POSSIBILITY OF REFINING THE HIERARCHICAL MODEL OF LEISURE CONSTRAINTS THROUGH CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH

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Abstract: Leisure constraints "limit the formation of leisure preferences and ... inhibit or prohibit participation and enjoyment in leisure (Jackson, 1991, p. 279). In 1991, Crawford, Jackson, and Godbey developed a hierarchical model of leisure constraints that included three types: interpersonal (e.g., lack of appropriate partners), intrapersonal (e.g., lack of skill, too much stress), and structural (e.g., excessive cost, lack of availability). Since leisure constraints research has been focused on North America the purpose of this study is to examine the validity of the hierarchical model of leisure constraints in two societies outside of North America, Japan and China. These countries are culturally quite different from the U.S and Canada but Japan, like both the U.S and Canada, is a developed nation while China, on the other hand, is a developing country. Six Japanese couples and six Chinese couples who range in age from approximately 20 - 40 years old were interviewed about their leisure and what they perceive to be constraints to their leisure. Data was analyzed in order to determine whether or not the hierarchical model of leisure constraints can guide cross-cultural research and in both developed and developing nations. In addition, we attempted to determine if culture itself was in important constraint category.

While this study did not provide final answers regarding the validity of the hierarchical model of leisure constraints either cross-culturally or in developed and developing societies, the results indicate that constraints in other societies differ from those found in North America. Results also suggest that the categories of leisure constraints must be refined on the basis of cross-cultural research and new constraint categories be added to the hierarchical model. In particular, culture is a constraint category that may substantially enhance the validity of the model when it is applied to other societies.

Introduction

The Hierarchical model of Leisure Constraints Crawford and Godbey identified three major types of constraints to leisure in 1987 (See also Crawford, Jackson and Godbey, 1991). These are intrapersonal constraints, interpersonal constraints, and structural constraints (see Figure 1). Intrapersonal constraints involve psychological conditions that are internal to the individual such as personality factors, attitudes, or more temporary psychological conditions such as mood. Interpersonal constraints are those that arise out of interaction with others such as family members, friends, coworkers and neighbors. Structural constraints include such factors as the lack of opportunities or the cost of activities that result from external conditions in the environment.

Previous research
The overwhelming majority of research on leisure constraints has been conducted in North America and several theories and models have been proposed (Alexandris, 1997). Blazey (1987), Crompton (1977), and Lansing and Blood (1964) found that lack of money, time, poor health, and family support or interest were the primary constraints that influence an individual's decision of whether to travel. Norman (1995) examined the influence of perceived constraints on the decision of whether to take a summer trip. Tian, Crompton, and Witt (1996) studied the constraints that inhibited individuals from visiting museum attractions in Texas. They found that cost, time, difficulty of access, repetition, product failings, and lack of interest were the primary constraint dimensions.

