OUTDOOR RECREATION

ENRICHMENT FOR A LIFETIME

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Chapter 5

The Social Aspects of Outdoor Recreation

In the last chapter, we concentrated on the individual as an individual, on his or her traits, needs, attitudes, and satisfactions as they relate to leisure pursuits, with an emphasis on outdoor experiences. We will look at the individual as a member of a society and as a member of its subgroups in this chapter. We will probe the roles of culture and subculture as they pertain to leisure behavior.

At the turn of the 20th century, the *Journal of Leisure Science* allocated a special issue to the sociological aspects of leisure research including an article by Donald Field (2000), who was involved in such research for a number of years. He stated that sociological scholarship on people in parks has matured over time, particularly in the 1970s and the 1980s. This chapter is devoted to the social aspects of outdoor experiences using past and recent research, but first a discussion of the elements that constitute a society.

THE NATURE OF HUMAN SOCIETY

As a system, human society comprises different structures and performs certain functions. Regardless of their historical time or geographical locations, all human societies are, to a great extent, similar when it comes to social structures and social func-

tions. Following are the basic social institutions of society.

The Family

The family could be nuclear, referring to a male, a female, and their offspring, or extended to include blood and marriage relatives. The impact of the family on the life of both young and old cannot be denied, perhaps because the family is involved in many social, psychological, and economical functions as follows:

1. Sexual satisfaction
2. Reproduction
3. Socialization
4. Psychological sustenance
5. Economic support

The role of the family on leisure behavior in general, and on outdoor recreation in particular, along with the impact of leisure on the individual family members, will be elaborated on later.

Religion

Religion is the second most important major social institution in almost all societies. Durkheim (1915) suggested that religion is the outcome of the collectivity of ritual. As indicated, rituals played and still play an im-

portant role in the lives of individuals and societies. One view is that ritual was and is the cement that holds the society together. Such views were challenged by Turner (1982), who believes that in addition to its role in maintaining the social order, the ritual is the locus for rudimentary forms of leisure pursuits.

An important function of religion is that it determines that which is sacred and that which is profane. In other words, religion determines, to a great extent, what is acceptable and unacceptable human behavior. The role of religion, then, is important in leisure pursuits. An example comes from colonial America when the Puritans and Quakers not only frowned on horse racing and mixed dancing but suggested that the U.S. Constitution include a prohibition against such "extravaganza."

Political Institutions

The political structure of any society revolves around the source of power and its allocation. The organization of political power can produce, or may fail to produce, the following:

1. Internal calm and peace
2. External protection and expansion
3. National, regional, and local policies
4. Interest alignment
5. Distribution of wealth
6. Protection of the environment

Although leisure and recreation were not of governmental concern in the past, recently their role in the lives of citizens has prompted all levels of government—federal, state, and local—to become involved in not only regulating offerings through legislature, but also providing facilities and programs. These will be discussed in in Chapters 7, 8, and 9.

The Economic System

The economic system evolved from a simple system of barter to a complex system of the stock markets, long-term financing, and multinational corporations. One way of looking at the level of economic sophistica-

tripartite classification based on the location of the bulk of the labor force, as follows:

1. Primary economy: agriculture and extractive business dominate
2. Secondary economy: industry and manufacturing dominate
3. Tertiary economy: most of the labor force in services and trade

American society and Canadian society have reached a tertiary economy in that most of their labor forces are in services and trade. In the leisure sector of the economy, this means an increasing number of workers and professionals are seen in the leisure delivery systems, be they public or private. Chapter 6 is devoted to the relationship between leisure pursuits in general, and outdoor recreational activities in particular, and the status of the American economy, nationally, regionally, and locally.

Technology

Technology is both a social and a material institution. It refers to the organization, dissipation, and utilization of knowledge in the service of societal goals. Social technology includes formal and informal education, the media, and voluntary education. Material technology, on the other hand, includes science and industry. Leisure scholars agree that the technological industrial advances of the last two centuries helped increase free time, an important ingredient for leisure pursuits. It is clear that some people who are living in this age of technology pay a heavy toll in that technology does not make their lives easier, just busier ("Breaking point," 1995). On the other hand, some scholars believe that a convergence is occurring between leisure and technology (Hill & McLean, 1999).

Besides the five social institutions of family, religion, government, the economy, and technology, secondary institutions such as play and work groups play important roles in people's lives. Accordingly, a number of social processes help the individual learn the roles he or she is supposed to play in these institutions. Foremost among these social

SOCIALIZATION AND LEISURE BEHAVIOR

A human being is born socially neutral. Socialization is a process through which the culture of the community and/or society is instilled in the individual. This process, which begins at birth and continues throughout life, helps the individual to play his or her assigned roles in society correctly. Playing the role, as expected by the social groups with which the individual interacts, not only gives needed admission to these groups, but also serves as a threshold to self-esteem. Humans play many roles in their lifetime, among which are leisure roles. Leisure roles include, but are not limited to, being a player on a sports team, an actor in a school play, or a member of the church choir.

