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WORLD LEISURE

LEISURE *Journal*

No 2/2003
Volume 45

ISSN 0441-9057

*T*his issue of the Journal focuses primarily on children and adolescents. Three of the six papers presented are on that topic. Additional papers on leisure in childhood and adolescence will appear in Number 3 and perhaps in Number 4. In that sense, the special focus of this issue, Number 2 will continue through at least one more issue. Two papers on the theme of social, cultural and political dimensions of volunteerism as leisure follow the articles on children's and adolescent leisure. The final paper is a feature article.

The three papers on leisure in childhood and adolescence contained in this volume represent different approaches and different specific topics. The first paper, by Peter Witt and John Crompton of Texas A&M University (U.S.) argues for an expanded concept of recreation; one that emphasizes positive youth development rather than "fun and games." The paper notes that leisure agencies traditionally have focused on reducing negative behaviors in their approaches to "at risk" youth. While the broader concept of promoting youth development is not new, it is much more in evidence today. And, it has much greater potential for serving all youth as well as those with obvious problems. Referring to their own earlier works and other published sources, the authors present the Positive Youth Development (PYD) paradigm as a "philosophic framework and system of principles." They describe the characteristics of the model and note the conditions that encourage positive development. The authors also present a Development Assets Model and a Protective Factors/Resiliency Model. The paper contains several examples of applications of these models in agency situations in the U.S.

The paper that follows, by Felice Yeun and Susan Shaw of the University of Waterloo, Canada, examines the roles of play in the reproduction of or resistance to gender ideologies. The authors base their discussions, conclusion and implications on a comprehensive review of literature and on the concept of social constructionism. They note that there is relatively little research in this area, but that it is important since gender ideologies widely affect the lives of individuals. The paper examines the different influences of unstructured play, guided by children themselves, and those of structured play, organized by adults and conditioned by adult society. The authors document increases in the amount of time children play in adult-planned and organized activities as opposed to more informal settings. They suggest that structured play reinforces gender beliefs that are dominant in society, while unstructured play enables children to create alternative ideologies. Unstructured play also provides "transformative" experiences and encourages creative behavior.

The next paper is by Laurene Rehman and nine colleagues. The authors are from four academic institutions in Nova Scotia, and the Nova Scotia Sport and Recreation Commission (Canada). This paper, based on a funded research project, deals with constraints to physically active leisure, and negotiations used by children and youth to offset these conditions. Constraints data came from responses of students in grades 3, 7 and 11, to a self-administered questionnaire. The younger respondents most frequently reported structural constraints, including costs, distance to a facility, and lack of equipment. Grade 7 and 11 respondents identified schoolwork (structural) and lack of companions (interpersonal) as the most frequent constraints they experienced. Girls in grade 7 as well as in grade 3 reported fear of going out a night (intrapersonal) as a constraint. There were some additional gender differences. Analyses of activity monitors (accelerometers) worn by the students enabled inferences about negotiations. In general, constraints appeared not to reduce activity levels suggesting that participants were using effective negotiation strategies.

The three papers are related in that they present concepts and information useful to those who wish to enhance the leisure and play experiences of young people. That circumstance prompts us, as Guest Editors and as members of the World Leisure Working Group for Children and Youth, to add a further comment.

The lives of many of the world's children and adolescents continue to be disrupted by war, violence, dislocation, poverty, poor health, abuse, exploitation, and other negative influences. These conditions dramatically limit and often eliminate opportunities for play and recreation. When this happens, young people experience the ultimate constraint to positive development, transformative experiences and other benefits of leisure described in the three papers.

World Leisure is concerned about quality of life for all, young and old. Our concern must include those children and youth living in negative situations beyond their understanding and ability to control. The objectives of our organization include encouragement of research, provision of forums, and dissemination of information. The Journal serves all three of those objectives. Research reports and concept papers disseminated through the Journal contribute to the enrichment of young people's lives, when the findings and conclusions lead to applications in the field. The papers in this issue contribute to that knowledge and help make the case as to why leisure is important to youth in all circumstances.

We hope that the implications of the papers here, and of those to come in future issues, will be considered thoroughly. This is not only because of our concern for leisure, but also for the overall well-being of young people and for the future contributions they might make to the stability of nations and the world.

Volunteering as leisure is a pursuit shaped by the social, cultural, political and physical context in which is occurs. Volunteers seek out meaningful and fulfilling experiences in a global context where spaces and opportunities for volunteering are constantly changing. Understanding the experience of the individual volunteer in a time of globalization necessitates a perspective that connects volunteerism as leisure to community and civil society.

The paper by Henderson & Presley highlights individual and community dimensions of volunteering. The authors highlight the importance of volunteering in a time when the global integration of economies may result in a worldwide cultural standardization. This paper is evocative and highlights the tension between the creation of a hybrid identity, one that is largely shaped by Western forces, and the opportunity that globalization creates for volunteers to cooperate with others to address local and global issues and to develop a more caring world.

Reporting on the experiences of volunteers who participated in a biodiversity conservation program, the article by Caissie & Halpenny sheds light on volunteer tourists in nature-based contexts. The paper focuses on motivations of volunteers including pleasure seeking, receiving "perks", leaving a legacy, and altruism. One of the main contributions that the article makes is to highlight the importance of "place" to the experience of volunteers and "attachment to place" as an underlying motivation of volunteer tourists. In addition, the authors discuss volunteering in this context as a value-added vacation or traveling with a purpose.

Each of these articles challenges us to broaden our understanding of volunteering as leisure and add to the growing body of literature on this topic. The portraits of volunteering presented enable us to look at the interactions between individual motivations and experiences and macro issues of place and the environmental and global context.

The feature article is written by three authors, Donna Little, University of Waikato, New Zealand, Kathy Lloyd, Griffith University, Australia, and Jackie Kiewa, La Trobe University, Australia. The paper examined an initiative by a local authority to encourage women's participation in a range of adventure-based physical recreation. The efficacy of the Real Adventure Program (RAW) was explored from participants' perspectives. The results revealed that a focused project specifically targeted at women can offer accessible, safe and supportive opportunities for women's engagement in leisure that can lead to positive personal outcomes. The papers on special themes complemented by the feature article should provide the reader with an interesting range of topics for study and research.

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Guest Editor for Social, Cultural and Political Dimensions of Volunteerism as Leisure

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Guest Editors for Leisure in Childhood and Adolescence

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Positive Youth Development Practices in Recreation Settings in the United States

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Abstract

Recreation programs sponsored by park and recreation departments in the United State are moving beyond simply offering programs designed to reduce at-risk youth deficit behaviors to approaches that include the broader focus of positive youth development for all youth. Using the Developmental Assets Model and the Protective Factors/Resiliency framework, language and practice are moving from a "fun and games" approach to one that includes supplying the supports and opportunities necessary to enable youth to thrive. Building on ideas such as "Problem free is not fully prepared" and "Fully prepared is not fully engaged," programs have been paying more attention to services that do more than reduce violence, problem use of drugs and alcohol, and unprotected sex among adolescents, to approaches emphasizing young people and families as partners in shaping and delivering services; developing comprehensive service systems that encompass home, school and non-school settings; along with serving the needs of all youth in the community, not just those labeled at-risk. In this paper these approaches to services are described along with case examples of how selected communities are applying these principles in their youth work efforts.

Keywords: *Youth development, developmental assets, resiliency, empowerment*

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Increases in negative youth behaviors in the United States in the 1980s led to calls to 'do something' to stop or reduce youth's abusing alcohol and drugs; engaging in unprotected sex; having children out of wedlock or before teens were ready to be responsible parents; and being involved in or the victim of gang violence. These concerns led to the redefinition and refinement of programs sponsored by city sponsored park and recreation programs (PARDs) for 'at-risk' youth.

Beginning in the mid-1990s, PARD programs began to expand their focus to move beyond simply offering programs designed to reduce negative behaviors to embracing a more broadly conceived youth development framework that encompassed services for all youth, not just those considered "at-risk." Positive

Youth Development (PYD) as a philosophic framework and system of principles is increasingly the paradigm driving the development of programs and services in the United States.

The Rationale for a Broader Approach

Research findings suggest that deficit reduction approaches to lessening youth problems have generally 'produced weak, transient or no results' (Connell, Gambone, & Smith, 2001, p.1), because deficit reduction efforts alone are too limited. Thus, efforts must be made to create organizations and communities that enable youth to move along the pathways to adulthood by supplying the supports and opportunities necessary to develop services beyond those that only deal with issues of problem prevention. As Gambone et al. (2001) have noted:

> At the center of this thinking [is] the idea that young people are assets in the making – their development dependent on a range of supports and opportunities coming from family, community and the other institutions that touch them. When supports and opportunities are plentiful, young people can and do thrive; when their environments are deficient or depleted, youth tend not to grow and progress. (Pp. 1-2)

Thus, an ecological approach to development is required for PYD to be successful.

The Search Institute's Development Assets Model (http://www.search-institute.org/) emerged from efforts to operationalize these goals. The Development Assets Model has provided a powerful tool for mobilizing communities to identify and build the internal and external supports necessary for youth to grow along the pathway to adulthood.

The changing understanding of the mission of youth services from a deficit to an assets approach is similar to the debate that emerged in the 1980s in the health field. Initially health was defined as the absence of illness. However, concerns arose that in order for a person to achieve quality of life, more than being free of illness was necessary. Efforts were made to find ways to enhance health through better diet, more exercise, better relationships with others, and expansion of interests and abilities. Creating a healthy lifestyle was added to reducing illness as the twin goals of medicine.

Interestingly, advocacy for adoption of the principles of positive youth development is not totally new. Since the late 1800s, interest in moving youth work beyond a fun and games approach to one that more fully encompasses youth development and social group work principles has wax and waned based on society's concerns about negative youth behaviors or the desire to accomplish specific developmental goals. For example, the roots of social group work are in the efforts of Jane Adaams at Hull House (Adaams, 1969), and the many reformers active in the settlement house movement. Immigration and migration, urbanization and industrialization spawned the playground movement (which eventually became the park and recreation movement), and a number of youth serving organizations that are still in operation today, e.g., Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, Girl Scouts, YMCA and YWCA youth programs, and Boys Clubs (now Boys and Girls Clubs) (Kett, 1977).

Unfortunately, since that period, interest in youth issues has fluctuated as a function of the level of negative youth behaviors and the degree of public concern with such behaviors. What is new about the current positive youth development movement is its attempt to anchor youth services in a developmental rather than a deficit reduction framework. While efforts to reduce negative behaviors must be undertaken, the positive youth development paradigm seeks to increase the competency of all youth to meet the challenges of growing up.

Defining Positive Youth Development

While a number of PYD definitions have been proposed, the following appears to be useful for understanding the goals and content of PYD efforts:

> YD is a process which prepares young people to meet the challenges of adolescence and adulthood through a coordinated, progressive series of activities and experiences which help them to become socially, morally, emotionally, physically, and cognitively competent. Positive YD addresses the broader developmental needs of youth, in contrast to deficit-based models that focus solely on youth prob-

lems. (National Youth Development Information Center website, 2001).

The PYD paradigm recognizes that 'Problem free is not fully prepared' (Pittman, 2001). Thus, while we must work to reduce negative behaviors, efforts also need to be made to enable youth to develop the social, health (emotional and physical), vocational and civic competencies needed to be fully prepared (Pittman, 2001, p. 24). PYD moves us from simply undertaking short-term, quick fix solutions aimed at diminishing negative behaviors to long-term attention to development. While programs and communities must define the PYD approach to fit local circumstances, fundamental principles that should guide PYD practices include:

(i) "viewing young people and families as partners, rather than as clients, and involving them in designing and delivering programs and services;" (http://www.acf.hhs.gov/programs/cb/laws/im/im9708.htm; February 5, 2003);

(ii) developing a coherent system of supports, opportunities and services that encompass home, school, and non-school settings; and

(iii) devoting attention to the developmental needs of all youth in the community (all youth are 'at-risk'). YD strategies, therefore, focus on giving young people the chance to exercise leadership, build skills, and become involved in their communities.

The PYD approach also acknowledges that helping young people requires strengthening families and communities (http://www.acf.dhhs.gov/programs/fysb/FYSBprog.htm).

A 2002 report by the National Academy of Sciences identified 11 basic program elements that characterize programs that can contribute to asset building in youth (Figure 1). These elements are relevant to programs in all settings. The more of these elements that characterize programs, the more likely it is that the program can contribute to developing the supports, opportunities and services that promote PYD (National Academy of Sciences, p. 8).

What is most gratifying are the increasing number of programs that are built around the programmatic elements outlined in the National Academy of Sciences report and are

Figure 1: Characteristics of Environments that Promote Positive Youth Development
(National Academy of Science, 2002)

- Physical and psychological safety and security
- Structure that is developmentally appropriate, with clear expectations for behavior as well as increasing opportunities to make decisions, to participate in governance and rule-making, and to take on leadership roles as one matures and gains more expertise
- Emotional and moral support
- Opportunities for adolescents to experience supportive adult relationships
- Opportunities to learn how to form close, durable human relationships with peers that support and reinforce healthy behaviors
- Opportunities to feel a sense of belonging and being valued
- Opportunities to develop positive social values and norms
- Opportunities for skill building and mastery
- Opportunities to develop confidence in one's abilities to master one's environment (a sense of personal efficacy)
- Opportunities to make a contribution to one's community and to develop a sense of mattering
- Strong links between families, schools, and broader community resources

driven by the philosophic principles listed above. In the park and recreation field in the United States, embracing a PYD paradigm is leading departments to:

■ base programs on a strong philosophic underpinning such as the Developmental Assets Model;

■ work in concert with youth on all aspects of program planning and design;

■ increase collaborations with families, schools and other youth serving agencies; and

■ increase service efforts beyond facility-based programs through instituting street worker/roving leader outreach programs.

In the following sections, examples of how elements of the park and recreation service delivery system are responding to these youth development imperatives are described.

Developing a Rationale for Services

Several frameworks are being widely used to operationalize the PYD vision. They help delin-

eate both the role of agencies in the overall PYD framework and the components that make up quality programs. The Developmental Assets Model and the Protective Factors/Resiliency Model (Jessor, 1992) are two of the more widely adopted models. The Developmental Assets model provides a framework for identifying and building the internal and external supports necessary for youth to grow positively into adulthood, while the protective factors/resiliency framework defines the elements necessary to enable youth to overcome risk factors in their lives.[1]

■ Aurora Library and Recreation Services Department (Colorado) has adopted the Developmental Assets Model for conceptualizing delivery of its youth services. Surveys are undertaken to determine which assets to promote through current programs and the additional programs that need to be developed to deliver other desired assets. Staff have developed three strategies for enhancing asset development. First, the *intentionality* of programming and training efforts was increased to enhance asset building. Second, working with smaller groups, and terminating or amending drop-in programs in favor of more structured activities increased the intensity of programs. Third, improvements in *communication* about assets to staff and parents were made in an effort to increase the number of adults who were consciously building assets.

■ In Austin, the Park and Recreation Department uses the Protective Factors Model to design and evaluate teen programs as part of the city's Social Fabric Initiative. For example, the objectives of the Neighborhood Teen Program include to: (a) provide opportunities for youth to gain help with difficult personal and family issues; (b) increase participants' abilities to make positive choices about issues such as avoiding drug and alcohol usage, gang membership, and pregnancy; and (c) teach youth positive means for resolving conflicts.

■ Portland requires that all funded programs that are part of its Time For Kids Initiative be designed to contribute to one or more of the 10 Developmental Assets they deemed to

be most important to Portland's youth. The focus of most of the programs is on developing three assets: (a) academic achievement, (b) developing work and/or life skills, and (c) community involvement/community service.

The Developmental Assets and Protective Factors/Resiliency models are important for moving park and recreation programs beyond a "gym and swim" (fun and games) mentality, programs designed mainly to keep youth off the streets. While gym and swim programs and settings provide youth a place to go and things to do, full youth development is not a result of these efforts. Thus, the broader focus is moving toward building productive youth behaviors, rather than merely keeping them occupied. Agencies that cling to the "fun and games" orientation will fail to realize the funding potential that exists in their communities for the support of recreation services. They will also fail to position themselves as relevant to community efforts to develop a comprehensive system of PYD services. Agencies must move beyond a casual approach to programming to one that involves "intentionality," what do we want to have happen and how are we going to make it happen? (McLaughlin, 2000).

If created intentionally and strategically, more supports for more youth in more neighborhoods constitute more pathways to success – pathways are diverse, wide and accessible enough for all youth to see, try and ultimately select from. These pathways offer the basic things young people need: people to talk to, places to go, and opportunities to explore. [These pathways] build the attitudes, skills, values and knowledge that young people need in a full range of areas from cognitive and vocational to personal and civic. (Pittman et al., 2000, p. 49)

Involving Youth

A prerequisite to youth programs delivering the instrumental outcomes that communities seek is that programs are sufficiently interesting and engaging that young people will participate. In developing programs, a gradual shift from centralized top-down decision-making by recreation professionals, to decentralized, youth-centered decision-making is occurring.

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[1] The examples cited in this paper are taken from Witt and Crompton (2002).

Too often youth feel that adults plan for them, rather than with them. Youth empowerment enables youth to take ownership and responsibility for their involvements. Empowerment includes involvement in both identification of problems and issues that programs should address, and the design and implementation of the programs themselves.

In a number of communities, youth summits have been held. The typical charge to these forums is to solicit broad community input to (i) identify youth needs in the community; (ii) recommend actions to meet these needs; and (iii) coordinate and mobilize community resources so the recommendations can be expedited. These vehicles have been effective in transitioning communities from the problem identification stage, to creating and organizing mechanisms to enable PYD. Over time, summits and task forces have increasingly seen youth involvement as integral to their success. Three examples follow.

■ In Kettering, Ohio, the Healthy Youth Task Force, established jointly by the City Council and Kettering School Board, furthered its agenda by convening three youth summits comprised of community and student leaders. Youth were integrally involved in identifying youth needs and formulating responses to address them. The summit process resulted in creation of a student youth council, STAND (Students Taking A New Direction). STAND members complete a "Pledge to Help" form and their mission is to provide services to the community, and positive social activities for youth. The summit process also led to hiring a Youth Development Coordinator, with STAND members playing a key role in the interviewing and hiring process.

■ The youth summit in Chattanooga, Tennessee led to creation of a set of recommendations and actions to implement needed programs and services, together with a Charter of Teen Principles. A Chattanooga/Hamilton County (Tennessee) Youth Council – sponsored by the Chattanooga Parks, Recreation, Arts and Culture Department – played a central role in the evolution of Project Choices, which provides teens with constructive alternatives to hanging-out at a large local mall. The project was developed after teens who were unaccompanied by adults were banned from the city's major shopping mall on Friday and Saturday nights.

■ In Phoenix, Arizona, as a follow-up to a youth summit, 25 teen councils were developed at recreation centers throughout the city. They meet weekly or bimonthly to plan recreation activities, trips, special events, and social community service programs with guidance from the professional recreation staff. Each council elects a member who attends the monthly meeting of the citywide Teen Parks and Recreation Board. The Board is responsible for development and implementation of an annual teen conference and citywide special events. A member of the citywide Board represents youth on the city's Parks and Recreation Advisory Board.

■ In Richmond, British Columbia, the Youth Involved Process (YIP) was created to increase youth involvement. The YIP recognized that the process of planning, facilitating, implementing and evaluating was more important than merely participating in a program. Implementation of the YIP was designed to enhance the development of specific internal and external Developmental Assets. The shift from a direct delivery to a facilitative role was challenging for staff since it required a change in philosophy, work plans, job expectations and desired outcomes. Training was undertaken to help staff adapt to a process vs. activity-based model, and efforts were made to create the kind of working conditions that would encourage staff to work with the program over a period of time, thus enabling the development of long term relationships leading to increases in trust and respect between the staff and the teens.