Similarly, tests of the Hierarchical model of Leisure Constraints have largely been restricted to North
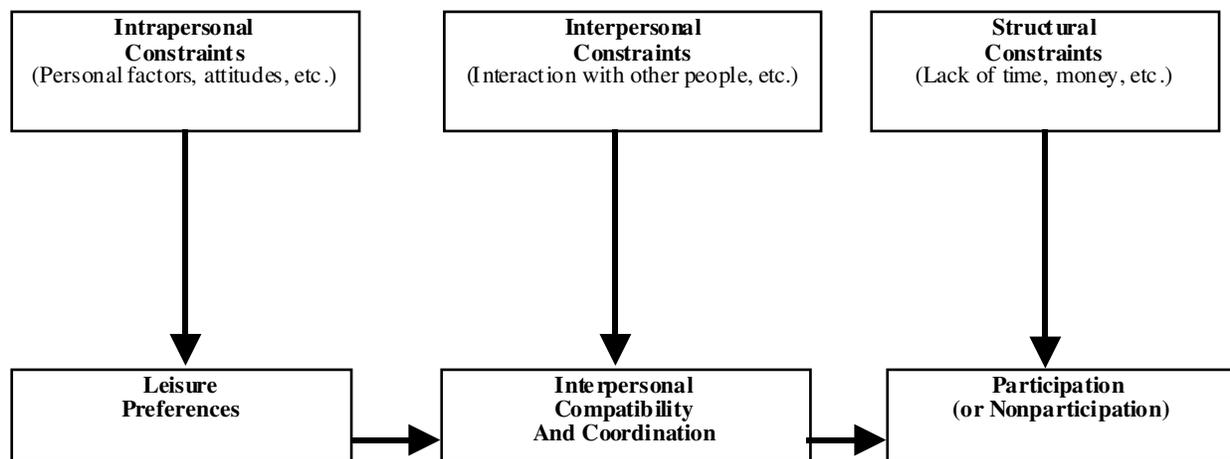
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┌─────────────────────┐   ┌─────────────────────┐   ┌─────────────────────┐
│    Intrapersonal     │   │    Interpersonal     │   │     Structural       │
│     Constraints      │   │     Constraints      │   │     Constraints      │
│ (Personal factors,   │   │ (Interaction with    │   │ (Lack of time,       │
│  attitudes, etc.)    │   │  other people, etc.) │   │  money, etc.)        │
└─────────────────────┘   └─────────────────────┘   └─────────────────────┘
           │                         │                         │
           ▼                         ▼                         ▼
┌─────────────────────┐   ┌─────────────────────┐   ┌─────────────────────┐
│      Leisure        │──▶│    Interpersonal     │──▶│    Participation     │
│     Preferences     │   │    Compatibility     │   │  (or Nonparticipation)│
│                     │   │    And Coordination  │   │                      │
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Figure 1. A Hierarchical Model of leisure Constraints (Crawford, Jackson and Godbey, 1991)

America. Pennington-Gray and Kerstetter (2002) investigated perceived intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural constraints to nature-based travel and tested the constraint model in a nature-based tourism setting. They found individuals' perceptions of constraints differed depending on socioeconomic status, family life cycle, and age. Raymore et al. (1993) tested the model with a sample of adolescent students and found support for the hierarchy of importance of leisure constraints. Hawkins et al. (1999) attempt to replicate and extend previous work on leisure constraints construct development based on data from a sample of mentally handicapped adults. They found it is necessary to refine the propositions associated with the hierarchical model of leisure constraints. However, Hawkins and her colleagues' research was strongly criticized by Godbey (1999), one of the founders of the hierarchical model of leisure constraints, who claimed that Hawkins et al. (1999) failed to consider a central fact for adults with mental retardation-they are, by definition, significantly lower in intelligence than other people. This fact alone would affect research outcomes (Godbey, 1999). Jackson (1999), another founder of the hierarchical model of leisure constraints, recommended that Godbey's concerns should be respected, but also that Hawkins and her colleagues' study represents a useful contribution to knowledge about leisure constraints, and indirectly about leisure in general.

Cross-cultural research on leisure
Most studies of leisure are conducted in North

America. Moreover, to our knowledge, there are no investigations of the validity of the leisure constraints model on the basis of cross-cultural comparative research. Alexandris et al. (1997), for example, investigated demographic differences in the perception of constraints on recreational sport participation and analyzed leisure constraints based on different recreational sport participation levels in Greece. Their study is not comparative, however.

Cross-cultural comparative research on leisure is extremely rare in both the anthropological and leisure literatures. The rarity of such studies does not mean that they are without value, however. Cross-cultural comparative studies have several clear virtues. First, they permit data exploration. Second, examinations of the cross-cultural literature permit the formulation and testing of hypotheses generated from case studies or from wider consideration of the ethnographic record. Third, because cross-cultural researchers sample from societies around the world, they are able to examine the widest possible range of human variation in culture traits. Finally, in the case of comparisons where secondary data are used, cross-cultural comparative studies tend to be extremely cost efficient (Chick, 2000).