The Age of Socialization Into Leisure

As previously stated, socialization is a continual process, yet social scientists agree that there is a certain age when socialization is so powerful that the activity partaken could become a lifelong practice. There are a number of studies that are focused on the age of socialization into outdoor recreational activities. Bevins, Bond, Concorn, McIntosh, and McNeil (1968) found that childhood participation in hunting and fishing is highly correlated with adulthood participation in the same activities. Hendee (1969) found that 70% of the adult participants in wilderness camping had taken their first camping trip before the age of 15. Bradshaw and Jackson (1979) investigated socialization into leisure activities in general and concluded such socialization occurs before age 13. Yoesting and Burkhead (1973) found that individuals who are active in outdoor recreation continue to be active in outdoor life during their adult years and that the opposite is true: inactive children continue being inactive in these activities as adults. Their findings do not support Kelly's (1983) study that humans can be socialized into new activities in adulthood. Yet it is possible that the inactive persons were not exposed to outdoor recreational

pursuits. Had they been, they may have become active in them.

On the other hand, it seems that elementary and junior high school students pass through an "extracurricular career" that begins with recreational ambience, progressing from competitive to elite activities as they grow older. Their leisure pursuits become less spontaneous and more rationalized. This may be the means of socializing them into the corporate world of the American culture (Adler & Adler, 1999).

Agents of Socialization Into Leisure

The family seems to be the most influential agent of socialization into leisure generally and also into outdoor recreational activities. Kelly (1974) found that of the 744 activities reported in his study, 63% began with the family, most of which were either sports or outdoor recreational activities.

The school is considered by many as another socializing agent for leisure. Yet there is a paucity of studies on the role of the school as a socializing agent into outdoor recreational pursuits. As early as 1936, Neumeyer and Neumeyer suggested that in preparation for leisure, nature studies and activities for exploring the out-of-doors should be included in the school curriculum. In many of the school districts in the United States, some form of outdoor experience is provided, but the impact of these offerings has not been investigated. One of the early studies conducted in the United States showed that the less educated go more often to parks, but how much they appreciate nature is not known (White, 1955). Also, do the less educated go to the park because it is the only leisure outlet available, compared with the theatre, the movies, and the zoo, where the middle and upper classes tend to go more often because they can afford them?

Empirical studies have been conducted on the role of youth-serving agencies (YMCA, Boy Scouts, Campfire Girls, and the like) in experiences in the outdoors. Kleiber and Rickards (1981) suggested that the outdoor experiences these agencies provide

serve as a theatre. Experiences in that theatre, according to Shepard (1977), enhance the process of gathering and consolidating a range of skills at the end of childhood in preparation for the emancipation from the parental home.

In places of worship, whether they are churches, synagogues, temples, or mosques, outdoor recreational activities have been provided for many years for both youth and adults, yet there is hardly any empirical study on their role in enhancing, or reducing, the leisure experience in natural settings. According to MacLean, Peterson, and Martin (1985), the sponsors value outdoor experiences so much that they assume part of the expense and provide volunteer counselors. This eventually led to the provision of organized family camping.

Private and publicly sponsored camps are also agencies for outdoor experiences. The private camp may be operated by a non-profit organization such as the YMCA or by an entrepreneur for profit. Public recreation and park agencies also conduct both day and resident camps for the young. The American Camp Association (ACA, 2013) highlighted the many benefits of camp for youth in a burgeoning program of research:

> Between 2001 and 2004 the American Camp Association conducted national research with over 5000 families from 80 ACA-Accredited camps to determine the outcomes of the camp experience as expressed by parents and children.
>
> Parents, camp staff, and children reported significant growth in:
>
> - Self-esteem
> - Peer relationships
> - Independence
> - Adventure and exploration
> - Leadership
> - Environmental awareness
> - Friendship skills
> - Values and decisions
> - Social comfort
> - Spirituality

> The findings from this national study indicated that camp is a unique educational institution and a positive force in youth development. The camp experience can benefit children by increasing:
>
> - confidence and self-esteem
> - social skills and making friends
> - independence and leadership qualities
> - willingness to try and adventurousness
> - spiritual growth, especially at camps focused on spirituality.
>
> No differences were found based on the camp type (day, resident) or session length. (para. 1–4, used with permission)

Visit www.ACAcamps.org/research for a full review of recent findings.

Leisure as a Socializing Agent

Csikszentmihalyi (1981) advocated that socialization into leisure, or more precisely into expressive activities, is important because these activities could serve as the criteria by which instrumental activities are evaluated. In general, an instrumental activity is one in which the end product is supreme (fishing commercially for the purpose of selling the fish) as opposed to an expressive activity in which the process is more important (fishing for sport). Although most leisure pursuits are to some extent expressive, Csikszentmihalyi's notion does not pertain solely to leisure activities. Work could be expressive to some. His point, though, is that expressive activities are used in the growing years as criteria by which other activities are evaluated.

Humans are socialized into a number of leisure roles in their lives. They might move from being young athletes to adult poker players to senior RV campers. In the process, they become acquainted with the requirements for playing any of these roles. In the evolution of societies, leisure roles were not crucial to the society's welfare or to its members' survival. These roles are becoming

Parents of the very youngest children are the most likely to report involvement in outdoor recreation as a family. These two dads expose their children to a fun day of activity at Kings Mountain National Military Park in South Carolina. Mom goes backpacking with her baby on the Appalachian Trail at Grafton Notch in Bethel, Maine.

increasingly important to the members of industrial/bureaucratic societies. According to Kelly (1983), leisure may be found to be central rather than residual in some phases of life, mainly in the growing years and in retirement. Two spheres that affect human behavior are leisure behavior in primary and secondary groups, as discussed in the following sections.