Expanding the Service Model

PYD is multi-faceted, and requires a multi-dimensional response to be successful. Thus, recreation professionals have been required to adopt different modes of operation, and acquire a new knowledge base and skills. The former Director of the Phoenix Parks, Recreation, and Library Department observed:

"My staff say they are becoming counselors and social workers. That's fine, I believe we should be. We have always done this, but there is much more emphasis on it now

than there has been in a couple of decades. My philosophy is that if a young man comes in on drugs or a young woman comes in who is pregnant, we have to help. Young women come to my female staff and say 'I'm pregnant, will you come home with me and help me talk to my mom.' They are scared, so of course we help. We respond as best we can to whatever they need. I would not have a problem with my Department being called a Department of Community Services. Our job is to make young people whole in any way we can, and offering wholesome recreation activities is only one aspect of that. It's a way of reaching them and gives us an opportunity to help them straighten out other parts of their lives." (Witt & Crompton, 2002, p. 114)

Increasingly PARD programs include after-school tutoring, community service, job training, leadership development, health education, and the development of social skills. Often, existing staff are not equipped to direct such programs. Park and recreation programs, along with other youth service providers "have been criticized for providing safe and enjoyable opportunities but not meeting participants' developmental needs. Often, connections to academic content are weak, skill development is not systematic, youth capacities are not fully engaged, and long-term relationships between adults and youth frequently do not develop" (Kahne et. al., 2001)

Hence, PARDs are recognizing the need to be an integral part of a larger PYD initiative, viewing their role as being part of a system that holistically serves youth, rather than being parochially concerned only with their recreational needs. According to the Director of Parks and Recreation in Columbus, Indiana:

"There was a long established, pervasive sentiment among leadership of all sectors in Columbus, Indiana, that they should view the community as 'one big circle with no boxes.' We do not view ourselves as existing in independent silos! We believe there is nothing we cannot do in our community for youth with the resources we have, but it means each organization has to get past the notion of protecting its turf. People have to learn to do that, and

in some cases they are reluctant." (Witt & Crompton, 2002, p. 81)

PARDs also seek to supply services on a residual basis, filling niches not available from other youth program suppliers. PARD personnel invariably have extensive networks that can be mobilized to meet youth needs, so they are able to be effective facilitators in bringing PYD agencies together to develop a community-wide service plan. Perhaps the most frequently cited aphorism in PYD is the African proverb, "It takes a village to raise a child." Recreation service providers must be perceived as part of the village. The Director of Portland (Oregon) Parks and Recreation observed that: "This is the chance for us to demonstrate the full value of who we are and what we can do...society needs help with its youth, and we have a piece of the solution. While retaining our uniqueness and autonomy, we in the field of recreation, who share the same values and goals, can accomplish more by working together than we can on our own." Several other examples of agencies adopting this approach follow.

■ The holistic philosophy which under girds the extensive array of programs coordinated by the At-Risk Youth Division in Phoenix involves the Division in collaborations with such agencies as the City's Youth and Education Office, Human Services Department, Prosecutor's Office, Police Department, Maricopa County Juvenile Court, Vocational Services, Phoenix Mercury/Phoenix Suns, Arizona Society of Plastic and Reconstructive Surgeons...and dozens of other entities.

■ In Columbus, Indiana, the Park and Recreation Department pooled resources for both capital funding of a $5.9 million center for youth and its subsequent operation. Collaborators included the Foundation for Youth, Boys and Girls Club, United Way, business leaders, and philanthropic organizations.

■ In Virginia Beach (Virginia), in addition to the Parks and Recreation Department, the Youth Opportunities Team includes the Public School System, Community Services Board, Juvenile Court Services, Public Health, the Volunteer Council, the Department of Agriculture, Housing and Neighborhood Preservation, Police, Public Libraries, and Social Services.

■ Portland's Time for Kids Initiative involved collaboration with 17 different partners, all of whom had specific programmatic roles in the Initiative.

Moving Beyond the Walls: Roving Leaders

Roving Leader programs recognize that not all youth are automatically attracted to available programs, yet many programs operate under the philosophy that to be served youth must come to a particular site. Thus, a number of cities have developed outreach or "roving leader" programs. The premise driving these programs is that youth workers who "roam" a neighborhood in which they are based will be able to find and connect with disaffected youth. Often, workers live in the areas where they work, which gives them credibility with, and a better understanding of neighborhood youth.

Four elements of Roving Leader programs have been identified which differentiate them from other service vehicles (Austin, 1957). First, services are based on problems in young people's lives as opposed to a specific program activity. Therefore, services are available to youth who have the greatest need rather than those who have paid a fee or become members of a particular group. Second, programs are heavily dependent on the relationship between youth and staff. Third, contact occurs in the community, not in an institutional setting. This is important since most institutions have formal standards that guide youth leaders in client selection and service, which may eliminate some youth from participating. Finally, the services provided by roving leaders are not initially requested by youth. The leader is required to reach out and take steps to alleviate any fear, suspicion or hostility that might exist. All of these outreach principles stress the importance of the personal relationship between staff and youth.

Austin and San Antonio Parks and Recreation Departments have extensive roving leader programs. Staff makes contact with youth not currently affiliated with city or nonprofit youth services and attempt to draw youth into constructive activities that would otherwise be on the streets and potentially involved in high-risk behaviors. To be successful, staff must be sensitive to local community circumstances as well as savvy and street-smart.

The Power of Adults: Opportunities for Youth to Experience Supportive Adult Relationships

In all PYD settings, the key to successful programs is the primacy of adults in supporting youth efforts to navigate the pathways to adulthood, while still enabling youth to have real voice and power in planning, organizing, and leading programs and activities. Adults are the key to helping create a developmentally rich program structure, boundaries for appropriate behavior, and clear opportunities for youth to have voice with regard to program structure and mechanics.

The need for adults to provide support is consistent with evidence that "resilient children, the ones who thrive despite obstacles, typically have caring adults present and active in their lives" (Walker, 1998, p. 14). Caring adults can be program staff, volunteers from the community, and/or parents. In all cases, adults are most effective if they "work in partnership with young people, who see themselves as supportive friends and advocates in contrast to adults motivated to save, reform, or rescue young people from their circumstances" (Walker & White, 1998, p. 15). The key is to ensure that youth efforts are "scaffolded" by adults (Pittman, Irby & Farber, 2000). Youth, like an emerging building, need support during "construction – development." Eventually, when ready to stand on their own, the scaffolding can first be lessened and eventually withdrawn. Too often in the past, PARD programs have been based on the primacy of the activity over the process of participants interacting with meaningful adults. To realize the full power of adults in the lives of youth, quality adult leaders must be hired, trained, rewarded and retained. However, these objectives may not always be easy to accomplish. Too often youth serving agencies hire individuals who are too young and have too many issues themselves to be strong resources in the lives of youth. In addition, too often leaders are hired who only plan to be around for a short period of time, thus undermining the value of creating long-term, in-depth relationships between youth and meaningful adults. In many cases, a system is not in place to develop leaders on a pre-service and ongoing basis who understand the principles of

PYD and how to translate these principles into practice. Finally, salaries are often not high enough to attract and retain quality staff. In too many cases, we entrust our youth to low paid individuals who turn over far too quickly.

Final Thoughts

Unfortunately, in a number of cases PARDs have adopted the PYD language, but have in reality made few changes in their service priorities and approaches. To fully play a role, PARDs need to:

(1) fully understand and adopt positive youth development principles;

(2) fully use the power of these principles to make real changes in their programmatic approaches;

(3) meaningfully collaborate with other youth serving agencies to identify needs and provide more consistent positive youth development programs;

(4) develop a dynamic positive youth development system that works within the context of the overall community; and

(5) develop a better understanding of the characteristics of activities that make the successful transition to adulthood more likely.

Other critical elements of PYD practices include ensuring that the opportunities, services and supports offered are available for a critical mass of those young people who want or need them. Services must be of a scale and a level of saturation to achieve the threshold necessary to make a difference. In addition, it is critical that the opportunities created are sustained from year to year. Development is ongoing and takes time to accomplish. One shot, short-term programs can generate participants, but not necessarily meaningful development. Ensuring that more young people in more neighborhoods have more and better supports and opportunities more of the time should be our goal (Pittman, Irby & Farber, 2000).

Changing the way we think about design and delivery of youth serving programs can go a long way to achieving development beyond problem prevention. While the tone and structure of PYD is subtle and multi-layered, its tenets and practices can be achieved. To do less is to waste our opportunity to be an active participant in the positive development of our youth.

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Play: The Reproduction and Resistance of Dominant Gender Ideologies

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Abstract

This paper examines play and its impact on the resistance and reinforcement of gender ideologies. Using a social constructionist perspective, different types of play are considered to have different roles in the reproduction and reinforcement of gendered beliefs. Specifically two types of play are examined-unstructured and structured. Unstructured play tends to be guided by children themselves, whereas structured play, which includes media-related activities, is largely influenced by adult culture. It is argued that unstructured play may enable children to resist current gender ideologies, while structured play may be more conducive to reproducing gender stereotypes. The paper suggests the importance of recognizing the role that play may have in the social construction of gender. It is hoped that future empirical research will be conducted to compare specific contexts of play and their role in the reproduction and resistance of gender.

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Introduction

Researchers have studied leisure as a context for both reproducing and resisting dominant ideologies of gender. Leisure behaviour is often perceived to be influenced by dominant ideologies that exist in work, home and family (Green, Hebron & Woodward, 1990; Shaw, 1997). Ajzen's (1991) Theory of Planned Behaviour also includes personal attitudes and societal norms as factors that influence behaviour. As the decision to participate in an activity is influenced by dominant attitudes of the individual and of society, the activity itself may eventually serve as a reinforcement of these attitudes. However, participation in a leisure activity may also be a form of resistance. The potential for resistance through leisure is based upon understanding leisure as an opportunity for self-determination and personal choice (Green, 1998; Shaw, 2001). People are active beings who interact with the environment that surrounds them, and have the capability to accept or reject, internalize or challenge the experiences they encounter.

Previous literature has mainly focused on leisure activities and leisure settings as contexts for the potential reproduction and resistance of dominant gender ideologies. For example, male cheerleading (Davis, 1990), women's body building (Guthrie & Castelnuovo, 1992) and women's hockey (Theberge, 2000) have been explored as leisure activities that encourage both compliance and resistance to dominant gender ideologies. Smoking has also been described as a form of leisure for adolescent girls that symbolizes resistance to "passive, sweet tempered, modest, restrained, domestic identity associated with traditional female identity" (Wearing, Wearing, & Kelly, 1994, p. 632). Further, when leisure involves affiliation and friendship among

women, it can provide the opportunity for identity construction, empowerment and resistance (Green, 1998). In each of these examples, leisure is seen to facilitate resistance through providing the possibility of active engagement in activities and settings. That is, through these leisure engagements, individuals can choose to challenge and/or to conform to dominant or socially sanctioned forms of behaviour.

Relatively little attention to date has been directed towards the role of children's play in the reproduction and resistance of gender. However, since play is an actively engaging activity, and contains many similarities to leisure (Isenberg & Jalongo, 2001; Mannell & Kleiber, 1997), it may also have the potential to affect the meanings and internalized beliefs about gender. The term "play" is typically applied to children between the pre-school level of education (three to four years of age) up to the junior high level (twelve to thirteen years old). Children in this age group are seen to be able to take initiative in their actions, which in turn enables them to become more autonomous in their daily activities (Erikson, 1950). Thus children, through their play, are seen as active agents, who not only learn from, but also influence their own social environments. Accordingly, this influence can include reinforcing and/or challenging gender related beliefs, norms, and behaviours.

The role of play in the reproduction and resistance of gender may vary according to the type of play in which children engage. Specifically, the degree to which children's play is structured or unstructured may be a significant factor. Unstructured play refers to play that is guided by the children themselves. That is, the rules of play, and how children are expected to behave during the play activity are typically dependent on the children who are participating. Unstructured play may occur in the home if children are playing alone or with other children, without the active involvement or direction of adults. It may also occur in schools or pre-schools, especially during recess or "free play" periods, when children can develop their own games and decide for themselves how the play activities should proceed. It seems appropriate to suggest that this type of play, which is relatively free from adult intervention and adult-imposed rules, may be particularly

conducive to the construction of resistant modes of interaction. That is, children may take advantage of the freedom of the situation to construct rules of play, which do not conform to societal gender stereotypes.

On the other hand, structured play may tend to have a different impact on children's developing understanding of gender. While structured play can occur in many different environments, including the home, the school, or the playground, it is distinct from unstructured activity because it is typically organized by an external source, as opposed to being organized by the children themselves. These external sources include teachers, parents, or organizations such as the YMCA. In these organized play activities, the rules for play are made explicit and generally pre-determined by the external source, thereby establishing a clear situation of hierarchy and authority. Structured play may have a greater potential to recreate gendered beliefs and stereotypes, because it is typically organized by adults and therefore influenced by adult norms. Commercial toys and the media, major components of children's free time, are also considered to be a part of structured play as they are also largely influenced by the norms of adult culture.

It can be argued that the examination of play and its impact on the resistance and reinforcement of gender ideologies is important for two different reasons. The first reason is the wide-ranging impact that gender ideologies have on the lives of both men and women. Beliefs about gender are considered to affect the development of identity (Gilligan, 1982), and individuals' behaviours and personal interactions at work, in the home, and in leisure (Gilligan, 1982; West & Zimmerman, 1991). In addition, gender and gender ideologies affect the material conditions of life for women and men, including levels of participation in paid and unpaid work, as well as prospects for education, income, and access to leisure (Henderson, Bialeschki, Shaw, & Freysinger, 1996; Thrane, 2000). Secondly, the nature of children's play has changed significantly in recent years. While the period after school, and other occasions for free time may have once held the opportunity for free, spontaneous and unstructured play,

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children are increasingly registered for programs organized by private or community associations. Possible reasons for this phenomenon include the massive entry of women into the workforce (Adler & Adler, 1994) and rising concerns for safety (Adler & Adler, 1994; Fishman 1999). Currently, American children have seventy-five percent of their weekday programmed, as opposed to the forty percent they had in 1981 (Fishman, 1999). Along with the increase in structured play is the increase of media consumption, specifically television watching, in children (Ridout, Foehr, Roberts, Brodie, 1999; Zuzanek, 2000). More than half (56%) of children's time spent in media-related activities are spent watching television, videos or movies (Ridout et al., 1999). With the rise of structured play, it is important to consider the potential role different types of play may have in the social construction of leisure.

The purpose of this paper is to consider the circumstances of play where gender stereotypes may be reinforced and resisted, with particular reference to the possible outcomes of both structured and unstructured play. Specifically the focus is on whether structured play may be more conducive to recreating dominant gender beliefs, while unstructured play may enable children to resist current gender ideologies and create alternative ones. The paper hopes to reveal some possible implications related to the increase in structured, organized activities for children, and to encourage empirical research in the area of play and the social construction of gender. The discussion begins by examining the concept of play and the process of reproduction and resistance through play. Following these sections, both unstructured and structured play are discussed in relation to the resistance and reproduction of dominant gender ideologies. The concluding section of this paper addresses the possible implications of increasing participation in structured play.

Play

Research on play has indicated that this form of activity for children involves several different aspects or components. These include play as an empowering and transformative experience, play as a form of creativity, and play as an envi-

ronment for learning. The emphasis placed on these components also differs between structured and unstructured play environments.

Play as an Empowering and Transformative Experience

It has been suggested by researchers that play involves a symbolic, meaningful, and transformational experience for its participants (Isenberg & Jalongo, 2001). The transformative process means that "[c]hildren become empowered in play to do things for themselves, to feel in control, to test out and practice their skills, and to affirm confidence in themselves" (Isenberg & Jalongo, 2001, p. 54). Thus, play provides the opportunity for children to create a world based on their own experiences. Through play, children can "transform themselves into others' roles as they switch back and forth and in and out of different situations" (Isenberg & Jalongo, 2001, p.54). In this way they are able to gain experience in a multitude of roles and situations.

This component of play as transformative experience is clearly more evident in unstructured rather than structured activities. Structured play can empower children through the provision of opportunities to practice skills and gain confidence. However, unstructured play situations are more likely to provide the perception of freedom and sense of separation. In this way, unstructured play allows children to create their "own world" with its associated transformative possibilities.

Play as Creativity

The transformative aspect of play is also associated with play as an opportunity for creativity. According to Isenberg and Jalongo (2001), creativity is made up of cognitive dimensions, such as flexibility, originality and elaboration, as well as affective dimensions, such as curiosity, imagination and risk-taking. It is an active process that generates a unique idea, product or solution based on responses to stimuli and connections with a previous experience (Isenberg & Jalongo, 2001). Moreover, because creativity is a response to past experiences, it can be seen to involve the investigation and interpretation of ideas presented to children through exposure to adult society in environments such as the media, schools and other institutions.

The creative response to past experiences and the interpretation of ideas can involve convergent and/or divergent thinking. Convergent thinking leads to experiences that form a single answer or thinking that there is one right way, whereas divergent thinking tends to result in many responses that promote exploration and experimentation (Isenberg & Jalongo, 2001).

These different types of creative thinking may be reflected in different play environments. Specifically, convergent thinking may be more apparent in structured play where social rules constructed by the presence of adults tend to control the direction of play. Unstructured play, on the other hand, may be more conducive to divergent thinking among its participants because of the absence of structure and formality. During their creative thought processes, participants of unstructured play may have an increased sense of freedom to explore and express themselves in a newly imagined world, without the boundaries and constraints of the current culture. The absence of predetermined adult norms in unstructured play may help promote flexibility, originality and elaboration of ideas. Children may also feel an increased sense of freedom to satisfy their sense of curiosity, to take more risks in the expression of ideas and to imagine what might be or what might become.

Learning and Skill Development

Play enables a child to make sense of his or her world and to develop social and cultural understandings (Isenberg & Jalongo, 2001). This may be particularly true in adult-organized or structured play activities, such as extracurricular activities that exemplify the corporate-style organization and encourage professionalization and specialization (Adler & Adler, 1994). During the extra-curricular experience, children may develop a better understanding of this organizational perspective. An increased understanding of adult values and norms, such as professionalization and specialization, may help increase a child's ability to function in society as he or she matures. "…[E]ntering into these adult-organized activities draws children into a junior version of the existing social order. Adult society is reproduced in miniature there, both culturally and structurally…" (Adler & Adler, 1994, p. 325). The exposure into adult culture

may help provide the opportunity to develop the skills and abilities required for successful integration from childhood into adolescence and eventually adulthood.

Adult-organized activities in structured play may also help enhance the skill development of specific tasks such as creative writing, computer skills, ball handling in basketball, and drawing. These tasks are often highly specific and specialized. There may also be an increased understanding of important paradigms such as democracy, cooperation, competition, and hierarchy. Adler and Adler (1994) suggest that these adult-controlled play environments tend to exemplify the values of adults, such as performance, merit and commitment developed skills that are useful and required for survival in the adult world.

Unstructured play, on the other hand, may facilitate other types of skill development. For example, Alder and Alder (1994) suggest that negotiation, problem solving, improvisation and communication are skills fostered through spontaneous unstructured play. "As managers of their own spontaneous events, children [become] sensitive to the delicate balance involved in negotiating the vastly complex issues…that arise" (Adler & Adler, 1994, p. 313). These skills also relate to creativity and divergent thinking.

As children acquire their negotiation, problem-solving, improvisation and communication skills on their own, their confidence to take more risks against the dominant beliefs or values presented by adults may increase. With these skills, individuals may be more willing to express different ideas to others and have the courage to expose themselves to criticism from their peers. As a child's ability to solve problems and develop innovative ideas increases, his or her ability to think flexibly and produce original ideas also increases.

The Process of Reproduction and Resistance through Play

Social Constructionism and the Creation of Children's Culture

The idea of the reproduction and/or resistance to dominant gender ideologies, as discussed in this paper, is based on a social constructionist view of society and social interaction. Structural theorists may argue that current ideologies, because of the hegemonic state of

patriarchy, shape such opportunities and experiences (see Green et al., 1990; Shaw, 2001). In other words, opportunities are already pre-determined by gendered beliefs and inequities stemming from a predominantly male perspective. In turn, the existing hegemony shapes an individual's experiences and behaviours, and reinforces dominant ideologies. However, social constructionists believe individuals have the ability to construct, negotiate and reconstruct gender. Structural constraints associated with patriarchal ideologies are not seen to be deterministic, because the dialectical relationship between structure and agency is recognized (Adler & Adler, 1998; Green, 1998; Shaw, 2001). Individuals are recognized for their ability to interpret their experiences and make choices based on these interpretations. Gender beliefs themselves are suggested to be developed and idealized through interactions with others (West & Zimmerman, 1991). Essentially, resistance and reproduction is possible if gender is seen as being socially constructed.

The application of these ideas to children's play rests on the assumption that children are active agents who, like adults, actively participate in the construction and reconstruction of their own social worlds. That is, while children are clearly influenced by societal values, they also have the ability to negotiate and influence these values based on how they respond to their own experiences.

Support for this perspective on children's agency can be found in the extensive literature on children and children's play, and, in particular in the literature on children's culture. Thrane (1993), for example, says that children should be seen as having agency rather than being cast simply as "objects of socialization". Alder and Alder (1998) reinforce this perspective through their discussion of children's culture. They suggest that " . . children's peer groups create their own culture by selecting and rejecting various aspects of adult culture and making cultural innovations of their own" (p. 206). Other researchers such as Brison (1999) and Fine (1987) also acknowledge the autonomy of children's culture. Fine (1987) discovered Little League baseball to be a culture-producing organization among its team members.

