

## **Greenways as Green Magnets: The Relationship between the Race of Greenway Users and Race in Proximal Neighborhoods**

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### **Abstract**

Although advances have been made in research examining race and the use of public parks, there has been little attention paid to urban greenways. Using Geographic Positioning System (GPS) and Geographic Information System (GIS) technology, this exploratory study examines whether the racial composition of neighborhoods surrounding two urban greenways in Michigan acts as a barrier to trail use or whether these urban greenways operate as “green magnets,” facilitating links between neighborhoods of varied racial composition. The results of this study revealed that the racial composition of the neighborhoods greenway users passed through did not predict the race of users on a given segment. These findings suggest that greenways might facilitate racial comingling in urban public space.

*KEYWORDS:* *Greenway, race, neighborhood, GIS, public space*

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## Introduction

From Ebenezer Howard's Garden Cities to Frederick Law Olmsted's green urban oases and lasting to this day, urban green space, often in the form of parks, has been held up as essential to the physical and social well-being of urban residents. Distinct from parks, and to date understudied, are the unique social and environmental benefits of urban greenways. Urban greenways can serve a number of social and environmental functions, such as creating opportunities for active recreation and transportation as well as filtering non-point source pollution entering waterways. Although some of the benefits of greenways come simply from their presence in a community, many of the social benefits depend upon their access and use. Since people are most likely to use parts of greenways and trails closest to their home (Abildso et al., 2007; Gobster, 1995; Lindsey et al., 2001), residents living near greenway access points are likely to benefit more from these public facilities as compared to residents living farther away. However, greenway use is not only determined by access. Similar to other public facilities, the social environment of neighborhoods surrounding greenways helps shape opportunities for use. Although research examining the influence of the physical and social environments surrounding trails and greenways is relatively sparse, it is slowly growing (Reynolds et al., 2007; Wolch et al., 2010).

Unlike public parks, greenways have the potential to intersect and connect neighborhoods that are very different in racial composition. Therefore, they create the possibility for persons using the greenway to traverse a variety of neighborhoods with varying racial characteristics. To the extent that residents of one race are uncomfortable and unwilling to use greenway segments in neighborhoods that are predominantly of another race, they may not reap the benefits of greenway use. The salience of the issues stemming from this dynamic is likely only to increase (Shinew et al., 2006).

Research suggests that racial discrimination can take place in the spaces where leisure activities occur (Floyd, 1998). In urban environments, the public spaces that support these activities are often parks or, where they exist, linear parks or greenways. Gobster (2002) found that African-Americans were the most likely among an assortment of racial and ethnic groups in Chicago to report that they felt discriminated against in parks. Other results indicate that African-Americans were more likely to use parks where there were other African-American users (Ho et al., 2005). This suggests that African-Americans and others may be less likely to traverse places on greenways where there are no others of the same race even if those places are made accessible through proximity. A finding by Philipp (1999) that "middle-class African-Americans feel much less welcome in most leisure activities than middle-class European-Americans believe" (p. 385) demonstrates that even when there is no cognizance of discrimination by one group, perceptions in another still exist. One must feel comfortable enough to access the greenway and travel some distance through areas likely to be of varied racial compositions to perform active leisure or nonmotorized utilitarian transportation.

This exploratory study examines the effect of the racial composition in surrounding neighborhoods on greenway use by African-American and non-

Hispanic whites<sup>1</sup> in two cities in Michigan. Both cities have a substantial proportion of African-American residents, and their urban greenways are similar in length, topography, and aesthetics. This paper begins by providing an overview of park and greenway use and users. This overview is intended to demonstrate how this study complements previous research on greenways and the equitable distribution of public facilities. Following this is an explanation of the unobtrusive data collection method using Geographic Positioning System (GPS) and Geographic Information System (GIS) technology and regression analyses used to examine the relationship between user and neighborhood racial characteristics. This paper concludes with a discussion of the implications for policy change and research in this area.

### **Greenways, Greenway Use, and Greenway Users**

A greenway is a “linear open space established along either a natural corridor, such as a riverfront, stream valley, or ridgeline, or overland along a railroad right-of-way converted to recreational use, a canal, a scenic road, or other route” or, alternately, an “open space connector linking parks, nature reserves, cultural features, or historic sites with each other and with populated areas” (Little, 1990, p. 1). The popularity of greenways both nationally and internationally (Fabos & Ahern, 1995) is being spurred by the numerous social functions of these ecological corridors. In addition to protecting assets of cultural or historical significance, providing an outdoor laboratory for environmental education, creating habitat for wildlife migration, and reclaiming brownfields, greenways along river corridors have the dual-edged anthropocentric benefits of securing water quantity and quality and providing an attractive setting in which to perform non-motorized forms of activity. This social perspective not only acknowledges the potential human benefits of a functioning ecosystem and the conservation of natural resources, but also recognizes the greenway’s potential for significant use by persons performing multiple forms of locomotion (Lindsey & Nguyen, 2004). The multiuse greenway with a maintained path has the potential to act as a venue for physical activity. Existing studies have found that the presence of accessible trails is not only associated with maintaining and increasing activity achieved through walking but also with meeting recommended levels of physical activity (Brownson, 2000; Brownson et al., 2001; Sharpe et al., 2004). The simplest of all forms of activity, walking, has been found to be a popular activity among a wide variety of demographically distinct groups (Cordell et al., 2002).