PRIMARY GROUPS AND LEISURE PURSUITS

Human dependency on others, which is witnessed from birth, tends to continue throughout life. Dependency is greater in the early years of life and remains at a high rate during childhood. Having the longest childhood among animals, including primates, humans are more dependent on others for a longer period than are other animals. Humans are by necessity social, and they enter a greater number of social circles of different sizes and importance in their life course. The smallest of these circles consists of only two persons, called a dyad. Other circles include primary face-to-face groups such as family and peers and secondary groups such as schoolmates, neighbors, and coworkers. Dyads, primary groups, and secondary groups are socializing agents as well as providers of outdoor recreational opportunities.

Dyads and Outdoor Pursuits

Perhaps the first dyadic relationships to occur are mother–infant, father–infant, and two-sibling dyads. It was Erikson (1977) who brought to attention the importance of the mother–infant dyad in the particular relationship of ritualization. Manning (1975) pioneered a theoretic study on backpacking and the basic needs of infants that included information on how to plan for toddlers and how to make hiking acceptable to children.

Another form of dyadic relationship, partnership, begins at the late teens and early adulthood and can lead to sexual intimacy, which could be enhanced through leisure pursuits. It is no wonder that commercial advertisements use outdoor and leisure scenes intimating closeness between lovers. Empirical studies on the role of outdoor pursuits in the lives of couples are lacking, yet studies of the role of organized sport in the lives of couples exist (Eitzen & Sage, 1989). In either case, the couples' participation in these pursuits is expected to increase marriage stability and reduce gender inequality (Fong & Zhang, 2001).

Other than sexual dyads, dyadic friendship also exists in the form of two-person long-term relationships. The role that leisure pursuits, including outdoor experiences, play in dyadic relationships is still under investigation. Although few studies have been conducted, a recent one showed that individual leisure satisfaction is not necessarily reflected on the dyadic relationship (Berg, Trost, Schneider, & Allison, 2000). These findings support the findings of Fink and Wild (1995).

The role of leisure pursuits in enhancing, or destroying, dyadic relationship, be they romantic or friendship, remains to be investigated. This does not mean that small primacy groups such as family or peers do not play a role in these relationships.

The Family and Outdoor Pursuits

Despite the changes that have taken place in the family structure, its main function as the dominant socializing agent in human societies remains the same—this, despite the encroachment of school, church, and peers on this particular function, let alone the most recent assault by the powerful medium of television. The family provides both the physical setting and the social setting for leisure activities. Glyptis and Chambers (1982) reported that not only is most free time spent at home, but the home is also a physical source for many leisure pursuits, providing space and equipment. The backyard as a space for outdoor pursuits has not been thoroughly studied, but it is evident that many pursuits take place there.

According to Orthner (1976), leisure, in general, contributes to marital cohesion. In an earlier study, West and Merriam (1970) found that outdoor recreational activities lead to family cohesiveness. According to Kelly (1981), the critical variable for the building of family cohesion is the nature of the integration. He suggested that the work of B. L. Driver indicates that the perceived benefits of outdoor experience include two elements for effective interaction: the strengthening of significant relationships and the enjoyment of companionship.

Where the family as a unit is concerned, leisure experience, including outdoor pursuits, supports key needs over the life cycle. These key needs include attachment, bonding, identification, interaction, stress management, and social support (Orthner, Barnett, & Ancinin, 1994).

The influence of challenge-based recreation on the collective efficacy of families with at-risk youth was seen in the increase of conflict resolution efficacy among 34 families who participated in a study to investigate such a relationship (Wells, Wiidmer, & McCoy, 2004).

Peers and Outdoor Pursuits

According to Cheek (1981), in leisure literature, both professional and investigatory, outdoor recreational activities have often been described as taking place in a group of around four persons. Although escaping urban pressure is an important motivational factor in participating in a wilderness experience, hardly anyone does it alone. The solitude sought is usually a communal, not a solo, solitude. Based on the findings of the

research conducted in the 1960s and 1970s, Cheek concluded that it is either kinship or friendship that is the basis of the social group in an outdoor leisure pursuit. Earlier, Cheek and Burch (1976) reported that members of an outdoor leisure pursuit group tend to remain physically together and to share decision making, two elements that add to cohesion and intimacy.

Cheek (1981) also suggested that outdoor pursuits offer a unique opportunity for a human being to behave as a human being, a condition denied him or her in the too-rational industrial society. He asked,

> When may humans exalt their natures in addition or perhaps in contrast to their exactedness? . . . Only under very limited conditions; for limited periods of time; and with very few others of their kind. Outdoor recreation activities appear to offer the unique combination of these conditions in modern industrial societies. (p. 51)

To Cheek (1981), the most important use of outdoor settings is an all too infrequently recognized function: to feel and exchange indications of special caring and liking. Recently, Edwards (2001) underscored that the need for more contact with peers can be provided in the recreational opportunities for middle school children and young adults.

LEISURE AND SECONDARY GROUPS

Other than the primary groups where frequent face-to-face interaction takes place, secondary groups play important roles as agents for leisure. Among secondary groups are schoolmates, youth groups, and adult groups.

