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Social Worlds of Older Women and Men:

A Leisure Comparison

BY

I. Anne McBlane

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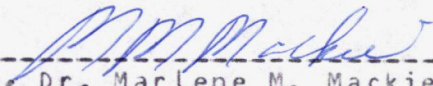
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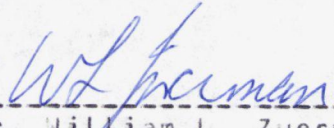
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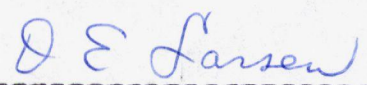
The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "Social Worlds of Older Women and Men: A Leisure Comparison," submitted by I. Anne McBlane in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.



Chair, Dr. Marlene M. Mackie
Department of Sociology



Dr. William L. Zwerman
Department of Sociology



Dr. Donald Larsen
Department of Community Health
Sciences

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ABSTRACT

According to Bernard (1981:3):

The underlying premise [of the two-worlds concept] is that most human beings live in single-sex worlds, women in a female world and men in a male world, and that the two are different in a myriad of ways, both subjectively and objectively.

Although Bernard (1981;1972) is perhaps its major proponent, the two-worlds notion has become a prevalent metaphor in the gender literature. See, for example, the writings of Gilligan (1986;1982) and Smith (1975;1974). However, Mackie (1987;1984) and Matthews (1982a;1982b) have been more skeptical. Mackie (1987;1984) says, and Matthews (1982a;1982b) implies, that the question which needs to be addressed is this: Are the social worlds of women and men truly different, and if they are, are they delineated by sex/gender alone? This study uses the perspective of symbolic interactionism to approach this problem.

The concept of "social worlds" is from the early symbolic interactionist work of Robert E. Park and his students (Unruh, 1983:11). Shibutani (1962) has revitalized this concept. His conceptualization specifies that boundaries for a social world depend upon shared and effective communication, a shared perspective and a common

culture (Shibutani, 1962:135). Unruh (1983) extends the social worlds "idea" into the leisure worlds of older people, as does this thesis. Unlike Unruh, however, this thesis inquires into the impact of sex upon the social worlds of older people.

Informed by the above writings, this thesis measured the leisure activities of a nonprobability sample of 52 retired school teachers (31 women and 21 men) who currently live in Calgary. Although the possibility of generalizing these findings to other groups is limited by the size and non-representediveness of the sample, the study does suggest some directions for future studies. It also suggests, in support of Matthews (1982b), that structural factors, such as socioeconomic status, access to power and ethnicity must be taken into consideration.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated:

to my parents, Mary and Allan McBlane, who encouraged both their daughters to be individuals.

to the memories of my beloved maternal grandparents, Mary Romaine Spensley (1887 to 1975) and William Davison Spensley (1885 to 1974), who taught me how to age gracefully.

and to Sandy, with whom I shared my childhood.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
DEDICATION	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii
LIST OF TABLES	xi
 CHAPTER ONE: LITERATURE REVIEW AND RESEARCH PROBLEM	1
Introduction	1
Social Worlds	3
Aging	8
Gender	17
Leisure	29
Symbolic Interaction	35
Research Problem	39
Summary	40
 CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY	42
Introduction	42
The Instrument	44
Matters of Reliability and Validity	49
Reliability	49
Validity	50
The Pilot Study	51
The Sample	52

Data Analysis	54
Summary	56
CHAPTER THREE: LEISURE SOCIAL WORLDS	57
Introduction	57
Definition of Leisure	58
Social worlds, An Introduction	62
Limiting Factors	66
The Leisure Social Worlds of the Fine Arts	74
Media Social Worlds	79
The Social World of Handicrafts	83
Passive Games as a Social World	86
Active Games	90
Volunteer Work and Clubs as Social Worlds	94
The Leisure Social World of Travel	97
Entertaining	100
Fashion Modelling as Leisure	102
The Church as a Leisure Social World	103
Taking Courses as Leisure	107
Semi-Leisure?	110
Summary	116

CHAPTER FOUR: CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS	119
Introduction	119
The Two-worlds Metaphor Re-examined	121
The Study at Hand	124
Summary	126
Future Directions	127
BIBLIOGRPAHY	129

List of Tables

Table	Title	Page
1	Leisure Definitions by Sex	59
2	Money as a Limiting Factor by Sex	66
3	Health as a Limiting Factor by Sex	68
4	Increased Participation if a Location was Available by Sex	70
5	Location as a Limiting Factor by Sex	72
6	Fine Arts by Sex	76
7	Radio and TV by Sex	80
8	Reading by Sex	82
9	Handicrafts by Sex	84
10	Passive Games by Sex	88
11	Active Games by Sex	92
12	Volunteer Work and Clubs by Sex	95
13	Travel by Sex	98
14	Entertaining by Sex	101
15	Church by Sex	105
16	Taking Courses by Sex	108
17	Around the House by Sex	112
18	Shopping by Sex	114

CHAPTER ONE

LITERATURE REVIEW AND RESEARCH PROBLEM

Introduction

The concept of social worlds arose from the work of the early symbolic interactionists, notably Robert E. Park and his students (Unruh, 1983:11). More recent social scientists such as Shibutani and Unruh have continued this Chicago School tradition by using the concept of social worlds to explain both reference groups (Shibutani, 1962) and the lives and activities of such marginal groups as the elderly (Unruh, 1983).

Aging, a universal and unidirectional process, is becoming of increasing importance world-wide because of the aging of the populations in all countries, especially in Western Europe and North America. In this portion of the chapter, the work of Marshall and Unruh will be heavily relied upon because of their use of symbolic interactionism to study those we call elderly. Marshall's (1986) critiques of the usual theoretical explanations of aging will be of particular importance.

Because roughly 55% of the population 65 years of age and older are female and because there is a body of

literature suggesting there are differences in the impact of retirement on men and women, this topic will be discussed next. The idea of overlapping but separate social worlds for women and men will also be explored. Bernard's (1981) and Gilligan's (1982) work is crucial here as are the criticisms of Mackie (1987;1984), Cavan (1983) and others. No consideration of different social worlds for men and women can be complete without considering the impact of socialization.

Some social scientists, such as Colley (1984) and Roberts (1981), maintain that there are differences in the number, type and quality of leisure activities which women and men pursue. This portion of the literature review will discuss these differences and relate them to differences in friendship patterns of men and women. The socialization process is of relevance to this section. Recent work by Kelly (1983) and Neulinger (1981) will be important to the section on leisure.

The central concepts of symbolic interactionism will be presented as the last theoretical portion of this chapter. Theorists such as Blumer (1967), Charon (1985), Hewitt (1976), Shibutani (1962) and Unruh (1983) will be cited.

Finally, the research problem for this thesis will be stated. Included in the discussion are the reasons the author considers the problem to be pertinent to sociological knowledge.

Social Worlds

In his work on reference groups, Shibutani continues the tradition of the early symbolic interactionists who worked with the concept of social worlds. He says that there are three interrelated prerequisites to common social worlds: shared and effective communication, shared perspectives and a common culture (1962). Differences in the communication channels available to people result in social worlds which vary in "composition, size and the territorial distribution of their participants" (Shibutani, 1962: 135). The cohesiveness and exclusiveness of such worlds varies from one social world to another (135). For example, the members of professional organizations and unions are held together, not only by local chapters of the groups, but also by a house organ or magazine. Both tend to promote solidarity and group loyalty (135-136). More loosely connected social worlds such as hobby and sports clubs (worlds) include members with varying degrees of dedication from those who are moderately interested to those who are fanatically interested. As do the more

tightly bound groups, these sports and hobby groups share both a set of symbols and a common perspective (136). Since having a shared culture presupposes shared communication channels and perspectives, those who do not share a culture, at least in part, are unlikely to share common social worlds (133).

Most people do not live in only one social world but in several, each of which may emphasize a different facet of their personalities. This is especially true for people who live in pluralistic societies such as Canada and the United States of America (139).

Unruh (1983) applies these "principles" of social worlds to the leisure worlds of older people. He used in-depth interviews to explore the social worlds of 40 Northern Californians over a period of two years. All of the respondents lived in a suburban area and none were institutionalized (39). The small sample size, the use of one geographic location, and the interviewing of only non-institutionalized people 65 years of age and older mean that the study cannot be generalized to all persons 65 years of age and older nor can it be generalized to the total adult population in the United States. There is considerable merit to his study, however, especially in his

application of the concept of social worlds to the leisure activities of older people.

Of the two types of leisure world which Shibutani discusses, only the loosely-knit ones are of interest to Unruh and to this thesis. More formal social worlds do have impact on the loosely-knit ones but this is not a central concern to either study.

Unruh says: "The only crucial factor for minimal social world involvement is access to one of the many linking devices" (1983:129). He considers this to be so, at least in part, because social worlds are highly informal and movement through their permeable boundaries is relatively easy. Access to linking devices allows people to gain knowledge of the practices and activities within a given social world. The perspective of the social world may be shared to a greater or lesser degree by the participants (105). Indeed, Unruh lists four stages of commitment to a social world which are located in positions between the core and boundaries of the social world by eight integrating factors.

"Strangers" are least committed to a social world and tend to be located outside of the boundaries of the social world. These people may be just beginning their

involvement or they may just be 'passing by' and will not ever be integrated into the social world (130-135).

"Strangers" tend to be nameless and faceless, hence invisible to others in the social world and to outside observers (107).

"Tourists" have penetrated the boundaries of the social world, but not by much, as they remain outside the 'main action' (135). These people may be searching for a particular type of experience and may move on if they don't find it or become more deeply involved in the social world if they do (135-136). As "tourists" they may be consumers but are not likely to be any more deeply involved (135). Unruh considers consumers to be those who watch, view, listen and observe (107).

The activities of a social world are organized for the "regulars". They tend to be near the core of the social world and display considerable knowledge about it. The integrating factors for regulars could be collecting, creating, performing and marketing all of which require increasing integration into the social world and more and more extensive knowledge about it (140-143). Because marketing involves the selling of products of the social world, it also involves being connected to other social worlds (113).

"Insiders" is the final category which Unruh discusses. Those who are "insiders" have the most intimate knowledge of the social world and the way it functions (144-145). These people tend to be the organizational leaders and represent the social world to other social worlds (115-116). "Insiders" are also those who evaluate the activities of and participants in the social world. They serve as judges, referees, editors and inspectors (117-118).

Increased involvement and knowledge of a social world, as one progresses from "stranger" to "insider", presupposes increased access to and understanding of the communication links which tie the social world together. As Shibutani states, to be able to share and understand these communication links one must share a common perspective and a common culture (1962:133). The permeable and elastic boundaries of a social world also allow new people and ideas to be readily admitted (Unruh, 1983:34).

Unruh says that using the media as communication links to a social world allows people to remain in the role of "tourist", if they so choose. It also allows people to participate in social worlds without having to disclose their age or any disabilities which might otherwise serve

to stigmatize them (1983:78,80). We will further discuss the involvement of older people in social worlds in the next section where participation will be linked to factors which, although they are not exclusive to the aged, are exacerbated by increasing age.

Aging

Gerontology, the multi-disciplinary study of aging, has grown considerably since its beginnings in the late 1950's and early 1960's. One of the major reasons social scientists are concerned with aging is the increasing proportion of the population which is 65 years of age or older. For the years 1901 to 1981, the population of persons 65 and older grew at twice the rate of the total population in Canada. In addition, that proportion of the population considered to be the old-old (age 85 years and older, in this case) grew four times as quickly as the total population. The size and proportion of the elderly population in Canada is expected to increase until the middle of the twenty-first century (National Welfare Council, 1984:7), by which time the youngest of the "baby boomers" will be dead.

Between 1901 and 1981, the proportion of females in the elderly population increased from less than 50% to

about 57%. This proportion is expected to increase again through 2001, although not as rapidly. If current population trends continue, about two-thirds of the people 75 years of age and older will be female in the year 2001. In the same year, women will make up just over 60% of those over 65 years of age in the Canadian population (8).

As people age, they may be forced to reevaluate their participation in any given social world. Changes in health status, decreased mobility and relocation to another geographic area are factors which may influence these reevaluations. Some changes are precipitated by crises, such as injury or the death of a significant other. The absence or presence of a significant other may be crucial to the entrance into and continued involvement in a social world (Unruh, 1983:123-125). Changes to a person's social worlds, that arise from the loss of a significant other and the role changes necessitated by retirement from a job or profession, will now be addressed.

How important these changes are to a person's life depends upon the salience of a status or event, how well a person copes with change and the resources, including social support networks, the person has to assist her/his transition from one status to another (George and Maddox, 1977:457). Any differences between the social worlds of

women and men must also be contemplated. It should be noted, before we proceed, that the literature appears to contain several contradictions as to which sex is more severely affected by the death of an intimate and/or by retirement. (1)

Studies by Lopata (1980) and Arling (1976) indicate that friendships and kinship ties are not likely to be interchangeable but that most older people are tied to both simultaneously (see also Creech and Babchuk, 1985:131). This means the loss of a significant other, family, may not be made up for by increased interaction with a significant other, friend, and vice versa. Blau (1981:61), however, thinks that this may not be so but that people may increase their interaction with other intimates when one intimate leaves their social worlds. She also says that having even one intimate friend acts as a buffer against loneliness and demoralization.

(1) The argument is "spelled out" on subsequent pages but the early studies tended to compare housewives to career men and thus thought men had more difficulty adjusting to retirement because the women basically continued to do what they always had: housework (see Blau, {1981}, for example). More recent studies also consider women who have worked in the paid labor force and the findings are quite different (see Depner & Ingersoll {1982}, cited below).

