has tended to consider the individual an isolated entity, impermeable to societal influences having little bearing on their decision making processes. Derksen and Gartrell (1993) called this approach as "methodological individualism" given that it tends to disregard the effect of the social structure and context on behavior. Identity theory, rooted in sociology, on the other hand, broadens the analysis beyond the individual and discrete choice to be more inclusive of the multifaceted nature of the individual the social structure in which they are embedded (Stets & Biga, 2003). Adopting this perspective, we drew on identity theory to examine the influence of gender on recreational golf participation. Acknowledging that people have multiple identities by virtue of the many positions they occupy throughout the day (Burke, 1980, 2003; Burke & Stets, 2009; Stets, 1995), we tested a model in which two dimensions of gender identity (i.e., *Masculine Identity* and *Feminine Identity*) were hypothesized to influence *Leisure Identity*, which in turn, was modeled as a predictor of *Leisure Participation*. Further, *Masculine Identity* and *Feminine Identity* were hypothesized to have a direct influence on *Leisure Participation*. Our findings provided partial support for the hypothesized model. We also observed differences among males and females with regard to the influence of identities on leisure participation.

Relationship between Masculine Identity and Leisure Identity

As James (1890) noted over a century ago, because we occupy multiple social positions in society we also carry multiple identities that vary in salience depending on the social occasion. For example, throughout a single day, an individual can be a "mother" of two children at home in the morning, the "general manager" at work through the day, the "athlete" in training in the afternoon, and back again to "mother" in the evening. While the salience of any given identity may vary

given the social context, several authors have suggested that the meanings tied to individual identities share some commonality and influence over one another (Burke, 2003; Burke & Stets, 2009; Heise, 1979; Hoelter, 1986; Osgood, Suci & Tannenbaum, 1957; Stets, 1995; Stets & Biga, 2003). Consistent with Stets' study (1995), our findings offer support for these ideas. For all respondents, as their *Masculine Identity* became salient, so too did their "golfer" identity (i.e., *Leisure Identity*). Respondents that were inclined to identify with masculine attributes such as "independent," "competitive," and "superior" were also more inclined to express more salient golf-related identities. This finding illustrates that people do not compartmentalize their identities and their underlying meanings. Rather, individual identities have important implications for other identities within individuals' lives (Stets, 1995).While the self strives to be consistent, the basis for self-consistency is not only what occurs for any one identity through a line of action confirming the identity but also what occurs among identities through the degree to which identities share meanings.

For our data, the strength of association between respondents' gender (reflected in *Masculine Identity*) and *Leisure Identity*, while modest, was statistically significant for both men and women. Further, for women, *Masculine Identity* had a slightly stronger influence on the salience of respondents' *Leisure Identity*. Regardless, both male and female respondents who more strongly identified with the listed masculine traits were also more inclined to identity with being a golfer.

Predictors of Leisure Participation

The effect of gender and leisure identity on participation varied among male and female respondents. For men, both *Masculine Identity* and *Leisure Identity* positively influenced their participation in golf whereas women's golf participation was predicted by *Leisure Identity* alone. Men with more salient masculine and golfer identities were more likely to participate in recreational golf. These two identities also explained a significant portion of the variance in golf participation (R^2=.35). In terms of identity theory, the self-verification process involves an evaluation of the congruence between behaviors affiliated with an identity and the meaning of the identity (Burke, 2003; Cast, 2003; Stryker, 1980; Thoits, 2003). In the context of these findings, the positive associations between *Masculine Identity*, *Leisure Identity*, and *Leisure Participation* indicate that our male respondents found that playing golf was consistent with their identities.