The idea of children's culture, though, does not imply that this culture is completely independent of adults or adult culture. Rather, adult culture can be seen to influence children's culture to a greater or lesser extent, depending on the particular situation. Based on an ethnographic study of Fijian children, Brison (1999) suggests that there are differences in the way gender relations function between adult and child culture. "[I]n situations where there is a large gap between the principles structuring adult relations and those shaping child relations, children are particularly likely to develop a set of social skills and assumptions about the world that are different from those prevalent among adults" (Brison, 1999, p. 100). In other situations, such as organized sports, the influence of adult culture on children's culture is more direct and obvious. The influence of adults is also evident with respect to children's play with toys. Wood, Desmarais and Gugula (2002) found that adults play a role in toy selection when interacting with children, and potentially constrain this form of play. Boys in particular were often restricted to "masculine" toys, thus limiting the creation of their own independent culture. When the presence of adult culture is minimized, play may provide the context and opportunity for children's culture to flourish, as participants are able to freely choose whether to include or exclude past experiences that may be influenced by current dominant ideologies.

The research on children's culture provides support for the idea that play activities and environments can be expected to reproduce and/or resist dominant gender inequities and stereotypes. Through play children respond to the dominant beliefs about gender (as well as other aspects of the dominant culture) that they learn from the adult culture. They may conform to these gendered expectations through their play. In this case, their behaviours will be consistent with cultural stereotypes, and these will be incorporated into their own culture. Alternatively, children may, through their play, challenge these stereotypes and take advantage of the transformative properties of play to try out a range of different and resistant behaviours. In this scenario, aspects of resistance will be evident in the culture that they create. In

either case, the underlying process of social constructionism places emphasis on children's agency. While agency is self evident in resistant actions, it is also part of the process of reproduction. That is, in situations of conformity, "boys and girls actively create their roles of passivity and activity, achievement and ascription, in accord with their perceptions of the larger culture" (Adler & Adler, 1998, p.210).

One way in which resistance through play may differ from resistance through adult leisure is that for children the process is less likely to be deliberate or intentional. Among adults, resistant behaviours are thought to vary in the degree of intentionality (Shaw, 2001). However, among children, resistance may be more likely to result from trying out or playing with different roles, or simply from being attracted to activities that might be considered to be resistant.

Structured Play and the Reproduction of Gender

Although researchers have not specifically examined reproduction or resistance through children's play, there are numerous examples in the literature on organized play that indicate that this type of activity often reinforces traditional notions of gender. For example, Chafetz and Kotarba (1999) describe a community consisting of an organization (Little League baseball), adults (mothers) and the players (young male athletes) who recreate and reinforce dominant ideas about gender through a complex web of influences. In this example, Little League placed ideological constraints on the boys and their mothers, while the mothers helped encourage and continue with the production of gendered stereotypes for themselves, their sons and the community at large. Generally, both organizational cultures and significant role models, such as parents, helped influence these children into stereotypical roles.

According to Thorne (1993), forces have already been set into motion towards different interests and even separate gender sub-cultures when boys and girls are placed into different activity groups. This differentiation also tends to expose children to gendered stereotypes. If young baseball players are only exposed to stereotypical gendered experience portrayed by their mothers and Little League, they may not

have the opportunity to explore the possibility of other roles for males and females. As a result, their perspectives on gender may be limited to the dominant patriarchal ideology, and their perceptions of the larger culture may be limited to what they experience in the Little League culture. Consequently, these boys may be actively creating their role in society; but their creativity may only exist within the realm of the dominant patriarchal ideology because they have not had the opportunity for alternate experiences.

Gender sub-cultures have also been suggested by Thorne (1993) to be exemplified in school settings through the context of classroom talk, stereotypical portrayals of gender in books and in the expectations and differences in attention given to boys and girls by teachers. The gendered meanings passed on through interactions between the teacher and students may infiltrate into the play behaviours and attitudes of children while at school. For example, if a teacher is more lenient when boys act out in an aggressive manner in the classroom, the boys may feel that they can also play more aggressively during recess.

These and other biases may infuse children's culture through various practices of teaching and organization (Thorne, 1993). Intentionally or not, organizational structures and rules imposed by adults intended to help aid in the skill development of the participants, or efficiency of an event, may also reinforce gender inequities and stereotypes. Moreover, while children might tend to separate themselves into gender specific groups during play, formal sex segregation may accentuate differences and build stereotypical barriers between the sexes. As Messner (2000) states:

> The formal segregation of children does not, in and of itself, make gender overtly salient. In fact, when children are absolutely segregated, with no opportunity for cross-sex interactions, gender may appear to disappear as an overtly salient organizing principle. However, when formally sex-segregated children are placed into immediately contiguous locations…highly charged gendered interactions between the groups become more possible. (p.772)

Chafetz and Kotarba's (1999) Little League organization and Messner's (2000) American

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Youth Soccer League both demonstrate how an organization's culture becomes an object of practice for the adults in the organization, and how eventually these practices filter through into the behaviours and attitudes of the children. Opportunities for trying out divergent identities or a wide range of different behaviours may become increasingly stifled through organized play. Lack of exposure to creative, divergent experiences may be influencing the reproduction of current gender inequities and stereotypes.

Commercial toys may be another type of adult-influenced product that plays a role in the production and reinforcement of gender differences during play. Pink, purple and white Lego pieces are available for girls, while the traditional blue, red, green and yellow pieces are marketed towards boys. Giving boys and girls different toys only accentuates gender differences and, as Thorne (1993) suggests, may result in differing interests among boys and girls and perhaps even different sub-cultures. Already at such a young age, girls in preschool and in kindergarten "… often gravitate to the housekeeping corners, and boys to the area with large blocks, toy cars and trucks" (Thorne, 1993, p. 57). Popularity among boys, especially in grades four five and six, is often attained through the display of toughness, *savoir faire* – defined as social and interpersonal skills, while girls' popularity often depends upon their parents' socio-economic status and their physical appearance (Adler & Adler, 1998).

One reason for these popularity requirements may be the kinds of toys boys and girls are given at a young age. Specifically, Barbie is a beautiful doll that comes with fashionable clothes and lives in a dream house – she *is* "the coolest girl" around. Concurrently, G.I. Joe and He-Man symbolize strong male characters that out-manoeuvre their evil enemies through strategies of manipulation, dominance and control. Both parents and mass media are responsible for the encouragement of these gender specific toys that take part in reproducing and reinforcing gender stereotypes among children.

Children's ideas about the world around them are also influenced by the mass media. Children's culture has become increasingly commercialized through the media (Buckingham, 1997). This commercialization of children's culture may also contribute to the reproduction of gender stereotypes. Children's television shows, movies, and toy commercials, which are made by adults, and thereby are influenced by adult norms, provide continuous examples of what boys do and what girls do. Children, being the primary consumers of this commercialized culture, may perceive their observations of the media as the "right" way of behaving, and model these behaviours through play and other aspects of their lives. As a result, the mass media may reproduce certain expectations for males and females which conform to dominant gender ideologies.

In a study about gender representation in children's commercials, Larson (2001) suggests that gender stereotypes are reinforced through a majority of children's commercials shown on television. "Girls-only commercials overwhelmingly featured cooperative interactions. Boys-only commercials were the only ones with competitive interactions" (Larson, 2001, p. 49). The presentation of gender role models in children's commercials is limited, because they are generally based on dominant patriarchal ideologies. Girl role models are predominantly stereotypical, as girls are significantly portrayed more in domestic settings, such as in the bedroom or in the backyard at home, compared to boys (Larson, 2001). Concurrently, boys are portrayed in competition or independently in various settings, as opposed to just the home (Larson, 2001). Consequently, children may adopt the behaviours portrayed in these commercials because it appears to be the norm presented to them by their peers and the rest of society. For example, girls who see these scenarios may feel that the proper place for them to be is at home, while boys may feel that they need to exemplify competitive behaviours in order to be like other males.

The perception for girls to portray the runway fashion-model figure may be another example where media reinforces gender stereotypes. According to James (2000) many young women are motivated by media images to be thin. Interestingly, girls alone are rarely featured in commercials for food or restaurants (Larson, 2001). In Larson's (2001) study, boys together were portrayed eating more than boys and girls together, or girls only. Girls together were

portrayed eating the least. This portrayal of girls in the media is reflected in the importance placed on physical appearance in girls, which is also a requirement for popularity among school-aged girls presented by Adler and Adler (1994). The message in the media appears to be "this is how girls and boys play" (Larson, 2001), or more specifically, "this is how girls and boys *should* play."

Structured play and adult produced media images do not necessarily imply the reproduction of traditional notions of gender. Thorne (1993) has noted that the practices of school staff are complex and can both reinforce and undermine gender divisions. While some teachers accentuate gender separation by organizing girls against boys for various competitions, other teachers are able to decrease the gender division by creating groups with both sexes. In other words, it is possible for play to be structured by adults in ways that resist or counter dominant gender stereotypes. Encouraging girls to participate in "male" activities such as hockey, or encouraging boys to participate in "female" activities such as dance would be examples of resistance through structured play. Nevertheless, most of the research on structured play activities and environments suggests that this form of play, as presently practiced, seems to be much more likely to reproduce than to resist dominant ideologies.

Unstructured Play and Gender Resistance

The argument presented above, as well as the earlier discussion of components of different types of play, suggest that unstructured play may provide more opportunities for resistance against dominant ideologies. In their study of children's everyday behaviours, Alder and Alder (1998) found that the dominant stereotypes typically associated with boys and girls did not necessarily apply to the behaviours they observed:

> …girls are, in fact, no more passive in their everyday behaviour than boys, that they work to get good grades, to play at sports, to be involved in extracurricular activities, and to stay embedded within their cliques. Boys, at the same time, display passivity in leveling themselves academically to conform to peer group norms. Boys can be as manipulative and indirect as girls in their jockeying to maintain both boundaries

around their friendship groups and their own positions within these. What we see, then, is that boys and girls are active and passive within their own realms.

This suggests that, given the opportunity and freedom to do so, boys and girls may diverge from the traditional expectations and views on gender, and in turn resist dominant gender ideologies through the creation of alternative worlds.

Moreover, it can be suggested that it is unstructured play, with its potential for transformative experiences and creativity and divergent thinking that is likely to provide these opportunities for children. When compared with structured play, children in unstructured play situations have greater flexibility in choosing how to play, what to play and with whom they play. That is, they have more freedom to create a world of their own. Unlike the values of professionalization and specialization often encouraged by adult culture, children have unorganized tendencies toward recreation and generalism (Adler & Adler, 1994). With the ability to explore the world as they choose, children may experience a greater sense of separation and imagination.

One example of resistance through unstructured play comes from a study of adolescent girls, and the ways in which they used their bedrooms as a place in which they could escape from the expectations of their parents (James, 2001).Some girls spoke specifically about evading the expectations of their mothers to help with domestic chores, highlighting the fact that girls are the ones who are generally expected to help out with such chores. In their bedrooms, most girls felt they were able to control their environment by determining their choice of activity and deciding who had access to their room. The girls felt more in control and free to express themselves as they wished in this environment. James (2001) suggests that the relative privacy of the bedroom provided the option for girls to express themselves more aggressively then they normally would in public spaces, where they might be seen to be "unladylike".

Unstructured play, though, does not always encourage resistant behaviours. For example, children who go against traditional gender stereotypes are sometimes subjected to teasing

or even bullying by other children (Thorne, 1993). This typically occurs in unstructured environments and may be seen as "fun" by the children doing the teasing. However, on balance, unstructured play seems to be more likely than structured play to facilitate resistance. This is because of its characteristics of freedom, spontaneity and opportunities for creativity and divergent thinking. Throughout the process of creating their own experiences, children have the freedom to accept or reject the gender prescriptions they have received. As a result, the opportunity exists for them to create alternative gender experiences.

The acquisition of skills related to problem-solving, negotiation and improvisation through unstructured play may also contribute to children's ability to resist dominant views of gender as they develop ideas of their own. Unstructured play provides the opportunity for children to practice and master these skills. Consequently, as children become more confident in their abilities they may feel more empowered to resist the influences of the dominant ideologies related to gender.

Conclusion and Implications

The discussion in this paper suggests the importance of recognizing the role that play may have in the social construction of gender. The resistance and reproduction of dominant gender ideologies may vary according to the context and nature of specific play situations. There is a complex web of influences that take part in the reproduction and resistance of gender ideologies. There may be some instances where unstructured play does reinforce gender biases (when teasing from peers occurs) and structured play may resist dominant gender stereotypes (when groups are intentionally created to include both sexes). However, the general expectation is that unstructured play may have a greater potential to increase the opportunity for resistance through creative exploration, interpretation and choice, and structured play may contribute more towards learning and reproducing the dominant ideologies in adult culture.

With the expansion and institutionalization of afterschool activities since the 1970's, play has become increasingly used as the vehicle for infusing adult values into children's lives (Adler and Adler, 1994, 1998). Children may not realize their ability or potential to construct alternative worlds of their own with this decrease in the opportunity for unstructured play. Many occasions for play, free of adult rules and boundaries, have been transformed into carefully structured activities, organized by goal-orientated adults. The rise of structured activities is apparent and may result in reduced opportunities for resistance.

One solution to this problem is to seek to provide more opportunities for children to participate in unstructured play. For example, parents could encourage free play at home on evenings and weekends, rather than enrolment in organized recreational activities. However, because of changes in women's paid work roles and rising concerns for children's safety, it seems likely that structured play will continue to be a large part of children's lives. Given this situation, perhaps another possibility is to seek to find ways to make structured play less structured, or to structure it in different ways. Structured play can be organized to enhance the creative environment among children. An environment for creativity requires fluidity, flexibility, originality and elaboration, but it does not require the absence of adults. In fact, adults could help contribute to such an environment by providing opportunities for divergent and creative thinking through support and encouragement. Adults could, for example, take on more of a facilitative role, as opposed to a directive role. In addition to allowing more opportunities for children's culture to perpetuate, structured play can be intentionally organized to resist dominant stereotypes by either role modeling non-stereotypical behaviours or implementing activities that enable children to participate in alternative gender experiences.

Clearly more research is needed to examine the issues and predictions presented in this paper. Research is needed to examine the resistant and reproductive characteristics of unstructured as well as structured play. This would include research on the interactional environment among children in unstructured environments as well as the influence of family, teachers and others in structured situations. Different play contexts also need to be further explored, in-

cluding home and neighborhood environments, as well as recreational programs, schools and pre-schools.

Of particular importance would be situations in which play environments are deliberately structured to be unstructured or to encourage resistance. That is, research is needed to examine whether and in what ways structured environments could help to provide the experiences of unstructured play for children, such as freedom, spontaneity, role-playing and creativity. More research on a variety of different play contexts could provide enhanced understanding of the importance of play in the reproduction and/ or resistance of gender.

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"I Just Want to Have Fun, But Can I?": Examining Leisure Constraints and Negotiation by Children and Adolescents

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Abstract

This study examined physically active leisure constraints of children and adolescents and empirically analyzed their ability to negotiate strategies to reduce their experience of constraints. Self-administered questionnaires and accelerometers were used to collect data on leisure constraints and physical activity from students (n=1654) in grades 3, 7, and 11. Gender and age differences were found in reported leisure constraints. Grade 3 and 7 girls more frequently reported fear of going out at night than boys. Grade 7 and 11 girls reported a lack of companions and too much schoolwork more often than boys. When examining the relationship between leisure constraints and reduction in physical activity levels, significance was found for distance in grade 3 and too much schoolwork for grade 11. However, physical activity levels were not affected indicating that participants appeared to be using negotiation strategies. Further research is needed to explore the constraints identified by these participants as they have important implications for their participation and leisure experiences. Use of an empirical measure of negotiation served as a useful tool for understanding leisure participation, as it provided a clear and accurate indication of levels of participation. When such measures are included along with opportunities to explore the context of negotiation strategies, a greater understanding of children's and adolescent's leisure will be obtained.

Keywords: *Leisure constraints, negotiation strategies, physical activity, leisure, youth*

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Western society tends to become immediately concerned if children/youth are identified as being constrained or restricted in their leisure choices and behaviours. Crawford, Jackson, and Godbey (1991) define a person as facing "leisure constraints" if they are not able to participate to the desired extent, obtain the desired enjoyment, or participate in the desired activity.

Access to one type of leisure (physically active) has drawn particular concern with increas-

ing levels of childhood obesity (Henderson, & Ainsworth, 2001). Decreasing levels of physical activity during leisure have been cited as a factor leading to increasing levels of obesity. As adult leisure participation patterns tend to be set during childhood (Mannell, & Kleiber, 1994), this increasing physical inactivity is of concern, as childhood physical inactivity may set the trend for inactivity throughout the life course. Therefore, leisure constraints preventing or reducing children and youth's access to physical activity need to be critically examined.

To date, much of the leisure constraints research has focused upon adults, with a smaller portion devoted to issues facing adolescents (e.g., Culp, 1998; Gagnon, & Harbor, 1992; Jackson, & Rucks, 1993; James, 2000; Wearing, 1998). Research with children and/or youth has increasingly recognized they are not a homogeneous group and require inclusion to better understand their unique experiences (e.g., Jackson, 2000; Embrey, & James, 2001; Hultsman, 1993). Similar to other age groups, differences between (e.g., age, gender, race/ethnicity) and among (e.g., personal preferences, autonomy, independence) children/youth result in diverse experiences with leisure. Recent leisure constraints research has recognized that participants may find ways of "negotiating" constraints (Jackson, & Rucks, 1995). That is, they may find methods of participating despite the presence of constraints. To understand these negotiation strategies, it is necessary to determine whether people or youth are actually able to continue their participation despite the identification of constraints. Much of this examination has relied upon self-report (e.g., interviews, questionnaires) to determine negotiation, rather than a standardized, quantitative measure. Self-report of physically active leisure may be more or less accurate depending upon the ability and memory of the individual involved (Janz, 1994; Trost et al., 2000) Children, in particular, may have difficulties with self-report/accuracy of recall. As such, research with children may provide less accurate results. Depending upon the length of time post negotiation, one's memory may be hampered. More reliable and valid data may be obtained through the use of objective methods of monitoring, such as heart rate and physical activity counts (e.g., obtained through pedometers or accelerometers) than subjective measures such as self-report through questionnaires (Janz, 1994; Trost et al., 2000).

In this paper, the specific leisure constraints to physically active leisure identified by children and youth were examined. Next, activity levels were used to quantitatively assess whether the participants were able to negotiate through constraints and continue participation. The activity level data assisted in determining the actual effect of leisure constraints on the children/youth's participation. In other words, children who retained high activity levels, despite identification of constraints may be considered as using some type of negotiation strategies to retain their involvement.

Leisure Constraints – Children and Youth

Increasingly research has documented the need to examine the specific leisure constraints of children and youth as different populations may report unique combinations of constraints, varying intensities, and sometimes even unique factors. Within the following section, the constraints identified through research with children and adolescents will be examined.

Research with children has uncovered a number of constraints to their participation in physically active leisure, including factors that Crawford et al. (1991) have grouped into the categories of structural, interpersonal, and intrapersonal. In terms of structural constraints, issues such as lack of time, lack of access to facilities, and high cost have been frequently noted (Thompson & Humbert, 2003). For interpersonal, the impact of family members on children's participation has been widely documented (Thompson et al., 2003), especially the role of parents or guardians. Family members may assist in being physically active role models and in providing access to leisure/recreation (e.g., providing transportation, enrolling in programs, participating with children). Other people who play a large role in children's participation include coaches and/or physical education teachers as they may also serve as active role models. For the intrapersonal constraints, is-

sues such as self-efficacy and self-concept have been identified as impacting upon children's belief that they can participate in physically active leisure.

To date, leisure constraints identified in research with adolescents include: time constraints (both real and perceived) (Gagnon, & Harbor, 1992; Jackson, & Rucks, 1995), concerns about a lack of skills/experience (Jackson, & Rucks, 1995), interpersonal problems (e.g., approval or disapproval of peers/parents) (Jackson, 2000), poor health and physical fitness (Jackson, & Rucks, 1995), accessibility and transportation issues (Gagnon, & Harbor. 1992), and a lack of recreational programs.

Children/youth's experience with constraints is not static, but rather a dynamic process. At various times they may face a challenge balancing leisure constraints and achieving satisfying and fulfilling leisure opportunities. Leisure may serve as a site which reinforces traditional roles and ideologies and simultaneously provide a site for resistance to challenge such beliefs and practices (Freysinger, & Flannery, 1992). Adolescents' use of such resistance has only briefly been examined. Wilson et al. (2001), in an examination of "female youth culture" in drop-in centres, found youth resisted gender and class-based limitations in their activities within the centre. Caldwell and Darling (1999) provided support for the dynamic nature of leisure constraints when exploring the impact of peer influence on partying and substance use by adolescents. Participants were more likely to value partying similar to their peers did and use substances if they reported being open to peer influence. Therefore, resistance to peer influence was evident in some of the participants' behaviours. Little research has explored whether leisure resistance also exists for children.

Children and youth have not equally experienced leisure constraints. They are not a homogeneous group; rather, a number of variables beyond age (e.g., race/ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and family context) have impacted their experiences (Caldwell, Kivel, Smith, & Hayes, 1998; Culp, 1998; James, 2000; Stodolska, 1998). Gender differences have been examined, particularly with adolescent girls.