One of the major differences between kinship and friendship ties is that friendships are egalitarian and voluntary whereas kinship ties may be more formal and are more likely to be perceived as obligatory or compulsory (Roberto and Scott, 1986:241; Arling, 1976:759). Sex differences in friendship networks are of considerable importance when studying older people. Women tend to have more intimate ties outside the family than do men (Powers and Bultena, 1976:746). Confidants for women are most frequently intimate friends while confidants for men are most frequently their wives (Chappell, 1983:79; Bell, 1981:62; Blau, 1981:69). Since women are most likely the "social secretaries" for the family, loss of a spouse may have considerably more impact on the lives of males than females (Bell, 1981:176; Lopata, 1980:49). However, because women tend to marry men older than themselves (Abu-Laban, 1980:129; Lopata, 1980:98) and women outlive men by 7.3 years in Canada (National Welfare Council, 1984:11), women are more likely than men to be widowed and to remain widowed (Abu-Laban, 1980:129; Lopata, 1980:98).

Being widowed may affect the social worlds of the widowed person in several ways: the widowed person may feel ill at ease with friends who are couples (Arling, 1976:759; Lopata, 1980:113); activities previously shared

with the marital partner, but not with others, may no longer be enjoyed (Lopata, 1980:105) or participation may be discontinued. Two studies done by Blau (1981:74) show that the decade in which a person is widowed may affect the patterns of interaction with friends. Men who are widowed in their 60's have more difficulty adjusting than do women who are widowed in their 60's, at least in part because more of the women's than men's peers are likely to be widowed in this decade of life. The men are thus "off-time" with their social clocks and may feel awkward in a social setting involving their still married friends and the friends' wives. Because women do tend to marry older men, they are more likely to be "on-time" and may have several friends who have also been widowed in their 60's. Being "on-time," as opposed to "off-time" produces less role strain (Neugarten, summarized in Kimmel, 1980:59-60). Widowed persons are also left with having to complete all the chores of daily living by themselves which may also have a detrimental effect on their morale and happiness (based on Lopata, 1980:98). Additional strain may be produced by having to learn skills and perform chores never before done.

A second important factor which has bearing upon the social worlds of older people is that retirement from an

occupation most frequently occurs in the late middle years or early senior years of a person's life. Because of the salience of work to the masculine gender role (Posner, 1980:87), it has long been thought, as Blau believes, that adjustment to retirement is more difficult for men than it is for women. More recent research indicates that this is not necessarily the case. Because women tend not only to outlive men but also to marry men older than themselves, women may retire at about the same time as they become widows (Depner and Ingersoll, 1982:63; Szinovacz, 1982:20; Neulinger, 1981:170). If her work was important to her the woman loses one key aspect of her "self." She loses another if her marriage was important to her. Her social worlds may be inexorably changed. Men lose one part of their "self" which may or may not be a central one to their identities (Kelly, 1983:126-134). The impact of retirement on men's lives may thus be less traumatic than is the impact of retirement on women's lives because there is less change in men's social worlds. Long-term adjustment to these changes may be easier for women because they do have more friends to whom they may turn for support (Bell, 1981:56).

Retirement also represents a loss of several facets of the "self" including the "self" that is the employee, the

one that is the coworker and, often the one that is a friend to a specific significant other. Blau (1981:96-98) argues that this is especially true for men but Bell (1981:71) and Szinovacz (1982:19) think this loss, especially of the friend, is more true for women. Bell, in particular argues, that because women are of more equal status in the workplace than men may be, it is more likely that they will form friendships with coworkers (1981:71-72). It is important to both women and men that their social worlds may be narrowed by retirement although there is some evidence that men, more so than women, lose friendships when they retire (Blau, 1981:85). Blau thinks this is because the women's friendships are based on several common interests, such as work, children and household interests, whereas men's are based almost solely on their work interests. Once a man retires, he has no common grounds for conversation (83-84).

Adjustment to the role of retiree is thought to be made easier if ones peers are also retiring or have retired at approximately the same time. The important factor here is that we tend to evaluate ourselves as we think others see us and this evaluation affects our self esteem (Blau, 1981:91-94). Blau's findings here appear to support Cooley's concept of "the looking-glass self."

No matter how great is the trauma, or how many roles are lost at retirement, both women and men have to undergo considerable resocialization to adjust to the roles of retiree and/or widow. Kimmel says that before a new role may be assumed the old role(s) must first be resolved. He also suggests that some social support is needed from significant others to ease this adjustment for the person (1980:64). Blau (1981:68) found that the presence and support of even one significant other would help to ameliorate the loneliness and problems of such role adjustments. She also found that those with six friends, as opposed to two, had a much easier time adjusting to changes brought about by widowhood and retirement (109). Using Marshall's (1978-79:347-348) idea that we maintain our identity (continuity of self over time) by negotiating a sense of order, and self, through interaction with others, having six friends, rather than two, may help us affirm our identity and preserve our concept of self through much of old age (also suggested by Blau, 1981). Such social support also allows us to more readily negotiate meanings and interpret situations or to change norms to fit our needs and situations.

Aging, per se, tends to affect the sexes differently. Posner (1980) argues that since our society places high

value on both youth and beauty, particularly for women, that an older woman is doubly stigmatized because in our society's view, she no longer has either. An older widow may additionally lose status when her husband dies because women have traditionally been granted statuses derived from the men with whom they are associated (based on Posner, 1980:82). Older men may not be as severely stigmatized for their appearance but they do lose a role central to the masculine gender role when they retire or are forced to retire. As this author has said already, this may not affect them too much because occupation may not have been the most salient status in these men's lives.

Poverty in old age also affects women and men differently. Those who are among the oldest of the elderly in Canada are most likely to be widowed, divorced or never-married females who live well below the poverty line (National Welfare Council, 1984:29). Part of this is because these women were raised to believe that if they married, they would be taken care of for the rest of their lives. Many of them did not realize they would outlive their husbands by several years nor could they account for the economic forces that have increased the cost of living as much as they have over the past fifty years. Women who did work often worked in jobs that had no pension plans

(O'Rand and Henretta, 1982:27). The low wages women tend to make (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1984:32) also mean that their contributions to Canada Pension Plan have been lower than have men's and women are, therefore, much less likely to collect maximum benefits.

To understand the implications of the differential stigmatizing and financial resources and the impact they may have on the social worlds of women and men we must now turn to a discussion of gender and the two-worlds metaphor.

Gender

Definition by gender is pervasive in our society. However else we might be judged, we are additionally and always, judged by whether we play the masculine or feminine gender role. Like age, race and occupation, gender is a salient status in our society. It can, and does, influence other life roles (Mackie, 1983:280). Further, our society views gender roles as being dimorphous and, indeed, polar opposites. Cross-overs and transgressions from these "scripts" are frowned upon by members of our society (Mackie, 1987:14). Only in old age does a shift towards androgyny appear to be acceptable to us (suggested by Livson, 1983 and Sinnot, 1979). This may be because elders in our society are often presumed to have no interest in

sex, or are seen as sexless so the gender roles they play do not matter.

The all-encompassing importance of gender as a master status is at the root of the "two worlds metaphor" which Bernard (1981) and others propose. At the crux of the metaphor is the idea that women and men occupy different, albeit sometimes overlapping, social worlds. Bernard believes that the female world is separate from the male world and that these two worlds differ "both subjectively and objectively" (1981:3). She goes on to say that these worlds are socially, not physically, separate (5); that the norms and boundaries for these worlds are learned (4) and that the separate worlds have existed for some time although the specific form and content of them has altered through different historical periods (38-117). The structure of the female world within which socialization takes place tends to be relatively stable while the occupants change over time, i.e. the world of a ten year old girl may remain much as it is for several years or decades but different cohorts pass through this ten year-old world on their way to becoming adults (128-129).

Smith's (1975) criticisms of differential access to the production and control of ideologies of our society come from the perspective of the Marxian conflict theory.

She argues that not only do men alone have this control but that women have never had the resources to attempt to compete with men and, until recently, have not had access to the education that would allow them to compete with men as intellectuals. Further, men listen only to men's ideas (or women's ideas if they are taken up by another man and presented as his own). Smith additionally argues that males have developed the intellectual and symbolic worlds for men with the implicit permission of women. Spender (1985) supports the premise that language, chief of all symbols, was created by and for men and that it additionally denigrates women. The major premise of Smith's (1975 & 1974) work is that the two worlds are not equal. Men, in power positions, have control over more resources than other men and all women and use these resources to maintain their superior position in society. One of the resources is the ability to establish control over the language to be used.

Further support for the "two-worlds metaphor" comes from Gilligan (1982). The title of the book, In a Different Voice, suggests that different modes of speaking and thought exist for women and men. She is however, speaking of themes, not gender and proports to be discussing morality (2). Gilligan goes on to criticize

social scientists for describing human development in male terms and expecting females to fit the mold (5-14). Since women often do not fit the mold, they are considered different with the implication of inferiority (14). Schur (1984) says that since society is defined by masculine norms, femininity (and hence woman) is, by definition, deviant. Such labelling stigmatizes women simply for being female and at the same time devalues feminine traits (7). Implicit in both of these books is that masculine and feminine worlds are indeed different and, although these worlds may overlap and coincide from time to time they are, for the most part, parallel and separate.(1)

Some of the literature on friendships also seems to support the contentions of the "two-worlds metaphor." Bell (1981:55) says: "[T]here is no social factor more important than that of sex in leading to friendship variations." Men's friendships tend to be focused outwards on activities and on roles other people play. Their friendships, therefore, tend to be segmented or specialized. Women, on the other hand, tend to see the person as a whole and to reveal more of themselves.

(1) Bernard (1981) and others draw on the work of Simone de Beauvoir (1974) for a portion of this idea. De Beauvoir called women the "Other" and man the "Subject" or the "Absolute" in The Second Sex (xix) (first published in English in 1952).

Friendships between/among women tend to be more intimate (Mackie, 1983:152; Bell, 1981:61-62; Roberts, 1981:83; Atchley, 1977:312; Powers & Bultena, 1976:740). Most friendships are same sex friendships for two reasons: in same sex friendships there are not usually sexual overtones (Mackie, 1983:149; Bell, 1981:35,62; Chafetz, 1974) and because it is difficult to fool a member of own's sex thus enhancing intimacy and trust, at least in the case of women (Bell, 1981:62).

Additional support for the two-worlds metaphor comes from writings in the area of "work." The work worlds of women and men differ considerably. Women tend to be segregated into industries and occupations where the pay is low, there are few fringe benefits (including pension plans), there are few opportunities for advancement, low skill levels are required and no unions exist (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1984:22-29). Only two professions include "...more than 1% of women workers - teaching and nursing" (38). Even in these professions the most highly paid workers and those in administrative positions are predominantly male. Women are three times more likely than men to work part-time and many of the jobs women do resemble the work they do at home (54). Housework and childcare responsibilities fall predominantly on the

shoulders of women, even those who work in the labor force full time. Women who work full-time in the paid labor force often put in as much time doing housework on weekends as their husbands put in on their jobs during the week. A woman makes up for this by decreasing her leisure time - something her husband rarely has to do (78). This may be partly because our society expects the family to be the woman's first priority and paid work a second priority. Even her husband's job is expected to take priority over hers (Mackie, 1987:172; Smith, 1974:9-10). Given this potential for role strain and fatigue, a woman's social world, it seems, must be different than a man's.

A small sample Canadian study adds additional support to the two-worlds concept. Shaw (1985) had 60 married couples from Halifax, Nova Scotia fill out time diaries for two days - one a week day, the other a weekend day. She then interviewed each member of the dyads separately. Her findings show that husbands had significantly more leisure time available to them on weekends than did their wives. Time differences during the week also favored the husbands but the differences were not significant. This difference was similar for women who were housewives only and for women who also worked in the paid work force. Shaw thought that the subjective definitions of leisure which each

respondent gave would explain part of the difference; a conclusion which supports an earlier supposition by Colley (1984:237) that women and men may define leisure somewhat differently. Another partial explanation is that men and women do not relate to the public and private spheres of society in the same way. Women's leisure time was affected by the size of their families, their children's needs and the demands of their husbands' jobs. Shaw does caution the reader that the small size of her sample limits the ability to generalize her findings. (It should also be noted that none of her subjects were retired). Credence is added to Shaw's findings by an earlier study from Great Britain. Roberts (1981: 81-82) says that some women view family outings as leisure but the women often retain their wife/mother roles catering to the leisure needs of their husbands/children and leaving themselves less time for leisure of their own. All of this tends to place women on the peripheral edges of the social worlds of leisure in which both women and men are involved.

All the studies discussed so far have lent some support to the "two-worlds metaphor" but the author would be amiss if she did not also discuss the critiques of the metaphor and the writings of its major proponent, Jessie Bernard. Cavan (1983) criticizes Bernard on three major

points: first, throughout The Female World Bernard blames men for the oppression of women apparently without realizing men are also oppressed by the patriarchal system; second, the extensive bibliography to Bernard's book contains sources which support her position but none that refute or even question it; and third, Bernard offers no empirical research as evidence to support the metaphor. There is, in fact, a paucity of research investigating the "two worlds metaphor" and what little has been done offers only limited support for the idea (Mackie, 1987:250-260:).

Mackie, of the University of Calgary, has completed three studies testing the two-worlds metaphor. None of the studies completely supported the two worlds concept. Instead, Mackie found there are commonalities, as well as differences, in the way women and men define "the self" and similar commonalities and differences in their social worlds (Mackie, 1987: 250-260; 1984)..

Some recent critiques of Gilligan's book, In a Different Voice, are worth discussing here because they are, to an extent, also criticisms of the two-worlds metaphor. Luria (1986) criticizes Gilligan's methodology and Gilligan's (1986) subsequent reply fails to adequately answer these criticisms. Like a number of psychological

studies (including Levinson {1978} and Sheehy {1974}),(1) Gilligan (1982) uses a small sample of women, and a smaller sample of men, to support her claim of "different voices." As do Levinson and Sheehy, Gilligan makes the methodological mistake of generalizing her findings to all women and all men. Simply put, this generalization may be too bold. Gilligan, herself, says that she needs only one voice to show that there is a different voice. This is true if she wants only to show that there are deviant cases. Here the problem is that so far there is not enough research into her concept to be able to determine the extend to which these deviant cases (different voices) are indeed as important as she suggests they are. This criticism also applies to the two-worlds metaphor as a whole. Gilligan (1982) interviewed only women about the abortion "issue," a technique which Greeno and Maccoby (1986) support. All of them ignore the male voice concerning this issue. Had the male voice been considered, along with the female voice perhaps Gilligan (1982) could be more readily justified in making the claims she does.

