

Sex-Typing of Leisure Activities: A Test of Two Theories

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ABSTRACT

Leisure activities are considered here as a subset of consumption, and we are interested in the relationship between gender schema and leisure activities. In order to test rival predictions about gender schema, sex-typing of leisure activities is related to two individual difference measures: gender personality (Bem 1981) and gender-role attitudes (Spence 1984). 271 subjects were given a list of 75 leisure activities and asked to indicate whether they felt the activity was masculine, feminine, or somewhere in between. We do not find support for Bem's (1981) theory, but do find partial support for Spence's (1984) theory. The findings indicate that males sex-type leisure activities to a greater extent than females. Both sex and gender-role attitudes are found to be significant ($p < .05$) predictors of sex-typing.

INTRODUCTION

All cultures have developed a network of associations that surround the concepts of masculinity and femininity. Thus, in addition to male and female role assignments, individuals are also expected to acquire sex-specific personality attributes. In other words, to be masculine or feminine is defined within specific cultures. This process, whereby a society transforms male and female into masculine and feminine is known as the process of sex typing (Bem 1981). However, individuals within a culture may differ from one another in the degree to which they adopt or subscribe to cultural definitions of masculinity and femininity.

In recent decades, "appropriate" roles for men and women have undergone major changes; and such changes are manifest in changing patterns of behavior (Scanzoni 1978). For example, it is not uncommon to find women who hunt or go to football games. Nor is it especially rare to find men who knit or enjoy the ballet. The evolution of traditional sex-role patterns may be sufficient impetus for researchers to become less interested in the male-female dichotomy and more interested in the self-perceptions that are presumed to go along with being male or female.

To date, it has been well established that there are differences in leisure behavior between men and women (Gentry and Doering 1979; Hawes 1978; Ragheb 1980; Kleiber and Hemmer 1981 and Hirschman 1984; White and Gruber 1985). Among these different studies, however, one finds little evidence to indicate whether the bases of differences are biological and/or the result of socialization experiences. In addition, these studies have concentrated on only a small number of leisure activities for comparison and therefore cannot be used to draw conclusions about leisure behavior in general, but only conclusions about the few activities examined.

Gender ideologies structure perceptions of leisure. That is, leisure activities, as a category of experience, are gendered and shaped by social context (Green, Hebron and Woodard 1990). In order to explain differences among women and men in their sex-typing of leisure activities, one must first analyze these differences on the basis of sex-typed socialization (Deem 1986).

Gender Related Theory and Concepts

Gender is a sociological concept, referring to a social category scheme such that these categories are mutually exclusive (Sherif 1982). Gender refers to the cultural definitions of what appropriate male or female behavior involves (Henderson 1989). As

Constantinople (1973) observed in her analysis of masculinity-femininity tests, conventional theories have implicitly assumed that these various categories of masculine and feminine personality attributes and behaviors flow together to form a single bipolar continuum. It is presumed that individuals can be assigned a single place along this hypothetical masculinity-femininity dimension, with most men falling toward the masculine pole and most women falling toward the feminine pole.

Bem's (1981) Unifactorial Gender Schema Theory

Bem (1974) made an important addition to this conceptualization. The essential difference between her approach and that of earlier investigators lies in the attention paid in her theory to the men and women who fall at the center of the hypothetical masculinity-femininity continuum. These individuals are described as non-sex-typed, in contrast to masculine men and feminine women (who are described as sex-typed individuals). Non-sex-typed individuals exhibit a mixture of stereotypically masculine and feminine qualities or fail to exhibit many of either.

Bem (1981) has linked these notions about sex typing to the concept of gender schemata. Gender schema theory proposes that sex-typed individuals have a greater readiness than non-sex-typed individuals do to engage in gender-schematic processing. That is, sex-typed individuals have a generalized readiness to process information in terms of a gender schema (i.e., a network of sex-linked associations that organizes and guides an individual's perceptions). In contrast, non-sex-typed individuals are characterized as aschematic individuals who are relatively unresponsive to stereotypically masculine and feminine cues when processing information.