The activities performed on greenways such as walking, running, and biking can occur on regional greenways separated from population centers, but greenways in urban settings compound their potential benefits through their ability to connect diverse populations and also because of their proximity to a larger number of people and the varied opportunities afforded by a mix of land

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<sup>1</sup>The cases examined here were not conducive to studying other racial and ethnic groups because there were not significant numbers of residents of other groups living in the neighborhoods around the greenways. For example, there were no Chinese-American or Mexican-American enclaves around the greenway nor were they represented as users of the greenway.

uses (Coutts, 2008). The proximity of this public facility to a large number of people creates convenience, and a mixture of land uses increases the number of potential destinations. This is important to support the potential for activity pursued not only for recreational but also utilitarian purposes.

The greenway potential for use is great in a town or city setting due to the “localness” (Gobster, 1995) it creates or proximity to a large number of people. It has been shown that people use parts of the greenway close to their home (Gobster, 1995; Lindsey et al., 2001; Wolch et al., 2010). This seems logical due to the convenience and sense of ownership that come with a local neighborhood amenity like a park or greenway. What is unique about the greenway and what differentiates it from parks or other public spaces is that, by its very form, one can use this nonmotorized green freeway to go places. Yet unexplained is, once on a local segment of the greenway, do users also travel on other segments that may be close to “their” part of the greenway but that pass through other neighborhoods where people of a different race live? It is on urban greenways where short physical distances can often translate into very different and segregated neighborhood compositions.

Others have proposed that a green space such as a park can act as a “green wall” to separate people (Solecki & Welch, 1995) or a “green magnet” where persons of different races mingle in a public setting (Gobster, 1998). The green space of community gardens have also been examined for their role in interracial mingling (Shinew, Glover, & Parry, 2004). Loukaitou-Sideris (1995) lays out this dichotomy with a park as a “melting pot or battleground.” The study undertaken here takes a slightly different view in that it does not examine social cohesion or tension on the greenway as a public space but instead examines the ability of the greenway to connect its users to racially disparate neighborhoods. The hypothesis is that greenways that intersect areas with different racial compositions create a physical connection between these areas and have a green magnet type of effect. If what Loukaitou-Sideris (1995) found to be true in Los Angeles parks also holds true on greenways, we would expect persons of a particular social group or race to coexist. This would be evidenced by persons of a particular race using segments of the greenway in areas where there are others of their same race. What is proposed here is that, unlike a static park, the ability of the greenway to carry and transport encourages persons to enter one another’s neighborhoods. Similar to how one may use an automobile on a roadway that dissects diverse areas—areas they may never consider walking through—maybe the greenway corridor allows a means for people to travel and recreate in places they normally would not.

Whites and African-Americans may be more likely to visit parks with someone of their own race (Ho et al., 2005), but it is unknown if, once on a greenway, they will traverse neighborhoods with substantial proportions of residents of a race different than their own. Uncovering this dynamic is only pertinent if greenways are equitably distributed across different segments of the population. As Talen (1998) points out, there are different ways that equity can be achieved. It can occur by 1) everyone receiving the same public benefit, 2) those in need receiving more, 3) those with greater demand receiving more, or 4) using market criteria to determine cost efficiency. In the context of greenways, this would translate

into 1) all segments of the population having equal access, 2) people who need non-motorized routes or environmental supports for physical activity receiving more, 3) more greenways being built closer to those who use them most, or 4) constructing or expanding greenway systems along the path of least fiscal or social resistance or cost. If equitable access to greenways was based on demand, access points would be located in predominantly white neighborhoods since middle-aged white males have been found to be the most frequent users (Lindsey et al., 2006). If it was based on who needs more support for physical activity, access points would be located near neighborhoods with more African-Americans since this population subgroup tends to show lower rates of physical activity than whites (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2007; Folsom et al., 1991). Equity, as defined for the purposes of this study, aligns most closely with definition number one where everyone receives the same benefit of proximity to the greenway. That is, considering the ability of the greenway to traverse significant distances, the equitable distribution of greenways requires their intersection and proximity to neighborhoods such that the racial mix of surrounding neighborhoods closely approximates that of the city as a whole.

This study examines the distribution of greenway users according to their race in two cases where greenways extended far enough along the respective city river corridors to intersect many racially disparate neighborhoods. A previous study has documented the kinds of neighborhoods greenways intersect and serve (Lindsey, Maraj, & Kuan, 2001), but still lacking is an analysis of the relationship between the racial composition of the surrounding neighborhood and the race of users. This paper begins to fill the gap. It asks the question: Given that greenways traverse neighborhoods of different racial compositions, does this equitable proximity result in people using the greenway in one another's neighborhoods? In other words, are urban greenways that connect different neighborhoods possibly acting as the "green magnet" between them?

## Methods

A case study design was used to analyze race and greenway use in two cities in southern Michigan, Lansing and Battle Creek. Both have a substantial proportion of African-American residents, with percentages slightly higher in Lansing (21.9) than in Battle Creek (17.8). An examination using GIS at the census block group level was done to uncover the demographic variation among areas close to the greenway and not apparent at the aggregated city level of analysis. This addressed the issue of whether greenways pass through and have access points in neighborhoods of varied racial composition and therefore create access, through proximity, for people with different racial characteristics.