(1) Levinson's The Seasons of a Man's Life (1978) and Sheehy's Passages (1974) are both based on the same sample of 40 men in the New York - Boston area. The study findings are generalized to the population of the U.S. as a whole and appears, to this author, to be an overgeneralization (see Spencer, 1985:139).

Perhaps most damning to the two-worlds metaphor is the assumption that sex (i.e. being female or male) is a linking device to a particular social world. Or rather, that sex is the ultimate or only linking device to a social world. The existence of groups such as REAL women suggest that sex alone is not enough to bind all women to a common set of social worlds separate from those of men.

To summarize, the two-worlds metaphor can be supported by literature from gender relations, leisure, friendships, work and family but it also can be criticized from other writings in these same areas. The paucity of research concerning the two-worlds metaphor and limited support that this research gives the metaphor make the concept contentious at the very least.

Earlier in this section we said that judgment by gender is pervasive in our society. Considerable variations in the behavior and status of women and men are attributed to gender despite the slight physical and psychological differences which exist between them (Mackie, 1987:21 see also Oakley, 1981:44-52). Of the feminist writers cited so far, Smith (1975,1974) focuses on structural aspects of the society which affect women and men differently. Bernard (1981) says differential behavior is learned and Mackie (1987, 1984,1983) and Oakley (1981) say

that gender roles are learned through socialization. Adult socialization and the maintenance of an intact identity in old age have already been discussed. Now some aspects of primary socialization, which are of importance to this thesis, will be considered.

Lever's (1978) study of children's play patterns suggests two factors which may have impact on adult life, and which are of concern to this writer: (1) the number of participants in play. Girls tend to play in small groups, boys in larger ones (478). (2) "'[G]irls played more' while 'boys gamed more'" (476; emphasis in original). The complexity of the rules and the interpersonal competition of games are of major importance to this thesis. Arguably, but with some support from a study done by Hennig and Jardin [1977] (cited in Lever, 1978: 481), this competitiveness and interpersonal rivalry affects the abilities of men and women to cope with such rivalry and competitiveness in the job market (481). Bell (1981:85) says that this competitiveness means that men may develop fewer friends at work, in part because they are competing with each other for promotions and such. That girls play in dyadic groups while boys do not may be a contributory factor to women relying on friends as confidants whereas men rely on their wives to fill this role (based on Bell,

1981:62; Chappell, 1985:79). [Bell (1981:64) adds that women's friendships are often dyads whereas men's friendships include three or more persons.]

The idea that boys "game" and girls "play" has important implications for leisure activities pursued over a person's life span. Before the author goes on to discuss the leisure patterns of women and men, a comment on Lever's findings must be made. Lever's study, and others, note the differences in game and play patterns of girls and boys based on urban and suburban patterns in the 1960's and 1970's. They do not consider rural areas or small towns where everyone available may take part in a specific activity, regardless of sex, because the game or activity could not otherwise be pursued. This, of course, applies more to active sports and games than to sedentary activities and may apply more to rural areas and small towns in Western Canada at least 30 years ago but it is important to this thesis because many of the people interviewed were raised in small towns or rural areas. They participated in a number of activities not because they were boys or girls, but because all available children were needed so the "game" could be played.

Leisure

Given the way friendship and play patterns develop in childhood, it should be no surprise that adult friendship patterns and leisure pursuits are interrelated and that both vary by sex and social class (Bell, 1981:70). Roberts notes that income tends to be a powerful predictor of leisure participation (1981:58). Middle class people, in particular, tend to be more interested than lower class people in a specific set of activities such as memberships in organizations, political activities, sports activities, classical music (including ballet and opera), reading and gardening (57). This pattern should be somewhat evident in this study as the researcher has attempted to confine the study to the middle class. Sharing patterns of intimates are also of considerable importance here as are sex differences both in leisure activities and interaction between/among intimates.

Before variations in leisure by sex are considered, "leisure" as a concept must be discussed. First, it must be noted that leisure and retirement are not synonymous. Leisure connotes a freedom from obligations, including those of daily living (Parker, 1983:8). Retirement may include an increased amount of time available for and increased participation in leisure, but it also includes a

number of personal and family obligations which must be met.

Consensual and succinct definitions for leisure are difficult to find. The range of leisure definitions includes leisure as a state of mind (Neulinger, 1981:10) to residual definitions (where leisure time is viewed as any time left over after work) which imply a dichotomy consisting of polar opposites (Parker, 1983:3). Some freedom of choice is considered inherent in leisure (Kelly, 1983:5) but leisure theorists no longer consider leisure to be simply the antithesis of work. Through much of his book, Parker (1983) considers work and leisure to be somewhat opposite and complementary but says that there is overlap between the two. He gives five time categories among which people divide their various activities. The first two categories include time spent on work, work related activities and subsistence. He follows these two "work" categories with three "non-work" categories. Category three includes time spent on activities necessary to meet human physiological needs such as sleeping and eating. Parker applies Dumazedier's term "semi-leisure" to the fourth category which includes time spent on obligations such as yard work, gardening, caring for pets and visiting family. These activities are completed in

non-work time but freedom of choice may be somewhat limited. The fifth category includes leisure time per se with its attendant freedom to choose to do whatever one wants to in this period of time (8-9). Parker notes, however, that this pure form of leisure is rarely attained because society imposes some constraints on virtually all leisure (35; see also Kelly, 1983:57).

Although this schema, as a whole, may be of considerable use to those who study people still in the paid work force, only the last three categories are of interest here because 51 of the 52 respondents in this study are retired from the paid work force. No matter whether a person is working or retired, female or male, her/his physiological needs must be met. Whether or not these overlap into leisure depends upon the situation and the person. Semi-leisure may be of importance because many older people have houses, yards, gardens and/or pets to attend to and families and friends they may feel obligated to visit. For the purposes of this thesis, whether or not these are considered leisure will depend upon the respondents' interpretations. Their individual interpretations of gender role and age norms are two of the ways older women and men may feel that society constrains their leisure pursuits.

Of more interest to this researcher are Kelly's ideas that leisure is not residual but is chosen and that leisure is crucial to self-expression and self-identity. Like Parker, Kelly thinks leisure is important to the maintenance of society but Kelly's focus is on the social spaces of nurturance, parenting, friendship, community interaction and family (1983:23). There is a strong link between leisure and intimacy because friends and family members are most often those with whom we share the face-to-face interaction of leisure (Kelly, 1983:6). Although the variable, sex, could explain only a small part of the variation in fishing and hunting as leisure choices, Kelly thinks that the gender scripts for each sex are crucial in interactive situations (6). He also says that leisure opportunities and behavioral norms have less impact on women's leisure roles than do their societal roles (39; see also Colley, 1984:236).

As people age and change roles, their leisure expectations change as well. There is a change through a person's life span from active participation to more sedentary leisure (Kelly, 1983:56-63). Further, the meaning of leisure pursuits may change as well. For instance, when a job no longer serves as a period of time

around which to focus daily or weekly activities, leisure may serve this purpose (Kelly, 1983:80).

Factors which influence the change in leisure pursuits of an older person include: education, marital status, perceived health status, former occupation, living arrangements, transportation and past leisure experience (Roadburg, 1985: 78-79). Perceived good health simply means that individuals will continue to take part in such leisure as they please. When people perceive their health to have deteriorated, they are likely to change from some of their more active pursuits to more sedentary ones (76). Married people tend to participate in more outdoor activities while those who are single or widowed and live alone are more likely to take part in indoor activities which allow them interaction with other participants (79). The researcher has already discussed some of the effects that having an intimate to share an activity have and will not return to them here. Education and occupation are often interrelated and effect the type of activity to which a person may be exposed and in which she/he may participate (Roadburg, 1985:78; Parker, 1983:37). Transportation tends to affect the type of leisure in which a person participates. If transportation to an activity is not readily available another activity may be substituted

which may be more sedentary than the first activity (Roadburg, 1985:79). Past leisure pursuits are part of a person's leisure career and there is some evidence that retired people increase their participation in known activities rather than start new ones (Parker, 1983:69).

In a study of 352 older Canadians Roadburg (1985) used in-depth interviews to determine what older people considered to be leisure and how long they had pursued some of their leisure activities. Most of his subjects defined leisure as something that was relaxing and enjoyable (69). About 25% of his sample did not view leisure favorably because "They had been socialized to believe that leisure was a 'waste of time,' or their present life situation was devoid of meaning" (71-72). Roadburg also asked his respondents about their leisure pursuits in earlier periods of their life. He cautions the reader here about the faultiness of the human memory but justifies his use of subject recall method by saying he was interested in what his subjects perceive to be leisure both from their pasts and presents (80).

In a summary of the presently used theories about aging and leisure in retirement Roadburg reminds his audience that none of the theories are able to explain the patterns of leisure participation of all older people (83).

He, instead, uses a social-psychological perspective in his study. Here the respondent's own perceptions are of primary importance. Because this is the viewpoint that this researcher also takes, the final section of this chapter will discuss the major tenets of symbolic interactionism and how it can be applied to all the previous sections in this chapter as well as to the research topic for this thesis.

Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic interactionism, as a perspective, tends to be more colorful and dynamic than the other sociological perspectives because it focuses on people interpreting their world and acting on their interpretations rather than simply reacting to the world around them (Charon, 1985:24; Wallace and Wolf, 1980:122; Blumer, 1967:139). Social change, through interaction, can thus be accounted for (Charon, 1985:24). Such interaction depends upon the use and common interpretation of a set of symbols (Charon, 1985:40). Symbolic interaction, additionally, depends upon humans being reflexive (Blumer, 1967:139), and upon people being able to take the role of the others with whom they interact.

Humans do not respond directly to objects, including other humans, but rather they respond to their interpretations of these objects (Hewitt, 1976:32). Objects are given meanings (commonly interpreted symbols) which are both learned and interpreted through social interaction (Charon, 1985:37; Hewitt, 1976:31; Shibutani, 1967:164). The main symbol we use to communicate with ourselves and others is, of course, language. Language allows us to describe and think about not only the concrete but the abstract as well (Charon, 1985: 60-61; Hewitt, 1976:28-29).

The use of symbols allows us to accumulate knowledge across generations and build upon the past rather than each generation having to relearn all knowledge (Charon, 1985:57; Hewitt, 1976:38-40). They also allow us to take the role of the others and thus understand the people with whom we interact (Charon, 1985:60). Language, in particular, also allows people to be self-directive, to respond to themselves as they do others (Charon, 1985:61-62; Hewitt, 1976:55).

In Meadian terms, being able to be reflexive is a large part of acquiring a "self" and is a key element in symbolic interactionism, at least as Mead saw it. It also forms the groundwork of all else that we will discuss here.

Briefly, Mead described two stages of acquiring a "self" and Charon discusses a third one which Mead implies (the preparatory stage). The preparatory stage is where the child imitates the way others act towards him. There is no symbolic understanding in this stage. In the play stage the child has acquired language and is able to take the perspective and roles of significant others, one at a time. The final stage is the game stage where the child acquires the ability to understand several interacting roles at a time. He has the ability to take the part of the generalized other and understand what is expected of him in society (Charon, 1985: 68-70). Shibutani's (1967:163) definition of the generalized other as a shared perspective is worthy of note here because it helps us understand how and why group and societal changes come about. Perspectives are defined by interaction and, as such, can be changed by people using and sharing a perspective. Since this perspective constitutes part of human society any change in the perspective will bring about a change in the society, however small the change may be.

Charon (1985:70-72) adds a fourth step to acquiring a "self" which he adapts from Shibutani (1967:159-170). This fourth stage is the reference group stage in which a person has a "consistent social self related to a single

generalized other" (Charon, 1985:71) but he may also have several other selves linked to each social world to which he belongs. Each of these worlds, of course, has a shared set of symbols and communication channels which hold the social world together (Shibutani, 1975:134-135).

We have now come full circle and are back where we began this chapter - with Shibutani's concept of "social worlds." Shibutani says of social worlds:

. . . Worlds differ in exclusiveness and in the extent to which they demand the loyalty of their participants. Most important of all, social worlds are not static entities; shared perspectives are continually being reconstituted. Worlds come into existence with the establishment of communication channels; when life conditions change, social relationships may also change, and these worlds may disappear.
(1967:166)

In relation to what has been discussed so far this means that as a person retires and loses touch with friends at work; as a person ages and one's intimates die; as one's health status changes and one must alter one's leisure activities to accommodate changes in health and mobility; a person's social worlds must change as well. The only "variable" not accounted for here is sex and as Mackie (1987:113) notes, symbolic interactionism has a decided

"masculine bias" in assuming that the generic male speaks for all humanity.

Research Problem

The literature reviewed above suggests to this researcher that the leisure social worlds of older people could provide one test of the two-worlds concept. If women and men do indeed live in worlds which differ both subjectively and objectively, as Bernard (1981) and others believe, their leisure social worlds should differ along four dimensions. There should be:

- (1) differences in access to the linking devices of the social worlds, based on sex;
- (2) statistically significant differences in the proportion of women and men participating in each world;
- (3) differences between women's access and men's access to the "power structure" of the world, at least part of which is determined by the category of involvement (see Unruh, 1983) into which the participant "falls;" and
- (4) statistically significant differences between the co-participants of the women and men taking part in each social world.

Because this is an exploratory study and because symbolic interactionism is the theoretical perspective used in this thesis, no true hypothesis will be stated. The research question posed, however, is this: Given the four

dimensions along which involvement in a given social world should differ, can the two-worlds metaphor be "supported?"

Summary

In Chapter One the researcher has introduced the concepts and theoretical perspective on which this thesis is based. Central to the project are the concepts of social worlds and the two-worlds metaphor. The substantive areas of aging, gender and leisure have also been included. Throughout the chapter, the researcher has interwoven the theoretical perspective - symbolic interactionism.