Operationally, BEM assesses sex-typing by means of the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI), a self-report measure in which individuals can be classified into one of three categories: (a) masculine sex-typed; (b) feminine sex-typed (both are high on one sexual dimension, low on the other); and (c) non-sex-typed. The last category is divided into two possibilities: (c1) androgynous-high on both sexual dimensions, or (c2) undifferentiated-low on both sexual dimensions. Bem's theory predicts that masculine men and feminine women should engage in gender-schematic processing, consistently organizing information on the basis of gender-linked associations, and that androgynous and undifferentiated men and women should not engage in such gender-schematic processing.

There are mixed opinions about the core properties of femininity and masculinity and their relationship with other gender-related phenomena. Bem (1974) predicts a strong relationship between gender identity (masculinity, femininity and androgynous) and gender-related phenomena. She states that knowledge of an individual's typological status permits generalizations about the degree of sex-typing or gender schematization and other gender-related behaviors preferred or adopted by that individual.

Spence's (1984) Multi-Factorial Theory of Gender Identity

Spence criticizes this view; she proposes a weak relationship between an individual's masculine and feminine personality attributes and adopted gender-stereotyped behaviors and beliefs. The theory is based on the view that children's emerging sense of gender identity initially stimulates a child to adopt gender-stereotyped behaviors and beliefs. However, once gender identity is firmly established, other factors (i.e., gender role attitudes) take over to

protect and confirm one's sense of gender identity. Thus, variables leading to individual differences in the enactment of gender roles include not only situational factors, but also such internal dispositions as attitudes toward the appropriateness of maintaining traditional gender role distinctions, personal preferences for certain kinds of activities, and perceptions (realistic or unrealistic) of the positive or negative consequences of acting in certain ways.

Study Purpose and Objectives

With past gender theory in mind, we now discuss the purpose of the current study. It is generally accepted that perceptions of the suitability of particular leisure activities for males and females exist, and are based on sex-related stereotypes. Colley (1987) cites two sources from which these sex-related perceptions may emanate. First, they may be based on views of what is appropriate for the roles men and women enact at work and in the home. Second, perceptions may reflect stereotypes of male and female physical and psychological traits (particularly in relation to sport participation).

The appropriateness of particular leisure activities for males or females is often used as a predictor for participation. However, research has only investigated the sex-appropriateness of sports and physical activities within the leisure domain (Colley, Nash, O'Donnell and Restorick 1987). Therefore, the first research objective is to create and validate a comprehensive list of leisure activities and to classify these activities as "masculine," "feminine," or "neutral".

The second objective is to investigate the determinants of sex-typing of leisure activities. The theories of Bem (1981) and Spence (1984) purport to explain the phenomenon of sex-typing; the former takes a personality approach, while the latter takes an attitudinal approach toward understanding sex-typing. A central issue in testing Bem and Spence's theories, concerns whether a personality approach or an attitude approach is more appropriate. Although personality research has contributed much to our understanding of psychological phenomena, some researchers are disenchanted with the sometimes weak relationships, which appear to exist between personality and behavior (Kassarjian and Sheffet 1991). Spence's attitude approach, within the domain of sex-typing, represents one possible alternative. Thus, this study investigates the effect of gender personality and gender-role attitudes upon sex-typing of leisure activities, and seeks to determine the individual and combined effects of these gender-related phenomena upon sex-typing of leisure activities.

Previous Research

Despite the practical and social interest associated with the sex-typing of leisure activities, only one study in recent literature has examined whether leisure activities are perceived as masculine, feminine or neutral. Gruber (1980) surveyed interests, knowledge and sex-typing of leisure activities and found that of twenty-nine activities, seven were sex-typed as masculine and six were sex-typed as feminine by both males and females. However, his analysis involved only sports and skilled activities. In addition, only one predictor was considered as a determinant of sex-typing: sex of the respondent.