Leisure Constraints – Adolescent Girls

Adolescent girls reported additional leisure constraints indicating gender and age-related (child vs. adolescent) differences. Embrey and James (2001) identified the intrapersonal constraint of fear of physical and sexual attack as affecting both girls' access and opportunities for "after hours" leisure. This fear resulted in girls reporting greater feelings of safety in their bedrooms and not wanting to engage in recreation after hours, if it took place outside the home (James, 2001). Since the majority of bedroom leisure is passive, this may partly explain why girls are most often reported as less physically active than boys (Embrey, & James, 2001).

Wearing (1998) provides another potential interpretation for girls' use of the bedroom as a space for leisure. She explains that public spaces have been primarily developed by and for men, while women's "place has been seen as in the home and their spaces confined to the suburbs" (p. 129). Adolescent girls use of the bedroom as a leisure space may be similarly reflecting this constraint placed on girls and women. As Wearing (1998) explains, "if women do not see the city as a viable venue for their leisure, then they will not venture into the spaces from which they feel alienated and so they will not participate in the process of making the place a valued community resource" (p. 129).

Additional gendered constraints identified in research with adolescent girls in outdoor recreation included stereotypical gender expectations, variations in opportunities, the impact of peers, and low self-concept (Culp, 1998). Although peers and low self-concept were previously identified as issues affecting both males and females, Culp (1998) found these issues were heightened for girls in the outdoors. As well, the constraint of peers was also a method used to negotiate this factor. For example, interaction with peers could encourage or reduce participation.

During childhood and adolescence, peers/friends have the greatest influence on level of physical activity (Thompson et al., 2003). Participants often became specifically involved in outdoor recreation because of their friends encouragement, but they were also very conscious of avoiding potentially embarrassing

situations where the same peers could ridicule them (Culp, 1998). James (2000) also reported the constraint and negative impact of peer ridicule when examining adolescent girls' participation in swimming. Therefore, research with children/youth should ensure gender differences are examined as experience with leisure may be varied.

Access to Physically Active Leisure

Increasing levels of physical inactivity among children/youth have drawn concern. A high level of inactivity is associated with negative health outcomes (e.g., increased risk of chronic disease, reduced social interaction skills, increased incidence of overweight and obesity, increased stress and depression) (Blair, & Morrow Jr., 1998; Katzmarzyk, Gledhill, & Shephard, 2000). Since children's leisure attitudes, behaviours and patterns set the precedence for adult behaviours, physical inactivity in childhood is even more problematic (Kuhl, & Cooper, 1992).

Physical inactivity has been identified more frequently for children/youth by girls. Welsman and Armstrong (2000) examined physical activity for youth in grades 7 and 10 (52 boys and 42 girls) using heart rate monitoring. Results showed, on average, girls were less active than boys. Furthermore, the older subjects spent less time in moderate and vigorous activity than the younger subjects.

Due to the negative health outcomes associated with high levels of inactivity, more research is needed to obtain a better understanding of the potential barriers which may restrict, prevent, or reduce children/youth's participation and/or enjoyment in physically active leisure. To promote physical activity in children and youth, we need to be able to address their specific leisure constraints. In particular, an examination of negotiation strategies they may be using is required. This research should include the use of objective measures (e.g., activity counts, heart rate monitoring) to ensure a valid and reliable account of physical activity.

Negotiation of Leisure Constraints by Children and Youth

The methods people may use to reduce or relieve leisure constraints are defined as "nego-tiation strategies" (Jackson, & Rucks, 1995). Negotiation strategies may include a combination of behavioural (e.g., time management, skills acquisition) and/or cognitive (e.g., ignoring the constraint, enjoying oneself despite the presence of the constraint) techniques (Jackson, Crawford, & Godbey, 1993).

In a study of youth and leisure, Jackson and Rucks (1995) found the most commonly used behavioural strategy was time management (e.g., organizing their time, scheduling participation), followed by skill acquisition (e.g., practicing, taking lessons). Some other less frequently reported strategies included: improving interpersonal relations, improving finances, physical therapy, modifying leisure aspirations, and other unspecified techniques.

In another study of youth which examined constraints faced by adolescent girls, James (2000) developed a typology of negotiation strategies used, including achievers, rationalizers, compromisers, spectators, and avoiders. The achievers were "oblivious to constraints"; the rationalizers "talk[ed] themselves into joining in"; the compromisers had coping strategies so they could minimally participate; the spectators were on "the fringes of participation"; and the avoiders "avoid[ed] participation wherever possible" (James, 2000, p. 271). To date, there is little empirical evidence as to the effect of negotiation on leisure by children and youth (Jackson, 2000). It has been hypothesized that, "the strength of motivations for leisure and the perceived importance of anticipated benefits encourage people to attempt and to be successful in the negotiation of constraints, and that, in turn, successful negotiation is positively related to enhanced leisure" (Jackson, 2000, p. 65). Yet, few studies have quantitatively examined whether people, particularly children and youth are actually able to continue participating, despite their leisure constraints. Thus the purpose of this paper is to address the following research questions: (1) What constraints to physically active leisure do children and youth experience? (2) Are children and youth able to negotiate constraints and continue participating at the same level as their non-constrained peers? The second question will be answered using an objective, empirical assessment of physical activity.

Methodology

Data reported in this paper are from a large-scale study examining levels of physical activity of children and youth living in Nova Scotia, Canada. Data collection took place between September 2001, and March 2002. Due to the large size of the project, the following paper only uses data from a portion of the project (for complete details of the study see Campagna et al., 2002).

In brief, leisure constraints were identified from a self-report questionnaire administered to children in grade 3 (with the assistance of a parent/caregiver) and youth in grades 7 and 11. Participants were asked to indicate if any of a number of listed factors (see Table 2) prevented or restricted their physical activity participation. The question was worded, "I would like to participate in physical activities but…" and participants were asked to check any boxes that were true. In addition to leisure constraints, the questionnaire examined a variety of topics related to physical and sedentary activities (e.g., typical activities, motivations, role models). In an envelope, questionnaires and informed consent forms were given to children and youth at their school and sent home to be completed and returned to their homeroom or designated instructor. A total of 6181 questionnaires were distributed and 3178 returned (51.4% response rate, see Table 1).

The second phase of the project was designed to measure the children/youth's physical activity levels. Students wore an activity monitor for seven consecutive days between September 2001 and March 2002. The activity monitor used in this study was the Computer Science and Applications Inc. (CSA) accelerometer (Actigraph model 7164) (Campagna et al., 2002). The CSA uniaxial accelerometer detects vertical accelerations ranging in magnitude from 0.05 to 2.00 Gs with a frequency response of 0.25 to 2.50 hertz. These parameters have been shown to allow for normal human motion with the rejection of high frequency vibrations from other sources. The acceleration signal is filtered and digitized with the magnitude summed over a user specified time interval. For the present study, a one-minute interval was used. At the end of each interval, the summed value or activity "count" was stored in memory and the numerical integrator reset. The activity counts represent the summed amount and magnitude of the accelerations.

The activity monitors were worn on the right hip to allow for measurement of whole body movements. Participants were instructed to wear the accelerometers during all waking hours. Although a total of 1742 (see Table 1) accelerometers were worn, only 1654 were analyzed due to mechanical problems or lost data. Before placing the monitor on the students' hip, height and weight were measured. Body height and weight were measured using the guidelines indicated in the Canadian Physical Activity, Fitness, and Lifestyle Appraisal manual (CSEP, 1998). This data was used to determine the students' Body Mass Index (BMI).

Data stored on the accelerometers were downloaded into an IBM compatible computer for analysis. The software categorized the physical activity counts per minute into light (<3 METS), moderate (3-5.9 METS), hard (6-8.9 METS), or very hard (>9 METS) activity. A MET (metabolic equivalent) is used as a measure of the intensity of physical activity, with 1 MET representing resting energy expenditure and 4 METS indicating four times the intensity of resting (Campagna et al., 2002).

Age specific count ranges corresponding to the above intensity (METS) levels were derived from an equation developed by Trost et al. (2000).

Table 1. The number of questionnaires returned for grades 3, 7, and 11 students.

	# Distributed	# Consent	# Wore Accelerometers	# Analyzed
Grade 3	2150	1243	588	575
Grade 7	1997	1256	590	558
Grade 11	2034	679	564	521

Table 2. Frequency of Leisure Constraints for Grade 3, 7, and 11 students.

Constraint	Grade 3		Grade 7		Grade 11	
	n	%	*n*	%	*n*	%
Cost	141	24.5	99	17.7	99	19.0
Too risky	19	3.3	28	5.0	7	1.3
No companion	57	9.9	116	20.8	119	22.8
Distance	71	12.3	91	16.3	79	15.2
Not allowed	24	4.2	38	6.8	11	2.1
Fear of night	30	5.2	16	2.9	7	1.3
No location	57	9.9	51	9.1	81	15.5
No equipment	63	11	75	13.4	92	17.7
School work	60	10.4	147	26.3	237	45.5
Weather	44	7.7	92	16.5	91	17.5
Sickness or injury	30	5.2	90	16.1	84	16.1
Not interested	24	4.2	34	6.1	23	4.4
Alcohol or drugs	N.A.*	N.A.*	5	0.9	11	2.1
Smoking	N.A.*	N.A.*	4	0.7	24	4.6
Job	N.A.*	N.A.*	7	1.3	112	21.5
Friends	N.A.*	N.A.*	14	2.5	21	4.0

*N.A. = Not asked

METS = 2.757 + (0.0015 x counts/min) – (0.08957 x age [yrs]) – (0.000038 x counts/min x age [yrs])

Only physical activity data collected on five or more days were used in the final analysis.

Descriptive data were used to detail the participants' demographics. Next, frequencies were calculated to obtain the number of constraints children/youth were negotiating. Chi-square statistics were used to determine the relationships between constraints, gender, and grade. To determine whether participants who reported experiencing each of the constraints had higher levels of physical activity counts, data were analyzed using analysis of variance (ANOVA). It was also used to examine whether participants reporting being constrained had higher levels of BMI. A level of significance of p<0.05 was accepted.

Results

The Participants

Since the main focus of this paper was to examine negotiation of constraints, only participants with questionnaire and accelerometer data were included in the analysis (n=1654). The participants were equally represented from six different regions of Nova Scotia. For grade 3, there were a similar number of girls (n=286, 49.7%) and boys (n=289, 50.3%), ranging in age from seven to nine years (mode=eight years). For the grade 7s, there were slightly more girls (n=283, 50.7%) than boys (n=275, 49.3%), ranging in age from 11 to 14 years (mode=12 years). Finally, for the grade 11s, there was more girls (n=293, 56.2%) than boys (n=228, 43.8%), ranging in age from 15 to 19 years (mode=16 years).

Number of Constraints

The quantity of constraints was analyzed to understand the participants' experience of leisure constraints. The majority (85.9%) of participants reported 10 or less constraints, with a range of 0 to 17. There were significant differences (p=0.000) between the children and youth. Specifically, students in grades 7 and 11 reported a similar but smaller number of constraints than the grade 3s. No gender differences were evident.

Type of Constraints

The specific types of constraints examined in this project included: cost, distance, lack of equipment, lack of companions, lack of facili-

ties/place, school work commitments, poor weather, sickness or injury, fear of going out at night, lack of interest, lack of permission, and fear of risk/danger (see Table 2). The grade 7s and 11s were also asked about friends, paid work commitments, and whether smoking, drugs or alcohol constrained their participation. The three most commonly reported constraints by the grade 3s included cost (n=141, 24.5%), distance (n=71, 12.3%), and a lack of equipment (n=63, 11%). Grade 7 and 11 students identified the same top two constraints: too much school work (n=147 or 26.3%, and 237 or 45.5%, respectively) and a lack of partners (n=116 or 20.8%, and 119 or 22.8%, respectively). The third most frequently reported barriers were different with grade 7s identifying cost (n=99, 17.7%) and grade 11s identifying paid work commitments (n=112, 21.5%).

Type of Constraints by Gender and Age

Chi-square statistics were used to examine the relationship between constraints, gender, and age. In grade 3, the constraint reported more frequently by the girls (n=23, χ^2=9.180, df=1, p=0.002) than the boys (n=7) was the fear of going out at night. Similarly, in grade 7, the fear of going out at night was reported more frequently in the girls (n=13, χ^2=6.144, df=1, p=0.013) than the boys (n=3). Other constraints more commonly identified by the girls included a lack of companions (26.1% vs. 15.3%, p=0.002) and too much schoolwork (30.4% vs. 20.2%, p=0.028). When examining constraints identified by grade 11 students, gender differences were evident for two factors. Similar to grade 7 girls, lack of companions (27% vs. 17.5%, p=0.011) and too much schoolwork (54.9% vs. 33.3%, p=0.000) were identified significantly more often in the grade 11 girls than the boys. There were no other gender differences in constraints reported for the grade 11s.

Negotiation of Constraints and Physical Activity

To understand the ultimate impact of constraints on overall level of physical activity, an objective measure of physical activity was used. Specifically, accelerometer data that registered physical activity counts of moderate or higher (i.e., greater than 3 METs) levels were averaged for the seven days and compared to the constraints reported lower intensity counts were not included in these analyses since at least a moderate intensity of physical activity is needed to obtain health benefits. For the grade 3s, the average amount of physical activity was 174.83 ± 54.21 minutes per day. The grade 7s obtained less than half of this amount, with 85.19 ± 36.12 minutes per day. The grade 11s obtained 34.06 ± 21.00 minutes per day. ANOVA was then used to compare the level of physical activity in the constrained vs. not constrained children.

For grade 3s, the constraint of distance was significantly related to lower physical activity levels. The students who identified "too far away" as a barrier obtained fewer minutes of physical activity (Mean=160.18, SD=57.21, F=5.96, df=1, p=0.015) than those who did not report this variable (Mean=176.89 SD=53.5). The activity levels were, however, still relatively high (only 14 minutes per day less than the mean). Thus the grade 3 students continued with relatively high levels of participation despite their identification of this constraint. No other significant differences were found in the grad 3s. In the grade 7s, there were no significant differences in the physical activity levels of those constrained vs. non-constrained. In grade 11, the individuals who identified the constraint "too much school work" had significantly lower physical activity levels (Mean=30.70 minutes, SD=17.23) than those who did not identify this constraint (Mean=36.85 minutes, SD=23.35, F=11.31, df=1, p=0.001).

Therefore, the presence of constraints did not significantly affect physical activity participation for the majority of the students. It should be noted that despite identifying constraints, the students still had relatively high activity counts. There were only two constraints that significantly influenced physical activity counts in any grade. In grade 3, distance was identified and in grade 11 too much schoolwork. The physical activity level of grade 7s was not significantly influenced by constraints.

Negotiation of Constraints and Obesity

Another aspect examined in this study was the negotiation of constraints in students considered obese. The Centre for Disease Control

Table 3. Center for Disease Control Body Mass Index classification.

Weight	Percentile
Healthy weight	< 85th percentile for age and gender
Overweight	> 85th to < 95th percentile for age and gender
Obese	> 95th percentile for age and gender

(CDC) age- and gender-specific criteria for Body Mass Index (BMI) was used to define overweight and obesity. ANOVA was used for these analyses.

The grade 3 students had a mean BMI of 18.43 ± 3.87 with, 59.3% considered normal weight, 21.2% overweight, and 19.5% obese. The mean BMI for the grade 7 students was 21.5 ± 5.07 with 61.6% considered normal weight, 18.5% overweight, and 19.9% obese. For the grade 11 students, the mean BMI was 23.29 ± 4.4 which resulted in 71.5% classified as normal weight, 16.9% as overweight, and 11.5% as obese.

No significant differences were found between BMI and constraints in the grade 3s and 7s. In the grade 11, the students reporting the constraint "smoking" had higher BMIs than their peers (Mean=25.1, SD=6.5, F=4.55, df=1, p=0.04).

Discussion and Recommendations

There is an increasing body of literature on the leisure constraints of adolescents; however, a scarcity of information is available on issues facing children. With the increasing prevalence of childhood obesity (Tremblay, & Wilms, 2000), the examination of leisure constraints facing children and adolescents is of particular concern.

Although the constraints identified by the children/adolescents in this study have been previously documented in research with other older populations, the experiences of the participants in this study are of significance to understand their unique context. The participants identified a number of constraints categorized as structural, interpersonal, and intrapersonal (Crawford, & Godbey, 1987; Crawford, Jackson, & Godbey, 1991).

The most prevalent constraints identified by the grade 3s were structural (e.g., cost, geographic location, lack of equipment). Perhaps as Jackson (2000) suggested these are antecedent constraints that must be addressed before other variables can be considered. The existence of such structural constraints has the potential to reduce or repress opportunities for children to engage in physically active leisure. As a result, they may not have the chance to engage in meaningful leisure activities in which they can express and develop a sense of self and identity.

Another intrapersonal constraint affecting the grade 3 girls was fear of going out at night. Fear, as a constraint, has been increasingly cited in relation to girls and women (Arnold, & Shinew, 1998; James, 2000; Lim, Turco, & Wachter, 2001; Whyte, & Shaw, 1997). Yet, much of the research reported is with adolescents or older women. Little research has incorporated children. As early as grade 3 (seven to nine years), girls are developing a fear of going out at night. Since there is only a short amount of daylight after school, particularly in the winter months, this leaves a minimal amount of time for leisure in the outdoors or public venues. Is the home being used as an alternative site for satisfying leisure opportunities by girls? Or are girls restricted to the private sphere or home as Wearing (1998) suggests and being restricted from public participation? What factors lead to fear as a constraint at such a young age? Berman (2001) provided one explanation for girls' fear of violence. In focus groups conducted with girls and young women examining their expectations of violence, she found that girls "experience explicit and subtle forms of violence" such that "despite growing up in loving homes, many young women encounter violence in their everyday lives. Particularly disturbing is the degree to which insidious forms of violence are condoned, sanctioned, and tolerated" (Berman, 2001, p.1). The participants in the current study provide support for this experience with violence, and of particular concern is their very young age.

When examining whether children's physical activity levels and Body Mass Index were affected by constraints, the only significant

relationship found was between physical activity and distance. One of the most frequently reported constraints by the children appears to have a direct impact upon their ability/opportunity to participate in physically active leisure. They have not ceased and, in fact, have only minimally reduced their involvement, as those who reported this constraint only participated (on average) 14 minutes less than those who did not. This finding provides empirical support for the concept of negotiation (Jackson, Crawford, & Godbey, 1993). Despite the presence of an identified constraint, the children continue to retain high levels of participation. Their activity levels suggest that they seem to be able to resist the leisure constraint of distance and continue to engage in physical activity. Their enjoyment and subjective leisure experience, however, is presently unknown. Future research should combine qualitative data and an objective assessment of physical activity (e.g., accelerometers) to contextualize participants' experiences.

For the grade 7s and 11s, a combination of structural (school work) and interpersonal (lack of partners) constraints were listed most frequently. Structural constraints have the potential to reduce or restrict youths' opportunities for leisure. Due to the increasing importance and demands associated with obtaining an education (and also higher education) within society, the physically active leisure of grade 7 and 11 youth is potentially reduced. Girls reported schoolwork as a constraint more often than boys. Perhaps, pressures to obtain an education may be experienced more often by girls than boys, at least in terms of having a carry-over effect on their access to physically active leisure. The higher importance placed on certain types of learning (e.g., academic), rather than experiential and interactional may be reducing youth's opportunities to engage in physical activity.

The significance of peers and relationships as a constraint for adolescents has been widely documented (Culp, 1998; Jackson & Rucks, 1995; James, 2000). This constraint, however, can also be a negotiation strategy as peers can encourage and facilitate participation (Culp, 1998). For the current project, this constraint was reported significantly more often by girls.

Culp (1998) found similar results in an examination of adolescent girls' experiences with outdoor recreation. In fact, "in all the focus groups it emerged as one of the three most discussed topics" (Culp, 1998, p. 367). Therefore, relationships play an important role in adolescents' leisure experiences, both to constrain and facilitate it.

Other structural constraints identified more frequently by the grade 7s and 11s were cost and paid work, respectively. Cost has been examined in relation to the grade 3s and, as Jackson (2000) noted, tends to be one of the most commonly identified constraints (along with time). Paid work is a relatively new constraint to examine for adolescents. The impact of paid employment upon leisure is more often aligned with adults. Perhaps the importance of this constraint is linked to that of schoolwork as adolescents are having to work and study harder to gain access into the university/college academic setting. Other youth may be pushed into employment due to the increasing divide between upper and lower income brackets. Further research is needed to examine whether youth are working more hours and attending school. There are obvious leisure implications from engagement in a large quantity of paid employment; in particular, the amount of leisure time will be dramatically reduced.