Outdoor Pursuits With Schoolmates

It seems the first programs that provided outdoor experience through a school were made possible by the Kellogg Foundation of Battle Creek, Michigan, in the early 1930s

(Smith, Carlson, Donaldson, & Masters, 1970). The Clear Lake Camp and its staff were made available to three Michigan schools. Students from Grades 4 to 12 went to the camp for 2 weeks. The program was enhanced when an act was passed by the Michigan legislature in 1945, which enabled school districts to acquire camps and operate them as a part of the regular educational and recreational programs of the schools.

According to Burrus-Bammel and Bammel (1990), there is sufficient evidence to conclude that outdoor/environmental education programs have the potential to produce benefits for the participants and society. Although results of specific program evaluation cannot be generalized, the results have a remarkable consistency of demonstrative positive change. Malsam and Nelson (1984) reported an increase in the trust and respect for teachers, leaders, and other students after a 4-day residential program for sixth graders. According to Burrus-Bammel and Bammel, programs do not have to be of long duration to promote lasting effects.

Outdoor Pursuits and Youth Groups

Youth groups include members of youth-serving organizations, young church members, and members of youth clubs. The idea of organizing activities for the young under the tutelage of adults is an old idea that most likely emanated from the need to socialize them in a manner acceptable to the elders. Neumeyer and Neumeyer (1936) wrote of Jünglingsverein, a club of young unmarried men in Bremen, Germany, in 1709. By 1863, when George Williams organized his first YMCA in London, England, many of these Jünglingsverein clubs still existed (Neumeyer & Neumeyer, 1949). The YMCA and YWCA were originally urban youth centers whose staff concentrated on serving youth.

According to Turner (1985), YMCA camping could date as far back as 1867, but actual records show that the Brooklyn's YMCA took 30 boys on a trip described as camping in 1881. In April 1884, the first encampment took place by Orange Lake, New Jersey, where YMCA boys went boating and fishing.

Bible study took 1 to 2 hours each day. A year later some YMCA boys went to an encampment by Lake Champlain, New York, under the leadership of Sumner Dudley, after whose death it was named Dudley Camp. In 1908, the camp was moved to Westport, New York. Today, the YMCA in the United States operates over 240 resident camps across the country (YMCA USA, 2013). In Canada, the YMCA operates 28 resident summer camps, which serve more than 18,000 campers each summer (YMCA Canada, 2013).

The youth group that conducted its activity in natural settings from its inception was the paramilitary Boy Scouts, initiated by Lord Robert Stephenson Smyth Baden-Powell in London in 1908 at the heel of the British defeat in the Boer War in South Africa. His idea was to use the outdoors in developing physical fitness, self-reliance, and patriotism. According to Rosenthal (1986), the notion of the Scout as a serviceable citizen trained to follow orders in wartime is at the heart of Scouting. Yet Baden-Powell tried from the beginning to define the movement as anti-militaristic (Rosenthal, 1986). In fact, Baden-Powell was much influenced by Ernest Thompson Seton, one of the great artist-naturalists of the 20th century. Seton founded the Woodcraft Movement after his immigration to America in the 1880s. Rosenthal stated,

> For Seton, the natural wisdom of the woods was the highest available to man: individuals had to learn to trust their instincts and open themselves to the prompting of nature in order to achieve their full realization as human beings. (p. 65)

Today, the Scout movement, for both boys and girls, has touched the lives of many young Americans. The impact that the Scouts have had on youth-based outdoor recreation is impressive. In total, the Scouts served 114,304,329 boys and girls in the United States between 1910 and 2010 (Boy Scouts of Amercia, 2013).

According to Butler (1961), Dr. Luther Gulick and his wife, who were instrumental in establishing the Boy Scout movement in America in 1910, became interested in a similar movement for girls. Moreover, the Gulicks were convinced that the Scouts' educational curriculum at the time was in need of something more. Camp Fire has long been known for its emphasis on inclusivity and encourages acceptance and celebration of difference. The following is Camp Fire's (2013) statement of inclusion:

> Camp Fire works to realize the dignity and worth of each individual and to eliminate human barriers based on all assumptions which prejudge individuals. Our program standards are designed and implemented to reduce sexual, racial, religious, and cultural stereotypes and to foster positive intercultural relationships. In Camp Fire, everyone is welcome. (para. 1)

The Gulicks encouraged William Chauncy Langdon, a poet and a consultant on pageantry, to organize an outing experience for a dozen girls from Thetford, Vermont. The girls were called Camp Fire Girls, and they were set up in three ranks of achievement—Wood Gatherers, Fire Makers, and Torch Bearers—ranks that are still in use today. The philosophy of Ernest Thompson Seton was more influential in this movement than in the Scout movement. The Woodcraft Ranger approach, teaching youngsters to use their hands as rangers do, with its strong American motif, Native American lore, is clear in the Camp Fire Girls. Now, after admitting boys, the organization is called simply Camp Fire.

Outdoor Pursuits With Adult Groups

For the lack of a better word, the term *adult group* is used to include the stable membership of voluntary associations, the makeshift groups that form around an outdoor experience, and workplace-centered groups. Voluntary associations include instrumental and expressive groups. The instrumental associations usually revolve around professions and occupations and are

concerned with specific outcomes for their members, usually of extrinsic value, such as wage increases and fringe benefits. Sometimes, they also offer the membership leisure and expressive activities. On the other hand, expressive voluntary associations revolve around activities that are of intrinsic value. The following are expressive associations that deal with nature: American Camping Association, American Youth Hostels, National Audubon Society, Save-the-Redwood League, and the Sierra Club.