A more comprehensive study by Colley, Nash, O'Donnell and Restorick (1987) investigated the effect of sex, gender personality attributes, gender-role attitude and participation on the number of sports sex-typed as male and the number of sports sex-typed as female. They found that these predictors explained 37.5% of the variance in the number of male sex-typed sports and 14% of the variance in the number of sports sex-typed for females. Here again,

the research focus concentrated not on leisure activities per se, but on the narrower realm of sports and physical activities.

Research Hypotheses

Thus, based upon prior literature, a clear distinction can be made between gender-role attitudes and gender identity (masculine and feminine personality attributes). In order to test the implications of Bem's (1981) and Spence's (1984) theories regarding the determinants of sex-typing, support for and statement of three hypotheses follow.

Studies have found that, from early childhood onwards, males are under greater pressure than females to conform to sex-appropriate behavior (Maccoby and Jacklin 1974). Thus, men may be more likely than women to sex-type leisure activities, as specified by H1:

H1: Men will be more likely to sex-type leisure activities than will women.

Hypothesis two is proposed to test Bem's theory, which predicts sex-typed men and women (those exhibiting masculine or feminine personality traits) are more likely to label leisure activities as being more masculine or more feminine, thus engaging in gender-schematic processing. Whereas, non-sex-typed men and women (those exhibiting androgynous or undifferentiated personality traits) will not engage in gender-schematic processing, and so are more likely to label leisure activities as being either masculine or feminine. Thus,

H2: "Masculine" men and "feminine" women, as defined by the Bem Sex Role Inventory, will be more likely to sex-type leisure activities than will men and women with nontraditional gender-role attitudes.

Finally, hypothesis three is proposed to test Spence's theory, which predicts a strong relationship between gender-role attitudes and adopted gender-stereotyped beliefs. From this prediction, it is reasoned that men and women with traditional gender-role attitudes will label leisure activities as more masculine or more feminine. Conversely, those individuals having nontraditional gender-role attitudes, are less likely to make such assignments, and will view leisure activities as either masculine or feminine.

H3: Men and women with traditional gender-role attitudes will label leisure activities as either "more masculine" or "more feminine".

METHODS

Pretest

A sample of 120 business students at a large southwestern university was utilized. Each was given a pre-test of a written, multi-part instrument. Section I of the questionnaire required the respondent to indicate on an 11-point scale whether seventy-five leisure activities are either extremely masculine, extremely feminine or gender neutral. This inventory of leisure activities was generated by combining previously developed taxonomies of participation (cf. Ragheb 1980 and Hawes; Talarzyk and Blackwell 1975). Additional activities were added to this list based on input from experts on leisure behavior. One purpose of the pretest was to ascertain whether using such a large number of leisure activities presented too tedious and fatiguing a task. The results indicated that not only was the task not fatiguing, but that, in fact, respondents felt it was "fun." The instrument was reduced to a 7-point scale.

Shading was added to every other activity, for it was found that respondents lost their place within the questionnaire.

Sample

Two samples of respondents were asked to complete the revised multi-part questionnaire. The first sample consisted of 218 business students at the same university, but not including those who participated in the pre-test. A secondary sample consisted of the adult membership of a Girl Scout Council representing a southern region.

It was felt that these two samples were diverse, thus allowing for more varied and generalizable results. The questionnaire was mailed to one hundred male members and one hundred female members of the Girl Scout Council with an enclosed self-addressed, stamped envelope. Of the 200 mailed, 53 were returned (resulting in a 26.5% response rate). The questionnaire was also administered in a classroom setting to students enrolled in introductory business courses as part of an extra credit assignment.