The only significant constraint was with Body Mass Index and smoking. For the grade 11s, a higher BMI was associated with smoking. This finding is contrary to a popular belief about the effect of smoking as an appetite suppressant. If such a belief held true, it would be expected that the BMIs of those reporting smoking would be lower than those who did not. Michell and Amos (1997) and Rugkasa et al (2001) provide support for another explanation for smoking as a leisure constraint. Instead of smoking constraining their leisure, the youth may instead be using smoking as a form of resistance to authority and a form of independence and autonomy. When examining adolescents smoking behaviours and peer group structures, Michell and Amos (1997) and Michell (1997) found girls at the "top of the pecking order" or those who were seen as the "top pupils" were more likely to smoke, while

boys at the upper levels were slightly protected by their greater pursuit of physically active sports (e.g., football, physical fitness). The girls used cigarettes and smoking to enhance their sexual identity and self-image. Similarly, based on data from interviews with 85 children (10-11 years old) in Northern Ireland Rugkasa et al. (2001) reported that although few of the participants smoked (about $\frac{1}{4}$) and fewer classified themselves as addicted (only one participant), they had very positive images of smoking. For the children, smoking was described as one way of obtaining perceived control over their lives, in contrast to adults who tend to describe smoking as a way of losing control. Children were also motivated to smoke by the status of being "cool" and "hard" (Rugkasa et al., 2001, p. 600). Therefore, smoking may not be a leisure constraint but a response to the experience of constraints or simply a method of illustrating status.

This study provides an important initial examination of leisure constraints and negotiation by children and adolescents. A limitation of this study is the inability to add a context to the participants' negotiation strategies. Although it was possible to determine whether they continued or ceased participation in physically active leisure, the particular strategies they used could not be delineated. Future research is needed to continue to empirically document physically active leisure negotiation by children and youth. In order to promote physical activity, a greater understanding of constraints and the participants experience with them is needed. In particular, the impact of structural constraints (such as cost, paid employment, and schoolwork), the intrapersonal constraint of fear, and the role of smoking (as a constraint or a form of identity) in the lives of children and youth require greater exploration.

Acknowledgements

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Globalization and the Values of Volunteering as Leisure

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Abstract

Cultural globalization may be a way to foster the values of volunteering as a leisure experience. Volunteerism may offer one way to bring people together to address the problems of local communities as well as the global village. Defining volunteering is complicated because it is a cultural activity that is conditioned by multiple factors including ethnic traditions, religious beliefs, and legal regulations. In countries around the world, however, people in governmental as well as not for profit organizations are realizing the economic and social benefits of volunteering. An implication of globalization may be opportunities to share information about volunteering and how volunteers use their energy to supplement human capital as well as social services. Three related but distinct dimensions are discussed regarding volunteerism and how it relates to leisure and recreation including individual, organizational, and community aspects. In a globalized world where it is easy to become disillusioned with feelings of powerlessness, volunteerism might be a leisure activity that offers ways to express individual interests as well as to foster community and global commitments.

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Globalization has economic, political, and cultural implications (Moghadam, 1999). Finances, organizations, ideas, discourses, and people have an increasingly global or transnational form. Globalization is resulting in an integration and rapid interaction of economies through production, trade, and financial transactions by multinational corporations. In addition, it can result in worldwide cultural standardization since it has been largely shaped by western lifestyles and structures like air travel, color TV, and super computers. Forms of cultural globalization, although criticized for leading to a hybrid identity that can overshadow traditional patterns, may also be a way to share the values of volunteering as a leisure experience.

Greater interconnectedness among the world's people through globalization promises a global village where divisions of the past are replaced with global cooperation and an enriching diversity. This "world without national economic borders" will suppos-

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edly enhance the welfare of people (DAWN, 2001). Economic efficiency as an aspect of technology, however, can become more important than compassion or justice, and natural resources may be exploited without reverence (Abraham, 1996). The challenge of globalization, therefore, is to examine the meanings of informal relationships, supportive environments, and community connections as well as to develop human capital through education, preventive health, leisure, and supportive family policies.

Volunteerism offers one way to address issues in local communities as well as within the global village. The globalization of volunteering as a leisure undertaking may have positive outcomes if its dimensions are more fully understood. Volunteerism has been described as "a means and an expression of a democratic society" (Ascoli & Cnaan, 1997, p. 229). If this statement is true, then volunteerism may be one aspect of cultural globalism that can be an antidote to local as well as transnational problems. Similarly, leisure is usually connoted as possessing elements of choice and subjective well-being. No matter how many problems globalization creates, models of volunteerism as leisure may offer opportunities for greater choice and cooperation, and for the development of a more caring world. The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to discuss how volunteerism as one embodiment of leisure might contribute to local and global communities.

Roots of Volunteerism

Volunteering refers to any activity in which an individual gives freely to benefit other people, groups, or organizations (Henderson & Silverberg, 2002). Defining volunteering, however, is complicated because it is a cultural activity that is conditioned by multiple factors including ethnic traditions, religious beliefs, and legal regulations (Carson, 1999). Volunteering might assume the form of helping activities such as voluntary association membership, activism, donations, community service, neighborliness, experiential learning,

corporate social responsibility, friends groups, self-help, public service, service learning, and community involvement. A single definition cannot cover the different manifestations across cultures and is likely to have inherent biases. For example, some cultures such as the dominant US culture might define volunteering as occurring in a formal structured sense, while others might consider volunteering to be inherent to day to day life in a community. The commonality of all these forms of volunteering, however, is the way that people interact with one another and form relationships that enhance everyone's quality of life.

Although volunteering has occurred for centuries around the world, it has a deep-seated tradition in the US where more time is spent in formal volunteering than in any other nation (Powers, 1998). The amount of time spent volunteering appears to be increasing in the US in every age group except the very old. The amount of time spent in informal (i.e., unstructured community activities) volunteering, however, which is more likely to occur in some racial and ethnic groups and nationalities is difficult to measure both within the US and abroad (Carson, 1999). Traditional measurements have been reflected in the numbers of people who volunteer in structured events or associations as well as calculating the economic impact of volunteering. For example, a study in Europe estimated that every dollar invested in volunteering brought eight dollars of value in return (Smith, 2001).

In countries around the globe, people in governmental as well as not for profit organizations are realizing the economic and social benefits of volunteering. An emerging role exists in advocating for volunteering and using volunteers to supplement human capital as well as social services. Three related but distinct dimensions will be discussed regarding volunteerism and how it relates to leisure and recreation. These dimensions include individual, organizational, and community aspects.

Individual Dimensions

Volunteering always has a personal dimension that links it to motivations and satisfactions that can be compared to leisure. Limited research has been undertaken to describe how volunteering possesses both characteristics of work as well as leisure (Henderson & Silverberg, 2002). Stebbins (2000) described how volunteering might be casual or serious. Serious, career, or formal volunteering refers to involvement with a substantial commitment and an identity associated with volunteering, such as activities that might be undertaken in the free time of an amateur or hobbyist. Casual or informal volunteering might include immediate, lend-a-hand activities that generally do not require a long-term commitment. Parker (1997) also identified a number of different types of volunteering including altruistic, market, cause-serving, and leisure. He suggested that each type of volunteering contributes something different to the individual. Burden (2000) noted that when volunteering provides for individual self-actualization and community self-direction, a term she referred to as "collaborative individualism," it could be considered leisure.

Individuals choose to volunteer for many reasons. Wilson's (2000) US analysis noted that people volunteer because of their personal characteristics (e.g., age, education, expertise), their relationships (e.g., parent, citizen), and their community context (e.g., values and needs). Wilson suggested that a society that values volunteering is more likely to have individuals involved in volunteering. Social factors, such as level of education, are also predictors of volunteering. Wilson noted that social networks, organizational memberships, and prior volunteer experiences increase an individual's chances for volunteering. Individual acts of volunteering are tied closely to the development of social networks and social action, which might lead to the generation of social support for an individual within a global society.

Motivations for volunteering differ among individuals as well as among social groups. Some groups, such as Latinos/Latinas, are more likely to volunteer in community-based organizations based on familial and group contexts (Hobbs, 2001). Globalization opens up the opportunities for a broader understanding of what volunteering has to contribute to individual leisure as well as to making communities better for all. Globalization may expand an understanding of the interdependence of individual and community outcomes of volunteerism, and how and why all forms of serious and casual volunteering might be important.

Organizational Dimensions

Government and nongovernmental organizations can provide a better quality of life for citizens through the use of volunteers. Volunteers should not supplant paid workers, but ought to supplement services that might be needed or desired. For example, managing volunteers with a variety of backgrounds and characteristics is an important dimension for leisure and recreation professionals to consider in facilitating and extending leisure opportunities and services. If serious volunteering is to occur in organizations, then time and energy must be invested by the organization to recruit, train, supervise, and reward these individuals. Obtaining the most from volunteers requires careful planning and consideration.

Although the organizational uses of volunteers are important, a thorough discussion of volunteer management is outside the scope of this paper. It is important to recognize, however, that many organizations including leisure and recreation service providers have a role to play in effectively working with volunteers. To facilitate volunteerism as a leisure opportunity, professionals must appreciate individual motivations and the potential of volunteering to assist with value-added services. Since by definition volunteering within organizations is a choice, dimensions of leisure can certainly exist in any type of voluntary, freely chosen activity

Community Dimensions

Volunteering is an exchange where both the giver and the receiver benefit in equal

measure (Smith, 2001). Most people agree that volunteering is beneficial for individuals who are giving assistance as well as for the organizations and communities that receive input and help. For example, research by Arai (1996; 2000), Pedlar (1996), and Arai and Pedlar (1997) showed how citizen participation in planning in Canada was a form of leisure that provided individual benefits such as developing new skills as well as benefiting the community by influencing change. These researchers found that volunteers who provided community input through volunteering made communities better places to live. Paolicchi (1995) described how volunteers in Italy saw the benefits of volunteering to include creating a better society, meeting people, and feeling active and not isolated. Parker (1997) noted that all types of volunteering contribute to communities and implied that volunteering done for any reason, similar to what Burden (2000) concluded, can contribute to social capital.

Recent literature has implied how volunteering might offer a means to explore social capital. According to Putnam (1995), communities may be better places to live because of social capital. Social capital may be found in social relations, such as volunteering, that provide a resource for action. Arai (2000) suggested that social capital is able to "link network analysis and social action to the development of trust in modern society" (p. 331). When social capital is present, individuals presumably act more effectively (Hemingway, 1999). Presumably the more social capital available to individuals, the more that is available to societies. Putnam and Arai argued that the more people connect with each other on a face-to-face basis within the community, the more they trust each other. Volunteering offers such an opportunity. Having social capital, just as having volunteer opportunities, is not going to automatically solve community problems. Nevertheless, organizations (e.g., leisure service organizations) and actions (e.g., volunteering) may be needed locally as well as globally as a possible way to begin to

address the powerlessness that can be brought about by globalization.

Globalization and Volunteering

Globalization has implications for social outcomes as well as economic and political impacts. Therefore, as the benefits of globalization are extolled, and as the consequences are critiqued, recreation and leisure professionals must be aware of the ways that volunteering as leisure can create a better world. Opportunities to engage with others are necessary to build a global society.

In a globalized world where it is easy to become disillusioned with feelings of powerlessness, volunteerism as one aspect of leisure may offer a way to develop personal and social connections. When a sense of isolation and segmentation exists, people may retreat into their lifestyles of consumption with the concomitant erosion of a commitment to the public good. People who have to cope with problems such as declining income, growing inequality in wealth and income, decaying public infrastructures, pervasive crime, and declining access to health services may react by retreating into seclusion or with anger. Opportunities for structured leisure experiences as well as voluntary action may help individuals and communities come together to develop and protect individual and community resources. At this time volunteer and leisure opportunities are most needed. Volunteerism can be a leisure activity that offers ways to express one's individual interests as well as promote community and global interactions.

Arai and Pedlar (1997) suggested that volunteering within a community, as a leisure activity is a way to empower people. When people "play" together in leisure and sport activities, or when they have opportunities to volunteer within their communities, they have the potential to nurture caring communities. The rewards of volunteering may be good for the individual, the organization, the community, and hopefully the larger world. Volunteering represents an opportunity for value-

added recreation programs. Innovative forms of volunteerism are also emerging such as using the Internet and World Wide Web to share information and develop a global sort of social capital.

Leisure cannot be disconnected from its social context. We need to examine how social networks are created in volunteerism and other leisure activities and how various opportunities to express leisure might be a global resource. Professionals in leisure services need to examine the models for volunteerism and citizenship that have been developed and apply them in new contexts. The globalization of volunteering as a means for developing civil societies is a goal that leisure service professions must examine and understand.

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Volunteering for nature: Motivations for participating in a biodiversity conservation volunteer program

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Abstract

Understanding volunteer motivations for participating in nature conservation programs is an important element in the design and provision of programs intended to harness the increasingly important talents and labour that volunteers bring to conservation programs. The purpose of this paper is to highlight the motivations of participants in Volunteer for Nature, an Ontario-based nature conservation program. The study was framed within a social psychology theoretical perspective and qualitative methods were used. The participants were female and male volunteers ranging in age from 17 to 63 years old. Key motives for participating in the volunteer conservation vacation program included: 1) pleasure seeking, 2) program "perks," 3) "place" and nature-based context, 4) leaving a legacy, and 5) altruism. The study reinforces much of the theoretical literature already existing on volunteers including volunteering as a leisure activity and motives associated with volunteering. However two unique points are explored: 1) the distinctive nature-based volunteering context, and 2) the "value-added" nature of volunteering vacations. Further, conceptual linkages with concepts such as serious leisure are discussed. An increased understanding of volunteer tourists who participate in nature conservation programs is the greatest contribution of this study.

Keywords: *leisure, volunteer, nature conservation, motivation, volunteer tourism.*

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Introduction

In recent years significant reductions in budgeting support has been experienced by protected areas (Eagles, 1995; James, Kanyamibwa, & Green, 2001; van Sickle & Eagles, 1998) and parks and recreation programs (Backman, Wicks, & Silverberg, 1997; Crompton, 1999). As a result many parks and recreation agencies are increasingly looking for alternative means of achieving their biodiversity conservation and recreation provision mandates. Non-government organizations (NGOs) and government agencies charged with managing biologically significant and recreation-oriented areas are expanding the use of volunteers in their programs to conserve biodiversity, foster healthy environments and operate recreation and conservation programs. Understanding these volunteers, their contributions to the projects they work on, the motives that influence their decision to participate, the benefits and constraints they experience, and so on, continues to be studied by leisure researchers and others (e.g. Arai, 2000; Backman, Wicks & Silverberg, 1997; Cuskelly & Harrington, 1997; Stebbins, 1996; 1998; 1999; 2000). However less attention has been focused on volunteers specifically in-

volved in conservation projects, or who combine a travel experience with volunteering; exceptions include: McGehee (2002) and Wearing and Neil (2001). This study begins to address this gap in the research, and features an emphasis on the study of volunteer motivation.

Concepts, Background and Purpose

Concepts Defined

Many definitions and dimensions of volunteering have been identified in the literature (Arai, 2000; Caldwell & Andereck, 1994; Clary, Stukas, Snyder, Copland, Haugen, & Miene, 1998; Stebbins, 1998, 1999, 2000; Wearing, 2000). These were used to help frame this study, along with the social-psychological concepts of motivations and benefits. These are elaborated on below.

Volunteerism in this study is defined as an uncoerced and nonremunerated helping activity (Stebbins, 2000). This is in contrast to Cuskelly and Harrington's (1997) definition which incorporates the ongoing debate within the research community on whether volunteering is work or leisure; they define volunteering as an altruistic, service oriented activity which often involves obligation. The role of self-determination or sense of choice, an essential element in leisure activities (Deci & Ryan, 1985; 1991), is used by volunteerism researchers to divide volunteering activities into leisure and work, and is also an essential component of this study's conceptualization of volunteerism.

According to Wearing (2001) volunteer tourism is different from other types of tourism or volunteering. Volunteer tourists are those individuals

> who, for various reasons, volunteer in an organised way to undertake holidays that might involve aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments or research into aspects of society or environment (Wearing, 2001, p. 1).

Individuals are motivated to achieve certain desired benefits, be they physical, emotional, social or psychological. Volunteering is one way of achieving benefits, or "change that is viewed to be advantageous – an improvement in condition, or a gain to an individual, a

group, to society, or to another entity" (Driver, Brown & Peterson, 1991, p. 4). Benefits are synonymous with needs satisfaction and experience expectations (Mannell, 1999). Individuals consciously and unconsciously strive or are motivated to reach satisfaction through activities, which address their needs and achieve desired benefits. Iso Ahola (1989) describes a motive as an internal factor that arouses and directs human behaviour and is the search for some optimum level of arousal or general stimulation that underlies most psychological motives. Volunteering is motivated by both intrinsic (e.g., pleasure) and extrinsic rewards (e.g., developing work related skills). Pelletier, Green-Demers, Tuson, Noels and Beaton's (1998) definitions of these terms were used to further understand motivation:

> Intrinsic motivation is defined as the innate tendency to engage in an activity for the sole pleasure and satisfaction derived from its practice. An intrinsically motivated individual acts out of personal choice and interest. The behaviour is an end in itself. Extrinsic motivation underlies instrumental behaviours (Deci, 1975). The individual is not interested in the activity for its own sake. The goal of the behaviour is to bring about positive consequences or to avoid negative ones. (p. 441)

Many studies have attempted to explain the motivations of volunteers, several of these are described below. However few studies have examined volunteers who work on conservation projects or who combine travel and volunteering as a joint activity.

In general two principal motives have been identified with volunteering: Altruism (helping others) and self-interest (helping oneself) (Stebbins, 1998). However many other motives are affiliated with volunteering; studies of volunteers who have participated in nature-based or wildlife oriented projects are elaborated on below.

In Kidd, Kidd, and Zasloff's (1996) study the most frequently cited motives for volunteering in wildlife rehabilitation projects were a desire to help injured animals, enjoying "hands-on" nurturing, "making a difference,"

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assuaging concerns for the environment, and believing it is important to save animals. Additionally, in a study by Ordubegian and Eagles (1990) volunteers working on a birding atlas identified a sense of duty, a sense of purpose and commitment, skill use, learning, challenge, competition, family bonding, enjoyment, community, global welfare and situational factors of location and time as motivating factors in their participation. They also noted that a loss of any one of these, but especially fun and enjoyment and the sense of challenge, reduced or ended the volunteers' participation in the project. Additional studies include: Wearing and Neil's (2000) examination of tourism volunteer's refiguration of self and identify; and Pelletier et al.'s (1998) development of a Motivation Toward the Environment Scale.

Furthermore, studies which examined the motivations of volunteers who work in park-like settings include: Deery and Jago's (2001) comparison of paid versus voluntary parks and recreation workers; Silverberg et al.'s (2001) exploration of park and recreation volunteers' job satisfaction; Raymond's (2000) investigation of the loyalty construct in "Friends" groups' members who work with national parks; Silverberg et al.'s (2000) study of park volunteers using a psychological functionalist approach; Caldwell and Andereck's (1994) analysis of membership in recreation-related voluntary organizations; and Dennis and Zube's (1988) exploration of the link between recreational behaviour and voluntary associations.

Busser and Norwalk (2001) stress two final aspects of volunteer motives. The first is that volunteer motivations should not be considered as distinct and static forces and are more likely a combination of dynamic influences that overlap and evolve in such a way as to satisfy an individual's unique needs. They go on to suggest that Backman, et al.'s (1997) continuum between altruistic and self-serving or egoistic motives is a good means of visualizing the fluidity of volunteers' reasons for volunteering in different tasks and at different times. The evolving and dynamic nature of volunteer motivations that Busser and Norwalk describe highlights the need for continued study on volunteers.

Purpose and background

This paper reports on the findings of a study on volunteers who participated in Volunteer for Nature, an Ontario-based biodiversity conservation program. The authors of this paper collaborated with the providers of this program, the Nature Conservancy of Canada (NCC) and The Federation of Ontario Naturalists (FON) to evaluate the ability of the program to meet its goal of providing "people with the opportunity to work together, learn skills and participate in hands-on conservation projects throughout Ontario" (FON/NCC, 2002 p. 2).

One of the shared objectives of the program evaluation was to achieve a better understanding of volunteer motivations for participating in the Volunteer for Nature program. This paper reports on these findings. The researchers and program directors believed that through a better understanding of volunteer motivation for participating in the program, the program's enrolment and repeat participation could be increased. Given the unique context in which the Volunteer for Nature program takes place, the increasing role that nature-oriented volunteering plays in biodiversity conservation programs and the relative paucity of literature on nature-based volunteering, especially nature volunteering which involves travel, a study of nature-conservation volunteer tourists was deemed to be timely and relevant to both practitioners and researchers.

Methodology

Study Setting

This paper focused on volunteers who participated in the multi-day working vacations organised by The Federation of Ontario Naturalists. Some of the volunteer projects occurred in parks, others in conservation areas. The volunteers took part in a number of projects that included: creating and restoring habitat; constructing nature trails; conducting ecological surveys; or improving facilities in natural areas. Furthermore, while "working" on the projects the volunteers had the opportunity to partake in hiking, scenic viewing, wildlife watching, and camping. All expenses and transportation were the responsibility of the participants. However,

food and accommodations were provided by the program coordinators.