Leisure theory and models which are created in North America may not be applicable in Asian countries. According to Ap (2002), for example, the modernization of Asia must not be thought of as the westernization of Asia, but as the modernization of Asia in the Asian way despite the

fact that parts of Asia (for example, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore) have attained per capita GDPs that rival those of Western developed countries. He also indicated that even if Asians are influenced by Western ideas, they do not necessarily embrace Western values. This sentiment was reinforced by Tay (2001, p.74): "The (Asian) region may be absorbing Western influences, but it is not going to end up as another MacDonald's franchise.... Rather, the increased links with the United States and the West will likely result in hybrids that abandons traditional Asian forms while still insisting on a difference from the West".

Based on the hints above that culture may have an important influence on the experience of constraints, the purpose of this research is to test the validity of the hierarchical model of leisure constraints cross-culturally and comparatively in two societies outside of North America, Japan and China. These countries are culturally quite different from the U.S and Canada but Japan, like both the U.S and Canada, is a developed nation while China is still in the process of developing. In addition to testing the model originally proposed by Crawford and Godbey (1987) and elaborated by Crawford, Jackson, and Godbey (1991), we will propose a modified model that incorporates culture as a type of leisure constraint.

Method

An increasing number of scholars are relying on alternative methodological paradigms to study leisure behavior (Henderson, 1998). Stanfield (1994) identified several concerns associated with traditional quantitative approaches including low return rates of mailed questionnaires and skepticism and suspicion of telephone surveys. In addition, ethnographic or qualitative research is useful in initial explorations of topics. Hence, because of the lack of previous research on leisure constraints in China and Japan, we decided to use interviews to explore what kinds of factors influence choices regarding leisure activities in those two countries.

Sampling and research settings
Purposeful sampling strategies are commonly used in qualitative and ethnographic research. This is in contrast to random sampling in quantitative studies (Rossman & Rallis, 2002, pp.137). We

used snowball or chain sampling, which is one of typical strategies for purposeful selection of cases and individuals, events, or processes (Patton, 2002, pp.230-242). Participants in the study were Japanese and Chinese couples who ranged in age from approximately 20 - 80 years. We chose couples instead of individuals because couples may be more constrained by family responsibilities than single people. Hence, it may be easier to identify leisure constraints for married couples. In Japan, we asked a sport and culture association in Tokyo to provide names of people who are using their recreational facilities. We asked a water-ink painting fan club in Yokohama to provide names of people who were willing to be interviewed. We then contacted them for interviews. In China, we contacted community centers in Beijing and Dalian for names of people who used the facilities. And then, we contacted them for interviews. We selected Tokyo and Yokohama, in Japan, and Beijing and Dalian, in China, as appropriate sites for the study in the view of their large populations, abundant recreational facilities and reputations as tourism sites.

Data collection and analysis
Data for the study was collected via interviews. We asked about informants' life styles in their homes, their family and work, and their leisure activities. In additional, participants also were asked to talk about what factors constrain their leisure activities and how they overcome these constraints. The interviews took place in the participants' homes and lasted from one to two hours. Interview questions addressed the following areas:
1. Questions pertaining to demographic characteristics and socioeconomic status
2. Questions pertaining to time use and free time activities
3. Questions pertaining to leisure constraints

All of interviews were recorded with the consent of the interviewees. We then read transcripts of the interviews in order to explore informants' life styles and leisure constraints. We attempted to find the similarities and differences in leisure constraints between Japan and China and how these fit the hierarchical model of leisure constraints. Finally, we looked for the influences of culture on leisure constraints.