Measures

Sex-Typing. Using the same inventory of leisure activities, respondents were asked to rate on a seven-point scale whether each of the 75 activities are: extremely masculine (3), extremely feminine (-3), either masculine or feminine (0), or somewhat in between 0 and 3 or 0 and -3. Based on these scores, a classification system was devised to categorize the activities as masculine, feminine, or neutral. For each respondent, activities were categorized as masculine if any degree of masculinity was perceived (3, 2, or 1), feminine if any degree of femininity was perceived (1, 2, or 3) or neutral (0). We report the total number of males and females endorsing the activities as masculine or feminine by greater than 50% of the sample as sex-typed. This separation is further noted in tables 1 through 3.

Gender Role Attitudes. Gender-role attitudes were measured using the Attitudes toward Women Scale (Spence and Helmreich 1978), a fifteen-item instrument that contains statements describing the rights, roles, and privileges women ought to have or be permitted to have. Respondents indicated their agreement with each statement on a four-point scale ranging from "agree strongly" to "disagree strongly." Low scores indicate a more traditional, conservative attitude toward gender roles.

Masculinity-Femininity. The masculine and feminine personality scores were measured using the Personal attribute questionnaire (Spence and Helmreich and Stapp 1975), which consists of two major scales. The M-Scale contains eight items describing characteristics that are descriptive of masculine personality traits. Similarly, the F-Scale contains eight items describing qualities more characteristic of feminine personality traits. Respondents indicated on a horizontal, 5-point scale the extent to which each phrase describes him or her, with items summed to yield a total M score and a total F score for each respondent. Sex-typed individuals are those scoring high on one sexual dimension, low on the other.

Demographic Items. Finally, a designation of the sex of the respondent was requested. This was coded as a zero-one dummy variable.

Regression

A regression using ordinary least squares is used to determine the degree of sex-typing. The dependent variable, degree of sex-typing, relates to the number of leisure activities an individual labels as either masculine or feminine. Three independent variables are investigated to determine their effect upon sex-typing: biological sex, gender-role attitudes, and gender identity (sex-typed vs. non-sex-typed). Thus, the regression equation can be expressed as:

$$\text{Sex Typing} = f(\text{Biological Sex, Gender-Role Attitudes, Gender Identity})$$

RESULTS

Sex-Typing of Sports

Having developed a comprehensive list of leisure activities, the results of this study indicate that many leisure activities are not sex-typed. In fact, of the 75 leisure activities surveyed, 33 were identified as neutral (greater than 50% of the sample). Many of these leisure activities can be categorized as media-related: watching TV, listening to the music (e.g., radio, tapes, CDs), going to movies, renting movies and reading magazines. Also identified as appropriate for either male or female, were a variety of outdoor activities such as jogging, bicycling, playing tennis and swimming. Several activities, described as individual activities, were not sex-typed by more than half of the sample. These included reading a book for pleasure, taking a nap, and doing crossword puzzles.

More leisure activities were sex-typed for females (33) than for males (28) (see Tables 1 and 2). Leisure activities sex-typed as masculine included those requiring physical activity (e.g., playing football, playing basketball, working out at a gym), outdoor activities (e.g., hunting, fishing, canoeing), and other more passive activities (reading newspapers and taking a nap).

Those leisure activities sex-typed as feminine included activities such as: sewing, aerobics, shopping, cooking, and talking on the phone. Many of the feminine-typed activities were related to cultural activities (e.g., attendance at the ballet, opera and theater plays, visiting art museums, playing the piano, and painting or drawing).

A higher proportion of males than females, sex-typed leisure activities for both sexes—providing support for hypothesis 1. Chi-square tests indicated that for most of the masculine-typed activities (23 of 28) this sex difference was statistically significant ($p < .05$, see Table 1). This sex difference tended to be most marked for activities, which require physical strength or relate to sports or outdoor activities. Some interesting exceptions included playing cards and taking a nap. However, both women and men were in agreement concerning the masculine identity of hunting, playing checkers or chess, playing backgammon and collecting (i.e., stamps or coins).