Guiding Framework

Gaining a better understanding of the motivations of the volunteers through their experiences in the Volunteer for Nature program was the primary objective of this study. This paper was a phenomenological study because it attempted to identify and described the subjective experiences of the volunteers in order to understand their motivations (Creswell, 1994; Crotty, 1998; Patton, 1990). The study was also approached from a social psychology theoretical perspective which enabled the researchers to document the personal and subjective meanings that the participants in the Volunteer for Nature program attached to their experience, and how the situation and their interaction with other volunteers influenced this meaning (Mannell & Kleiber, 1997).

Based on the study's purpose and research questions qualitative methods were deemed most suitable for the study. Few studies on volunteers have utilized a qualitative, naturalistic inquiry approach; recent exceptions include Arai (2000), Burden (2000), Phillimore (2001), Ordubegian and Eagles (1990), and Wearing and Neil (2001). Qualitative methods are also the most suitable approach for the study of process and meanings.

Data Collection

At the initial stage of the research a focus group and one face-to-face interview was conducted as a means of pre-testing the interview schedule (Berg, 1989). The interview schedule was then revised based on this initial trial and reflections by the researchers. Due to time and budgetary constraints, telephone interviews were finally chosen for the method of data collection. Advantages[1] of conducting telephone interviews include: 1) a high response rate; 2) correction of obvious misunderstandings; 3) the use of probes; 4) the lower cost in terms of time, effort and money if the research participants are geographically dispersed; 5) allows the researcher some "control" over the line of questioning; and 6) participants may be

more relaxed in answering controversial or sensitive questions because there is no face-to-face contact (Babbie, 2001; Creswell, 1994; Robson, 1993).

As previously mentioned, the researchers of this paper collaborated with two NGOs, the Nature Conservancy of Canada (NCC) and the Federation of Ontario Naturalists (FON). The researchers were to provide an evaluation of the program for the NGOs along with understanding the volunteer experience. NCC and FON supplied the researchers a randomly selected list of volunteers (20 in total) who have worked on conservation projects in Ontario. NCC and FON made the first contact with these volunteers to brief them on the study and to gain permission for the researchers to contact them. Following the initial contact from the NGOs the researchers sent letters to all 20 of the volunteers explaining the purpose of the study and inviting them to participate in the study. The interview schedule was also sent to the participants prior to the telephone interview to allow them time to prepare and initiate the process of recalling the volunteering experience. Ten volunteers, five females and five males agreed to participate in the study. Interviews with the remaining ten volunteers were not feasible due to time constraints. The volunteers who participated in the study were all based in cities and small towns located in southern Ontario and ranged from 17 to 63 years of age.

As mentioned above, semi-structured telephone interviews were used to collect the data. Informed consent was obtained from the volunteers prior to the commencement of the interview. All interviews were recorded on audiocassette with the participants' permission and interviews were transcribed verbatim. Examples of questions used to understand the volunteers' motives included:

■ What is the most satisfying thing about being a volunteer who work for nature?

■ Why did you participate in Volunteer for Nature program?

■ What have you gained personally by participating on a Volunteer for Nature project?

■ How does volunteering make you feel about yourself?

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[1] Disadvantages are discussed in the "Limitation of Study" section of this paper.

■ What do you feel you contribute by volunteering on a Volunteer for Nature project?

At the beginning of the interview, participants were read a script, similar to the correspondence that they had already received, which described the project, ethical considerations and the rights of the participants in the research process. Assurances of anonymity and feedback on the findings of the study were provided. Each interview was 20 to 50 minutes in length, and was ended with a prompt for additional questions or issues from the participants. During the interview process, the researchers also probed beyond the scope of their original questions. Two months after the interview, the participants were sent feedback in the form of a newsletter describing study highlights. Constant debriefing occurred between the researchers as they completed each interview adding to the credibility (or internal validity) of the study (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Data Analysis and Interpretation

Data collection and analysis occurred over a seven month period. The transcripts were organised and analysed using the qualitative computer software program, NVivo. The program was used to code and arrange data based on the major patterns and themes that were identified by the researchers from the transcripts (Silverman, 1993). These themes were expressed by most if not all the participants. Although, frequency of a particular comment was important in identifying themes, the "centrality of a meaning" to an individual's discussion of his or her understanding and interpretation of the experience was also used to justify the selection of participants' comments and development of emergent themes (Freysinger, 1995). Once the themes were finalised, they were compared with findings in theoretical literature. The following themes were used to explain the motivations of volunteers: pleasure seeking, "perks" from volunteering in nature conservation projects, leaving a legacy, attachment to a place, and altruism. These themes will be explored further in the Findings section of this paper.

Limitations of Study

Throughout the study great effort was made to ensure the study's credibility, transfer-

ability and dependability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) however, interpretation of these findings should be tempered by an awareness of the following potential limitations. Although there may be advantages in conducting telephone interviews there are also disadvantages, including: 1) rapport may be more difficult to achieve and a lack of visual cues may cause difficulty in interpretation; 2) information obtained is in a "designated place" rather than a natural field setting; 3) the researcher's presence could bias responses; and 4) since this study began from a phenomenological approach, telephone interviews may not allow for in-depth exploration that may be more possible in face-to-face interviews (Creswell, 1994; Robson, 1993). A second limitation of the study may have resulted from the length of time between the participant's volunteer experience and when the study was conducted (i.e. between one to two years). To address this problem the researchers sent the interview schedule to the participants in advance of the interview in order to stimulate the volunteers' memories about their experience.

Findings

Emergent Themes

Several themes emerged from the analysis of the data and are described below. Universal comments from the volunteers regarding their experience included a high level of satisfaction with their volunteering experience; the participation in volunteer experiences without friends and family, but with an interest in meeting and working with other people; the appeal of working outdoors; travel for more than two hours to get to the volunteering site; and decisions to participate based on an anticipation that the experience would be "fun." In keeping with the main focus of this paper, five central themes related to motives for participating in the Volunteer for Nature program emerged from the data and are explored below.

Theme 1: Pleasure seeking

All participants interviewed for this study expressed the importance of having fun, experiencing the pleasure of new found knowledge, having the opportunity to interact with

like-minded people, experiencing the pleasure derived from encountering and addressing challenges, and traveling to new destinations.

Nora, a retired professional identified the importance of socializing with like-minded people stating "I enjoy mixing with other people, because most of the people who go on these things probably share a similar philosophy: …you meet some interesting people." Scott, a retired school principle reinforced this idea: "You're just doing something with others with whom you have, you know, some common wishes and desires and hopes and what you have around the natural world." Nora also referred to being in her garden and being out in nature as a pleasurable experience: I enjoy it [gardening]…

> when I was working full-time working in the garden was always relaxing…so I've always associated working with nature and stuff as more for pleasure…because that's what you do on your days off.

Many of the volunteers were also motivated by the pleasure of facing the challenge of working and living outdoors for several days, and succeeding at the experience. Robert, for example, found satisfaction in the challenges encountered during volunteering: "It was fairly extensive, very heavy work, but I really enjoyed it." Virginia also derived pleasure from challenges experienced during the trip using the volunteer vacation as a tool for personal improvement, "…its just proving to yourself, it's like a self-esteem booster, it's that 'Hey I can do that challenge, I can do that work'…which is a big step for some people."

Related to the volunteers' efforts to seek out challenges through their experiences, was their interest in trying something new. Several of the volunteers shared this interest in novel experiences. For example, Scott stated: "I think we [Scott and his wife] try to be open to new experiences and are kind of keen to explore new experiences." Evelyn also expressed this through her description of why she picked the Volunteer for Nature program: "I just wanted to try something new." Both volunteers anticipated and derived pleasure from the novelty of their volunteer vacation experience.

Theme 2: Perks

Many of the study participants indicated that the "perks" associated with the program also played an important role in their selection of the program and level of satisfaction. Perks that motivated the participants to get involved included evening presentations on environmental issues, the chance to receive instruction on environmental restoration, the opportunity to work in unique ecosystems (i.e. Carolinian forest), and gain exclusive access to special natural areas.

Robert, a retired administrator, expressed a high level of enthusiasm and excitement for some of the activities; his description of an encounter with a rare snake illustrates this well:

> "Handling a Blue Racer…we were fortunate…we were staying on the 'snake guru' of Pelee Island's property…and I got to handle [the Blue Racer snake]…it was the highlight of my year…that to me was really quite an experience."

Virginia echoes this sentiment regarding perks associated with the program:

> "I like the educational component of it so you get some really good advice. Um, not advice, but good information, it's – ah when they bring in guest speakers, or even if it's like a professional, or someone leading the group I find really beneficial."

Gaining access to unique areas and ecosystems was a strong motivating factor in choosing to volunteer with the program. Scott describes this in his characterization of the site:

> The weather was great. We don't have a lot of experience with the Carolinian forest; we had excellent opportunities to enjoy it. We had some great people from bird studies who came out and you know, kinda put whipped cream on the thing by showing us around….for birders it was a great opportunity to enjoy, we found it a very satisfying experience.

Theme 3: "Place" and volunteering in a nature-based context

The opportunity to volunteer in a nature-based setting such as a wetland or forest was also a leading motivator for participants in the Volunteer for Nature program. This interest in

working in and visiting a natural context took several forms for the study participants.

Above, Scott describes enthusiastically his chance to gain access to different areas of a Carolinian forest. He was not only motivated by the unique characteristics of the site, but was enticed or "pulled" into traveling there because of his passion for bird watching. Other study participants expressed less complex reasons for choosing to volunteer in a nature-based setting; an example of this was the simple enjoyment of being outdoors. Mary, a self-employed travel agent, talks about this:

> I like to get outside, I'm not a birdwatcher but I like birds…some of the volunteers that weekend got up at 6 AM before breakfast to watch the birds before doing the trails, so they volunteered not just for the trails, but also the birds….When I go out on the trail I notice things around me…I spotted a [a rare flower, the] yellow lady slipper….

Others expressed the importance of combining nature and travel together and illustrated a past history of choosing trips that featured nature-based destinations. Examples of this include study participants' volunteering trips to parks in Indonesia, the UK and other parts of Ontario. Virginia states that "it's my attachment to nature and my interest in ecotourism. [It's just an] "alternative way of travelling and seeing things overseas, [perhaps a] "last chance to see mentality."

Others were enticed by the location of a particular project; Robert selected a site based on its attractiveness and familiarity: He chose it "because it was Pelee Island and we'd been there the summer before we fell in love with it…" Familiarity with a site was also a reason why Dick chose to volunteer at Manitoulin Island: "The reason I volunteered was [that] it was in a part of the country that I was familiar with" and "I've always been interested in Manitoulin Island. I grew up [nearby] on the Bruce Peninsula." A sense of loyalty to a particular location also appeared to influence project selection: Scott stated, it's "where we canoe every summer…You know you love the area and it kind of loves you in return … that was sort of our commitment to a landscape….and a concern about you know, what people were doing to that landscape."

Theme 4: Legacy

A sense of loyalty to a particular landscape as described above appears to also be strongly linked to a desire held by many of the study participants to leave a legacy through their efforts to protect nature and the environment. The volunteers felt their volunteering activities were an important part of this. Dick saw his participation in the volunteer project as both "self-gratifying" and "something that…will leave a legacy for somebody else."

In addition, Scott described his activities as a "futuring kind of thing." He goes on to say:

> We're going to go back there every year because we bird on Lake Erie every Spring now, and we'll be looking at that and watching it and assuming some kind of stewardship role around it really. If it doesn't work well or if they decide to plough it under or something I'm going to be POed and, ah asking some questions.

Theme 5: Altruism

Many of the participants expressed the importance of caring for both humans and nature; however, they characterized this altruism in different ways. Several of the participants described their volunteering activities as caring for the "environment," giving nature a more abstract or generalized definition. Nora, a retired executive, stated that "it's part of the need for everybody to protect our environment, …[it's] an act of giving." Evelyn, a student, echoed this sentiment:

> I think just knowing that I was someone that helps. Like if I go back and look at it I could see this prairie thing growing there and know that I helped do that, and helped maintain the eco-system. It's pretty amazing I think. It seems like such a big thing, but actually you can do something like that, make a difference like that.

Participants also expressed an interest in caring for people, both in an abstract sense (i.e. society in general), and more specifically – caring for people known by the participants (i.e. friends and family). Robert, a water plant operator talked a great deal about helping both people and the environment; "I really
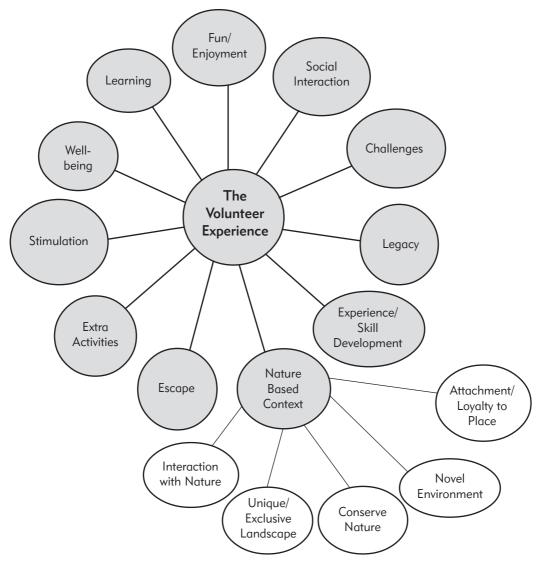
enjoy it…that's why I do a lot of it…I like helping people, [and] especially the environment, but I like helping people…" Emily, a high school student, expressed the importance of volunteering for nature organisations because of her altruism: "It is important to volunteer for nature organizations because we all breathe air, we all need oxygen and we are all part of this world… if we don't take care of it we've lost it." Scott, a retired school principle and teacher, displayed a more personalized imperative in participating in the volunteer project, namely

his actions would help preserve the earth for future generations, including his grandchildren.

Discussion and Conclusion

Through this qualitative study the motivations of volunteers who participated in the Volunteers for Nature program were identified. Only those motives that were shared universally by the participants in the study or that had great centrality of meaning to the individual participants were reported (see Figure 1. Many of the benefits (e.g. pleasure,

Figure 1: Motivations and Benefits of the Volunteer Experience

stimulation, sense of well-being, learning, social interaction) and their affiliated motivations expressed by the study participants have also been found in other volunteer studies. Based on further comparison with theoretical literature there appears to be some motives and benefits that may be unique to the Volunteer for Nature program and possibly other nature conservation volunteer vacations. These points, elaborated on below, include: 1) a distinctive volunteering context, 2) and the "value-added" characteristics of a volunteering vacation. Further, conceptual linkages with concepts such as serious leisure are also explored.

Unique Volunteering Context

One of the most dominant motivations for participating in the Volunteer for Nature program was to visit and work in a nature-based context. Through this action the volunteers achieved many benefits including fostering a sense of well being, escape from technology (Rojek, 1993) and the complexity of city life, stimulation, challenge, and so on.

The opportunity to visit with a favourite "place" or ecosystem was another dominant benefit that volunteers felt compelled to fulfil. Several of the volunteers described previous experiences with particular geographic regions or landscapes; this familiarity appeared to foster a sense of "loyalty" and "attachment." Loyalty is defined here as a biased, behavioural response that is measured over time and is characterized by psychological attachment and behavioural consistency (Backman & Crompton, 1991). Loyalty is often related to the concept of "attachment to place," defined as a symbolic and emotional meaning beyond the usefulness of a site that is used for a specific activity such as recreation (Williams & Roggenbuck, 1989). The findings from this study appear to have some similarities with results in Raymond's (2000) larger study on a national park "Friends groups[2]," especially the findings associated with loyalty and place at-

tachment. The opportunity to travel and recreation attracted the volunteers to those sites and the ability to contribute to these locations appeared to evoke a strong sense of satisfaction. For example, most of those who visited Point Pelee National Park in her study were bird watching enthusiasts and seemed loyal to the site because of the opportunity in provided for birding.

Alternatively, the volunteers also desired to visit a particular type of landscape or geographical region because of the site's "pull factors" (Crompton, 1979; Dann, 1981) or the particular characteristics of the site or destination that attracted the volunteers. The attributes of familiarity that fostered loyalty and place attachment could be described as pull factors. Additional pull factors that appear to have motivated the study participants to choose their particular volunteer sites include the unique geographical settings that provided high quality experiences for the volunteers, such as the opportunity to visit a rare forest ecosystem. Further, many volunteers expressed the importance of being able to see rare forms of wildlife (e.g., endangered species and spaces) and gain access to exclusive sites, simply to enjoy the sites or to engage in favourite activities such as birdwatching or a guided interpretive walk. Wearing's (2001) book on volunteer tourism documents similar decisions by volunteer tourists. The book, as well as his article with Neil (Wearing & Neil, 2001), highlight conceptual linkages with pull factors and destination choice: "Motivation is aroused when individuals think of certain activities that are potentially satisfaction producing. Since people act to satisfy their needs, motivation is thought to be the ultimate driving force that governs travel behaviour" (p. 247). The study participants were pulled or influenced by contracting motivations such as novelty versus familiarity.

Aside from benefits commonly associated with a natural setting such as escape and a sense of well being, the nature-based context appears to be highlighted by the volunteers as a motive in itself. Wearing and Neil (2001) and Eagles (1991) describe similar conceptualizations of nature-based settings

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[2] In this paper "Friends groups" are composed of individuals interested in a particular park, some may volunteer actively and other may simply contribute a membership fee each year.

that ecotourists visit. The chance to interact with nature, to be integrated with nature is seen as an end rather than a means to something else.

Also related to the nature-based context was the importance that volunteers attached to conserving the environment. They acknowledged altruistic and self-serving reasons for this. They understood that their conservation activities would produce extrinsic benefits; the volunteer's efforts would ensure that s/he and her or his family could enjoy nature in the future and benefit from a healthy environment. Many intrinsic benefits also arose from the conservation volunteering including the pleasure derived from participating in the volunteer activity and the knowledge that a legacy was created. Self-serving reasons for participating in the volunteer experience appear to have been more dominant than the altruistic reasons. De Young's (2000) review of altruism versus self-interest motives and environmentally responsible behaviour confirms this pattern of duality in other environmental behaviour studies.

Value-added Vacation

An additional feature that makes the Volunteer for Nature experience different from other volunteer programs is the vacation element. The program involved travel of at least two hours and overnight stays for all the participants. The participants sought out and chose to spend money and time participating in the different conservation projects offered by the Volunteer for Nature, with the expectation of having a rich, leisure filled experience that included some physical labour that would contribute to conservation. This interest in "travelling with a purpose" appears especially common among international volunteers and can be linked with other forms of alternative travel such as ecotourism (Wearing & Neil, 2001).

However the volunteers chose to participate in the Volunteer for Nature programs, not just to contribute to nature conservation and global well-being, but also to address more personal needs such as the chance to visit unique environments and participate in favourite activities in a novel or world class setting. They were seeking a "vacation plus" experience that featured value-added products such as evening interpretation programs led by renowned guides and hands-on interactive learning opportunities. The importance of value-added products in catering to tourists who want more than the standard mass tourism experience has been described by many authors including Ayala (1995) and Linberg, Epler Wood and Engeldrum (1998). These tourists are searching for experiences that allow them to address higher-level needs such as self-actualization, in addition to more basic needs such as stimulation and relaxation (Wearing & Neil, 2001).

Dimensions and Definitions of Volunteering

With a few exceptions, study participants seemed to define their volunteer experience more as leisure (freely chosen and pleasure-seeking) than as work. A sense of obligation to contribute to society and to be a good citizen through volunteering in a conservation project permeated the description of many of the volunteers' experiences. However a "kernel of leisure is preserved within this husk of obligation" because the "obligation for these volunteers is diffuse," it could be expressed through the choice of many different kinds of volunteer opportunities that bring satisfaction throughout a lifetime (Stebbins, 2000, p. 317).

As the volunteers required no special skills, knowledge or training to participate in their volunteering experience these volunteers could be classified as casual volunteers (Stebbins, 1998, 2000). If, however, one links the definition of casual volunteering with casual leisure we should have identified only pleasure-seeking or pure fun as the main motive or benefit derived from their volunteering experience. Conversely, many other motives which Stebbins associates with serious leisure (and career volunteering) were also discovered. Can casual volunteering generate benefits beyond pure fun? In participating in similar experiences tourism volunteers in McGehee (2002) and Wearing and Neil (2000; 2001) identified self-efficacy, establishment of personal identity, individuality and escape as benefits that arose from their volunteering activities. Perhaps this expanded range

of motives is linked to the volunteering context and activities that the volunteers participated in. Or, perhaps what separates these forms of conservation volunteering travel from other casual volunteering is the level of commitment demonstrated by the participants' willingness to travel great distances, work in unfamiliar contexts and devote, in some cases, a considerable amount of time, expense and emotion (Stebbins, 2000). Further research on volunteers working in temporary assignments but within complex contexts, which challenge and enrich volunteers' experiences, is needed. These contexts and activities may foster benefits associated with serious leisure and career volunteering.