The river greenways in both cities were similar in length, topography, and aesthetics. Both were under city management and intersected city centers where the highest concentration of commercial activity was located. Both river greenways were also contiguous, relatively long for greenways that intersect cities (Battle Creek = 12 miles, Lansing = 8 miles), and extended for many miles through

areas with varying population density and land use mixture characteristics. The two cases were also similar in their topography (Rodriguez & Joo, 2004; Troped et al., 2001), trail surface (Antonakos, 1994; Gobster, 1995; Lindsey, 1999), and aesthetics (Gobster, 1995; Lindsey, 1999) which have been shown previously to be associated with greenway and/or trail use. Both of the greenways under study had limited variation in topography (Battle Creek  $\sigma=17.6$  feet elevation, Lansing  $\sigma=16.8$  feet elevation) and largely consisted of an asphalt trail surface six feet in width. In selected areas where there was no space along the riverbank for an asphalt path, boardwalks maintained the continuity of the trail. The greenways in both cities avoided intersections with streets through the presence of underpasses and occasional overpasses at road and railroad intersections. Landscaping was consistently maintained in both cases by a narrow strip of brush, grass, and/or small trees separating the asphalt trail from the river. The natural environment aesthetic was also enhanced in both cases due to the fact that the path passes through both small and large city parks. Aside from the similarities in natural beauty, both cities had made attempts to improve the aesthetic appeal of structures. Along the greenway route in both cities, when the trail came within close proximity of structures or streets, aesthetics had often been enhanced by covering potentially empty views with art such as murals on street underpasses.

In order to isolate the characteristics of users on different sections of the extensive greenways, the greenways in both cities were divided into segments based on the location of trail access points. Access points were delineated as both formal and informal points on the greenway where there was some provision for entering and exiting the trail. There are many places along the two greenways where adjacent built and natural environmental features prohibit access and therefore minimize potential traffic and influence from the surrounding neighborhoods. Segment boundaries were set at the mid-points between access points. This resulted in segments of varying length but was deemed a better approximation of how greenway users actually enter and exit the system. Although it could be argued that more people are likely to be recorded on a longer segment, longer segments only have one access point and are therefore operating under the same constraints as shorter segments. This segmentation procedure was deemed an improvement over arbitrarily dividing the greenway into segments of equal length but that may or may not contain access points and therefore not represent the possibility of either entering or exiting the system. The segmentation procedure resulted in 14 segments in Lansing and 16 segments in Battle Creek. Since the entire greenway in each city was divided into segments, the total number of segments in each city constitutes a census of segments rather than a sample.

The area surrounding a given segment, or segment neighborhood, was delineated using a 10-minute walking "road-network" distance from each greenway access point in both cities. A "road-network" distance differs from a simple Euclidian or straight-line distance because it measures distance using the roadway network people are likely to use to move between places. The time of 10 minutes was used because previous studies reveal that between 67% and 84% of greenway users report living no more than 10 minutes from the trail (Lindsey et al., 2001). Ten minutes was translated into a walking distance from an access

point by considering that the average person walks at a speed of 3 mph (TRB, 2005) and could therefore cover a distance of 0.5 miles (804 meters) in 10 minutes. The creation of “segment neighborhoods” based on travel distance and centered on access points was determined to be an improvement over an aerial distance buffer surrounding the entirety of the greenway or amalgam of block groups adjacent to any part of a given segment.

Racial composition was measured using data from the 2000 U.S. Census at the block-group level. The bounds of these smaller units fell more neatly within the 10-minute buffer as compared to larger census tracts. A block group was considered as part of the neighborhood surrounding a segment if over 50% of the block overlapped the calculated segment neighborhood bounds and this overlapping area also contained residential land uses. Adding the residential land use criterion assured that we were not adding blocks simply because their geography overlapped the bounds of the segment neighborhoods. Their overlapping geography also had to have people living within it.

The uses on different greenway segments were observed and recorded by making multiple bicycle passes over the entire length of the greenway. A bicycle handlebar-mounted Garmin GPS Map 60® Global Positioning System handheld receiver unit was used to mark the geographic location of each person, and an observation matrix was used to record user characteristics and activities. Both greenways were traversed on the bike on two separate occasions on each of the seven days of the week. The second pass on a particular day of the week began on the end of the greenway opposite the first pass. This procedure resulted in 14 days of data collection per city greenway. Fourteen passes over the 14 segments in Lansing and the 16 in Battle Creek (30 segments total) resulted in 420 observations. Data were collected during the same peak use periods (4-6 p.m. weekdays, 10-2 p.m. weekends) in both locations. The potential confounding effect of weather on use was accounted for by collecting use data on days with similar climatic conditions. These were days that could be considered pleasant spring weather by most Michiganders (>60°F or 16°C).

A mixed-model regression analysis was performed to test the effect of neighborhood block group racial composition on trail uses and associated characteristics of users on corresponding segments. The use on each segment (i) took into account the observation period (j), or pass on the bike, in which the use data were collected. For example, if 11 uses were found on segment 15 in the seventh observation period (pass on the bike)  $Y_{ij}$  would be represented as:  $11_{15,7}$ . The independent variables of the racial composition of the neighborhood, land use mixture, and population density did not vary by pass (j), and the city variable did not vary by segment (i) or pass (j).

A number of other independent variables were included in the model to account for other known influences on use. The important effect of land use mixture and population density on use has been summarized elsewhere (Coutts, 2008). The inclusion of the age and sex composition variables was based on findings which reveal that greenway and trail users were typically not  $\leq 5$  or  $\geq 65$  years of age and were disproportionately male (Lindsey et al., 2006; Reed et al., 2004). Children and seniors were combined into a single AgeComp variable to

account for their potential increased sensitivity to environmental perceptions of safety.