The work of Shibutani (1962) and Unruh (1983) have been drawn on to explain the idea of social worlds. Unruh's (1983) four classifications of involvement in social worlds ("stranger," "tourist," "regular" and "insider") have also been introduced. Aging and the impact of retirement and widowhood were discussed next, again keeping the theoretical basis for the thesis in mind. Gender was introduced with much of the commentary here focused on the two-worlds concept with the work of both proponents and critics included. Some of the theoretical concepts and definitional problems in leisure were introduced along with some of the research in this area. An overview of symbolic interactionism was presented and

the research problem introduced in the last two portions of this chapter. The research problem drew together the concepts of social worlds and the two-worlds metaphor while presenting a question to be "tested." Chapter Two, which follows, will explain how these concepts were operationalized and the research question was "tested."

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Sociologists who use symbolic interactionism as their theoretical perspective frequently use either participant observation (e.g. Gubrium, 1975)(1) or intensive interviews (e.g. Unruh, 1983) as their research method. There is no 'hard and fast rule' that this must be so, however. Maines, for example, says: "[I]t is clear that nearly all methods and techniques are represented in one form or another" (1980:473).

In designing this study, the researcher thought participant observation was impractical for her needs so the method was not seriously considered. Participant observation has the advantage of allowing the researcher to see the respondents in their natural settings and their social worlds through their own eyes (Lofland and Lofland, 1984:12-13). Validity is not considered to be a problem with participant observation but reliability and

(1) Jaber Gubrium, in Living and Dying at Murray Manor (1975), used participant observation to study the lives of people in a nursing home and to explain the changes which took place in their lives while in this institution.

generalizability can be (Babbie, 1983:267-269). Ethical considerations may also be problematic as the informed consent of the subject "tips the researcher's hand" and potentially influences the behavior being observed (247). Access was considered difficult, if not impossible, and is the major reason this researcher (a middle-aged woman) did not use participant observation to study the subjects (retired people).

After looking at some of the advantages and disadvantages of intensive interviewing the researcher also chose not to use this method. Intensive interviews have the strength of being able to delve into the subject's meaning of her/ his own world because the interviewer is able to phrase questions and probe issues in an individual manner for each person interviewed (Chadwick, Bahr and Albrecht, 1984:211-212; Williamson et al, 1977:186-187). The major strength of this method is also its major weakness - questions which can be or are changed for each respondent reduce the reliability of the study and the possibility of generalizing findings from the study. Interview quality depends, to a considerable extent, upon the expertise of the interviewer. In such instances, then, this means that the researcher does the interviewing her/himself and a small number of people are interviewed.

Such small samples further reduce the possibility of generalizing findings from the study to a larger population (Williams et al, 1977:189-190). Considerations such as the potential problems with reliability and the researcher's lack of expertise in interviewing, made research survey techniques the logical choice of method for this study.

The Instrument

For the purposes of this study, the author chose to use survey research methodology consisting of an interview and a questionnaire. The interview is structured in that each respondent was asked the same series of questions, including the probe questions, but the questions themselves are open-ended. Using a structured interview has allowed the researcher to tap one of the strengths of survey research: the ability to replicate the study using a different sample or time frame. The possibility of being able to generalize findings is also assisted somewhat by using a structured interview (Chadwick, Bahr and Albrecht, 1984:101,115 & 118). Because the researcher was/is interested in how people define their own social worlds, she chose to use open-ended questions which allow people to express their own opinions and feelings in their own words and to give their own definitions of activities (118).

The major disadvantage of open-ended questions, of course, is related to coding nuances in the respondents' replies so that the data can be interpreted quantitatively (119). This problem was overcome by coding 'ex post facto' and by first coding the replies into a larger number of codes then recoding and collapsing categories. By doing this the researcher was able to first code the leisure activities cited, for example, into ninety odd categories then recode and collapse the data into fifteen broader categories. Some detail was lost in this procedure but it made the data more manageable.

With the exception of two interviews, where taping was impossible, all the interviews were recorded on audio tape. Of the two interviews which were not taped one was conducted in a public place where outside "noise" made taping impossible and the other one was missed because the researcher's tape recorder quit. Audio tapes were used to ensure the accuracy of the researcher's notes. All tapes for the pilot study were professionally transcribed to check the accuracy of the interviewer's notes and to allow the researcher to make necessary adjustments to the instruments. The other tapes were listened to and information not in the interviewer's notes was added at that time.

The second instrument used in this study, a questionnaire, was completed with the interviewer present. One disadvantage of the researcher's presence may be that the subjects gave more socially acceptable answers than they would have if the researcher was absent (Chadwick, Bahr and Albrecht, 1984:111). The researcher/interviewer tried to minimize the impact of her presence by taking along something to read while the respondents completed the questionnaires. This may not have totally achieved its goal because it was obvious to the interviewee that the researcher would be able to identify who gave what answers simply by reading the questionnaire immediately afterwards. Assurances of anonymity and numbered questionnaires (and interviews) were given to assuage any fears of exposure subjects might have.

Interviewer presence while a questionnaire is being filled out may have one advantage: misunderstandings may be readily clarified (Kidder, 1981:151). Such was the case concerning an adjective on the Semantic Differential Scales, occasionally, and with the "other" category for the "occupation" section of the questionnaire.

Most of the questions in the questionnaire were closed ended with "other, please specify" categories included to compensate for any category the researcher had not

included. This was done, in part, to reduce the length of the questionnaire and in part because the researcher thought there would be at least one or two possible answers which would not fit into her preselected choices (suggested by Chadwick, Bahr and Albrecht, 1984:118 & 138). One question was left open-ended which should have been closed after the pilot study and which the researcher missed. The result was that about 15% of the answers given were uninterpretable.

Another question was intentionally left open-ended: leisure activities over the respondents' life spans; because the researcher wanted the respondents to define what they considered to be leisure and to state over what part of their lives they participated in these activities. The remaining questions included two sets of scales. Semantic Differential Scales taken from Campbell, Converse and Rodgers (1976) were used to measure "My Present Life". This scale consists of twelve sets of opposing adjectives with seven points between them. Thirty-six sets of opposing adjectives were used in the Semantic Differential Scales on "Older Women", "Older Men" and "Myself". The adjectives were suggested by the author's overview of the gerontological literature.

Questions asked in both instruments tended to be both factual and opinion questions; types of questions for which survey research is ideally suited (Williamson et al, 1981:135; Chadwick, Bahr and Albrecht, 1984:101). Two instruments were used partly as validity checks, which will be discussed later, and partly because each of the instruments chosen helps to offset some of the weaknesses of the other (Chadwick, Bahr and Albrecht, 1984:139). The questions requiring recall by the respondents were asked to gain background information for present activities and attitudes and to try to determine whether or not the respondents perceived changes in gender roles from the time of their youth to today. In asking these questions the researcher recognizes the limitations and potential errors which may be introduced by the faulty and selective memories of humans (Babbie, 1982:85; Kidder, 1981:147). The retrospective questions were asked, with these limitations in mind, because there simply was no other way to obtain this information. Validity checks, again, will be discussed later.

One factor which is normally important in determining which instrument will be used did not need to be considered here: that of the difference in cost between administering a questionnaire and an interview. Cost was not pertinent

to the choice because the researcher did all of the interviewing and administering of the questionnaire herself (see Kidder, 1977:148).

Matters of Reliability and Validity

Reliability

It has been said of survey research that it tends to be reliable but internal validity is problematic (Babbie, 1982:239). The author recognizes the flaws in the instruments used for this study but the structured format of the questions and probes means that they could be asked of a different sample, in a different time and place, with the expectation of obtaining similar results to those found here. Further, the use of several questions about key concepts increases the potential for reliability (Kidder, 1981:158). In the study in question, this was done most notably for the leisure activities. As mentioned earlier, a similar open-ended question concerning leisure activities was asked in each instrument. Additionally, questions about health, age and attitudes about the combined factors of aging and gender were asked twice, albeit in a slightly different form each time. The probes were used to try to obtain more information about gender specific chores games and toys and, at the same time, provide the possibility of

verifying the information provided by the original answer. According to Kidder (1981:126), this is a form of the test-retest method used to check validity.

Validity

Although this test-retest format to the combined instruments provides the possibility of checking validity, the problem of validity is still pertinent. Campbell and Stanley (1963:5-6) list several factors which must be considered regarding the internal validity of experiments. These factors may also be considered when doing survey research.

During the time that this research was done, there was no major historical event that occurred that would or should affect the findings and validity of the study. Since most of the interviewing was done over an eight week period and all of it was done at the respondents' convenience, maturation is not likely to be a major source of validity problems. Test-retest was done only across and within the instruments and any sensitizing which took place appears to have been beneficial to the study. For example, the questions about leisure in the interview meant that these activities were "in the front of the respondents' minds" and they were thus more readily able to answer the

second question about leisure in the questionnaire and, in some instances, add information to that already given in the interview. There was some "experimental mortality" involved in that three of the initial volunteers 'disappeared' before the researcher had an opportunity to talk to them. Because this was a one-shot cross-sectional survey there is no way of telling exactly what effect the other factors had on validity.

The Pilot Study

Most writers of methods texts in sociology (e.g. Chadwick, Bahr and Albrecht, 1984) suggest that a pilot study be used as a check on reliability and validity before the actual study is undertaken. A small pilot study was done prior to the major portion of the interviews and several of questions were changed. Two open-ended questions in the interview were changed to a more closed format in the questionnaire and some of the questions were reworded slightly before the major part of the study was undertaken.

As was done with the whole study, each person who participated in the pilot study was first contacted by telephone. At that time each person was given a general overview of the purposes of the study, an approximation of

how long the interview and questionnaire would take to complete and what the researcher was trying to achieve. Appointments were then made with each person in her/his home, for the most part.

The Sample

The sample drawn for this thesis is a non-probability sample. Forty-five members of a retired teachers' association volunteered to participate in the study. Of these, forty-two actually took part. Two could not be located and one person changed her/his mind. Four of the forty-two provided the researcher with several names of male friends and acquaintances who were also retired school teachers. About two-thirds of the men contacted agreed to participate. This snowball sampling was done to increase the number of participants and, primarily, to increase the number of men in the study although one woman was added through the snowball sample. The final sample consists of fifty-two respondents: thirty-one women and twenty-one men. Men are thus disproportionately represented as the association's membership has an approximate ratio of three women to one man.(1)

(1) The ratio of women to men in the association was relayed to the author in a conversation with a member of the executive.

Other demographic factors concerning the sample, which are of interest to this study, include: the mean age, which is 67.8 years for the whole sample and 68.0 years for the women, compared to 67.5 years for the men; and marital status [13 (41.9%) of the women are married whereas 20 (95.2%) of the men are, 13 (41.9%) of the women are widowed but none of the men are, and 5 (16.1%) of the women are never-married compared to 1 (4.8%) of the men].

Probability samples, especially random samples, are preferred by social scientists in their research (Babbie, 1982:). Attempts were made by the author to gain access to a list of members from which a random sample could be drawn but the executive of the organization refused this request. Access to such a list was denied because the executive wanted to protect the privacy of its members - a desire which this author respects. Instead the executive agreed to read a one page summary of the goals of the study to its membership. The result was the list of forty-five volunteers from which the researcher worked.

The major problem with the use of this non-random sample is that the ability to generalize the findings is limited (Babbie, 1982:192). Some insights into the activities and relationships of the people interviewed can

be gained, however. A point from which to begin further research is also provided by such a study as this one.

Data Analysis

The data gathered from this small sample was so "rich" that the researcher had to do a considerable amount of data reduction. Leisure activities were collapsed from over 90 to 15 categories. Just prior to the analysis these categories were further collapsed into 12 categories to make the analysis somewhat easier and more logical. Although some of the "richness" and "color" of the original data has been lost, analysis would have been impossible without the reduction (see Babbie, 1982:409; Kidder, 1981:301).

Participation in leisure categories will be compared by sex using cross-tabulations and Chi-square tests of significance. Chi-square tests and crosstabulations will also be completed to determine if any significant differences exist between the co-participants of women and men. Differences in limiting factors, such as money and the location of the arena, will be calculated in the same manner. T-tests will be calculated for the Semantic Differential Scales which compare women's and men's attitudes towards older women, older men and themselves.

The author acknowledges that her use of the Chi-square test violates several assumptions, including: independent, random samples; and a relatively large sample. In doing so, she is guided by Babbie's (1983:428) observation that test of significance make assumptions about data "that are almost never satisfied completely by real social research" and his advise "to use any statistical technique - any measure of association or any test of significance - on any set of data if it will help you understand your data" (427). With regard to the sample, Chi-square has been used with this non-probability sample to rule out chance associations. Yate's correction has been used, with regard to sample size, as a correction of continuity in two-by-two tables with expected cell frequencies of five or less. The results of the few tables larger than two-by-two are interpreted by the author as suggestive, rather than definitive.

A descriptive analysis of each social world will be included to supplement the crosstabulations and the Chi-square tests of significance. Unruh's (1983) categories will also be applied to the participants in each of the social worlds in which the 52 respondents are involved.

The concept of the two-worlds metaphor can also be "tested" using the information provided about the social worlds. Here the results of the Chi-square and t-tests are of central importance.

Summary

This chapter has been concerned with how the study was to be completed. Survey research, using both an interview and a questionnaire, was chosen as the method of studying this sample. Practical reasons and concerns with validity, reliability and ethics have been cited as the reasons for using the double instrument. The amount of data obtained meant that the researcher had to "trade-off" some of the "richness" in the data for the ability to analyze the data by first collapsing data categories. T-tests and Chi-square have been used as tests for statistically significant differences between women's and men's participation and co-participants in the analysis of each of the 12 social worlds. This analysis will be presented in Chapter Three beginning with the definitions the respondents gave for "leisure" and proceeding to a discussion of each of the individual leisure social worlds.