Additional research on nature-oriented volunteers and volunteer tourists could include: 1) A multi-phasic investigation of volunteer motivates, attitudes, satisfaction, and so on (e.g., see McIntyre & Roggenbuck, 1998). This pre-expedition, during the experience and post-experience survey of volunteers would expand knowledge on the impact of the volunteer experience, change in perceived or stated motives and benefits, and the transformation of self, adding to findings documented by Wearing and Neil (2000) and McGehee (2002). 2) While some research has been conducted that compares motivational differences between volunteers based on gender, age and ethnicity, more research is needed; this is especially true for understanding differences associated with ethnicity (e.g. Busser & Norwalk, 2001; Silverberg, et al., 2000). 3) Finally, studying the unique characteristics of a volunteer tourism expedition, especially one focused on nature conservation and environmental advocacy may contribute to researchers' understanding of how a sense of community (Arai & Pedlar, 2003; Brueggeman, 2001; Shaffer & Anundsen, 1993), focal practices (Borgmann, 1984; 1992) and social capital (Minkoff, 1997; Newton, 1997) are formed in a transient community that is based in a unique environment and partaking in an intense and enriched experience.

Several practical implications arise from these findings. First, the Volunteer for Nature program should focus and expand on its strengths; these include: 1) Provide volunteers with "perks" such as environmental education programming in the evenings and access to unique and exclusive natural areas; 2) develop projects and select sites that foster a sense of accomplishment and provide volunteers with the opportunity to address their desire to leave a legacy; and 3) show appreciation to the volunteers through the provision of rewards including perks and related incentives, however program organizers must be cognizant that more formalized rewards (e.g. a certificate of achievement) should not play a large role in the volunteers' experiences, as they have been identified in other motivation research as a disincentive for continuing to volunteer. This "overjustification effect" (Lepper et al., 1973 cited in Mannell & Klieber, 1997) is based on findings that rewards tend to undermine intrinsic motivation (Deci & Ryan, 1985); people regard such rewards as controlling and therefore perceive them as restricting their self-determination (Horna, 1994).

In summation, these findings and recommendations, based on a qualitative study of volunteers' experiences in a nature conservation program, contribute several important practical suggestions for the revision and expansion of the Volunteer for Nature program. It has also reinforced much of the theoretical literature existing on volunteers including the motives and benefits associated with volunteering and their perception of volunteering as a leisure activity. An increased understanding of volunteers who participate in nature conservation projects has been the greatest contribution of this study; however, much more research needs to be undertaken to understand this group of volunteers, furthering the effectiveness and attractiveness of nature-based conservation programs and the goals of nature conservation.

Acknowledgements

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Women who RAW! Programming for women's participation in adventure based pursuits

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Abstract

Numerous constraints have been identified over recent years as impeding women's participation in leisure. Although these limitations have been recognised, and the benefits of participation acknowledged, the role of providers and policy makers in reducing the impacts of constraints has been less clear. This article examines one local government initiative to encourage women's participation in a range of adventure-based physical recreation pursuits. Based on a social planning model of activity provision, the efficacy of the RAW (Real Adventure Women) program is explored from the participants perspectives. The results reveal that a focused project, specifically targeted at women, can offer accessible, safe and supportive opportunities for women's engagement in leisure that can reduce the impact of identified constraints and lead to positive personal outcomes.

Keywords: *women, constraints, adventure-based physical recreation, programming, local government*

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Introduction

Adventure based activities and physical recreation have been identified as offering a range of positive outcomes for those who participate. Predominantly the benefits for women who are active in adventure recreation have tended to reflect issues of socio-emotional health. Feelings of self worth, personal efficacy and improved body image have been cited as outcomes through a range of empirical research (Copland Arnold, 1994; Little, 1993; Mitten, 1986). These benefits are extended when ad-

venture based pursuits are viewed within the broader category of physical recreation.

The importance of physical recreation is increasingly acknowledged as offering both physical and psychosocial health benefits. Regularly it is noted that participation in physical recreation can reduce the likelihood of cardiovascular disease, stroke, some cancers and diabetes, can help women to maintain weight, enhance estrogen replacement and reduce anxiety (ACT Bureau of Sport & Recreation, 2001; United States Dept of Health & Human

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Services, 1996), as well as assist in maintaining healthy bones, muscles and joints (ACT Bureau of Sport and Recreation, 2001; Paluska & Schwenck, 2000). As with research focused specifically on adventure participation, it has also been recognised that there are distinct social and emotional benefits of physical recreation participation that impact positively on women's health. These include improved self-esteem and confidence, increased endurance, improved mood and feelings of autonomy and empowerment (AIHW, 2000; Coakley & White, 1992; Henderson, Bialeschki, Shaw & Freysinger, 1996; Wearing, 1994).

Despite these positive outcomes the actuality of women's participation does not reflect broad access to physical recreation participation. Current findings in Australia show that women participate far less regularly than men in physical recreation (ABS, 2000) and many tend to subjugate their own involvement to meet the needs of their family or significant others (Little, 1997; Thompson, 1990). Similar results are reflected in North American findings which suggest that females are not habitually involved in either individual or group recreation activity programs (USDHHS, 1996).

The reasons for this disparity are diverse and still being researched, but some repeated findings have been presented to explain the circumstances constraining women's participation. Studies of women in leisure, adventure recreation and sport have shown a consistent range of constraints impacting on women's participation including material considerations (structural constraints), personal perspectives (intrapersonal constraints) and social expectations (including interpersonal constraints). Specifically, these include, but are not limited to:

– Lack of money, companions, skills and opportunities;
– Lack of belief in the relevance, importance or accessibility of physical recreation;
– Poor body image;
– Lack of time and/or awareness;
– Socially constructed sex role expectations and responsibilities (Bolla, Dawson, & Harrington, 1993; Henderson, Bedini, Hecht, & Shuler, 1995; Kane, 1990; Little, 2002; Scraton, 1995).

Such a pool of constraints show there are multiple avenues of restriction for women, however, some indications of methods of management are evident from the very nature of these restrictions. For example, lack of material access can be addressed through provision of affordable, well-resourced and accessible (time, location, child care) programs. Lack of companions may be overcome by providing women with opportunities to attend on their own and/or matching them with others with similar skills and circumstances. Activity specific skills can be taught through sequenced and supportive environments focused on progression and not competition (Bialeschki, 1999; Warren, 1996). However, other constraints have broader social implications and are not so easily managed. Poor body image, social role expectations and perceptions of relevance are reflective of a need for social change to promote women's right to access physical recreation and to provide women with the freedom to feel their leisure needs are important and worth prioritising.

Though these issues are not easily addressed, their complexity does not excuse a lack of effort by providers to consider the broad range of limitations facing women and their access to physical recreation. Only through offering viable, accessible and supportive programs can constraints begin to be reduced and perhaps a shift in women's expectations subsequently evolve. Community-based programs offer one pathway to such an outcome where they are funded and designed to overcome some of these constraints. Based on an approach that strives to increase social cohesion, empower participants and offer safe and supported participation, the RAW model showcases one example of a government-funded program managed and programmed in a community-based setting (Pedlar, 1996) that offers opportunities reflecting the needs and interests of the target group.

Case Study: The Real Adventure Women program

The Brisbane City Council (BCC) is the largest local government in Australia catering to a client base of approximately 900 000 people

(Brisbane City Council, 2002). In 1998 this local government called for tenders from organisations and individuals interested in implementing, promoting and publicising a new community-based initiative aimed at providing the women of Brisbane with an opportunity to experience adventure based recreation activities at a reasonable cost. The purpose of RAW was to provide women with an introductory adventure recreation program that would promote self-confidence in safe, supportive and non-competitive environments (Brisbane City Council, 2000). The tender was won by a community group, Red Hill-Paddington Community Centre (RHPCC), who are a small suburban centre focused on offering programs and support services based on the stated and identified needs of the surrounding community. With the acceptance of the BCC tender the Centre established a reference committee consisting of representatives from State Government, Universities, women's advocacy groups and female practitioners and providers of adventure based activities. This was done to extend RHPCC's limited knowledge base and to seek a broad range of input into the implementation of the RAW program.

As a minimally financed initiative, RAW was established as a cycle of three adventure recreation packages per year, running in two-month blocks. That is, one cycle in February/ March, another in June/ July and the third in October/ November each year. Each cycle offers a variety of adventure pursuits to appeal to a broad range of interests and suitable to the climate dictates of South-East Queensland. The activities include themed pursuits such as 'women in the wild' and 'women on water' and offer opportunities for trail rides, gourmet camp cooking, abseiling for beginners, rock climbing, circus skills, archery, rollerblading, canoeing, kayaking, sailing, yachting, fishing and paragliding to name a few. These activities are provided by community clubs and organisations as well as commercial providers of adventure activities who offer their services at affordable rates to the women participants. In exchange for their services, the providers receive increased market awareness through the advertising of RAW,

workshops and information on focusing their programming to cater for female clients, and the opportunity of increasing their client/ membership base.

While the RAW program was established and is funded by the BCC, the daily management and programming decisions are taken by the community centre. Here, open communication is maintained with women participants and activity providers in order to measure the viability of the program as well as to identify new pathways. In addition, efforts are made to broaden public awareness of the program through guest speaking and establishing links with other community organisations that represent women who are not accessing RAW. These include women in shelters, with disabilities and on pensions.

The programming model

As with many programs designed and delivered through leisure and recreation, the philosophy behind the provision of RAW cannot be neatly and singularly packaged as one programming approach. Designed and marketed by BCC/ RHPCC and delivered by activity providers, RAW offers the women of Brisbane the opportunity to access adventure based physical recreation simply by paying a fee and attending a session. As such the agencies involved offer a direct-service provision of skill development and experience (Rossman & Schlatter, 2000). Often identified within a social planning approach which offers a packaged service expertly and remotely devised by a governing body, direct-service provision is seen to create the potential for consumer apathy as participants have the opportunity to over-rely on professional control (McGill & Hutchison, 1991).

However, while the design and delivery of RAW reflects this approach, the underlying intent of the program is more clearly aligned to the human-services approach (Kraus, 1997). As a result of the program being implemented by Red Hill Paddington Community Centre management, the goals of RAW include: to enrich the women's quality of life; offer positive, accessible forms of physical recreation; promote women's health and safety; and meet the needs of special populations (Duffield,

2001; Kraus, 1997). As such, while the RAW program is grounded in meeting the parameters of the financing and designing organisation (BCC) and provides a service for women that demands little of their time or organisational skill, the philosophical foundations of the managing committee (RHPCC) broaden the outcomes beyond a social planning approach to incorporate wider learning and interaction.

For example, RHPCC uses RAW to build partnerships with relevant stakeholders and strives to educate the community about both the program and its benefits (Hutchison & Nogradi, 1996). This is done by:

■ endeavouring to identify the target market through the formation of a reference committee to gauge the social, cultural and economic make-up of the community of women;

■ educating the program providers through leadership development workshops;

■ actively pursuing opportunities to promote the benefits and outcomes of participation in RAW and personally constructed ongoing participation; and by

■ seeking to develop a sense of shared effort amongst its providers both by the support they are given and through feedback of their individual and combined efforts.

It must be acknowledged however, that while these strategies inform the program, RAW continues to interact with women as participants, not collaborators. As such it remains direct service provision, with a human services approach of providing the women of Brisbane, not only with access to adventure based physical recreation, but also with the opportunity to access positive social outcomes.

Successful practices in promoting women's participation

An evaluation of the RAW program was conducted in 2001. Focusing on participant satisfaction, constraints, motivations and benefits, a self-administered survey was mailed to identified participants and followed up with selected in-depth interviews examining client satisfaction with RAW and its perceived impacts on the individuals involved. Two hundred and ninety six (296) valid surveys were re-

turned (55.5%) from a mail out of 537. While there was evidence of a breadth of clientele, it was found that the majority of the women participants were aged 18-45 years (77.3%), lived in households without dependent children (71%) and were employed in the workforce full time (58.2%). While one-third of all the women respondents indicated a willingness to be interviewed, 25 were selected based on their representativeness of the women who attend the programs. Subsequently, interviews were conducted with women who represented the majority of participants (18-45, no dependent children, full time employment), as well as women who represented the demographic profiles that were less common (over 45, dependent children, unemployed). The resulting group included women with dependent children still living at home, women on disability pensions, women who identified their main work as 'home duties', full time employees who also had primary care for dependent children, and single women. The women interviewed ranged in age from 18 to 65.

The Evaluation Method

The study combined both quantitative and qualitative methods in order to capture data that would satisfy both the funding organisations (BCC) annual assessment requirements, as well as the community centre's desire to gauge whether client-centred goals were being met. To address these needs, and broaden the data pool, two data gathering tools were used. One consisted of a mass mail-out survey to all women who had recorded their participation during the summer cycle of 2001. The second consisted of 25 in-depth semi-structured interviews with women who expressed a willingness to provide further information.

The mail-out survey was sent to women with an introductory letter requesting their assistance in evaluating the RAW program/s they had attended. Due to a desire to be accessible and non-threatening, the tone of both the letter and the survey was intentionally established to be casual and open. Women were encouraged to take some time out of their day, have a cup of coffee and address questions about their personal experience, satisfaction

and the importance and performance of the program/s elements. The survey contained a range of closed and open-ended questions, as well as items where responses were measured on five point Likert-type scales ranging from, for example, 1= Strongly Disagree to 5 = Strongly Agree (see Table 1). The women were also given space in the survey to offer open-ended responses. For example, at the end of each section of the survey the women could expand their responses beyond the data set provided (i.e. Are there any other reasons that limit your participation? Please identify these and explain). In addition, a page was available at the end of the survey for the women to pro-vide additional comments about the RAW program and their experience. These written responses were added to the data as a text file and analysed through a constant comparative coding process (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) that sought to identify main themes. The valid survey responses were coded to a data set that was analysed using SPSS to search for patterns and relationships amongst the findings.

While the survey captured a broad spectrum of responses, the method led to response sets pre-determined by the researchers. While this allows for large numbers of people to respond, surveys do not have the potential to reach or adequately describe the lived experi-

Table 1: Example Questions from RAW Survey

Reasons for Participation: Motives 1=Not Important 2=Slightly Important 3=Moderately Important 4=Very Important 5=Extremely Important					
To escape from normal life	1	2	3	4	5
To learn new skills	1	2	3	4	5
To meet new people	1	2	3	4	5
To gain confidence	1	2	3	4	5
To develop a new hobby	1	2	3	4	5
Benefits and Outcomes: What you got out of it 1= Strongly disagree 2= Disagree 3= Neither one or other 4= Agree 5= Strongly Agree					
Made some new friends	1	2	3	4	5
Felt stimulated and energised	1	2	3	4	5
Developed some new skills	1	2	3	4	5
Felt a sense of achievement	1	2	3	4	5
Feel more able to deal with my problems	1	2	3	4	5
Constraints: The ties that bind 1= No impact 2= Slight impact 3= Moderate impact 4= Strong impact 5= Very strong impact					
Lack of background skills	1	2	3	4	5
Doubt in ability to perform	1	2	3	4	5
Lack of companions	1	2	3	4	5
Difficulty getting to locations for programs	1	2	3	4	5
Life is full & I've little time	1	2	3	4	5
How are the programs performing?: Leaders 1= Strongly disagree 2= Disagree 3= Neither one or other 4= Agree 5= Strongly Agree					
Leader/s were on time for the program	1	2	3	4	5
The leader/s were well prepared	1	2	3	4	5
I felt respected by the program staff	1	2	3	4	5
What aspects of the program contributed to your satisfaction?					
A shared experience with other participants	1	2	3	4	5
Sense of belonging & support created by the leader	1	2	3	4	5
Fluent progression of skills to support my learning	1	2	3	4	5
An opportunity to do something new	1	2	3	4	5

ence of the individual. Semi-structured interviews begin to address this issue by allowing the respondents to talk of their personal experiences and allowing the researchers to obtain richer, more detailed perspectives. The interview questions for the RAW evaluation followed a set range of questions dealing with the women's motivations and benefits (e.g. what did you hope to attend by attending?); their sense of identity (e.g. is participation in adventurous activity a normal thing for you?); constraints and negotiation strategies (e.g. how do you manage to fit adventure recreation into your life?); and the social support that they required (e.g. did you choose to go on the program on your own? Why/ not?). The questions were the same for each woman, but the pace and order varied to match the women's thinking and comfort levels. Subsequently, the interviews varied in length from 35 to 70 minutes, dependent on the women's available time and their desire to broaden their responses.

The interviews were conducted in the women's own homes, tape recorded with the permission of the women and transcribed verbatim. They were then analysed through a process of constant comparison in a search for major themes and units of analysis. Based on the main stakeholders brief, the analysis was guided by a search for women's satisfaction of the program/s, the performance of the program/s, the role of the programs in providing access for women to adventure and the women's perceived benefits from participation. Statements were coded several times (e.g. open or initial meaning codes, axial or categorisation of the open codes) and critical friends were used to check the credibility of the coding and to clarify the assumptions of the findings (Neuman, 1991; Strauss, 1987). A check of the reliability of coding was conducted using several coders analysing the same set of statements (Miles & Huberman, 1994). This revealed a high degree of consistency between coders.

Outcomes

While a range of outcomes were revealed from the study, three important findings relating to women's sense of opportunity and access

emerged: opportunity without commitment; safe and supportive learning environments; and, self confident and capable. These reflect the women's self identified changes that occurred from positive participation in RAW and the effectiveness of the program in addressing some of the constraints that often limit women's participation in physical recreation and adventure. These findings are discussed below using direct statements from the women and reinforced with findings from the survey.

Opportunity without commitment

One of the consistent constraints that emerges in studies of women and adventure or physical recreation reflects women's lack of desire to take responsibility for other people's leisure or to have to take a lot of responsibility for their own leisure. With lives often engaged in caring for others, commitment to work, partners, children and parents, women tend to desire participation that requires little direct effort, minimal organisation and the opportunity to access without having to commit for extended periods of time (Kane, 1990; Little, 1997; Thompson, 1990, 1994). The RAW program met this need directly. Established to offer women the opportunity to trial a range of activities, there was no requirement to sign up for classes, to take out membership or take responsibility for others pleasure. Instead the program serves to provide women with flexible opportunities for participation, basic skills for engagement, and an opportunity to take up the activity as a hobby if they so desire.

Interviews conducted with some of the women highlight this feature of the program and its role in helping women to negotiate constraints. As a divorced mother of one child and full time worker noted: *"with RAW you can just pick out what you want to do and they have the dates. You just slot in with that so I plan my schedule around that. … It's all outlined in the booklet. They have the cost, the time and place and the date. You can just schedule your life around I want to do this or that."* The organisational aspects of RAW which pre-plans the package for women, allows busy women to prioritise their time and arrange child-care, or change work shifts in advance of their interests. *"I know in advance*

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so I can change my shift or arrange with someone to mind the kids". In addition, the program offers women the opportunity to try an activity without having to join a club or spend hundreds of dollars on lessons for something they may not ultimately enjoy. *"RAW makes it easy. Just show up, do it and go home again. That's the crucial part for me, the fact they've got it all ready. I just want to try. I don't have time for the club and I don't have money for the competition, so this allows me a chance."*

The three-cycle program was also seen to assist the process of women being able to prioritise and set aside opportunity for participation. Because the program is structured during seasons, there is neither constant access nor pressure to participate. As a result many of the women considered participation special and made time during its shortened availability. *"I look forward to it. It's not there all the time, so I don't have to worry, but it's fun and it's for me. So when it does come, it's a little like a holiday, something you look forward to and make time for."* Similarly, the women also appreciated that most of the activities were offered more than once within a cycle and over the year. As a result, if they could not make one session, they could set aside time, or change their schedule to accommodate another. *"It gives you the opportunity. You can fit it round whatever you're doing because the same things are offered in one session or over a year. So that one time you can't make it, next time you can."*

The survey findings similarly indicated that the women appreciated the minimal time commitment required and the organisational aspects of RAW that made access simple. For example, when asked how they managed to participate in RAW programs the 76.5% of the women noted that they chose the most convenient of the times offered and 46.7% intentionally chose activities that fit with their other commitments. Because of the diversity of options offered and the advance warning given for programs it was possible for women to plan around the dates provided. This was reinforced through the women's written comments on the surveys. *"The dates are put out in advance and you've got two months when the*

activities are on. I can reorganise my time, or I find something that's on when I'm free." Other organisational aspects of provision were also appreciated with the women finding RAW *"offered new experiences I hadn't been given the opportunity to do before. RAW made the activity accessible."* In addition, the freedom to try and then leave was also acknowledged. *"The RAW program makes it easy to access information about who to contact and how to participate and there's no pressure to join up with a club."*

Safe and supportive learning environment

RAW also provides the opportunity for women to trial activities without being part of a competitive environment and to acquire some basic skills and experience. It has repeatedly been indicated that women are less likely to immediately engage in an activity without learning the skills appropriate to the challenge (Bartram, 2001; Little, 1997; Warren, 1996). Throughout the interviews, women reinforced this finding indicating that a lack of personal belief in their capabilities had previously reduced the likelihood of their participating in adventurous pursuits. *"I've grown up with brothers who tend to throw the ball at you and you get hit … I've got the scars. You lose any self-belief. There's a tendency to put you down and even when I married, there was always a type of putdown."* Or as another woman expressed, *"I just wasn't confident to try before. You know, where do I get information even, am I good enough, will the others judge me, do I have the stamina?"* One woman pointed out that she had no desire to trial a new activity without having learned some background skills. *"I need to start off with a group then that would give me the confidence to try something myself. … I need exposure and some idea of how to do it."* Others reinforced this notion, highlighting that the instruction they were given supported their learning and their comfort with the venture. *"The leaders were very capable and confident. And they gave good instruction and that created that safe sort of comfortable environment for everybody."*

In the main, this leadership came from female role models as the majority of the activity leaders used in RAW are women. While this

was not a uniform situation (e.g. fencing & rock climbing were led by male instructors), many of the women found *"the best activities were the ones run by women"* as they offered a non-competitive and caring environment for the women to learn. This is exemplified by a typical comment regarding the RAW leaders. *"I felt supported. The leaders played an important role right from the beginning making every one feel comfortable … they were capable and confident and they gave good instruction. And that created a safe sort of comfortable environment for everybody".* Another woman felt that the comfort came from having specifically female leaders: *"I think women need more instruction and guidance and male leaders don't always provide that. Women need to know more about that sort of thing and they need to know that there's some planning going into the whole exercise."* Others reinforced the need for a gradual progression and accessible leaders who *"carefully go through safety issues and allow us to set our own standards and challenges within the day. We were taught each thing before we went on. There was a nice balance I found between enthusiasm and teaching."*

Survey results similarly revealed that the leadership provided in the sessions was an important aspect of the participation experience. As indicated in table 2, not only did the women believe it was important that the leaders were knowledgeable and ready, but the session leaders were seen to outperform participant expectations.