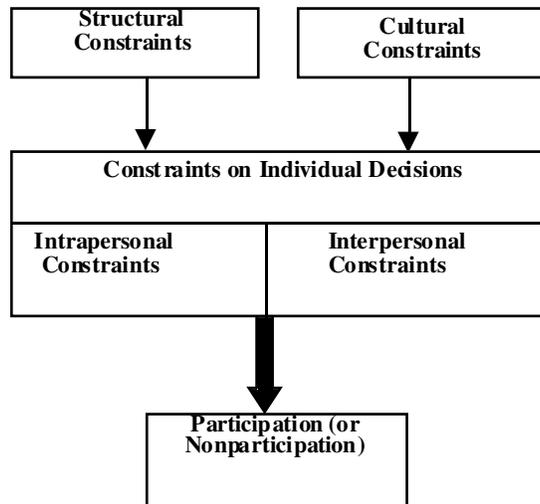We will present brief excerpts from our interviews

Figure 2. Refined Hierarchical Model of leisure Constraints (Chick & Dong, 2003)

that appear to support the intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural constraint categories but which also suggest that culture is an important category in its own right.

Results

Validity of the Three Types of Leisure Constraints
The findings of this study indicated that interpersonal, intrapersonal, and structural constraints three types of leisure constraints also exist in two societies outside of North America, Japan and China.

Both Chinese participants and Japanese participants addressed intrapersonal barriers:

My hobbies are Taiji and Chinese chess. Actually, I also like to play basketball. But nobody likes to play basketball among my friends except me because they think basketball is not an appropriate leisure activity for old people. I have to quit playing basket to follow my friends. (Chinese female, 60s)

I like to read new papers. My son bought a computer for me and told me I can get more information by surfing the internet. I have tried to surf the internet many times. Unfortunately, I cannot continue to do it because the computer is too complicated for me to remember all the options. I think I am getting old; I have to give up and continue to read the newspaper. (Japanese female, 60s)

Most subjects mentioned that they are extremely restricted by Interpersonal constraints resulted in quitting their leisure activities.

We live with my mother. She is 79 years old and cannot walk at all. Everyday, I had to prepare meals for her and help her to walk. In order to take care of her, I do not have time to do leisure. I think I do not have leisure. (Japanese male, 40s)

Structural constraints impact on leisure decisions regardless of the ages and incomes.

My annual income and my husband's income have to support my daughter for her study. My husband and I are working hard, we only have one purpose of working is for my daughter. I have no leisure! (Chinese female, 30s)

There was a movie theater nearby our former apartment. Now, there are no theaters nearby our new apartment. Our leisure is movie going. The lack of a theater makes us lose our leisure. (Japanese couple, 30s)

Constraints Imposed by Culture

In this study we found constraints that do not obviously belong to any of categories defined by Crawford, Jackson, and Godbey (1991). Culture appears to be a type constraint that is not easily subsumed by the intrapersonal, interpersonal, or structural categories.

I live in a traditional Japanese residential area. Most people who live in this area are old people. They think women should stay at home to take care of their kids and do housework. So traditional Japanese culture constricts my leisure activities and make me give up some leisure activities. (Businessman, female, 50s)

We have to take care of my grandchildren everyday..... In traditional Chinese culture, mothers should be responsible for taking care of their grandchildren. We are very old and we also have chronic illnesses, but we have to do this. This is an obligation. (Retired couple, 70s)

Now, we have three long holidays: Spring Festival, Labor Day and National Day. I may tell my parents I have to take some rest at home or visit my friends or travel during the Labor Day and National Day. But I have to see my parents and stay with them during the Spring Festival which is a cultural symbol of family gathering. Chinese parents cannot accept that their children don't visit them and traditional culture also doesn't allow me to do my leisure activities instead of visiting my parents during the Spring Festival. (Chinese male, 20s)

I just got married last year. Traditionally, in Japan after women got married, they had to visit their husbands' parents during the New Year Holiday (usually January 1st). I have to visit my husband's parents during the New Year holiday because our culture doesn't allow me to do leisure activities instead of visiting my parents-in-law. (Japanese female, 20s)

The statements above indicate that interpersonal, intrapersonal, and structural constraints to leisure exist in both China and Japan. In addition, the final pair of statements show that "tradition" (read: "culture") is also a significant influence on leisure constraints.