CHAPTER THREE

LEISURE SOCIAL WORLDS

Introduction

The review of the literature and methods of study discussed in the last two chapters state that the focus of this thesis is on the social worlds of older women and men with particular attention paid to the validity of the two-worlds metaphor. Leisure pursuits of older people have been chosen as the vehicle through which to explore said social worlds. In keeping with the tenets of symbolic interactionism: ["If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences (Thomas and Thomas, 1970:154)], the respondents were asked to define the term "leisure." They were also asked to list any activities they pursued as leisure. As discussed earlier, similar methods were used by both Roadburg (1985) and Shaw (1985). Because the researcher thought several other factors would have an impact on a person's leisure and social worlds, she also asked questions about self-perceived health status, if the leisure was shared and with whom, whether or not access to the location of an activity was problematic and whether or not a fixed income affected the leisure pursuits of the

respondents. Past activities, as well as present ones, were examined. The discussion begins with the respondents' definitions of "leisure".

Definitions of Leisure

Generally speaking, the respondents defined "leisure" in four different ways: 1) "being able to do what I want to, when I want to;" 2) "having the time to do things I enjoy, beyond the obligations I have;" 3) "being able to do the things I enjoy most;" and 4) "doing things I want to do and for which I had no time while I was working." A fifth category was used for the three uncodable responses and for the six people in the pilot study who were not asked this question. All of these categories are summarized below, in Table 1.

-----T A B L E 1-----

C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F

LEISURE DEFINITIONS

BY SEX

count	I	SEX			
exp val	I				
col pct	I				
	I				
Category	I	Male	I	Female	I
	+		+		+
0	I	4	I	5	I
not	I	3.6	I	5.4	I
asked	I	19.0%	I	16.1%	I
	+		+		+
definition	I	2	I	9	I
1	I	4.4	I	6.6	I
	I	9.5%	I	29.0%	I
	+		+		+
definition	I	10	I	8	I
2	I	7.3	I	10.7	I
	I	47.6%	I	25.8%	I
	+		+		+
definition	I	4	I	4	I
3	I	3.2	I	4.8	I
	I	19.0%	I	12.9%	I
	+		+		+
definition	I	1	I	5	I
4	I	2.4	I	3.6	I
	I	4.8%	I	16.1%	I
	+		+		+
column		21		31	
total		40.4%		59.6%	
				52	
				100.0%	

CHI-SQUARE: 55.743890 df 4
SIGNIFICANCE: .219100
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT: .315539
MISSING CASES: 0

There are nuances between categories which should be expanded upon. The major difference between the first and third categories is that the definitions given within the

category one have to do with having time available to become involved in different activities while category three stresses not time, but freedom. There is no doubt that time and freedom are interrelated here but there seemed to be a nuance in these definitions that required different classifications. Categories two and four have been separated because the definitions which make up category two recognize that, even in retirement, a person has a certain number of "chores" that must be done. The definitions placed in the fourth category do not include anything but work (for pay) as being obligatory.

These definitions do not totally fit the leisure definitions discussed in Chapter One but there are some similarities worth consideration. Category two, which defines leisure time as being free from obligations, fits Dumazedier's concept of "semi-leisure" (referred to in Parker, 1983), whereas categories one and three fit Parker's (1983) last category of pure leisure. Category four does not truly fit "semi-leisure," nor does it fit any of the other categories but seems to agree with the idea that work and leisure are opposites. This more closely fits "common knowledge" than current leisure theory. When the individual leisure social worlds are discussed, the reader will see that there is considerable support for

Kelly's (1983) idea that there is a strong link between leisure and intimacy.

Other studies in leisure have found that there may be differences in the way the sexes interpret "leisure." For instance, both Shaw (1985) and Colley (1984) found that women and men define leisure somewhat differently. This study does show that women and men define leisure differently (as the different proportions of women and men using each of the four categories indicates in Table 1). Although there is a moderate relationship between sex and the leisure definition given, the difference is not statistically significant. When controlled for marital status, the relationship between the sex of the respondent and the leisure definition given does not vary for married people. The sample of never-married people is very small so the Chi-square is somewhat distorted but it shows no significant differences between the definitions women and men gave. No comparison of widows is possible because no widowed men participated in this study. (The reader is reminded here of the assumptions which the author violates in using Chi-square and that the author is aware of these violations, as outlined in Chapter Two.)

There were four broad categories of leisure definitions given by the people who took part in this

study. These definitions do not not show an exact fit to the leisure definitions cited in Chapter One. Further, no statistical differences exist between the definitions that women gave and the definitions which men gave. This means that the leisure definitions given by these respondents give no indication that different social worlds exist for women and men.

With this as background, the next portion of the thesis will look at the activities the respondents undertake as leisure and at the social worlds these pursuits constitute.

Social Worlds, an Introduction

Although leisure is a large component of this thesis, leisure per se, is not the main topic of interest to this author. Leisure has, in this instance, been used as a "vehicle" that allows us to look into some of the social worlds in which the respondents are involved. When asked to specify activities which they considered to be leisure, the respondents provided the researcher with a list of over 90 activities. To be able to analyze this data the researcher had to collapse the 90 different activities into 12 broader categories and it is the 12 categories which will be the primary topics of discussion. Along with the

actual leisure activities, the people with whom the respondents share, marital status, and the length of time the subjects have been involved in an activity will be used to help establish the boundaries of the 12 different social worlds and to illustrate how these worlds are held together.

A restatement of Shibutani's three prerequisites for common social worlds seems in order. Shared and effective communication, shared perspectives and a common culture are all necessary for common social worlds to exist (1962). Unruh talks about the permeability of the boundaries of these worlds and access gained through one or more of the linking devices (1983:105,129). Without operationalizing the definition it is impossible to use it in research. Here a more detailed way of operationalizing is needed than the basic way discussed in Chapter Two.

Boundaries for each social world are permeable, as Unruh (1983) and Shibutani (1962) say, but there are varying degrees of permeability involved in the 12 social worlds in this study. It is easier to get into and out of some of the social worlds than it is others. For instance, access to the retired teachers' association is restricted to people who have been school teachers; spouses are not members and apparently do not attend any of the dinners.

Other worlds, such as watching television, have more permeable boundaries where entrance and egress go uncontested by other participants.

Links to these worlds include: the rules and etiquette to the "games," the appropriate artistic codes (for the fine arts),(1) and literacy which is a basic assumption to participating in several worlds, especially reading). Actual participation presupposes shared perspectives and shared and effective communication because it is unlikely that a person would participate in a social world without knowing at least some of the appropriate standards of behavior for the world. The depth of understanding of these rules depends upon whether the person is a "tourist," "regular" or "insider" within the social world. The discussion of the individual social worlds, which follows, will take all of these points into consideration.

The concept of the two-worlds metaphor is also important to this analysis. Bernard's (1981) idea that women and men live in separate, if sometimes overlapping, social worlds can be explored using the data pertinent to

(1) Metta Spencer (1985:62) describes artistic codes as rules or communication channels which link people interested in a specific art form together.

leisure social worlds. Here the Chi-square test of significance will be used to test for significant differences which may exist between the social worlds of women and men. (Please see Chapter Two for a discussion of the author's justifications for violating the probability assumptions of the Chi-square statistic.) Contingency coefficients will be used to look at the correlation between sex and participation in 12 social worlds. Marital status can be, and has been, only partially controlled for by comparing the data for married women and married men. The sample is small and any conclusions drawn must be drawn with this in mind. Comparison of the never-married women and men is not feasible because there are only five women and one man who have not been married. No widowed men participated in the study so a comparison of widowed females and males is impossible.

Participation in any given social world may be limited by access to the arena in which the activity is held, the respondents' self-perceived general health and by the amount of money a person thinks she or he may have to spend on leisure. Before the individual social worlds are discussed, these potential limiting factors will be examined.

Limiting Factors

One factor which can limit leisure participation is money. This may be especially true for those people, such as senior citizens, who live on fixed incomes. When the subjects of this study were asked if they thought money limited their leisure, over two-thirds replied "No." The findings, by sex, are shown in Table 2.

T A B L E 2						
C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F						
MONEY AS A LIMITING FACTOR				BY SEX		
		I SEX				
	COUNT	I				
	EXP VAL	I				
	COL PCT	I				
		I MALE		FEMALE		ROW TOTAL
		I		I		
NO		I 13	I	22	I	35
		I 14.1	I	20.9	I	67.3%
		I 61.9%	I	71.0%	I	
PRACTICAL LIMITS		I 5	I	4	I	9
		I 3.6	I	5.4	I	17.3%
		I 23.8%	I	12.9%	I	
YES		I 3	I	5	I	8
		I 3.2	I	4.8	I	15.4%
		I 14.3%	I	16.1%	I	
COLUMN TOTAL		I 21		31		52
		I 40.4%		59.6%		100.0%

CHI-SQUARE: 1.147
SIGNIFICANCE: .29
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT: .14691
MISSING CASES: 0

Not only are there very few of these people who feel constrained by money limitations but the relationship between sex and money limitations is weak.

When participation in each individual leisure social world was crosstabulated with family income by sex and controlled for marital status, the relationship was found to be only moderate. This suggests that there is internal validity within the instruments and that the respondent's perceptions are realistic.

A person's self-perceived health status may also limit the actual participation, at least in active leisure, or it may influence a person's decision to switch from one activity to another. In this study, the second point was not followed up but the first one was. Table 3 summarizes the findings.

----- T A B L E 3 -----
 C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F
 HEALTH AS A LIMITING FACTOR BY SEX

	COUNT	SEX		
	EXP VAL	MALE	FEMALE	ROW TOTAL
	COL PCT			
NO		15	17	32
		12.9	19.1	61.5%
		71.4%	54.8%	
YES		6	14	20
		8.1	11.9	38.5%
		28.6%	45.2%	
COLUMN TOTAL		21	31	52
		40.4%	59.6%	100.0%

CHI-SQUARE: 1.488
 SIGNIFICANCE: .27
 CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT: .167322
 MISSING CASES: 0

Although there is a considerable difference in the proportion of women and men who think their leisure is limited by their health, the difference is not significant nor is there a strong relationship between the sex of the respondent and limitations which health places on leisure. Of the 20 people who perceived limitations, 19 (95%) of them said that participation in active leisure was all that was limited by their health status. The largest single

condition which forced this decrease was arthritis. These findings are consistent with the literature on activity and chronic illnesses among the elderly.

The question of access to an activity, or the arena at which it is held, may also decrease participation. Here the physical presence of an arena is important as are the location of the arena and transportation which permits a person to get to the location with relative ease and safety. Two questions were asked concerning access: one was if additional activities would be pursued if a location for them was available; the other was if there was a leisure activity in which the respondent did not participate because of its location. Table 4 summarizes the former and Table 5 the latter. These findings are compared across sex.

- - - - - T A B L E 4 - - - - -

C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F

INCREASED PARTICIPATION IF A LOCATION
WAS AVAILABLE

BY SEX

- - - - -

	count	I					
	exp val	I					
	col pct	I					
Activity		I	Male	I	Female	I	Row
		I		I		I	Total
<hr/>							
no		I	16	I	21	I	37
limitations		I	14.9	I	22.1	I	71.2%
		I	76.2%	I	67.7%	I	
<hr/>							
fine		I	0	I	2	I	2
arts		I	.8	I	1.2	I	3.8%
		I	0%	I	6.5%	I	
<hr/>							
passive		I	1	I	1	I	2
games		I	.8	I	1.2	I	3.8%
		I	4.8%	I	3.2%	I	
<hr/>							
active		I	4	I	6	I	10
games		I	4	I	6	I	19.2%
		I	19.0%	I	19.4%	I	
<hr/>							
church		I	0	I	1	I	1
		I	.4	I	.6	I	1.9%
		I	0%	I	3.2%	I	
<hr/>							
Column			21		31		52
Total			40.4%		59.6%		100.0%

CHI-SQUARE: 2.180
SIGNIFICANCE: .988
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT: .0405
MISSING CASES: 0

The answers to the question about additional participation if an arena were available show no statistically significant difference between the women's and men's replies. Only active games would be increased to any degree and about one-fifth of both sexes would ski more frequently and swim in the hot pools more often if the mountains were closer.

- - - - - T A B L E 5 - - - - -

C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F
LOCATION AS A LIMITING FACTOR BY SEX

Activity	count exp val col pct	I	Male	I	Female	I	Row Total
no limitations		I	18 15.4 85.7%	I	20 27.7 64.5%	I	38 73.1%
fine arts		I	0 1.2 0%	I	3 1.8 9.7%	I	3 5.8%
passive games		I	1 .8 4.8%	I	1 1.2 3.2%	I	2 3.8%
active games		I	1 2.4 4.8%	I	5 3.6 16.1%	I	6 11.5%
volunteer work		I	0 .4 0%	I	1 .6 3.2%	I	1 1.9%
courses		I	1 .8 4.8%	I	1 1.2 3.2%	I	2 3.8%
Column Total			21 40.4%		31 59.6%		52 100.0%

CHI-SQUARE: 6.02
SIGNIFICANCE: .86
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT: .322114

There is a statistically significant difference in the answers women and men gave to the question: "Are there any leisure activities in which you do not participate because

of the location in which they are held?" Much of the difference has to do with women not wanting to drive by themselves at night or their being reluctant to be in downtown locations by themselves at night. An example may best illustrate this point. Two of the widows told the interviewer that they no longer attended performances by the Calgary Philharmonic Orchestra since it moved from the Jubilee Auditorium to the Calgary Centre for Performing Arts. One of the reasons these women gave was that parking was expensive. The second reason given was they were afraid to be in the area of the CCPA alone, or with a female friend, at night. None of the men raised this issue. Such a difference is understandable given that women alone, or in pairs, are more vulnerable to attack than men or male-female couples might be. This may be an indication that women and men to indeed live in different social worlds, as Bernard theorizes or, at least, women's social worlds have more restrictions on them than men's do.

Although all three of the factors discussed here, fixed income, self-perceived health status and access do limit the leisure participation of the respondents somewhat, the limitations are not as great as some of the literature suggests they might be. Only for a part of the

last factor, access, is there a statistically significant difference between the limitations on women's and men's participation. This indicates there is a possibility that women's social worlds differ both subjectively and objectively - a basic tenet of the two-worlds metaphor.