Table 2: **Importance-Performance of the Leadership in RAW Programmes**

Action	Importance	Performance
knowledge/ skill of leader	89.6% very important	94.2% Good or Very Good
equipment & staff ready	85.5% very important	91.0% Good or Very Good
fluent progression of skills taught	78.9% very important	86.2% Good or Very Good
sense of belonging/support created by leader	79.0% moderately important	83.0% Good or Very Good

The diversity of the offerings available within the RAW program also inspired safe learning environments. For example, rather than limit the activity choices, around 30 different opportunities are available during each cycle, allowing women to choose from a range of opportunities that suit them. As a single mother of two children pointed out, *"RAW is that choice to try things. The range of activities that are promoted is really wonderful because whatever type of woman you are there's something you can feel safe in going and trying and might be attracted to."*

Written comments on the surveys similarly highlighted an appreciation for the program structure and leadership. *"It allows you to participate in new, adventurous and challenging activities in a supportive, non-competitive, unintimidating environment."* Or as another noted, *"There's something for everyone, me, my mum, my colleagues and friends. Different interests, but something for everyone on offer".*

Self confident and capable

In the survey the women were asked to describe their personal perceptions of self prior to RAW and how their participation in RAW had affected their attitudes about themselves and their capabilities. Prior to RAW it was found that just over one-third described themselves as confident (36%), some described themselves as wary (20.1%) and a few saw themselves as timid (8.7%) and fearful (8%). Very few women described themselves as weak (2.1%), or at the other extreme, as fearless (3.5%) or arrogant in the outdoors (0.3%).

Following participation in RAW women's self perceptions reportedly changed as they commented on shifts in their confidence, enthusiasm, self-awareness, capability and fear. The results showed that the majority of participants (75.8%) perceived an increase in levels of confidence, enthusiasm (77.8%), self-awareness (66.1%) and capability (77.2%). Participants reported either no change (48.1%) or a decrease in their level of fear (48%).

These results are borne out in the interviews conducted with the women who expressed that they had gained in self-worth and confidence as a result of participating in challenging activities. *"After the first couple of pro-*

grams that we went to it was like 'oh, yeah, this is cool, I can do this, this is great, what else?' Bring it on sort of thing." Another noted that she gained a sense of achievement and personal belief through her participation because she was able to *"face the fear, meet the challenge, experience that challenge and feel that I've actually done it. … I think I got so much confidence out of that and it's carried on."* By participating in supported activities where they were encouraged to set their own level of challenge and encouraged to continue without ridicule or expectation, the women found they felt more able to be involved and to achieve. *"I didn't feel the odd one out. The session was run for beginners, we all were encouraged to do what we could and the other women were supportive. I couldn't step off the cliff the first time I tried, but that was okay and everyone encouraged me to go again."*

In addition to a sense of achievement and encouragement to try, some of the women also expressed an increase in comfort with the body image. A number of women had felt constrained by their weight, health or strength, but following RAW had a new confidence in their ability to participate in other activities. One woman realised *"there are more ways for me to participate and that I'm more than my weight. You can't judge a book by its cover".* Others expressed a greater comfort because RAW was only for women. *"I think it's good just for women. It makes us get out there and do things we wouldn't necessarily if there were males there, because we feel like we're not very good or they'll laugh, and the self-consciousness kicks in. Big bum, not competent, not as fast, not so strong".*

Discussion

Constraints to women's participation in adventure and physical recreation have been well acknowledged through various studies over the last 20 years (e.g. Bolla et. al, 1993; Kane, 1990; Little, 2002; Thompson, 1990; Scraton, 1995). However, while structural, intrapersonal and interpersonal constraints (Crawford & Godbey, 1987) exist, there has also been increasing acknowledgement that women can negotiate these constraints to cre-

ate opportunities for access to activities and circumstances they have identified as meaningful and important (Henderson & Bialeschki, 1993; Little, 2000; Little, 2002). While negotiation findings often reflect individual efforts to overcome personal constraints, the current evaluation focused on the effectiveness of a government-funded, community-organised program in improving women's access to adventure-based physical recreation. Following in a similar vein to other women-only programs (Culp, 1998; Mitten, 1996), the RAW program appears to have achieved positive opportunity for women's engagement in adventure.

The women's responses suggest that the RAW programme provided them with opportunity to access adventure-based activities. This access was apparent from a number of perspectives including: the provision of structured, pre-programed activities cycled throughout a year; a focus on supportive leadership; and the casual nature of the programs which required no ongoing or prior commitments. As indicated by the women's comments both in the interviews and in the written components of the survey, RAW provided access because its structure supported participation and inspired action. *"It was good to have access to the backing of somebody with the resources and the equipment and the organisation to let you try these things."* Or as another wrote, *"For me, the real advantage I found was that it was organised, the instruction and the equipment and being able to take advantage of the combination at a very low cost, to me was fantastic."*

While the lower costs and access to resourcing opened up opportunity for women, the ability to participate without substantial time or organisational commitment was also strong. Summing up a general response, one woman noted, *"With RAW you don't have to do anything. You don't have to try and tee up with any mates; you just come along, by yourself. But you don't feel like you're there by yourself, 'cos everybody else is in the same boat."* Similarly, another found, *"You got a bit of instruction and felt kind of safe, without a big commitment as well. So you don't have to sign up for a six week course or anything like that."* Rather

than have to arrange the equipment, organise companions or commit to a course of lessons, RAW offers opportunities to trial multiple activities without large time requirements.

In addition, the leadership of the programs developed the women's comfort and access. Repeated comments were offered regarding the effectiveness and the positive nature of the leadership, as it was found that the leaders offered various opportunities for the women to socialise, try at their own level, as well as learn new skills. *"The leaders were just really great and they obviously believe that it should be fun. They were interested in people learning to do it right."* This was found across the activities offered and the leadership was seen to be *"instructive and helpful. We learned something, we met other women, on some we even went for coffee afterwards."*

These aspects of RAW were actively considered in the design and promotion by the organizers of the programme (BCC & RHPCC). The three cycle approach was implemented to allow a diversity of opportunity for women participants, but also to manage costs. As many of the activities were offered by community groups and small commercial providers, an ongoing demand on their resources would have been unmanageable. The two month cycles allowed for a range of activity providers to offer activities without committing an excess of time and money. Supportive leadership was encouraged through the information package sent to activity providers as well as through the provision of leadership workshops that encouraged the use of female instructors, care in sequencing, the role of social belonging for women participants. Finally, casual participation was incorporated to encourage women to try adventure. Acknowledging women's lack of time, the programme was founded on opportunity, not ongoing commitment. Women who desired longer term participation were provided with information by the individual activity providers (Duffield, 2001).

Conclusions

Evaluation of the RAW programme indicated that the structure and guiding principles of the programme helped women to facilitate their own access to adventure based physical recreation. While the results represent only a small element of the overall findings, it is clear that the BCC and RHPCC created an accessible and emotionally safe opportunity for the women of Brisbane. Admittedly, there continue to be limitations in the programming format and management. There are still only a limited number of women accessing the programme and many who do fall within the 18 to 45 year age bracket and are not representative of special needs populations. However, it is also evident that the structure of the programme that pre-determines a range of activities, offers reasonable prices (some free or from as little as AUS $5) and targets their marketing specifically to women, can achieve positive outcomes and successfully eliminate or reduce historical constraints impacting on women's involvement.

The RAW programme appears to have assisted women to overcome some issues of structural constraint such as lack of time, access and companions by structuring programmes accessible for individuals or groups and that occur in two-month blocks three times throughout a year. In addition, some socially constructed constraints of relevance and personal image were also considered. This was initially addressed through providing women only programmes, but was supported through the leadership that was provided and the opportunity for social interaction and multiple expressions of success incorporated in many of the sessions.

The results show that it is possible for programmers and policy makers to reduce some of the technical and material considerations that limit women's access to adventure-based physical recreation. In addition there are indications that it is possible to facilitate women's ability to deal with the more intra-personal and interpersonal constraints that are known to exist. Through supportive learning environs, ongoing opportunity and positive role modeling women can be encouraged to access adventure recreation and see its relevance and benefit for themselves. As indicated in other programming considerations focused on women (Bialeschki, 1999; Henderson & Grant, 1998),

there is a need to not only address issues of time, safety and learning, but to also help women see physical recreation as accessible, appropriate and inclusive. This is only going to occur by offering programmes that are aware of women's social and emotional concerns, as well as the technical/ structural issues that may prove restrictive.

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Implications: How did it happen?

There are multiple layers of influence that bring about this success and they are worth considering for future programme design and policy decision making. While each makes a contribution to the successful process, the amalgamation of issues probably serves to multiply their effectiveness. Based on the findings, these influences and considerations include:

1. The RAW program incorporates a range of stakeholders who are working together to offer an effective program. In essence these are the local government authority, the community centre management, the reference group and the activity providers (commercial and community based). Their shared efforts are directed by the recreation officer for RAW who acts as the glue and guiding manager between all involved.

2. The provision of the program is directed and managed at a community level by a not-for-profit organisation which is close to the target market it is undertaking to represent and service.

3. The overall program is influenced by programming considerations directed specifically to women and for women. As a result the programs are predominantly led by women, the sessions are set up for women only and the leadership is directed by concerns to support women through their personal level of challenge without a preconceived notion of success. Based on cumulative feedback since RAW's inception, many of the programs also utilise social interaction, including some opportunity for women to mingle beyond the activity.

4. The Brisbane City Council initially piloted the program and then committed to three years of funding. This has allowed for certainty of continual funding for the community managers and allowed the program to grow and develop its client and provider base.

A government that is concerned for the health and leisure opportunities of its constituents can learn from the BCC/ RAW initiative. While a top-down social planning process was initially implemented to begin to address issues of women's access to adventure-based physical recreation in Brisbane, this was just one stage on the pathway to providing women with the opportunity for inclusion in adventure recreation. Stage two incorporated linking with a human service approach of a community based organisation. This organisation had the time, desire and impetus to not only implement and manage the program, but to do so in a caring manner, monitoring and liasing with all the stakeholders to address their concerns. As such a partnership approach emerged between BCC and RHPCC and between RHPCC and the activity providers all with a focus on improving women's access to adventure-based physical recreation.

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Book Review

LOBO, F. (2002). Leisure, Family and Lifestyle: Unemployed Young People.
Rawat Publications: New Delhi. ISBN 81-7033-751-8. Hardback, pp. 222

Francis Lobo has an impressive background of research in the areas of unemployment and its influences on lifestyles and leisure. In an earlier book, co-authored with Stanley Parker (1999), Dr. Lobo focused on late career unemployment. In Leisure, Family and Lifestyle: Unemployed Young People (2002), his focus is on those in the age range from 18 to 30. Basically, the book is a report of a study on the impacts of unemployment and the potential for sport and recreation to offset negative impacts and contribute to healthy lifestyles.

Leisure scholars and practitioners will find the book useful in several ways. There is a comprehensive review of relevant literature, and an extensive list of references. The methodology used in the study will be of interest to researchers whose investigations involve assessing perceptions. For leisure professionals and volunteers, the sections on findings and recommendations will provide information related to program development and implementation. These sections also will be useful to policy makers in both public and private agencies.

Dr. Lobo gathered data, reported in the book, through the two main phases of the study. The first was an exploratory phase. Data here came from focused group discussions in five workshops, each held in a different community. Participants were individuals taking part in governmental job training programs. These groups represented both males and females and urban and rural dwellers. Indigenous and immigrant populations also were represented.

Phase two was designed to confirm and expand initial findings. It included a questionnaire distributed to workshop participants and at job training offices. However, most of the data in this phase came from an in-depth interview of 20 individuals, and a second set of interviews conducted with 44 different respondents. Phase two also included interviews with nine providers of leisure services. These focused on strategies for re-moving barriers and delivering leisure services to unemployed youth.

Methods for treating the data included content analyses, and use of the "Non-numerical Unstructured Data Indexing, Searching and Theorizing" software package. Basic statistical analyses were used for inter and intra-group comparisons.

The book includes a large amount of anecdotal material. Narratives for each of the 20 in-depth interviews give the reader a sense of feelings experienced by the different individuals, and add a human dimension to the data. Similarly, there are narratives for each of the local authorities, which allow the reader to see agency points of view and understand what they are trying to accomplish. Summary charts provide comparisons on several variables.

The author presents findings of the study as answers to three basic questions. The first of these is, what are the impacts of unemployment on young adults? Findings here were somewhat mixed. Taking responses from both the workshops and the interviews, there was considerable evidence of adverse influences on self and family. In terms of self, respondents experienced such emotions as anger, boredom, depression, and loss of confidence and reduced self-esteem. However, others indicated more positive feelings. In terms of family impacts, unemployment led to strained relationships in many cases but not all. Other negative impacts included frustration resulting from unproductive job searches. Also, reduced incomes caused restrictions in terms of basic necessities and discretionary spending.

The second question asks, how can sport and recreation ameliorate the impacts of job loss? Unemployment results in larger blocks of free time, and the findings here indicate that respondents often used leisure activities to occupy this additional time. To that extent, sport and recreation can help offset negative impacts. However, the nature of participation changes. In general, unemployment leads to more activities within the

home and fewer in other settings. Low cost activities become more frequent. Social contacts tend to be with other unemployed persons. Release of anger and frustration were frequent motivations for participation.

The third question relates to service providers. How can public sport and recreation programs be delivered to young unemployed adults to promote commitment to healthy lifestyles? Among the findings here was the observation that the philosophies and policies of local authorities support provision of leisure services for this group. However, implementation of this ideal falls short due to economic pressures. Respondents suggested ways to expand services in the face of budget limitations. These included leasing and contracting arrangements, developing partnerships with other entities and seeking external funding.

Dr. Lobo offers 10 recommendations; five related to coping strategies for use by unemployed youth, and five directed to service providers. In terms of coping, it is important to keep active with meaningful activities. Activities that provide a structure, a common purpose, social interaction, and identity can be especially helpful. There is a tendency for unemployed youth and their families to feel that they have not earned their free time and, therefore, do not deserve to participate in leisure activities. This is counterproductive to effective coping. Young people should try to main-

tain a healthy lifestyle, including participation in low or no cost activity that is as similar as possible to pre-unemployment status. Ways to deal with possible stresses in family relationships are for youth to help with household chores, give regular accounts of their job searches, and remain active and cheerful.

Recommendations for local authorities include the suggestion that agencies conduct campaigns to make unemployed youth aware of sport and recreation opportunities. These, along with possible discounted rates during off-peak times, could encourage more participation. Local authorities could cooperate with employment and training agencies to facilitate access to leisure programs. Where special opportunities are offered for unemployed youth, agencies should view these as "stepping stones toward social integration and assimilation into the general community."

This book addresses an important area of concern. There are many local and regional variations, but the general problem of unemployed youth is worldwide. Francis Lobo is well qualified to write about this problem. While his current book is based on a study conducted in Western Australia, the material presented is broadly applicable.

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VEAL, A. J. (2002). *Leisure and Tourism Policy and Planning* (2nd Ed.).
CABI Publishing: Wallingford, UK. ISBN 0 85199 546 2. Paperback, pp. 255.

The first edition of this book was titled *Leisure Policy and Planning* and was published in 1994 by Longman. It was a book that was used extensively in tertiary leisure courses while many changes were occurring in public policy-making and planning. It is therefore fitting that additions are made in the second edition to include tourism and expand other areas as well as treat them in depth. These include: human rights, the local state, best value, aspects of evaluation, and demand-change factors. Since much has changed in the public sector environment in the late 1990s the book has addressed shifts in party political power in Western countries, the emergence of new political alignments, intensification of globalisation trends and privatisation experiments.

One of the aims of the book, according to the author, is to bridge the gap between theory and

practice. His belief is that students should be familiar with a wide range of social and political theory and reconcile knowledge and awareness with their own current and future roles as competent practising professionals. Students are therefore encouraged to use practical, constructive and analytical skills. Consequently, the book contains theoretical and critical material as well as how-to-do-it sections.

The book has eleven chapters. The introductory chapter shows how activities of policy-making and planning are carried out by governments and associated agencies in the fields of leisure and tourism. Although tourism is seen as a form of leisure, the author shows that there are significant differences between leisure and tourism and between leisure and tourism studies. Despite marked changes that have occurred between public and private sectors towards the end of the

20th century, the public sector remains a significant force in the planning and provision of leisure services. The introductory chapter sets the scene for other chapters that follow.

Since basic rights and needs are responsibilities of governments, Chapter 2 examines the status of leisure as a right and a need. Within the context of various political ideologies, the roles of the state in society and in the provision of leisure are examined in Chapter 3. In Chapter 4 the ideas of mainstream economics are discussed and why reliance has been placed on economic-based analysis with the triumph of capitalism. An introduction into government policy-making processes and public decision-making are dealt with in Chapter 5. With a focus on leisure and tourism planning, guidelines for a rational-comprehensive planing and policy-making framework is suggested in Chapter 6. A range of specific techniques and approaches that can be used in preparing leisure and tourism plans are dealt with in Chapter 7, followed by leisure-demand and forecasting techniques in Chapter 8. Economics-based techniques used in leisure and tourism planning and decision-making are discussed in Chapter 9. Evaluating policies and plans once implemented is the substance of Chapter 10. Feedback generated from the process provides further information for the following rounds of policy-making. Leisure and tourism planning and policy-making for groups with special needs are given attention in the final chapter,

Leisure and Tourism Policy and Planning is a timely publication that is well suited for undergraduate students. In policy and planning courses it should be the required text. The book utilises a holistic approach in considering various sectors for policy-making and planning, In the pursuits of planning goals, it gives the student options to choose from. By integrating leisure and tourism policy-making and planning through a social, political and economic framework, students are optimally prepared for professional practice.

FRANCIS LOBO
Editor

CALL FOR PAPERS
THE PHILOSOPHY OF LEISURE

A special issue on the philosophy of leisure is scheduled for publication in the 1st Quarter of 2004. Original manuscripts that pertain to the experience of leisure, exploration of the leisure experience, its impact on the individual, community and society will be considered for publication. Empirical, conceptual and theoretical papers written with practitioners, community groups or individuals from other disciplines are strongly encouraged.

Appropriate topics for this issue include, but are not limited to the following:
1. The nature of the leisure experience – what actually makes for leisure;
2. Historical assessment of how leisure has been studied in different cultures and at various times and why it was given importance;
3. Transformational effect of leisure on the individual;
4. Impact of the leisure person on family and social relations;
5. Practice of leisure – what constitutes real leisure activities; and
6. Can leisure attitude become an underlying principle guiding everyday life.

Manuscripts submitted for consideration will be subject to the standard blind review process. Authors should use the APA (5th ed.) style manual to guide the format of the their manuscript. The deadline for the manuscript submission is 30 November, 2003. All submissions and inquiries should be directed to the Guest Editor, Veena Sharma or the World Leisure Journal, Editor-in-Chief, Francis Lobo

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