DEMOGRAPHIC CORRELATES OF OUTDOOR PURSUITS

The demographic factors that have an affect–effect relationship to leisure behavior include age, life course, gender, occupation, residence, and ethnicity. Although these factors only provide a moderate basis for participation in outdoor recreation (Manning, 1985), they should nonetheless be presented and discussed. In 2002, Cordell, Green, and Betz examined the differences in recreation-al behaviors and environmental attitudes in the United States and broadly explored the changing demands of outdoor recreation, environmental opinions, and demographics in the United States. Survey data in recreational behavior (participation) and environmental attitudes nationwide across six sociodemographic factors—race, country of birth, rural–urban residence, region of the country, age, and income—indicate that demographic differences, recreational activity choices, and people's environmental positions are linked.

On the local level, Payne, Mowen, and Orsega-Smith (2002) examined the relationship among age, race, and residential location with respect to the newly opened Ohio-Erie Canal Reservation in Cleveland, Ohio. They found that although all three variables contributed significantly to what was expected of the new park, age was the strongest/nonsupport for additional parkland. On the other hand, older adults and African Americans were more likely to prefer recreation over conservation.

These members of an outrigger club function together as a team and socialize during race

Leisure Pursuits and Age

Play is witnessed in the upper orders of the animal kingdom. Play activities of young humans seem to go through stages that are universal despite differences in race, ethnicity, or cultural background. These activities are usually simple and become increasingly complex as the society itself becomes more complex. Play seems to be natural, so learning to play seems unnecessary, but learning to play helps one appreciate the intrinsic values of instrumental activities (activities that may lack the element of play; Csikszentmihalyi, 1981).

Leisure education describes the acquisition of skills for the enjoyment of leisure activities both now and in the future. *Leisure counseling* is a term used to describe the process a professional uses to help a person choose and become involved in a leisure pursuit. A young age is ideal for acquiring a desire for lifelong leisure pursuit (Bevins et al., 1968; Bradshaw & Jackson, 1979; Hendee, 1969), but leisure counseling is useful to the adult who needs help in selecting a meaningful leisure pursuit. Recently, the Sierra Club initiated the program Building Bridges to the Outdoors, which works with established nature education programs and educates political bodies on the need to increase opportunities to play outdoors (Rauber, 2006).

Leisure Pursuits and Life Course

As life progresses, individuals assume new roles, including leisure roles. Also, they give up some roles, sometimes by choice and sometimes not by choice. Examples of the taking on and abandoning of leisure roles are provided by Snyder and Spreitzer (1978). Young men and women were found to assess their own competence as athletes, and if they believed that their competencies were below group expectations, they tended to withdraw from the leisure activity. Kelly (1983) suggested that participants in leisure pursuits evaluate not only their satisfaction with the activity but also its long-term benefits. Accordingly, they form attitudes, either negative or positive, toward the activity. This process of evaluation goes on throughout life.

As life progresses, individuals should take on new leisure roles and abandon old ones. Examples of leisure roles in different phases of life are given by Bammel and Burrus-Bammel (1981), Kelly (1983), and Gerson, Ibrahim, DeVries, and Eisen (1988) and are summarized and shown in Table 5.1. A study conducted some years ago showed that the level of leisure pursuits declines with age, but it is not clear if the decline is in all three levels—amusive, recreative, or contemplative (Gordon, Gaitz, & Scott, 1976).

Leisure Pursuits and Gender

Leisure pursuits and gender is an important topic. Society and societal values seem to play an important part in determining interests, at least when it comes to considering time free from familial and civic obligation, as shown in the next study. Jackson and Henderson (1995) suggested that constraints to leisure participation among women are functions of cultural interpretation and not merely a biological tendency. According to Bialeschki and Henderson (1986), women are often expected to balance career focus with family responsibilities. More recent reviews of the research on women and leisure constraints highlight that social role expectations and other social factors continue to be prominent factors that shape women's leisure (Henderson & Hickerson, 2007). In cross-cultural studies, men were found to have more time for leisure in Egypt (Ibrahim, 1981), Israel (Shamir & Ruskin, 1983), Russia (Moskoff, 1984), Norway (Fasting & Sisjord, 1985), and Canada (Shaw, 1985). How the imbalance of free time between genders is reflected in outdoor pursuits has not been empirically investigated.

A study of women with histories of participation in adventure recreation revealed that they experienced varying sources of constraint similar to findings in previous studies, but they could also successfully negotiate these constraints by restructuring their adventure experience or by reinforcing their commitment to adventure as a life priority (Little, 2002).

On the other hand, McDermott (2004) claimed that there is a relative dearth of

scholarly examination within leisure studies of women experiencing their physical abilities through active outdoor recreation and the potentially empowering effects on them. McDermott sought to draw out the connections between these seemingly disparate observations through a qualitative examination of women's experiences of female-only wilderness canoeing. Women undertaking such an experience did not explicitly identify issues related to their physicalities. This in turn provides support for claims regarding the importance of the provision of all-female outdoor experiences.

Can outdoor recreation aid in the deconstruction of gender and gender stereotyping? Outcomes from recreational experiences can transfer into other realms of daily life, resulting in a heightened sense of empowerment and social change for women. In an examination of the connection between wilderness recreation and social change for women, data were collected from 24 qualitative interviews with women in a wilderness setting. Wilderness recreation can influence women's everyday lives in the forms of self-sufficiency, shift in perspective, connection to others, and mental clarity (Pohl, Borrie, & Patterson, 2000).