The resulting model was therefore:

$$Y_{ij} = \beta_{oi} + \beta_1 \text{RaceComp}_{ij} + \beta_2 \text{SexComp}_{ij} + \beta_3 \text{AgeComp}_{ij} + \beta_4 \text{Mix}_{ij} + \beta_5 \text{Density}_{ij} + \beta_6 \text{City}_{ij} + e_{ij}$$

$Y_{ij}$  = proportion of users who were white on segment (i) on pass (j)

$\text{RaceComp}_{ij}$  = % white population in area surrounding segment

$\text{SexComp}_{ij}$  = % female users

$\text{AgeComp}_{ij}$  = % of children and senior users

$\text{Mix}_{ij}$  = level of land use mixture in area surrounding segment

$\text{Density}_{ij}$  = population density in area surrounding segment

$\text{City}_{ij}$  = dummy variable for case city

i= segment

j= observation period when data is collected (pass)

e= error term

## Results

Table 1 is a summary of the use data collected with the Global Positioning System device and the corresponding user characteristics collected using the observation matrix. Lansing had approximately 2.5 times the number of total uses as Battle Creek, which is a close approximation of the total population difference between the two cities. The overall population of Lansing (119,128) is 2.2 times greater than the population of Battle Creek (53,364).

Table 1 also reveals that users of the Battle Creek greenway were slightly more likely to be biking (+9.3%) and users of the Lansing greenway were more likely to be running (+7.8%). The percent of persons walking on both greenways was nearly equivalent. Walking proved to be the most popular activity in Lansing and was a close second as the most popular activity in Battle Creek. Cycling may have been slightly more popular in Battle Creek due the greenway being longer and therefore more conducive to this more rapid form of non-motorized activity.

The summary of sex, race, and age user characteristics is consistent with previous findings revealing that greenway users are typically male, white, and  $\geq 5$  or  $\leq 65$  years of age (Lindsey et al., 2006). Recent findings that neither race nor gender were significantly related to the frequency of trail use (Wolch et al., 2010) raises the issue that this likely varies by location. The difference between the percentage of white and African-American users within each city was very similar, but these differences were not proportional to the racial distribution of the city population as a whole. In Battle Creek, the 15.1 percent of African-American users nearly matched the percent of African-Americans in the city as a whole (17.8%). On the other hand, in Lansing, the 11.8 percent of users that were African-American represents approximately half of the total percent of African-Americans in the city as a whole (21.9%) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). More users in Battle Creek fell within the child and adolescent categories (+3.2% and +13.0%



Table 1

*Total Greenway Use and Summary of User Characteristics in Lansing and Battle Creek*

Descriptor	Battle Creek		Lansing		Percent difference between two sites	Total	Total percent
	Number	Percent of total	Number	Percent of total			
Number of uses	489	100	1,266	100	-	1,755	100
Range of uses/ segment	0-18	-	0-31	-	-	-	-
<i>Activity</i>							
Walk	221	45.2	585	46.2	1	806	45.9
Bike	246	50.3	519	41	9.3	765	43.6
Run	17	3.5	143	11.3	7.8	160	9.1
<i>Sex</i>							
Male	307	62.8	748	59.1	3.7	1,055	60.1
Female	181	37	518	40.9	3.9	699	39.8
<i>Race</i>							
White	406	83	1,031	81.5	1.5	1,437	81.9
African-Am	74	15.1	146	11.5	3.6	220	12.5
<i>Age</i>							
Child	53	10.8	96	7.6	3.2	149	8.5
Adolescent	120	24.5	146	11.5	13	266	15.1
Adult	274	56	914	72.2	16.2	1,188	67.7
Senior	42	8.6	110	8.7	1	152	8.6

respectively). In Lansing, the presence of a large state university in an adjoining municipality may have contributed to the trail users without children. This could also account for the fact that more people were riding bicycles in Battle Creek and running in Lansing as cycling appeared to be a popular family activity and adult runners did not appear to be accompanied by children.

Figures 1 and 2 are presented to demonstrate, in a descriptive fashion, the distribution of access points by racial composition of surrounding census block groups, and the relationship between the of greenway users and the racial composition of persons in census block groups adjacent to the greenway. The four classes of the proportion of white residents in the block groups were created using a Natural Breaks (also known as Optimal Breaks or Jenks') classification method. This classification method creates the bounds and cut-off points of a particular class where there are significant gaps between values. "In this manner, the data distribution is explicitly considered for determining class breaks; this is the major advantage of the Natural Breaks classification method" (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2010). This classification method lets the data "speak for itself" and was therefore considered an improvement over an arbitrary classification. Natural Breaks was also used to create the four classes of the proportion of white

greenway users. In both cases, the “natural” break values were rounded up slightly so that the class bounds were consistent between the percent white users and the percent white in neighborhoods in both cities. This increased their interpretability.

These figures reveal that the segments and corresponding access points intersect areas with varying proportions of residents of different races in both cities. This is important to discern because the equitable distribution of access points is a prerequisite if we intend for greenways to connect a diversity of neighborhoods. In both cities, a majority of the access points were close to census block groups that were at least 20 percent African-American. In Lansing, there was only one (number 11) of a total of 14 access points that was adjacent to an almost exclusively white block group. Although Battle Creek had some access points near almost exclusively white block groups, there were also a number in areas with a significant African-American representation.