In identity theory, self-verification also requires consideration of the expectations of others within one's social worlds and broader society (Burke, 2003; Cast, 2003; Stryker, 1980; Thoits, 2003). Through interaction with others, an understanding of personal identities is nurtured along with an understanding of appropriate behavior that is consistent with those identities (Stryker, 1968). The behaviors individuals adopt in an effort to verify her/his identities are not simply a function of one's own activity, but one's activity in relation to others' expectations (Thoits, 2003). Thus, the finding that golf participation serves to verify masculine as well as leisure identities for male respondents implies that men are still expected to enact and maintain their masculine identity in their leisure, at least in their participation in golf. Indeed, research in the areas of sport sociology and men's studies has illustrated that men are encouraged to act in ways that are consistent

with dominant ideologies of masculinity; the context of leisure is not immune from such structure (e.g., Kimmel & Messner, 1998; Messner, 1998; Messner & Sabo, 1990; Shaw & Henderson, 2005).

For women, *Leisure Identity* significantly and positively predicted *Leisure Participation*, also accounting for a substantive percentage of the variance in their golf participation (R^2=.37). Consistent with one of the major tenets of identity theory, these data indicate that as people incorporate activities into their self-definitions, they are more likely to engage in the activity (e.g., Burke, 1989a, 1989b; Burke & Hoetler, 1988; Burke & Reitzes, 1981; Burke, Stets, & Pirog-Good, 1988; Callero, 1985; Charng, Piliavin, & Callero, 1988; Stets, 1997; Stets & Burke, 1996; Stryker & Serpe, 1982). The effect of *Masculine Identity* on *Leisure Participation* was mediated by *Leisure Identity*. The finding illustrates that women's masculine-orientation played a formative role in the development of their "golfer" identity, which in turn affected their golf participation. Research on leisure and resistance has illustrated that women often resist traditional gender stereotyping to be involved in outdoor activities, exercise and sport (Henderson & Bialeschki, 1993; Samdahl, 1988; Shaw, 1994; Shaw, Kleiber & Caldwell, 1995; Wearing, 1992). Leisure as a context for freedom, self-expression and self-determination provides an opportunity for women to defy narrowly defined gender role prescriptions (Samdahl, 1988; Shaw, 1994). For the insignificant direct effect of *Masculine Identity* on participation, it is possible that women are less likely than men to associate golf participation with masculinity or be expected to verify their masculine identity in the context of recreational golf. Research has suggested that men gender stereotype sports and physical activities to a greater extent than do women (Colley, Nash, O'Donnell & Restorick, 1987; Koivula, 1995; Matteo, 1986). Since men and women each perceive the attributes, requirements of physical activity and participants of these activities differently, the significance of these beliefs also differ for men and women in their classifications of feminine or masculine appropriate behavior (Colley, Nash, O'Donnell & Restorick, 1987; Koivula, 1995; Matteo, 1986).

Effect of Feminine Identity on Leisure Identity and Leisure Behavior

Contrary to our initial expectation, *Feminine Identity* did not significantly influence *Leisure Identity* or golf participation. It is possible that the influence of *Feminine Identity* on leisure preferences and the formation of leisure identities are more evident in the early stages of decision making. For instance, women may be discouraged from initiating an interest in golf owing to the dominance of their feminine identity and associated meanings that are inconsistent with participation. Even for those who are resistant to gender stereotypes and are able to integrate golf-related meanings into self-definitions, there remains tension between the meanings associated with femininity and active leisure lifestyles. For some, the tension eventually leads the individual to devalue their leisure identity and withdraw their commitment to leisure (Burke, 2003). Indeed, research on leisure constraints has illustrated that the societal definition of femininity is linked to the perception of constraints which suffocates preference and prevents or reduces leisure participation (e.g., Culp, 1998; Henderson, 1991; Henderson & Hickerson, 2007; Jackson & Henderson, 1995; Shaw, 1994). Individuals, especially women, who define themselves in terms of their ability to be committed, responsible, and

engaged in the care for others tend to experience constraints associated with (a) an ethic of care for siblings, partners, and dependents, (b) a lack of entitlement for leisure, and (c) a deficit in time and energy (Shaw & Henderson, 2005). For women who embrace their feminine identity, there is an implicit obligation to use their time for tasks socially defined as feminine, which often excludes individualized leisure. Future research is required to better understand the influence of feminine identity on non-participation, attrition, and perceptions of leisure constraints among women in male and female-oriented activities.