A greater consensus was exhibited between the sexes for the feminine-typed leisure activities. Out of the 33 leisure activities sex-typed as feminine, chi-square tests indicated only 11 activities in which this sex difference was statistically significant ($p < .05$, see Table 2). For example, this sex difference was most marked for such leisure activities as visiting with friends, dancing, playing badminton, and nature study (e.g., bird watching).

Finally, Table 3 shows those leisure activities not sex-typed by greater than 20% of the sample. In other words, these activities were perceived as gender neutral by at least 20% of our sample. We use the 20% cut-off, since so many of the activities in our sample are sex-typed. Out of these 66 leisure activities categorized as "either", 53 were identified as neutral by a greater percentage of females than males. Thus, more females identified more leisure activities as gender neutral than the males did. Chi-square tests indicated that this sex difference was statistically significant ($p < .05$, see Table 3) for 48 of the activities sex-typed as "either".

Correlation Analyses

Table 4 shows a correlation matrix of the three predictors and one criterion variable (number of sex-typed leisure activities=NLA). As shown in Table 4, both sex and gender-role attitudes were significantly ($p < .01$) related to NLA. As predicted by H1, males sex-typed more than females and, as predicted by H3 (using the

TABLE 1
Leisure Activities Sex-Typed As Masculine

	Total %	Males %	Females%
Playing football	97.42	99.16	96.05*
Hunting	97.42	97.48	97.37
Fishing	92.99	95.80	90.79*
Playing pool or billiards	90.04	94.12	86.84*
Playing basketball	76.75	85.71	69.74*
Woodworking, carving, etc.	76.38	72.27	79.61*
Attending sports events as a spectator	74.91	84.87	67.11*
Rafting	70.11	77.31	64.47*
Archery	69.74	64.71	73.68*
Playing checkers or chess	67.53	71.43	64.47
Playing golf	66.42	73.11	61.18*
Visiting a bar or club	65.68	72.27	60.53*
Canoeing	63.84	71.43	57.89*
Sailing	57.93	68.91	49.34*
Playing cards	57.20	67.23	49.34*
Playing racquetball	54.98	68.07	44.74*
Camping	54.98	66.39	46.05
Hiking	50.92	62.18	42.11*
Working out at a gym	49.82	64.71	38.16*
Reading newspapers	49.08	62.18	38.82*
Playing softball	44.65	52.10	38.82*
Playing backgammon	44.28	43.70	44.74
Collecting such as stamps, etc.	36.16	37.82	34.87
Bowling	31.73	38.66	26.32*
Water skiing	26.94	40.34	16.45*
Playing table-tennis (ping-pong)	22.88	30.25	17.11*
Taking a nap	22.51	29.41	17.11*
Listening to music from tapes, CDs etc.	21.77	26.89	17.76*

*Difference between male and female perceptions are significant at .05, using a chi-square with 1 degree of freedom.

gender role attitude scale) traditional scores were associated with greater sex-typing.

Regression Analyses

Regression results using ordinary least squares are shown in Table 5. Recall, the dependent variable, degree of sex-typing, relates to the number of leisure activities an individual labels as either masculine or feminine. As shown in Table 5, the estimated regression equation is:

$$\text{Degree of Sex-Typing} = 40.99 - 3.54 (\text{Biological Sex}) - 0.09 (\text{Gender-Role Attitudes}) - 1.27 (\text{Gender Identity})$$

As a group, the independent variables explain about 4% of the variance in the number of leisure activities sex-typed ($R^2 = .039$). In the multiple regression setting, only sex contributed significantly ($p < .05$) to the prediction of the sex-typing scores, thus providing further support for H1. However, neither Bem's (H2) nor Spence's (H3) theory were supported by the multiple regression results.