Table 2 provides a slightly different perspective on the same relationship. Recall from the methods section that the areas or neighborhoods surrounding segments were centered on access points. These neighborhoods were composed of all census block groups that were within a 10-minute walking distance. These tabular data revealed that the neighborhoods surrounding segments and extending from access points ranged from 49-75 percent white in Lansing and 20-100 percent white in Battle Creek.

Table 2

*Greenway User and Population Characteristics in Census Block Groups Adjacent to Greenway*

Segments	Lansing		Battle Creek	
	Proportion white users	Proportion white surrounding	Proportion white users	Proportion white surrounding
1	47.4	64.9	100.0	44.0
2	76.9	70.9	94.4	89.8
3	84.2	65.4	88.9	78.2
4	83.3	66.1	100.0	79.1
5	64.7	67.1	69.7	63.7
6	84.1	49.3	93.8	20.6
7	86.4	62.1	50.0	19.9
8	78.1	64.7	85.3	55.3
9	74.9	62.9	70.7	67.3
10	80.9	74.6	78.1	62.2
11	88.7	0.0 <sup>1</sup>	73.7	59.9
12	86.4	72.9	60.9	70.5
13	93.9	69.5	68.3	79.2
14	79.1	75.0	95.9	83.2
15	-	-	100.0	100.0
16	-	-	97.6	83.8

<sup>1</sup>There are 0 persons living in the surrounding area.

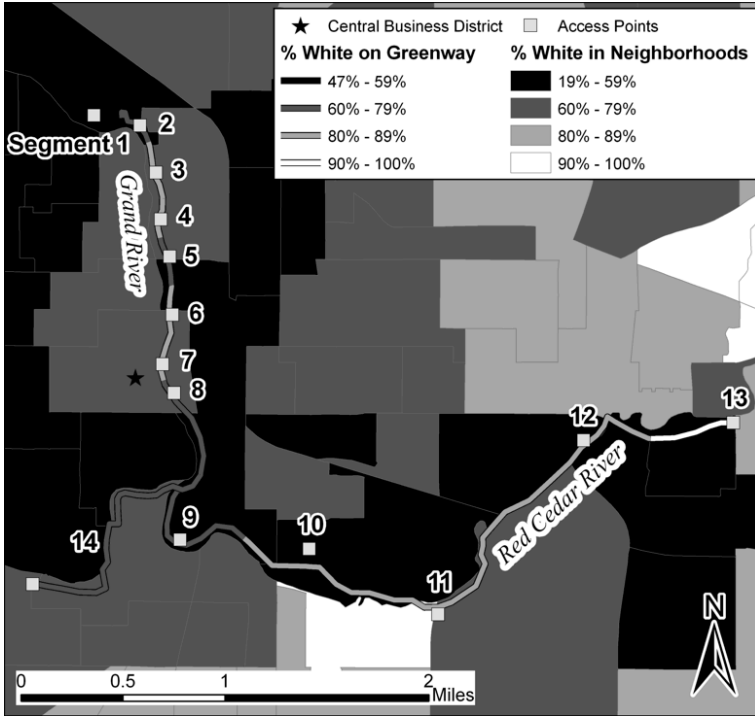


Figure 1. Distribution of Users Per Segment by Race in Lansing

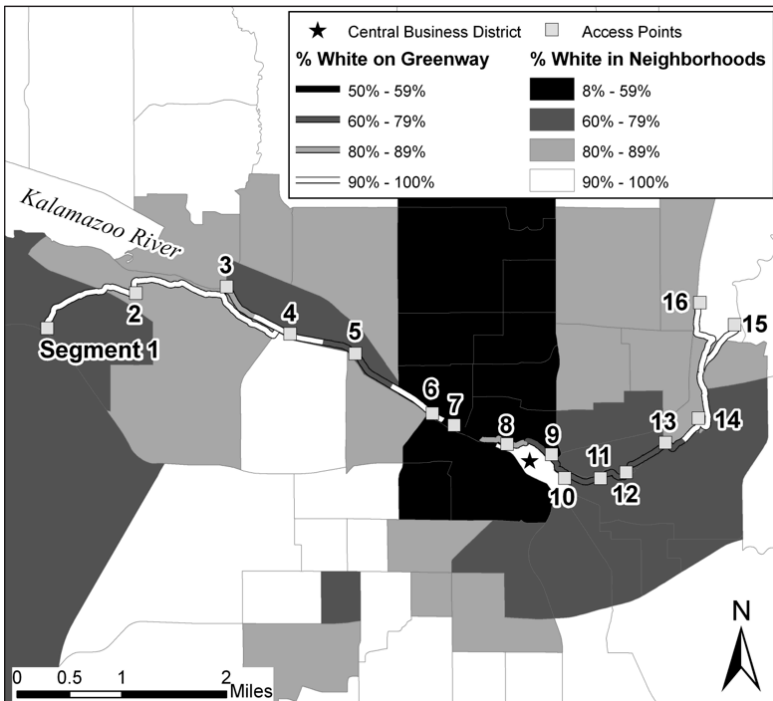


Figure 2. Distribution of Users Per Segment by Race in Battle Creek

Access points provide trail entry and exit for residents of segment neighborhoods. If greater access is linked to greater use, we would expect segment neighborhoods with a higher percentage of African-American residents to have a smaller proportion of white users on nearby segments. Table 2 reveals that in Lansing the proportion of white greenway users is greater than the proportion of white persons in surrounding neighborhoods in all but two cases (segments 1 and 5). Similarly, in Battle Creek the proportion of white greenway users is greater than the proportion of white persons in surrounding neighborhoods in all but two cases (segments 12 and 13).