Issues such as gender and ethnicity are related to preferences for various park characteristics, visitation to urban parks and open spaces, and perception of park benefits were polled in a mail survey of residents in two metropolitan areas in the eastern United States. In total, 1,570 questionnaires were completed, and the overall response rate for the survey was approximately 27%. Women were no more likely than men to evaluate some park characteristics as *important*. Also, there were no significant gender differences in the types of visits or the perceived benefits of parks. There was a significant ethnic variation in preferred park attributes, frequency and type of visits, and perceptions of the positive and negative effects of parks. The effects of ethnicity were not found to be different for men and women (Ho, Sasidharan, & Elmendorf, 2005).

Leisure Pursuits and Occupation

Among the early studies conducted on the relationship between occupation and leisure is Clarke's (1956). He used five levels of occupational groupings: professional, managerial, clerical, skilled, and unskilled workers. Members of the top occupations tend to go to theaters, concerts, lectures, and art galleries and to read, study, and play bridge more often than do members of other occupations. Greater attendance at sports events and in commercial recreation is witnessed among members of the middle occupations. Members of the blue-collar occupations tend to attend bars and watch television more often than do the members of the higher occupations. Burdge (1969) used the same classification of occupations and concluded that members of higher occupations seem to participate in greater variety of leisure pursuits, including more participation in outdoor recreational pursuits. Bultena and Field (1978) found occupations to be significantly related to participation in outdoor activity, supporting Burdge's conclusion that persons occupying higher paying positions tend to participate in more leisure pursuits, including outdoor ones.

Roberts (1970) suggested that occupations affect leisure pursuits and are affected by them as follows:

1. Manual occupations demand a great deal of time and energy, sometimes leaving manual laborers without energy to cultivate active leisure pursuits.
2. Manual occupations are physically arduous and therefore may result in a need to spend leisure simply relaxing or recuperating.
3. Less financially stable persons may not have substantial incomes to invest in leisure interests outside the home and may not have discretionary money to spare for club subscriptions, recreational equipment, and the like.

Table 5.1
Leisure Pursuits and Age Groups

Kelly	Bammel and Burrus-Bammel	Gerson et al.
I. *Preparation Period:* (Birth to early 20s) Play in childhood varies with age and gender and is a means of interaction and a way of self-discovery.	*Teens:* Active participation in vigorous form of recreation activity both outdoors and indoors. *Twenties:* Active participation, especially in outdoor activities. Wilderness backpacking, canoeing, and so forth.	*Birth–2:* Individual play, expanding horizon, becoming aware of environment. *2–3:* Beginning of imitative and creative play. *3–4:* Parallel and symbolic play, social play, begin aquatics. *5–7:* Large muscle development. Family activities important. *8–9:* Greater desire to participate and to succeed.
II. *Establishment Period:* (mid-1920s to mid-1940s) Leisure roles complement family and community roles. Investment in leisure pursuits increases after children are grown.	*Thirties:* Less active and less frequent participation in outdoor recreation. Camping replaces backpacking. *Forties:* Less active participation, more spectating. Car or van camping replaces tent camping. *Fifties:* Greater emphasis on spectating for the great majority. For a minority, renewed attempt at physical conditioning. Bowling.	*9–12:* Team sport. Sexual differences in play. *13–18:* Group influence, instant gratification, need to accept socially acceptable activities. *19–22 (Identity):* Testing intimate relationships. Test self through high-risk activities. *23–30 (Intimacy):* Peak of physical prowess. Active in sports and high-risk activities. *30–38 (Establishment):* Activities of couples, social and community services. Children may be used as prestige symbols.
III. *Culmination Period:* (mid-1940s on) More choices in leisure pursuit are seen. Reestablishment of marital dyad occurs.	*Sixties:* Spectating and decrease in physical character of activities. Gardening. *Seventies:* Some new sport activities may begin with retirement. Golf, swimming, shuffleboard, etc.	*38–55 (Adjustments):* Less physical activity. Participation more spontaneous. Preference in smaller and family groups. *55–65 (Mellow):* Enjoyment of cultural and creative activities. Expansion to large groups for entertainment. *65+ (Seniors):* Physical fitness paramount. Preference for activity with same age group.

Note. Adapted from *Leisure Identities and Interaction*, by J. Kelly, 1983, London, England: George Allen and Unwin; *Human Behavior and Leisure*, by G. Bammel and L. Burrus-Bammel, 1981, Dubuque, IA: Wm. C. Brown; and *Understanding Leisure: An Interdisciplinary Approach*, by G. Gerson, H. M. Ibrahim, J. DeVries, and G. Eisen, 1988, Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt.

4. White-collar families have a greater opportunity to travel abroad, and this exposure may stimulate other leisure interests. Certain leisure activities appear to trigger participation in others.

5. Education awakens white-collar people to leisure interests found outside the sphere of the manual worker.

6. A white-collar worker's job may create more opportunities for one to acquire skills that can be exploited during leisure time.

7. Leisure habits emerge as status attitudes generated at work spill over into and influence people's leisure lives.

Is income a factor in selecting outdoor pursuits? According to Burdge (1969), the more expensive outdoor activities seem to appeal to the person in the higher levels of occupation with higher incomes, and this certainly seems to remain true today. A quarter of a century after Burdge's work this assertion was supported by Walker and Kiecolt (1995), who found that wilderness use is dominated by highly educated professionals.