DISCUSSION

One striking find is the significantly higher proportion of males than females who sex-typed leisure activities (as predicted by H1). Males are especially likely to type leisure activities as masculine. In contrast, there is agreement among subjects as to the sex-typing of feminine leisure activities. It appears that men are much more certain as to what leisure activities constitute "their turf." These results parallel the research on sex-role development, which predicts that, starting with early childhood; males are under greater pressure than females to conform to sex-appropriate behavior (Maccoby and Jacklin 1974). Therefore, male conceptions about the sex-appropriateness of leisure activities are more rigid than those of females.

Previous research has found rather consistently that both men and women rate masculine attributes, activities, and occupations as more desirable, important and prestigious than feminine rated attributes, activities and occupations. If women continue to show interest and participation in "masculine" activities, how might this affect the prestige and status of those activities? For example, Fisher (1972) suggests that an increase of women in certain occu-

TABLE 2
Leisure Activities Sex-Typed As Feminine

	Total %	Males %	Females%
Sewing, needlework, knitting, etc.	97.05	97.48	96.71
Weaving	87.82	89.08	86.04
Doing aerobics	87.48	89.08	86.18
Shopping	85.24	87.39	83.55
Talking on the phone	73.43	78.15	69.74*
Writing letters	72.32	70.59	73.68
Attendance at the ballet or dance	70.85	65.55	75.00*
Working with pottery	67.90	73.11	63.82*
Gardening	65.68	68.07	63.82
Cooking	64.94	69.75	61.18*
Attendance at the opera	63.84	59.66	67.11
Participating in ballet, jazz, etc.	59.78	52.94	65.13*
Ice skating	59.78	64.71	55.92*
Walking for pleasure	56.09	58.82	53.92
Playing the piano or organ	55.35	51.26	58.55
Relaxing in the sun	51.29	52.94	50.00
Visiting art museums	50.55	50.42	50.66
Volunteering	50.55	48.74	51.97
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Playing with children	49.08	50.42	48.03
Attendance at theater plays	46.86	45.38	48.03
Participating in church activities	43.91	39.50	47.37
Roller skating	43.70	46.61	41.45
Visiting with friends	38.38	30.25	5.92*
Playing badminton	37.64	45.38	31.58*
Painting, drawing, sketching	33.58	37.82	30.26*
Sculpturing	32.84	36.97	29.61
Reading a book for pleasure	32.27	41.18	34.21
Doing crossword puzzles	31.37	40.34	24.34*
Nature study such as bird watching	30.63	41.18	22.37*
Reading magazines	29.89	30.25	29.61
Playing volleyball	23.99	26.89	21.71
Bicycling for pleasure	23.99	21.85	25.66
Sightseeing	22.88	26.05	20.39

*Difference between male and female perceptions are significant at .05, using a chi-square with 1 degree of freedom

pations might serve to reduce the status of those occupations. Further, activities emphasizing achievement, (i.e., games and sports, which are shown here to be identified with the masculine sex) are essential to the development of the masculine role and thus may remain as one of the few areas left to develop masculine identification.

The results of our study do not support Bem's theory, as specified in hypothesis two. The personality measures of masculinity and femininity were not significant predictors of sex-typing. This finding supports those who are disillusioned with a personality approach for predicting behavior. One reason, which has been offered to account for this weak relationship, is based on the validity of the particular personality-measuring instrument (Kassarjian and Sheffet 1991). For example, the instrument employed here (the Personal Attribute Questionnaire-PAQ) does not measure the entire range of dimensions associated with the constructs of masculinity and femininity. Instead, the PAQ focuses on specific aspects; these are highlighted, as aspects of femininity are nurturance and

warmth (which are termed expressive or communal traits). Thus, one possibility for future research is to investigate alternative measures of masculinity-femininity.

Although biological sex explained more of the variance in the respondent's sex-typing of leisure activities, there is some support for Spence's theory. H2 (derived from Spence's theory) is supported by the correlation results (as shown in Table 4). In addition, as specified by Spence's theory, the relationship between personality and leisure behavior is weak. Therefore, for understanding the sex-appropriateness of leisure activities, an attitude approach may offer a better framework than a personality approach.