There does appear to be a pattern in which segments that are somewhat isolated and in wooded areas (adjacent segments 11-13 in Lansing and 1-2 in Battle Creek) display a high proportion of white users (near or above 90 percent). This coincides with findings from the literature which suggest that whites were more comfortable than blacks with more remote and wooded settings (Viriden & Walker, 1999) and another study which revealed that these areas experience a high proportion of overall use (Coutts, 2009).

The descriptive data revealing a possible, but not definitive, pattern between the race of users and race in surrounding neighborhoods are supported by the regression analysis. The regression results in Table 3 reveal that the racial composition of segment neighborhoods is not a significant predictor of the racial composition of greenway users on corresponding segments in either city. However, the proportion of users who were female and the proportion who were seniors or children were both significant predictors of the proportion of white users on a greenway segment.

Table 3

*Regression Results with the Dependent Variable of Proportion of White Users and Greenway Segments*

<b>Variables</b>	<b><math>\beta</math></b>	<b>SE</b>	<b>p</b>
% white in neighborhood	5.67	16.77	0.74
% female users	0.41	0.07	0.00
% children/senior users	0.30	0.08	0.00
Land use mix	0.002	0.00	0.13
Population density	-0.002	0.00	0.60
City	8.23	6.78	0.24

Because greenway segments were not selected randomly and therefore are likely to have many similarities, Moran's I tests were performed to test for spatial autocorrelation among the dependent variable. The distribution of white users was random in Battle Creek (0.18,  $p > 0.05$ ) but somewhat clustered in Lansing (0.43,  $p < 0.01$ ). If this clustering were found to be more pronounced in the two cities, it may have led to inflated standard errors and potential Type II error. If significant clustering occurs, introducing a coefficient in the model that corrects for spatial autocorrelation can prevent such errors. We feel that it was not warranted here, but future studies examining spatial phenomena such as this should certainly test for this possibility. Although not examined here, this clustering of use on certain segments could certainly have an effect on how hospitable certain segments are perceived by persons of other races or ethnicities. The dynamic between race on these segments and in the surrounding neighborhoods may be different than the non-relationship found in the overall dynamic in the two cities.

## Discussion

If greenways serve neighborhoods and not just communities (Furuseth & Altman, 1994) and if access through proximity leads to use, we would expect to find a relationship between the racial composition of the neighborhoods surrounding the greenway and the users on corresponding segments. This was not the case. Despite the equitable proximity to access points, we did not find a significant pattern of a higher proportion of African-Americans using the greenway on segments in neighborhoods with a higher proportion of African-American residents nor of white users on segments in white neighborhoods.

If, on the other hand, greenways serve larger communities, they may provide a public space in which people of different races coexist regardless of how close they live to access points. For this potential to be realized, all greenway segments need to be perceived as traversable, not as barriers. Unlike parks, the design of greenways as corridors and paths inherently encourages movement along their route, but the extent of this movement does not appear to be hindered by the racial disparity between users and those living around the greenway. In both Lansing and Battle Creek, the multi-use paths of interest traverse and connect neighborhoods with different racial compositions, but neither the descriptive nor inferential results reveal an association between the racial composition of trail segment users and the racial composition of the neighborhoods with access to the segment. This is promising in that greenways appear to be acting as "green magnets" (Gobster, 1998) or links between neighborhoods and potentially between neighborhoods and services where people of different races might coexist.

## Limitations

The major limitation of this study lies in the inability to identify the users' neighborhoods of origin. It is certainly a possibility that the small percentage of African-Americans living in a white neighborhood are the ones using their local greenway segment, thereby giving the appearance of persons of one race using the greenway in an area dominated by another. The converse could also be true

with local whites using a section of the greenway in their predominantly African-American neighborhood. Data on a user's residence and location for entering the greenway system would be needed to investigate this possibility. These data would need to be collected through a survey. What a survey might also help clarify are differences in race/ethnicity not readily distinguishable through the nonobtrusive methods employed here. For example, data collected on Hispanic ethnicity could prove valuable to understanding the unique use patterns and behaviors of this population (Cronon et al., 2008).

Finally, the generalizability of these findings should be tempered by the fact that this census of greenway segments was performed on two greenways in two relatively small cities (<150,000 persons). The dynamic in a major metropolitan area may be different.

### **Recommendations for Future Research**

An example of a research methodology that would complement the nonobtrusive method employed here is a survey of users which queries their locations for entering, traversing, and exiting the system and their stated reasons for doing so. These data could be coupled with GIS to analyze spatial patterns. These patterns are important for determining the types of neighborhoods that users live in and the length of trips they take using the greenway. These survey data could also include information on the trip type and the socioeconomic status (SES) of the user. Indeed, SES may prove more informative than race in characterizing users and the neighborhoods they will and will not enter.

Carrying out such a survey would require a sensitivity to access points and geographic clustering of uses. Surveyors would need to be stationed at spatially stratified access points to ensure an adequate representation for each segment of persons from racially and ethnically diverse neighborhoods surrounding the greenway.