Leisure Pursuits and Residence

To what extent does the rural–urban dichotomy affect one's leisure pursuit? Knopp (1972) found that the urban male is more inclined to seek solitude and exercise than is his rural counterpart. Bammel and Burrus-Bammel (1981) stated that urban residents tend to watch TV, go to the movies, and enjoy swimming more often than do rural dwellers, who appreciate the amenities provided in a natural setting, such as solitude and sentience. Allen, Long, and Perdue (1987) surveyed rural households to determine their satisfaction with their leisure activities. Their neutral responses led the authors to conclude that rural residents may be seeking more leisure opportunities than the ones provided in nearby areas. Their conclusion confirms Foret's (1985) conclusions drawn when she investigated the relationship between life satisfaction and leisure activities

of rural and urban residents. She found that age and residence caused no significant differences in leisure satisfaction. However, urban dwellers were more recreationally active than were rural residents. In 1963, Sessoms reviewed most of the studies on age, residence, and occupation conducted up until 1963, which had to do with demographic characteristics and concluded the following:

1. Active participation in outdoor pursuits declines with age.
2. Greater participation is witnessed with higher income.
3. Varied participation increases with higher occupational prestige.
4. More participation is observed among urban residents.
5. Less participation is seen by families with small children.

According to Manning (1985), research conducted on the demographic correlates since 1963 has tended to corroborate Sessoms' findings. The studies cited by Manning show near uniformity in who uses outdoor recreational resources: younger persons of higher socioeconomic status. This does not mean persons from a particular social class. In fact, the whole concept of social class is being replaced by another concept: lifestyle.

Leisure and Ethnicity

Ethnicity refers to one's ancestral identity, which involves one's total heritage such as values and customs, taste and ritual, and some physical features. In the pluralistic American society, a number of ethnic groups—African Americans, Hispanics, Asians, and others—are important parts of the American mosaic. In the early 1960s, The Outdoor Recreation Resources Review Committee reported a significant difference in the outdoor pursuits between Whites and America's minority population. The Committee's assertion was confirmed by many other studies (Manning, 1985).

Ethnic groups should be encouraged to participate in outdoor pursuits but not necessarily to be assimilated into the main culture. Ethnic identity should be maintained,

although assimilation in the main culture has its advantages as shown in these two studies. It seems that interethnic contacts increase similarity in leisure pursuits between Blacks and Whites (Floyd & Shinew, 1999). Also, bicultural Hispanic groups place greater importance on family-related recreation benefits compared with the least assimilated Hispanics (Shaull & Gramann, 2001). The number of persons with Asian heritage is increasing in the United Sates. Although this population practices many traditional activities depending on the country of origin, it seems that the assimilation of youth with these backgrounds into the main culture is meeting difficulties (Tirone & Pedlar, 1997).

Thapa, Graef, and Absher (2002) examined aspects of information use and search behaviors of ethnic groups in Angeles and San Bernardino National Forest in California. Consistent with previous studies, Whites generally reported using all available information sources to a greater extent than Hispanics or other minority groups. Hispanics were least likely to approach rangers or employees for information, and other minority groups were least likely to pay attention to bulletin boards. Flyers and brochures were among the most frequently used information sources for all ethnic groups. Whites were more likely to seek out information for orientation and educational purposes, and Hispanics attributed more importance to instrumental uses, such as seeking information about parking facilities, permits, and operating hours. Needless to say that these are important for both research and management of outdoor activities.

In another study (Gobster, 2002), the planning for Chicago's largest park provided an opportunity to examine use patterns and preferences in outdoor recreation among a racially and ethnically diverse clientele. Results from on-site surveys of 898 park users (217 Black, 210 Latino, 182 Asian, and 289 White) showed that park users shared a core set of interests, preferences, and concerns about the park. But there were also important differences among and within racial and ethnic groups with respect to park use patterns, participation, and reports of racial

discrimination. Possibly other demographic factors come into play within the ethnic community.

OUTDOOR PURSUITS AND SPECIAL POPULATIONS

Kennedy, Austin, and Smith (1987) stated that there are many shortcomings in the labeling of the members of special populations, yet labels must be used to emphasize their special needs. Special populations are groups of individuals with special needs or exceptionalities who should be attended to by specially trained and qualified personnel. Select information is needed on the quality of life of each group so programs may be provided for them in the outdoors. Data on their quality of life are readily available, but data on the numbers of the members in each special population are sometimes difficult to locate.

Persons With Disabilities and Outdoor Experiences

It is estimated that over 6 million Americans have some limitation that could prevent them from participating in regular recreational programs (Pati et al., 1997). These cases include persons with orthopedic challenges; persons with cerebral palsy; the blind; the deaf; and persons suffering from muscular dystrophy, multiple sclerosis, and cardiac malfunction. Many of these people show interest in leisure pursuits, including outdoor ones. Depending on the case, the outdoor experience should be modified accordingly. Kennedy et al. (1987) suggested the following guidelines:

1. Change as little as necessary. For example, try to keep the structure of the activity as close as possible to the existing activity. It is better to undermodify so as to challenge the individual and to provide normalized experiences.
2. Where possible, involve the person in the selection and activity modification process. Many times the user is a good source of information. Trails

for persons with physical disabilities are based on this phenomenon. All of the modifications have historically needed the approval of the participants.