Future research should also take into account the identities and behavior of others within recreationists' social worlds for understanding leisure experiences and behaviors. Given that roles and identities are social in nature, self-conceptions and identity-confirmation emerge from the reflected appraisal process (i.e., one's perception of how others see the self). The manner in which significant others communicate their appraisal of us influences how we see ourselves and perceive whether our identities are confirmed (Cast, 2003; Gecas & Burke, 1995; Stets & Burke, 2003). In fact, Cast's (2003) empirical study of newly married couples illustrated that the identity and behavior of individuals within marriage was not only influenced by the individuals' identities, but also the identity and behavior of their spouse. Examining the role of identities and behaviors of significant others could also influence our understanding of leisure behavior. Examples include: (a) an obligatory or purposeful component of leisure; e.g., the impact of parent's identity/behavioral influence on young boys' participation in sports, men's identity/behavioral influence on their partners' enjoyment family activities; (b) women's constrained leisure; e.g., the role of friends' or male partner's identity/behavior on adolescent females or young women' motivation of leisure participation such as to please others; and (c) women's leisure as resistance; e.g., the influence of significant others' identity/behavior on women's efforts to negotiate leisure constraints.

It is also important to note that there are other identities that people hold influencing her/his leisure behavior. In sociology, the consequences of the relationship between multiple identities are understood in terms of identity conflict (Burke, 2003; Coser, 1974; Goode, 1960; Merton, 1957; Thoits, 2003). As the requirements of different roles associated with different identities compete for limited resources, individuals occupying multiple roles with incompatible or inordinate demands are likely to experience role or identity conflict. Identity conflict, in turn, is more likely to induce distress owing to demands taxing time and emotional resources leading detrimental health outcomes and physical exhaustion (Burke, 2003; Coser, 1974; Goode, 1960; Merton, 1957; Thoits, 2003). For example, Jun and Kyle (2011a, 2011b) observed that the incompatibility between leisure identity and other role identities exacerbated people's perception of leisure constraints and their ability to negotiate constraints. Similarly, research on women's leisure has documented the struggle between leisure and the various responsibilities and demands women experience (Henderson, Bialeschki, Shaw & Freysinger, 1996). Future research should consider the role of identity conflict on women's leisure experience. This line of inquiry will be more inclusive of the social context encapsulating the leisure experience.

In terms of the applied implications stemming from these findings, our recommendations have more relevance for policy development as opposed to the di-

rect delivery of leisure services. As noted, these findings add to a growing literature illustrating how the meanings aligned with specific activities are also intimately tied to the meanings western society aligns with gender. Associated with these meanings are role expectations. In some instances, these role expectations can be constraining for either gender and act to limit opportunities for participation. For policy, efforts to shape the way in which we view leisure and what we perceive to be "appropriate" ought to begin early in children's lives. While we are likely decades away from society considering it "appropriate" for young boys to play with Barbie dolls, at least in public spaces, public institutions (e.g., schools, public leisure service providers) have the potential to create and manage environments where children engaging in these types of interactions are protected from ridicule. The de-gendering of leisure has the potential to open a range of opportunities for both males and females.

Limitations

Although our findings provide limited support for our hypothesized model, some limitations should be noted when interpreting these results. First, as noted previously, the data have limitations concerning their representation of the population from which they were drawn. Because these data were not collected in ways that systematically represent the defined population, our findings are limited in terms of their generalizability. Second, this study was limited to the analysis of recreational golfers alone. The extent to which these results generalize to participants in different leisure activities, especially stereotypic feminine activities, is unknown. For the future, it would be fruitful to cross-validate our hypothesized model with data drawn from differing activity contexts. Last, there has been some debate concerning the measurement of gender identity (Spence & Helmreich, 1978, 1980; Stets & Burke, 2000). Our measure of gender identity considered the construct in terms of masculine and feminine personality traits alone. Morawski (1987) has contended, however, that people' perception of being masculine or feminine is also dependent on other attributes such as physical appearance, movement, power, and status, which are not represented in our measure.

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