Another possible avenue of future research is testing the possible phenomenon of use by African-Americans being inhibited by typical greenway users being overwhelmingly white. This would be consistent with the findings of other studies that reveal that persons use parks if others like them are also using the space (Ho et al., 2005). Further research is certainly needed that probes reasons for potential non-use of greenways by residents living near access points.

Yet another vein might be the testing of Floyd and Shinew's (1999) theory on the convergence of leisure activity preferences. Follow-up studies might explore whether the ability of the greenway to connect and create contact between persons leads to a convergence of leisure activity preferences. There may very well be a convergence of activities (such as bike riding) due to not only the design and facilities of the greenway but also because of the contact and observed behavior of other users.

In conclusion, this exploratory study is certainly not the definitive piece supporting the potential for greenways to lead to harmony between diverse urban populations. It may even raise more questions than it answers. For example: Does the origin of the greenway user matter in whether they are willing to traverse different neighborhoods? What is it about the greenway that allows users to enter

neighborhoods they otherwise would not? Are persons using the greenway to traverse diverse neighborhoods out of choice for leisure activity or due to lack of choice, for utilitarian purposes such as to travel to work or to purchase goods? Urban greenways are ripe for research examining their potential to connect people to places and to one another.

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## Adolescent Girls' Perception of Health within a Leisure Context

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### Abstract

The study examined middle school females' perceptions of physical activity, eating, and physical health within a leisure context. A qualitative approach was used to gain a deeper understanding of the significance girls place on health behaviors and factors that go into their decisions about leisure time activity and eating. Four focus groups were conducted with 28 girls in 6th through 8th grades. Four themes emerged from the analyses: perceptions of health, family, and food, social norms, and enjoyment. Results are summarized regarding how healthy diets and physical activity participation in adolescent girls can be associated with promoting enjoyable leisure. Theoretical implications of these data relate to the importance of enjoyment and leisure as prerequisites for healthy behaviors and how social cognitive theory helps explain these relationships.

*KEYWORDS: Adolescent girls, eating, health, physical activity, focus groups*

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## Introduction

Adolescent obesity and overweight are critical societal problems. The 2003-2004 National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey (NHANES) reported that the prevalence of overweight in the United States more than doubled over the past 30 years (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2007). At that time, over 17% of 12- to 19-year-olds were overweight, and 34% were at risk for being overweight (Ogden, Carroll, Curtin, McDowell, Taback, & Flegal, 2006). The Centers for Disease Control (CDC, 2008a) reported similar numbers among high school students. Thirteen percent of high school students were obese and almost 16% overweight.

An imbalance of energy, which generally happens when someone consumes more energy (calories) than he or she expends during daily activity and exercise, is a main contributor to obesity. Consequently, nutrition and physical activity (PA) both play a vital role in maintaining a healthy weight. The current recommendation from the CDC is that children get at least 60 minutes of PA, defined as any activity that makes them breathe hard and increases their heart rate, per day on five or more days a week (CDC, 2008b). Overall, 65% of high school students are not meeting these guidelines, and only 26% of high school females are getting sufficient PA (CDC, 2008a). Moreover, 32% of these young women did not report achieving 60 minutes of PA on any day of the week. Findings from these reports are in line with previous research that has consistently demonstrated the decrease of PA during the teen years particularly among adolescent girls (e.g., Fairclough & Stratton, 2005; Sallis, Prochaska, & Taylor, 2000; Trost, Pate, Sallis, Freedson, Taylor, Dowda et al., 2002).

Therefore, the purpose of this research was to explore adolescent girls' attitudes toward leisure-time physical activity (LTPA), eating, physical health, and the perceived influences on health behaviors within a leisure context. Leisure-time physical activity is the typical term used to describe exercise, sports, or physically active hobbies done during one's free or leisure time. Specifically, we investigated perceived influences on health behaviors (PA and diet) and perceptions of PA and eating within a leisure context. This research was conducted from a social-psychological perspective with an emphasis on middle school girls' motivations and social influences. Exploring health and leisure required a holistic approach to issues of well-being. Therefore, to provide a context for the data collection and analysis, literature was examined regarding girls' physical activity choices, nutrition, and health behaviors.

### Physical Activity Choices

Researchers have consistently found that most girls have higher levels of physical inactivity than boys (e.g., Nader et al., 2008; Pugliese & Tinsley, 2007; Sallis et al., 2000). Jago, Anderson, Baranowski, and Watson (2005) examined adolescent patterns of PA regarding day of the week, time of day, and gender. They determined that girls spent more time in personal care while boys spent more time watching TV, participating in other electronic-based activities, and playing sports. Nader et al. reported that 9- to 15-year-old boys spent 18 more minutes per

weekday in MVPA and 13 more minutes on weekend days than girls. They also found that the estimated age at which girls crossed below the recommended minutes of MVPA per weekday was approximately 13.1 years, compared with boys at 14.7 years. Females also reported less enjoyment from PA and lower physical self-confidence than males (Morgan, McKenzie, Sallis, Broyles, Zive, & Nader, 2003). Morgan et al. ascertained that boys reported more opportunities for outdoor play and joining sport teams than girls. A study of 5- to 13-year-old boys and girls uncovered that boys also spent more time in leisure activities, and the majority of that time was spent playing sports, watching television, and playing computer games (Cherney & London, 2006). Girls, on the other hand, spent most of their leisure time watching television.