The boundaries of the social worlds will be more clearly delineated in the discussion of the individual leisure social worlds which follows. At the same time the impact of co-participants and marital status will be examined. Analysis of the individual leisure social worlds begins with the fine arts.

The Leisure Social World of the Fine Arts

Activities which comprise this category of leisure pursuits, hence leisure social worlds, include drawing and painting, passive participation in opera and movies, concerts, and both active and passive participation in live theatre. The linking devices to this social world are the artistic codes shared by the participants in each activity. The "fact" that a person is involved in a specific leisure world presupposes that any person involved understands the appropriate code and rules of behavior well enough to be able to understand what is happening. (Unruh's category "strangers" is excluded here because none of the

respondents were "strangers" in the worlds in which they took part.)

Most of the participants in this social world fit in Unruh's classification "tourists," who watch, listen and observe. They understand the artistic codes well enough to understand the social world but they are less committed to it than are the "regulars." In this instance, the "regulars" are those people who are the serious amateur painters, writers and performers, and the writers who are published along with the painters who exhibit and sell their work.

To better understand the social world of the Fine Arts, a summary of the proportion of women and men who enjoy this world is presented in Table 5. Although the tables for the length of time a person has participated, with whom the person shares, cohort and the tables controlling for marital status will not be shown, the same statistical analyses have been done for these factors as those which are presented below. Pertinent "findings" from these analyses will be introduced when Table 6 is analyzed.

----- T A B L E 6 -----
 C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F
 FINE ARTS BY SEX

		SEX				
COUNT		I				
EXP VAL		I				
COL PCT		I				
		I	MALE	FEMALE		ROW TOTAL
		I				
		-----+-----+-----+-----+				
NOT APPL	0	I	7	I	6	I 13
		I	5.3	I	7.8	I 25.0%
		I	33.3%	I	19.4%	I
		+-----+-----+-----+-----+				
FNARTS	1	I	14	I	25	I 39
		I	15.8	I	23.3	I 75.0%
		I	66.7%	I	80.6%	I
		+-----+-----+-----+-----+				
COLUMN			21		31	52
TOTAL			40.4%		59.6%	100.0%

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE
-----	-----	-----
0.66564	1	0.4146
1.30466	1	0.2534

MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
-----	-----
5.250	NONE
(BEFORE YATES CORRECTION)	

STATISTIC	VALUE
-----	-----
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT	0.15645
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS =	0

There is a considerable difference in the proportion of women and men who take part in the Fine Arts social

world but it is not a statistically significant difference. The relationship between the sex of the actor and involvement is weak. When only married people are taken into account the difference becomes very nearly significant and the relationship between sex and participation becomes moderate. One explanation for this change may be that married women do participate more in fine arts than do married and single men and widowed and never-married women. The example of the two widows who no longer attend concerts because of the location in which they are held, may lend support to the argument that married women do, indeed, enjoy this social world more frequently than others. There is a caution that attends this explanation and that is that the small size of the sample of married women may somewhat distort the statistics and any interpretation of them.

The data on co-participants reveals a statistically significant difference between the women's and men's answers about the people with whom they share fine arts. This significant difference does not disappear when married people only are studied. For all participants, the major differences are that more men than women share fine arts with their spouses while women much more frequently participate with friends or by themselves. When only married people are considered, the relationships are much

the same. These findings support Bell's (1981) writings on friendships and Chappell's (1983) findings on support groups among the elderly (cited in Chapter One). Since the findings support the literature used to affirm the two-worlds metaphor, it follows that our conclusions lend credence to the metaphor.

In summary, the leisure social world of the fine arts is tied together by the artistic codes used as communication links among the members. The majority of the participants in this world are "tourists." Only a few are "regulars" who have a more extensive knowledge of the social world than do the "tourists." The leisure social world of the fine arts includes a greater proportion of the female respondents than the male respondents, although the difference is not significant. There is a statistically significant difference in the co-participants in these social world which leads this researcher to think that the leisure social world of the fine arts is subjectively different for women than it is for men. This lends some support to the concept of different social worlds for women and men.

Media Social Worlds

Two social worlds are included in this section: listening to radio and watching television and reading. They will be analyzed together, at least in part, because of their rather unique status as social worlds. Both are leisure worlds in their own right but both also serve as linking devices for other social worlds, social worlds such as taking courses.

Boundaries for both these worlds are very permeable with few but the actual participant taking notice of a person's entrance or egress. Literacy is a prerequisite for entrance into the world of reading while radio listening and television watching have no such requirement. People who listen to radio, watch television and read tend to be "tourists" with some, but not extensive, involvement in the social world. For both of these social worlds involvement tends to be by one's self at the immediate local level but with millions of others at a larger, global scale.

Table 7, below, summarizes the participation in the leisure world of radio and television.

----- T A B L E 7 -----
C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F

RADIO & TV		BY SEX			
	Count	I	SEX		
	Exp Val	I			
	Col Pct	I			
		I	Male	Female	Row Total
	0	I	13	20	33
Not Appl		I	13.3	19.7	63.5%
		I	61.9%	64.5%	
	1	I	8	11	19
Radio & TV		I	7.7	11.3	36.5%
		I	38.1%	35.5%	
	Column Total		21	31	52
			40.4%	59.6%	100.0%

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE
0.00000	1	1.0000
0.03682	1	0.8478

MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
7.673	NONE
(BEFORE YATES CORRECTION)	

STATISTIC	VALUE
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT	0.02660

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 0

The proportion of women and men involved in this social world is almost equal and there is virtually no relationship between the sex of the subject and participation. Marital status has no effect on this relationship. The finding that 36.5% of the respondents watch television and/or listen to radio is comparable to Roadburg's (1985) findings.

Table 8 presents the same type of information for reading.

----- T A B L E 8 -----

C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F

READING

BY SEX

	COUNT	I	SEX		
	EXP VAL	I			
	COL PCT	I			
		I	MALE	FEMALE	ROW TOTAL
		I			
	0	I	5	6	11
NOT APPL		I	4.4	6.6	21.2%
		I	23.8%	19.4%	
	1	I	16	25	41
READING		I	16.6	24.4	78.8%
		I	76.2%	80.6%	
		I			
	COLUMN TOTAL		21	31	52
			40.4%	59.6%	100.0%

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE
0.00159	1	0.9682
0.14895	1	0.6995

MIN E.F. CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
 4.442 1 OF 4 (25.0%)
 (BEFORE YATES CORRECTION)

STATISTIC	VALUE
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT	0.05344
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS =	0

There is a slightly greater difference between women's and men's participation in this world than in listening to radio and watching television. For just under one-half of the respondents reading has been a lifelong avocation.

Again, the statistics for the married people are virtually the same as they are for the whole sample.

To summarize: the two media social worlds, discussed in this section, are social worlds on their own but they also serve as linking devices for other social worlds, and may be both simultaneously. Access into these worlds is extremely easy for radio and television and through literacy in reading. Participation tends to take place by one's self with equal proportions of women and men participating. There is, therefore, no indication from these social worlds that the two-worlds concept does exist.

The Social World of Handicrafts

This social world includes such activities as macrame, knitting, needlepoint, rug hooking and lapidary. It is dominated by women which should not be surprising as most of these activities have traditionally been "feminine." Differences in involvement are shown in Table 9.

participation when the whole sample is used and a slightly stronger correlation for married people only. A statistically significant difference between the sexes indicates that the two social worlds may indeed exist with sex as the delineating factor.

There are statistically significant differences between the sexes when co-participants are examined. Most of the people enjoy this world by themselves but a few of the women take part either with spouses or friends, while the men do not. This relationship is the same for the "married" category as well.

Activities within this social world tend to be those which encourage participation by oneself. Linking devices are the shared perspectives and understanding of how a specific handicraft is done. Even though most of the subjects enjoy this leisure by themselves they are still linked to a social world through displays of handicrafts, specialty shops for supplies, magazines and face-to-face encounters with others who share the world.

The leisure social world of handicrafts, then, tends to be one of solo participation with linking devices being the mass media as well as some face-to-face encounters. This is a decidedly feminine world, for the most part, and

has been so traditionally. Statistically significant differences in female and male participation (such as found here) should be expected. When compared to other social worlds, this one may offer the clearest suggestion, in this study, that women's and men's social worlds are "subjectively" and "objectively" different.

Passive Games as a Social World

Passive "games" are those in which limited physical activity is necessary. Card games, board games and watching sports are three of the pasttimes in this category. The communications channels and shared perspectives which hold this world together are the appropriate rules and etiquette for the games involved. Boundary elasticity varies from one activity to the next. To be able to enter the world of bridge, for example, a person would need someone who is part of the world to assist admission. "Watching sports" as a leisure world has more nebulous boundaries making entrance and exit easier than it is for the world of bridge. The television can be shut off, for instance, or the person not attend a game and no one else would care. If a person does not attend a bridge game others are more intimately affected.

There are two classifications of the participants in this leisure world: "tourist" and "regular." Those who watch sports activities by attending a game or turning on the television tend to be "tourists." Participants in card games, at least in this sample, are "regulars" because of their commitment to the game. This is especially true for the bridge players.

As Table 10 shows, there is little correlation between sex and participation in passive "games," the proportion of women and men taking part is about the same and the difference is not statistically significant.

----- T A B L E 10 -----

C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F

PASSIVE GAMES

BY SEX

	COUNT	I	SEX		
	EXP VAL	I			
	COL PCT	I			
		I	MALE	FEMALE	ROW TOTAL
		I			
	0	I	5	8	13
NOT APPL		I	5.3	7.8	25.0%
		I	23.8%	25.8%	
	4	I	16	23	39
PASSIVE		I	15.8	23.3	75.0%
GAMES		I	76.2%	74.2%	
		I			
	COLUMN		21	31	52
	TOTAL		40.4%	59.6%	100.0%

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE
0.00000	1	1.0000
0.02663	1	0.8704

MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
5.250	NONE
(BEFORE YATES CORRECTION)	

STATISTIC	VALUE
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT	0.02262
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS =	0

When controlled for "married," the relationship becomes moderate and there still is no significant difference in the proportion of women and men who enjoy passive "games."

A statistically significant difference exists between the co-participants for women and the co-participants for men. All of the men involved either share with their spouses and friends or participate by themselves. Women predominantly share with a friend or friends. Less than a quarter of the women participate by themselves or share the activity with their families. Although the difference in women's and men's co-participants is not statistically significant when only married people are looked at, the difference still exists with only two major changes: more of the married women take part by themselves and fewer join friends. Part of the reason for the difference in co-participants for women and men is not because of sex, nor because of marital status but because the individual activities within the larger social world, in which they participate are different. For example, 58% of the women play bridge while only 24% of the men do. The ratio of women to men who watch sports is about 1:3. Bridge, of course, requires co-participants, often friends, while watching sports may be enjoyed by yourself.

To summarize: the leisure social world of passive "games" includes roughly the same proportion of women and men. Linking devices for the world are the rules and etiquette involved in the games. To be able to participate

as "regulars," as many in this world do, a shared perspective and shared and effective communications are necessary. Hence the rules and etiquette are the devices which hold the world together and help to delineate the boundaries. The statistically significant difference in co-participants which disappears when marital status is controlled, suggests that a widow or never-married woman's perspective of the social world may be different than is that of married women and married and single men. Even when different activities are considered, this may mean that the concept of two-worlds delineated by sex might better be delineated by marital status, at least for this social world.

Active Games

Most of the activities within this leisure social world are sports, such as: badminton, tennis, golf, Nordic and alpine skiing and swimming. Walking, hiking and exercising also fall within the active games social world. Linking devices are the shared communications and perspective represented by the rules and appropriate etiquettes, an understanding of which is presupposed by participation. Virtually all of the people within this world are "regulars." There are two, however, who are on the border line between "regular" and "insider." These

people are amateur officials for one of the winter sports and hope to be able to work as officials for that sport during the 1988 Winter Olympics.

The permeability of the boundaries to this world are variable. Entrance and egress to walking is very easy as the boundaries are totally porous and the only respondents who do not have access to this world are those with a chronic disability or an illness such as arthritis. Boundaries for sports such as alpine skiing are less easy to penetrate for older people because of the agility required. Most of the people who do alpine ski have done so for much of their lives and have learned to adjust gradually to changes in their aging bodies. The boundaries for golf are not as permeable as those for walking because of the complex set of rules involved, although the world of golf may be more accessible to older people than is alpine skiing.

Table 11 shows the proportion of female and male participants in active games.

----- T A B L E 11 -----
 C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F
 ACTIVE GAMES BY SEX

	COUNT	SEX		ROW
		MALE	FEMALE	
EXP VAL	I			
COL PCT	I			
		MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
NOT APPL	0	5	13	18
		7.3	10.7	34.6%
		23.8%	41.9%	
ACTIVE GAMES	1	16	18	34
		13.7	20.3	65.4%
		76.2%	58.1%	
COLUMN TOTAL		21	31	52
		40.4%	59.6%	100.0%

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANT
1.10471	1	0.2932
1.81733	1	0.1776

MIN E.F. CELLS WITH E.F. < 5

 7.269 NONE
 (BEFORE YATES CORRECTION)

STATISTIC	VALUE
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT	0.18376

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 0

Although a higher proportion of men than women take part in active games, the difference is not statistically significant either for the whole sample or for the married

people only. In both instances, there is a weak relationship between the sex of the respondent and taking part in active games. The people with whom the respondents share differ somewhat; women tend to participate with friends, men with their families. Just over 10% of both sexes enjoy the world with their spouses. When "married" status is controlled and co-participants are compared, twice as many women as men share active games with their spouses. Married men are more likely to share with several other people - spouse, friends and family. This tends to lend support to Bell's (1981) idea that men place emphasis on the activity while women emphasize relationships. Women who are single participate with friends rather than spouses but the relationship between sex and emphasis of activity or co-participant remains the same.