It may be possible to improve the explanatory power of Spence's theory by refining the measurement procedure. In this vein, Orlofsky, Ramsden and Cohen (1982) have devised a sex-role behavior scale, comprised of male-valued, female-valued and sex-specific items in four interest/behavior areas: recreational and leisure activities, vocational preferences, social interaction and marital behavior. This measure may provide a more accurate

TABLE 3
Leisure Activities Sex-Typed As Either

	Total %	Males %	Females%
Bicycling for pleasure	67.53	68.07	67.11
Swimming	91.14	84.87	96.05*
Watching TV	85.61	78.99	90.79*
Playing tennis	85.24	84.03	86.18
Listening to the radio	84.50	82.35	86.18
Going to the movies	83.76	83.19	84.21
Jogging	79.34	74.79	82.89
Snow skiing	78.23	74.79	80.92*
Renting movies	76.38	70.59	80.92*
Taking pictures (photography)	75.65	70.59	79.61*
Attendance at concerts or musical events	75.28	78.99	72.37*
Reading or studying as stimulated by work	74.91	75.63	74.34
Playing with pets	73.43	68.91	76.97*
Playing a musical instrument	72.32	74.79	70.39
Water skiing	71.22	57.14	82.24*
Listening to music from tapes, CDs, etc.	70.48	66.39	73.68*
Playing table-tennis (ping-pong)	69.74	63.87	74.34
Horseback riding	67.16	54.62	76.97*
Reading magazines	66.05	62.18	69.08*
Bowling	64.58	55.46	71.71*
Sightseeing	64.58	56.30	71.05*
Taking a nap	64.58	57.98	69.74*
Painting, drawing, sketching	64.21	61.34	66.45
Reading a book for pleasure	61.99	57.98	65.13*
Doing crossword puzzles	57.93	51.26	63.16*
Playing volleyball	56.83	48.74	63.16*
Sculpturing	56.46	48.74	63.16*
Playing badminton	55.72	48.74	61.18*
Visiting with friends	55.72	61.34	51.32*
Nature study such as bird watching	55.35	52.10	57.89*
Collecting such as stamps, etc.	55.35	51.26	58.55*
Participating in church activities	54.98	57.98	52.63*
Attendance at theater plays	52.40	54.62	50.66
Reading newspapers	49.82	37.82	59.21*
Playing with children	49.08	46.22	51.32
Visiting art museums	49.08	49.58	48.68
Working out at a gym	48.34	34.45	59.21*
Volunteering	48.34	50.42	46.71
Roller skating	48.15	43.22	51.97*
Hiking	47.97	36.13	57.24*
Playing backgammon	47.23	44.54	49.34
Relaxing in the sun	46.86	44.54	48.68
Playing the piano or organ	43.54	46.22	41.45
Playing racquetball	43.17	31.09	52.63*
Camping	42.80	31.09	51.97*
Playing softball	42.44	35.29	48.03*
Walking for pleasure	42.07	39.50	44.08*
Sailing	41.70	30.25	50.66*
Participating in ballet, jazz, etc.	39.48	47.06	33.55*
Playing cards	36.90	26.89	44.74*
Attendance at the opera	36.16	40.34	32.89*
Canoeing	35.42	26.89	42.11*
Ice skating	35.06	29.41	39.47*
Visiting a bar or club	33.95	26.89	39.47*
Cooking	33.95	28.57	38.16*
Playing golf	33.21	26.05	38.82*
Playing checkers or chess	30.63	25.21	34.87*
Working with pottery	30.26	26.89	32.89*
Rafting	29.52	22.69	34.87*
Attendance at the ballet or dance	29.15	34.45	25.00*
Gardening	28.78	23.53	32.89*
Archery	28.04	31.93	25.00*
Writing letters	26.57	29.41	24.34
Talking on the phone	25.09	21.01	28.29*
Attending sports events	23.62	13.45	31.58*
Playing Basketball	22.14	13.45	28.9