3. There may be elements of competition to consider when working with groups of children and adults. For instance, in ski competitions, past performance, age, and gender of the participant are usually considered when pairing individuals for competitive purposes.

4. Try to offer activities that are characteristic of individuals who are in mainstream society. Offer the same leisure opportunities that exist in society to persons with disabilities. The normalization principle should be emphasized, and the idea of inventing activities should be de-emphasized.

5. Where possible, activities should have common denominators, especially if they are modified. For example, in ski competitions everyone follows the same rules. The physical disability and the fact that everyone follows the same rules are the common denominators for equality in participation.

6. In many instances, the person with a disability is cast in a role of spectator. The authors of this volume strongly feel that individuals should be provided opportunities to participate in participant-based activities.

7. Although the authors do not devalue cooperative and other noncompetitive leisure experiences, the person with a disability should have ample opportunities to participate in equitable competitive situations.

8. Start at the level where the participants are currently functioning. This does not mean starting at the lowest level.

9. Individuals should be given opportunities for free choice. This may enhance the feeling of control.

When it comes to the availability of outdoor experiences for persons with disabilities, the Americans With Disabilities Act of 1990 reconciled itself with the Wilderness Act of 1964 by stating that those who use wheelchairs for everyday indoor activities shall not be barred from enjoying wilderness (Schultz, 2005).

The Socially Deviant and Outdoor Experiences

While sociologists look at deviancy as the outcome of cultural and environmental factors, psychologists tend to view it as the result of personality disorganization. Whatever the case, the individuals who are in the correctional system may benefit from recreational experiences in natural settings. In some instances, the experience is used as a form of rehabilitation, as is the case with the deep-sea diving program in the men's colony in Chino, California. If these men were type T personalities, risk-takers, such a program would provide the challenge they need. In other cases, the activity is deemed somewhat preventive, as with provisions of outdoor experiences in the Outward Bound program for youth at risk. The activity is thought to keep the person from deteriorating into further deviancy.

Older Adults and Outdoor Experiences

As shown earlier in the section on leisure pursuits and life course, the interests of older adults change due to a number of factors. According to Burdman (1986), the reduction in the number of muscular and nerve cells is accompanied by a loss of elasticity. Also, the person suffers from less efficiency in all body systems. The outcome is an increase in ailments such as cardiovascular, respiratory, and musculoskeletal problems; diabetes mellitus; and hypothermia. Moreover, older adults could suffer from psychological problems such as depression, dementia, and alcoholism. Recreational programs including outdoor experiences have proven beneficial. For instance, Owens (1982) found that satisfaction with leisure contributed significantly

to life satisfaction of the 205 older adults he studied.

According to Leitner and Leitner (1985), the leisure patterns of older adults, although diverse, are dominated by television viewing and reading. A possible reason for this could be their physical limitations. This may add to the feeling of loneliness as shown by the study of Creecy, Wright, and Berg (1982). On the other hand, popular outdoor activities, including gardening and camping, may decrease loneliness through socialization (Leitner & Leitner, 1985; McAvoy, 1982).

Stress can have a negative influence on psychological and physical health, particularly among older adults. Orsega-Smith, Mowen, Payne, and Godbey (2004) examined the relationship between stress, park-based leisure, and physiological health among older adults (aged 50–86). There were significant interactive effects between (a) stress and length of park stay and (b) stress and desired health benefits in their relationship to the physiological health indicator body mass index (BMI). There were also direct relationships between park companionship and perceived physical health and between length of park stay and lower systolic blood pressure.

SUMMARY

In this chapter on the social aspects of outdoor experiences, we considered the roles played by the socializing agents. The family is one of the most important in that respect, as is religion. Both agents could determine what is acceptable and what is not as a recreational activity. Although there are enough empirical studies on the role that the family plays in this regard, there is a paucity of empirical evidence on the role of religion. Still, it is clear from the study of rituals that some elements of leisure pursuits may have evolved thereof. For example, Shrove Tuesday activities in Chester, England, were the starting point for soccer, which has evolved into the world's most popular sport.

Three other social institutions affect leisure behavior, namely, the political structure, the economic system, and the technological level of the society at hand. The political structure controls leisure offerings through legislation on the local, state, or federal level. We will give details on these three levels in Chapters 7, 8, and 9. In the next chapter, we present the relationship between the economic structure and leisure. We presented technology here as divided into two aspects: material and social technology. Material technology refers to scientific advances as well as industrialization. Their impact on outdoor pursuits is exemplified in the increasing number of snowmobiles in North America. Social technology refers to education and the mass media. The introduction of nature documentaries on television has helped to make people aware of the importance of conservation.

Other than primary and secondary groups, demographic factors such as age, gender, occupation, residence, and ethnicity have been studied by researchers. We presented the results of these studies in this chapter. For instance, early socialization into outdoor pursuits has been shown to be desirable. Also, it has been found that men seem to have more free time than women and that the higher paying one's occupation is, the greater the participation in outdoor pursuits. Rural dwellers seem to enjoy more nature activities than do urban dwellers.

We also presented the role that recreational activities play in the lives of special populations. It seems that outdoor recreational activities help self-awareness of persons with mental disabilities, the self-confidence of persons with physical disabilities, and the self-expression of social deviants.

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