Active games as a social world, then, is one of considerable variation. Boundaries for the different activities within the world vary from being almost totally porous to being fairly difficult to cross, at least to enter. Chronic illnesses, often exacerbated by age, tend to make entrance difficult and hasten egress from some of the active sports. The difference in the proportion of the female and male participants is not statistically significant and co-participants vary to a lesser extent

than they do for other worlds. Except for the possible difference in emphasis placed on competing and sharing, by women and men, this social world gives no indication that the two-worlds metaphor exists empirically.

Volunteer Work and Clubs as Social Worlds

Volunteer work and club membership have been placed in the same category because a number of the clubs, and their members, are involved in volunteer work. The links to the social world are the commitment of the volunteers, and many of the club members, to helping others. Boundaries of this social world are less permeable than those for other worlds such as watching television. Entrance and egress from the world affects other members of the social world, especially for the volunteer organizations where the absence of members may seriously affect the workload of others involved.

For most of the organizations in this world the members are "regulars." One of the people involved in the retired teachers' association is a member of the executive and, therefore, an "insider." (Although all of the respondents belong to the retired teachers' association, only three listed it as leisure; two "regulars" and one "insider.")

Details concerning the participants in this leisure social world are given in Table 12.

----- T A B L E 1 2 -----
C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F
V O L U N T E E R W O R K A N D C L U B S B Y S E X

	COUNT	I	SEX		
	EXP VAL	I			
	COL PCT	I			
		I	MALE	FEMALE	ROW TOTAL
		I			
	0	I	10	10	20
NOT APPL		I	8.1	11.9	38.5%
		I	47.6%	32.3%	
	7	I	11	21	32
VOL WK		I	12.9	19.1	61.5%
& CLUBS		I	52.4%	67.7%	
		I			
	COLUMN		21	31	52
	TOTAL		40.4%	59.6%	100.0%

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE
0.68345	1	0.4084
1.24808	1	0.2639

MIN E.F. CELLS WITH E.F. < 5

8.077 NONE
(BEFORE YATES CORRECTION)

STATISTIC	VALUE
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT	0.15310
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS =	0

A larger proportion of the women are involved in volunteer work but the difference between participation for women and men is not significant. The proportions are nearly the same and there is no statistically significant difference when only married people are considered. For the entire sample, as well as for married people only, there is a weak relationship between the sex of the respondent and participation in clubs and volunteer work. Differences in co-participants for women and men are not statistically significant. For both the whole sample and the "married" portion only, about more of the women than the men are involved in this social world with friends.

A summary of the leisure social world of volunteer work and clubs shows a world with boundaries that can be inflexible enough to somewhat restrict movement in and out of the world. Most of the participants are "regulars" but one is an "insider." With little difference in the proportion of female and male participants and no statistically significant difference between co-participants there is little credence added to the two-worlds metaphor.

The Leisure Social World of Travel

This social world has the highest participation rate of any of the social worlds in this study. The boundaries of this world are readily penetrable with people being able to enter and leave without affecting persons except their significant others. Links to this world come from a shared commitment to visit other parts of the country and the world. Additional links are provided through participation of significant others and through the mass media. Most of the people in this world are "regulars" because they travel regularly (thus showing high commitment to the social world of travel) and because the social world of travel exists primarily for those who use it often.

Table 13, below, shows the rates of participation for women and men in the social world of travel.

----- T A B L E 13 -----
C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F
TRAVEL BY SEX

	COUNT	I	SEX		
	EXP VAL	I			
	COL PCT	I			
		I	MALE	FEMALE	ROW TOTAL
		I			
	0	I	4	3	7
NOT APPL		I	2.8	4.2	13.5%
		I	19.0%	9.7%	
		I			
	8	I	17	28	45
TRAVEL		I	18.2	26.8	86.5%
		I	81.0%	90.3%	
		I			
	COLUMN		21	31	52
	TOTAL		40.4%	59.6%	100.0%

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE
0.31063	1	0.5773
0.94356	1	0.3314

MIN E.F. CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
2.827 2 OF 4 (50.0%)
(BEFORE YATES CORRECTION)

STATISTIC	VALUE
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT	0.13350

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 0

There is no statistically significant difference in the proportion of women and men who travel and the relationship between the sex of the respondent and participation is minimal. When "married" status is controlled for, there are similar differences in participation and virtually the same correlation between the respondent's sex and participation. Of considerable interest here is the difference in co-participants between the women and men when the whole sample is compared with the married sample. For the total sample, and for the married people, about 50% of the men travel with their wives only. About 75% of the married women travel with their husbands and fewer than 10% share with friends. When the total sample is considered, about one-third of the women share with their spouses and one-quarter with friends. None of these differences are statistically significant but they suggest that, at least for the social world of travel and this sample, the boundary which delineates the two social worlds for women and men is more likely to be based on marital status or marital status and sex, rather than sex alone.

Travel as a leisure social world, then, has a high participation rate with boundaries that allow easy entrance and exit. Participants in this world are "regulars" who are usually tied into the world with a significant other

and a shared commitment to travel as leisure. This social world does not indicate support for the two-worlds metaphor where the boundaries are delineated by sex because, for travel, marital status more clearly serves this purpose.

Entertaining

This particular social world includes entertaining family and friends at home and in public places such as restaurants. The boundaries tend to be easily penetrated thus allowing people to come and go as they please. People are bound to this world by their commitment to their significant others. Other links are provided through the desire dinner, a game of cards and so forth with intimates. The participants in this world tend to be "regulars." It is important to note that this social world, at least in part, overlaps with the passive games social world.

Participation in "entertaining", by sex, is shown in Table 14.

----- T A B L E 14 -----

C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F

ENTERTAINING

BY SEX

	COUNT	I	SEX	
	EXP VAL	I		
	COL PCT	I		
		I	MALE	FEMALE
		I		ROW
				TOTAL
	0	I	7	I 13 I 20
NOT APPL		I	8.1	I 11.9 I 38.5%
		I	33.3%	I 41.9% I
	9	I	14	I 18 I 32
ENTRTN		I	12.9	I 19.1 I 61.5%
		I	66.7%	I 58.1% I
	COLUMN		21	31 52
	TOTAL		40.4%	59.6% 100.0%

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE
0.11233	1	0.7375
0.39140	1	0.5316

MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
8.077	NONE
(BEFORE YATES CORRECTION)	

STATISTIC	VALUE
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT	0.08643

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 0

The table shows a small, non significant difference between the participation rates for women and men; a relationship that doesn't change when marital status is controlled. Virtually no relationship exists between the sex of the

respondent and entertaining, both for the married respondents and the entire sample. Although the difference is not statistically significant, about 25% of the men share this world with their spouses and 10% with their friends. The percentages are exactly reversed for the women. When only married people are considered this pattern disappears and sharing "patterns" are almost equal for women and men. Again, this suggests marital status may be more important to who the co-participants are and, thus, to differing perceptions of a social world.

In summary, this social world has highly permeable boundaries and participants in it are linked to it by a desire for human companionship. No significant differences exist for female and male participation. Co-participants vary but no statistically significant differences exist although there are differences in the people with whom women and men share when married status is not controlled. No "support" for the concept of the two-worlds metaphor comes from this social world.

Fashion Modelling as Leisure

The leisure world of fashion modelling is the smallest of the leisure social worlds in this study. It contains two female participants who are intimates, and one of whom

introduced the other to this world. Entrance to the social world is controlled by societal standards of beauty and the need to know someone who can introduce a neophyte to the world. Egress is physically but maybe not psychologically less difficult. The shared perspective and communications necessary to link the world together are the rules that determine the behavior of a model at a fashion show, as well as the standards of beauty mentioned above.

Because the sample is so small, the statistics are meaningless so no table will be presented. It is of interest that only women are involved in this world. Our society emphasizes beauty and clothing for women more than for men, so this world does, to an extent, reflect the gender norms of our society. It can be argued, therefore, that this social world does lend credence to the two-worlds metaphor.

The Church as a Leisure Social World

Included in this social world are church attendance and involvement in church affairs (committees 'et cetera'); any church related volunteer work has been coded as volunteer work. The shared perspective here is the belief in a god and that the church is "the god's house" in which

a person is able to celebrate her or his faith. Attendance is a presupposition of shared and effective communication.

There is a difference in the commitment of the participants that follows traditional gender role expectations. Women are more frequently attend church, see Table 15, but they are not involved in the hierachy of the church nor are they involved, to any degree, in the interpretation of the deity (see Mackie, 1983:199-203 for a more complete discussion). Unruh's classification of "regular" applies to the women involved in this social world. Three of the men are "insiders" because two of them are involved in committees that make policy decisions for the church (one at the local level and one at the national level) and the third is a minister whose job it is to interpret the deity for the congregation. The fourth man is a "regular."

A summary of the statistics for participation in this world appears in Table 15.

----- T A B L E 15 -----

C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F

CHURCH

BY SEX

		COUNT	I	SEX			
		EXP VAL	I				
		COL PCT	I				
			I	MALE	FEMALE		ROW
			I				TOTAL
		-----	+	-----	+	-----	+
NOT APPL	0	I	17	I	19	I	36
		I	14.5	I	21.5	I	69.2%
		I	81.0%	I	61.3%	I	
		+	-----	+	-----	+	
CHURCH	15	I	4	I	12	I	16
		I	6.5	I	9.5	I	30.8%
		I	19.0%	I	38.7%	I	
		+	-----	+	-----	+	
COLUMN			21		31		52
TOTAL			40.4%		59.6%		100.0%

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE
1.44278	1	0.2297
2.27206	1	0.1317

MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
6.462	NONE
(BEFORE YATES CORRECTION)	

STATISTIC	VALUE	SIGNIFICANCE
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT	0.20461	
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS =	0	

Even though twice the proportion of women as men participate in the social world of the church, the difference is not statistically significant, either for the entire sample or

only the married people. The relationship between the sex of the subject and church participation is not very strong whether or not marital status is controlled. There is a significant difference in the people sharing with women and men. Women share with friends and acquaintances or attend by themselves whereas men share with their spouses and friends. When only married people are considered the sharing pattern doesn't change but it is no longer statistically significant (by the smallest of margins). This suggests that if separate social worlds do exist for women and men, marital status alone or in combination with sex, not sex by itself, may establish the boundaries.

To summarize, this social world is held together by a shared belief in a deity and the view that the church is the house of this deity. Less than one-third of the total sample participates and there is not a statistically significant difference in the involvement of women and men. The social world is different for women than it is for men because the co-participants are different and because the "insiders", "regulars" division within the world follows traditional gender role expectations. This suggests that there may be some "truth" in the concept of the two-worlds metaphor.

Taking Courses as Leisure

Slightly less than half of the sample considers taking courses to be a form of leisure. These courses include a wide range of interests from learning a card game to non-credit university courses. One perspective shared by the respondents is the desire to learn about a new subject or a new social world. Other links come from significant others who persuade the respondents to take some of the courses. Boundaries are permeable and people can come and go freely.

The participants in this world tend to be "regulars" in the world and, simultaneously, "strangers" or "tourists" in any one of several interrelated worlds. Interrelated worlds include reading, passive games, fine arts and handicrafts.

Table 16, below, shows the statistics related to participation in this social world.

----- T A B L E 16 -----
C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F
TAKING COURSES BY SEX

	COUNT	I	SEX	
	EXP VAL	I		
	COL PCT	I		
		I	MALE	FEMALE
		I		ROW
				TOTAL
	0	I	10	I 20 I 30
NOT APPL		I	12.1	I 17.9 I 57.7%
		I	47.6%	I 64.5% I
	16	I	11	I 11 I 22
TAKING		I	8.9	I 13.1 I 42.3%
COURSES		I	52.4%	I 35.5% I
	COLUMN		21	31
	TOTAL		40.4%	59.6%
				52
				100.0%

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE
0.85396	1	0.3554
1.46441	1	0.2262

MIN E.F. CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
8.885 NONE
(BEFORE YATES CORRECTION)

STATISTIC	VALUE
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT	0.16550

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 0

There is not a statistically significant difference between the percent of women and the percent of men who are involved even though 17% more men than women do participate. The relationship between the respondent's sex and taking part in "courses" is weak and when "married" status is controlled is virtually non-existent. When only the married portion of the sample is considered, the proportion of women and men participating is almost equal with no significant difference between the two.

No statistically significant differences are found between women's and men's co-participants whether the whole sample or only the married people are considered. The greatest difference shown is that about twice as many men as women participate by themselves.

In summary, the social world of taking courses is held together by the respondents' desire to learn about new topics and by the involvement of one or more significant others. This world is also interrelated with others discussed in this thesis. No statistically significant differences exist between women's and men's participation or between the differences in the people with whom the female and male respondents share. There are, additionally, few boundary restrictions in this social

)

world. The leisure social world of taking courses shows no indication that the two-worlds metaphor exists empirically.

Semi-Leisure?

Dumazdier's concept of "semi-leisure" applies to that category of activities which includes aspects of leisure as well as obligation. Parker (1983) says that yard and house maintenance, gardening and caring for pets fit into this category. One additional activity has been added from this study - shopping. Besides being "semi-leisure" there are some commonalities to the three social worlds of "around the house," "shopping" and "pets" which will be discussed before separate cross-tabulations and analyses are done for these worlds.

Boundaries for all three worlds are open and allow freedom of movement in and out of the worlds. The perceived social pressure to keep one's yard and garden neat provides a common "perspective" that ties a person to the social world of around the house. Such perceived pressure also encourages one to feed and care for one's pets. An additional link comes from the enjoyment one derives from both an attractive home and garden and the company of pets. Links to the social world of shopping

include deriving pleasure from looking at and/or buying merchandise.

Most participants within these three social worlds are "regulars" who are committed to the activities within these leisure worlds.

Table 17 presents the statistics concerning the rates of participation by sex in the social world "around the house." It is the largest of the three worlds in this section.