*Difference between male and female perceptions are significant at .05, using a chi-square with 1 degree of freedom

TABLE 4
Correlation Matrix

	Number of Sex-Typed Leisure Activities	Gender-Role Sex	Attitude
Activities			
Sex	-.18		
Gender-Role Attitudes	-.13*	.41*	
Gender Identity	-.07	-.05	.08

*p<.01

n=271

TABLE 5
Regression Analysis For Total Number of Sex-Typed Leisure Activities

	R ²	df	F	p<
	.039	4	3.64	.01

Variable	Parameter Estimates	t-statistics	p<
Intercept	40.99	9.70	0.05
Sex	-3.54	-2.30	0.05
Gender-Role Attitudes	-0.09	-0.97	ns
Gender Identity	-1.27	-0.91	ns

assessment of attitudes, especially with regard to leisure behavior. The strength of biological sex over the gender-related concepts in predicting the sex-typing of leisure activities is apparent. However, one should not interpret from these findings that gender-related concepts are unimportant to the study of leisure behavior. As a caution, it should be noted that our response rate in the secondary sample is rather low (53/200, or 26.5%). This fact may limit the generalizability of our findings.

However, the dynamic changes occurring in traditional sex-role patterns may only now be emerging (Stern 1988); and similarly, such changes in perceptions of leisure activities may only now be appearing. One perception of leisure is based on consumption, which we will further discuss.

Leisure as Consumption

In his winter 2002 column of *ACR News*, Stephen Hoch discusses how "consumption behavior is a more salient aspect of

touristical [sic] pursuits than it is of everyday life" (p. 1). Of course, leisure activities are a part of "everyday life." Yet, they also are emphasized considerably when a consumer is "on vacation" or engaged in "touristical pursuits." Correspondingly, there is a long history in consumer behavior research of trying to understand the nature and meanings of leisure activities. We continue that tradition here by concentrating on the sex-typing of such consumption-laden leisure activities.

When traveling to unknown territory, both men and women find that their activities break out of a ritualistic routine (Hoch 2002). That is, "when we travel to exotic locales, that routine is no longer in place and just getting through the day involves many discrete consumption acts in very unfamiliar territory and we are true amateurs." (Hoch 2002 p.1) As described by Hoch (2002), "consumption behavior is a salient aspect of touristical pursuits." (p. 1) It is important to note that the leisure consumption by tourists is distinct from consumption habits (and other patterns) of natives.

Consumers, when traveling (e.g., on vacation) to an unknown territory with a distinct setting, have unique experiences. For instance, there are differences in preparation (e.g., agenda planning). In many circumstances, natives do not prepare for their leisurely activities (e.g., reading magazines, playing volleyball, bicycling for pleasure). Secondly, tourists often seek out "hotspots" or meaningful experiences on a trip. This may result in differences in how the activity is experienced. Whereas the ESPN Zone may provide an ultimate experimental experience (Sherry 2001) for tourists, Chicago natives nonchalantly accept the consumption center as routine (e.g., as part of everyday life).

After the trip is completed, tourists may treasure the resulting records and artifacts (e.g., scrapbooks, travel journals). In contrast, natives may not feel compelled to record an environment that is frequently encountered. In Hoch's (2002) travel journal to India, he reports on activities such as purchasing souvenirs, bargaining, visiting temples, learning from natives, and bodysurfing. We report on similar experiences here, including sightseeing, visiting with friends, and water skiing.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the relationship between gender schema and sex-typing of leisure (consumption) activities brings competing psychological (e.g., Bem) and sociological (e.g., Spence) theories into a consumer behavior perspective. We find that leisure activities, as a subset of consumption experiences, may be sex-typed—especially by males. As gender roles change in society, these patterns may change.

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