Discussion and result

The findings of this study indicated that three types of leisure constraints, intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural constraints also exist in two societies outside of North America, Japan and China. However, our study found intrapersonal and interpersonal constraints are also influenced by culture. Indeed, it is not at all clear

how the constraints denoted by the term "tradition" could be incorporated into the categories of intrapersonal, interpersonal, or structural. It seems far better, both in terms of economy and explanatory value, to assign these constraints to the cultures of the informants. We believe that the development of the hierarchical model of constraints in North America, which has been regarded as monocultural for these purposes, has led to a disregard for culture as a variable. However, cross-cultural data expose the weakness in such a perspective. Since it is generally assumed that culture both prescribes and proscribes intrapersonal and interpersonal behavior differently in different cultures, we feel that both intrapersonal and interpersonal constraints should be subordinate to culture in any hierarchical model.

Although cultural constraints have not denoted in leisure research field, they are well-documented in other research's areas. According to Brightman (1981), cultural constraints include taboos, differing time perspectives, attitudes toward change, beliefs toward the scientific method, and decision-making styles. According to Mendonca's study (1996), the application of management techniques developed in U.S hamper developing countries because of cultural differences. In Ireland, the role of the Catholic Church and religion, more generally, is a major source of cultural constraints, influences on health education programs, particularly information giving, and the development of services and other interventions (Smyth, 1998). In Oman, a Middle Eastern country, women may work in special areas of employment approved by men and under the guidance of men, but they may not create their own spheres of activity (Chatty, 2000). In Canada, the approximately 25% of Canadians who are of French origin are very sensitive to the use (or abuse) of their preferred language. Marketers who have been successful in Quebec must develop or modify advertise messages to be used for French-speaking parts of Canada (Jarvis, 1995).

Therefore, cultural constraints are either prescriptive (people should do certain things) or proscriptive (people should not do certain things). Said differently, cultures have "norms;" that is, things that people should do and should not do. Pornography, for example, is proscribed in American culture despite the fact that many people

consume (buy, watch, etc.) it. But many do not do so even if they would like to because it is proscribed. Hence, within the "expressive array" (the total number of expressive and recreational activities that are available to members of particular cultural communities), people either do or avoid doing certain things because their culture tells them that they should or should not do them. Of course, some people violate the prescriptions and proscriptions and either do not do what they are supposed to do or do what they are not supposed to do. For their actions they may be subjected to punishments that range from cross words or looks to being executed.

It is also the case that cultures do not have identical expressive arrays because of cultural complexity (e.g., tribal peoples in highland New Guinea do not have computer games), because certain activities are ecologically impossible (people who live in tropical jungles do not go snow skiing), or because the activities are culturally inappropriate (e.g., games of strategy generally do not exist in societies that lack social stratification (Roberts, Arth, and Bush, 1959; Chick, 1998). Hence, behavior is constrained by the type of expressive array in one's culture. While individuals ultimately make decisions about leisure, we feel that these decisions are strongly influenced, if not strictly determined, by culture in conjunction with structural constraints. Therefore, in our revised model, we place both cultural and structural constraints prior to individual level (intrapersonal and interpersonal) constraints (see Figure 2). We feel that the model, thus configured, offers a better way of understanding constraints to leisure in cross-cultural or multicultural contexts.

In sum, the categories of leisure constraints must be refined on the basis of cross-cultural research and new constraint categories should be added to the hierarchical model. In particular, culture itself is a constraint category that may substantially enhance the validity of the model when it is applied to other societies or whenever culture cannot be assumed to be a constant. Indeed, we feel that culture can be assumed to be a constant only when it is empirically demonstrated to be so.

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