----- T A B L E 17 -----

C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F

AROUND THE HOUSE BY SEX

	COUNT	I	SEX		
	EXP VAL	I			
	COL PCT	I			
		I	MALE	FEMALE	ROW TOTAL
		I			
	0	I	10	I 20	I 30
NOT APPL		I	12.1	I 17.9	I 57.7%
		I	47.6%	I 64.5%	I
		I			
	11	I	11	I 11	I 22
AROUND		I	8.9	I 13.1	I 42.3%
HOUSE		I	52.4%	I 35.5%	I
		I			
	COLUMN		21	31	52
	TOTAL		40.4%	59.6%	100.0%
CHI-SQUARE	D.F.		SIGNIFICANCE		
0.85396	1		0.3554		
1.46441	1		0.2262		
MIN E.F.			CELLS WITH E.F. < 5		
8.885			NONE		
(BEFORE YATES CORRECTION)					

STATISTIC	VALUE
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT	0.16550
NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS =	0

Although 17% more men than women are involved in this world, the difference is not statistically significant. For the married respondents the difference increases to 25% but it is still not significant. For the married portion of the sample, as well as for the entire sample, the

relationship between participation and the sex of the respondent is weak. Differences in co-participants for women and men are not significant for married people or the whole sample. Marital status does play a part in the person with whom women share. When "married" status is controlled the proportion of women participating with their spouses doubled while women participating by themselves was reduced by two-thirds.

Statistics for the participants in the leisure world of shopping are given in Table 18.

----- T A B L E 18 -----
 C R O S S T A B U L A T I O N O F
 SHOPPING BY SEX

	COUNT	I	SEX		
	EXP VAL	I			
	COL PCT	I			
		I	MALE	FEMALE	ROW TOTAL
		I			
	0	I	20	26	46
NOT APPL		I	18.6	27.4	88.5%
		I	95.2%	83.9%	
		I			
	12	I	1	5	6
SHOPPING		I	2.4	3.6	11.5%
		I	4.8%	16.1%	
		I			
	COLUMN		21	31	52
	TOTAL		40.4%	59.6%	100.0%

CHI-SQUARE	D.F.	SIGNIFICANCE
0.66680	1	0.4142
1.58481	1	0.2081

MIN E.F.	CELLS WITH E.F. < 5
2.423	2 OF 4 (50.0%)
(BEFORE YATES CORRECTION)	

STATISTIC	VALUE
CONTINGENCY COEFFICIENT	0.17198

NUMBER OF MISSING OBSERVATIONS = 0

Interpretation of this data must be done cautiously because there are only six participants in the leisure social world of shopping. Women participate four times more frequently

than men, a non-significant difference. The difference becomes significant when only married subjects are considered. A weak relationship between the sex of the respondent and participating, in the whole sample, becomes a moderate relationship when marital status is controlled. This must, however, be interpreted carefully because of the small proportion of the sample involved.

The people with whom the respondents share this world are not statistically different across the sex and marital statuses of the respondents.

Lastly, the social world of pets must be presented. One aspect of this world is of considerable interest to this researcher. Approximately one-third of the respondents had pets present in their homes when they were interviewed but only three (5.8%) of them listed having or caring for pets as a leisure activity. The implication here is that the pets are considered to be members of the family and/or there are enough obligations to owning pets that are not considered leisure by many of the respondents.

A table will not be presented for leisure social world because the sample of participants is so small that the statistics are meaningless. There are virtually no

differences between the sexes in participation rates or in co-participants.

In summary, the three leisure social worlds under the heading "semi-leisure" have permeable boundaries that allow easy entrance and egress. Linkages to the worlds, shared perspectives, include enjoyment of all three and perceived social pressure to care for their houses, yards and pets. All participants are "regulars" so that there are no status differences based on where a person is located in the social world. The person or people with whom the respondent shares differs more for women than men in two of these worlds but marital status is also implicated in these differences. The two-worlds metaphor is not substantiated by the data from these three social worlds.

Summary

In this chapter, the researcher has discussed the 12 leisure social worlds in which the respondents are involved. Limiting factors, linking devices and co-participants were compared across the sex of the respondents. The analysis, which allowed the researcher to test the validity of the two-worlds metaphor, showed that there is little support for this concept, in this study.

The glimpse of the social worlds showed that participation rates varied considerably from one activity to another as did the proportion of females and males who took part. Generally, the rules and etiquettes of the games, participation of an intimate, artistic codes and literacy served as links to the different social worlds. Possible limiting factors appear not to interfere with participation very much except for access to some activities for the women (especially the widows).

When the validity of the two-worlds metaphor was examined sex, alone, appeared as a delineating factor in only one social world - handicrafts. Marital status and sex combined appeared to be more important in establishing boundary differences within a given social world. The prestige and power differences among "insiders," "regulars" and "tourists," however, appear to also be more important delineating factors than sex. Co-participants are often different between the sexes and this appears to add credence to the idea that women and men live in different social worlds.

Each of these delineating factors will be discussed in more detail in the conclusions, which follow in Chapter Four. Since these factors also suggest several fruitful

possibilities for future research, Chapter Four will include a section on future directions, as well.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Introduction

The research problem, stated in Chapter One of this thesis, involved four dimensions along which the social worlds of women and men should differ. If the social worlds of women and men do differ along these four dimensions there should be differences in: the access to linking devices to the social worlds and to the power structure of these worlds; and there should be statistically significant differences in the participation rates and the co-participants with all boundaries demarcated by the sex of the participant. Chapter Three summarized the findings of the study and showed that there were differences along all four dimensions but that few of the differences were statistically significant. Consideration of marital status as a "variable" suggested that sex alone was not the most powerful delineating factor between the social worlds of women and men.

If there are, indeed, two separate worlds in which women and men live, there should also be a difference in

the way in which the women and men in this sample perceive themselves and other older people. Semantic Differential Scales (Osgood, Suci and Tannebaum, 1957) were used in this thesis to measure these differences. When t-tests were completed, there were virtually no differences in the attitudes of the women and men towards older men. Statistically significant differences appeared for five pairs of adjectives on the "Older Women in General" scale and for six of the pairs of adjectives on the "Myself" scale.(1) The findings from the Semantic Differential Scales, therefore, add support to those from the leisure social worlds: this study has found only limited support for the concept of two separate social worlds for women and men.

(1) There were statistically significant differences in the replies women and men gave to the following set of adjectives, on the "Older Women in General" scale: nurturant /nonnurturant, capable /helpless, independent /dependent, flexible /rigid/ fearless /fearful. For the "Myself" scale significant differences showed for: nurturant /nonnurturant, active /sedentary, agreeable /disagreeable, conventional /eccentric, kind /cruel, pleasant /crabby. Since these adjectives represent only 16.7% and 13.8% of the sample, respectively, there appears to be little difference in the way the women and men in this sample perceive older people and themselves. The small amount of "support" these scales give to the two-worlds metaphor confirms the findings from the leisure social worlds portion of this study. A brief recapitulation of some of the literature will now be undertaken to help explain the findings from this study.

The Two-Worlds Metaphor Re-examined

To quote Bernard (1981:3):

The underlying premise [of the two-worlds concept] is that most human beings live in single-sex worlds, women in a female world and men in a male world, and that the two are different from one another in a myriad of ways, both subjectively and objectively.

Bernard (1981, 1972) is perhaps the major proponent of this metaphor, although the writings of Smith (1975, 1974) and Gilligan (1986, 1982) rely upon and offer considerable support for the concept. In her earlier book, The Future of Marriage (1972), Bernard uses empirical research to support her hypothesis that, in any given marriage, there are actually two marriages: hers and his. Role expectations and work loads differ considerably between the hers and his marriages. Armstrong and Armstrong's (1984:54-78) discussion of the division of labor in the home agrees with Bernard's findings on these points. Although she uses no original research to support her thesis in The Female World (1981), Bernard extends the idea from hers and his marriages to hers and his social worlds. In this book, Bernard talks about men intentionally excluding women from male social worlds spatially and nonspatially (through the use of language, for example). Bernard (1981:11) goes on to say:

[T]here is clear evidence that although individual men may love individual women with great depth and devotion, the male world as a whole does not.

Smith (1975;1974) argues that the paternalistic structure of our society, and the "power brokers" within it, try to keep women out of positions of power and control in professions (and, by implication, in social worlds). One of the techniques is the use of language to exclude women from specific worlds and the use of the generic term "man" to include all people (see also Mackie, 1987:192-193). Gilligan (1982) uses a discussion of morality to show that "different voices" are used to discuss morality and that the voices, coincidentally, often differ along sex "lines." An underlying theme in all of this work is that the female world is inferior to the male world, and in various ways, direct and indirect, is controlled by males.

Mackie (1984:1) cites several sources which make the assumption that different social worlds do exist for women and men and the implied master criteria for membership in each world is the sex of the participant. She says:

Over the past decade, the "two worlds" of women and men has emerged as a guiding metaphor in the social scientific analysis of gender relations. Millman and Kanter (1975:xiii, emphasis in original deleted) propose that "men and women may actually inhabit different social worlds..." Daniels (1975:344) points to "the contrasting world views of men

and women" and Smith (1974:7) to the "world of men" and the "world of women." Doyle (1983:163) states that "mosts American males see the world...in a very different way than most American females do." Greenglass (1982) named her book A World of Difference: Gender Roles in Perspective. Bernard's book, The Female World, is erected upon the claim that "most human beings live in single-sex worlds, women in a female and men in a male world," which differs "both subjectively and objectively" (p.3).

Mackie (1987;1984) explicitly says, and Matthews (1982a;1982b) implies that the question that needs to be asked, and which has been the underlying "hypothesis" of this thesis, is: Are the social worlds of women and men truly different and, if they are, are they delineated by sex alone?

Findings from Chapter Three suggest that at least one other factor (often marital status or differences in co-participants) must be involved in determining the boundaries of social worlds. These findings tend to confirm the writings of Matthews (1982a;1982b) more than those of Bernard (1981, 1972), Gilligan (1986, 1982) and Smith (1975, 1974). Matthews (1982a:29, emphasis in original) says:

Simply because persons have gender identities and define behavior as masculine and feminine, it does not necessarily follow that gender is

"the," or even "a," critical variable
in understanding social behavior.

She goes on to say that women are not a homogeneous group (33). In the commentary which follows Matthew's article, four other social scientists respond. Griffith's critique says that Matthews should not be asking why gender is important but when and how it is important (1982:36-37). Bernard (1982:35) and Eisenstein (1982:36) argue that most sociology is done from a masculine perspective and the feminist one is useful in removing the blinders so that this bias can be seen and taken into account. One of Neitz's (1982:37-38) arguments is that gender and sex should be seen as continuous rather than discrete variables. This would mean that sex alone is not properly use as a delineating factor between social worlds. Matthews (1982b:38-39) rejoinder reminds the reader that gender may be less important than structural variables, such as power and socioeconomic status, in explaining why people behave as they do.

The Study at Hand

There are some peculiarities about this present study which may have hidden differences between the social worlds of women and the social worlds of men. All of the people in this study are retired from one occupation - teaching -

which has traditionally been considered an appropriate profession for women (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1984:38). If social worlds were delineated by the sex and/or gender of the participant, and males who were teachers tend to be somewhat more "feminine" than males in other occupations, the use of this particular sample may have blurred the demarcation lines. Livson (1983) and Sinnot (1979) suggest that older people tend to be somewhat androgynous and, since the mean age of this sample is 68 years, this may also have blurred the impact of sex as a delineating factor for social worlds. Only the use of a longitudinal or panel study would allow the researcher to follow a group of people over a longer period of their lifetimes to determine whether or not their social worlds changed as they aged and/or retired.

The participants in this study were all volunteers which may mean that they are somewhat different than others who attend the meetings of the retired teachers' association and different than teachers who do not belong to the association. Generalizing the findings beyond this sample is restricted by the small size of the sample and the "use" of only one profession and social class (all the respondents are from the middle class). The small sample may not be truly representative of retired school teachers

and the one profession involved means that the possibility of generalizing the findings further is additionally restricted.

Further, the study looks only at the social worlds of leisure, not at the social worlds of work, family interaction or any other worlds in which the respondents (or others) are involved. Generalizing findings from leisure worlds to others on which there are more constraints may be somewhat presumptuous. Therefore, the author would like to remind the reader that the conclusions drawn in this chapter apply only to this study and, until further research provides similar results, only to this study.

Summary

This small-sample study indicates that the use of a single variable to determine where the boundaries of a social world are is not adequate. The analysis here indicates that marital status and the person with whom a person shares a world are at least as important as the sex of the participant. Matthew's (1982) article, and some of the critiques of it, are supported by this study. Although sex may indeed be an important factor in the study of the social worlds of women and men, it only one of many which

must be considered. If this study has achieved little else, it seems to make this "fact" evident and thus adds to the corpus of sociological knowledge. It raises questions about which other variables should be considered and what should be done next. As an exploratory study, it should do so.

Future Directions

The findings from this study suggest that there may be several fruitful possibilities for future research. One of the possibilities is to take the critiques of the two-worlds concept seriously and to look at some of the structural constraints placed on women and men and any social worlds in which they are involved. Such research would likely require the use of one of the macrosociological perspectives instead of symbolic interactionism. There seems, also, to be a promising area of research using marital status and sex together as delineating factors between social worlds. Additional variables such as the relationship between co-participants, the respondents' access to control of the social worlds, ethnicity and socioeconomic status would also have to be considered.

A more intimate look at these social worlds could be gained through the use of in-depth interviews to supplement the information already gained through the instruments used in this study or through the use of a new questionnaire. Both husbands and wives and a cross-section of occupations should be included in a future study. Ideally, the people involved should be interviewed while they are working, at retirement and again about five years after they retired. Such a panel study would permit the researcher to see any changes in the respondents' lives which would affect the boundaries of some or all of the social worlds to which they belong.

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Full Name of Author - Nom complet de l'auteur

I. ANNE McBLANE

Date of Birth - Date de naissance

APRIL 22, 1947

Canadian Citizen - Citoyen canadien

☒ Yes / Oui

☐ No / Non

Country of Birth - Lieu de naissance

CANADA

Permanent Address - Résidence fixe

#208 7107 ELBOW DR. S.W.
CALGARY, ALBERTA
T2V 0S2

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Dr. Marlene M. Mackie

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