Biological and psychological changes that happen during adolescence are one explanation for why girls are less active than boys and why girls' activity decreases. On average, girls reach puberty at a younger age than boys, and their levels of activity decline at an earlier age (Nader et al., 2008). Davison, Werder, Trost, Baker, and Birch (2007) investigated the relationship of early maturity on female's PA and found that "more advanced pubertal development at age 11 was associated with lower psychological well-being at age 13, which predicted lower enjoyment of physical activity at age 13 and in turn lower MVPA" (p. 2391). The results for girls were lower psychological well-being including "depression, weight-related maturity fears, and low self-worth" (p. 2400).

These factors, along with increased weight gain (Nicholls & Viner, 2005) and self-consciousness (Davison et al., 2007), seemed to play a role in females' leisure activity choices (i.e., girls not wanting to call extraordinary attention to their bodies). For example, James (2000) found that girls may not feel comfortable displaying their newly developed bodies in swimwear or athletic clothing in front of their peers, particularly in physically active public spaces such as swimming pools. Additionally, girls who reach puberty earlier also develop an earlier concern for how peers perceive them. They may become more interested in appearance-related activities (e.g., hair styling and make up) and romantic relationships rather than engaging in LTPA.

Several researchers have observed that girls tend to prefer non-competitive or individual sports over leisure activities that have an emphasis on competition (Brooks & Magnusson, 2007; Couturier, Chepko, & Coughlin, 2007; Hill & Clevlen, 2005). However, this preference for downplayed competition also was true for boys' sport participation. Booth, Wilkenfeld, Pagnini, Booth, and King (2008) also discovered that both male and female teenage students felt too much emphasis was placed on competition in school sports, which outweighed enjoyment. Females believed too much attention was given to boys' sports.

## **Nutrition**

Percentages of youth meeting dietary intake recommendations are smaller than those meeting recommendations for PA (Sanchez, Norman, Sallis, Calfas, Cella, & Patrick, 2007; Zapata, Bryant, McDermott, & Hefelfinger, 2008). Although 26% of female high school students met recommended levels of PA, only 20% met recommendations for fruit and vegetable intake (CDC, 2008a). High fat and soda

intake and low milk, fruit, and vegetable intake were particularly problematic and typical examples of poor nutritional habits (Sanchez et al.; Zapata et al.).

People can rationalize eating unhealthy foods. Many people do not like the taste of nutritious foods, and fast food is cheap and easily accessible (O'Dea, 2003; Popkin, Duffey, & Gordon-Larsen, 2005). Teenagers have cited their parents' lack of time as a reason for eating fast food (Neumark-Sztainer, Story, Perry, & Casey, 1999), and their own lives are often busy. Cost of food is also critical to both adults and adolescents, with both groups ranking it as the second most influential factor in food selection after taste (Popkin et al.). Neumark-Sztainer and colleagues also reported that frequency of dining out appeared to increase with grade level in adolescents, which they attributed to increased independence, increased mobility, and busier schedules. Fast food and prepackaged foods often save time but compromise nutrition. Popkin et al. discussed that fast food meals frequently have unnecessarily large portion sizes and high energy densities. Researchers also have found an association between eating away from home (i.e., at restaurants or fast food establishments) and a decrease in macro- and micro-nutrient intake and diet quality, as well as increases in energy density and total energy intake (French, Story, Neumark-Sztainer, Fulkerson, & Hannan, 2001; Popkin et al.). Further, the enjoyment of eating food and the socialization associated with snacks and meal-times are also connected to leisure experiences.

### **Emerging Constraints to Healthy Behavior**

The choices that young women make in their lives relating to nutrition and PA seem to change dramatically during adolescence. For example, 60% of high school females reported that they were trying to lose weight (CDC, 2008a). These issues often developed in late elementary or middle school as children begin puberty and their bodies change. Females gain approximately 31 pounds during adolescence (Nicholls & Viner, 2005), which can be awkward and troubling. This weight gain often coincides with other unhealthy behaviors, including a decrease in PA, which is often attributed to shifting priorities that come with increased independence, school work, and social pressure.

Adolescence, therefore, is usually a time of physical, social, and cognitive changes and developments (Muuss, 1996) and declining PA (Fairclough & Stratton, 2005; Nader, Bradley, Houts, McRitchie, & O'Brien, 2008; Trost et al., 2002). Declining general and health-related life satisfaction (Goldbeck, Schmitz, Beiser, Herschbach, & Henrich, 2007) also occurs. Goldbeck et al. noted that "girls' satisfaction with leisure time/hobbies decreased between the ages of 11 and 16" (p. 976). They also reported that satisfaction with friends was consistently high even though satisfaction with family relations decreased, which seems logical given that adolescents become increasingly autonomous from their parents and more reliant on their peers who also may be less likely to display healthy eating and activity behaviors (Steinberg & Monahan, 2007).

### **Study Rationale**

Research conducted with adolescent girls has shown that priorities placed on healthy eating and being physically active were rated significantly lower compared

with quality of life health indicators (e.g., relationships with peers; Detmar et al., 2006; Evans, Gilpin, Farkas, Shenassa, & Pierce, 1995). Because girls seem to have low levels of physical activity and healthy eating, more information about the context of their behaviors is needed. Quantitative studies have established the significance of the problem, but relatively few qualitative studies have addressed the reasons. Further, analyses of parallels between LTPA and eating behaviors seem to be missing. Focus group studies have been conducted on children's and adolescents' attitudes toward food choice and healthy eating (e.g., Croll, Neumark-Sztainer, & Story, 2001; Neumark-Sztainer, Story, Perry, & Casey, 1999) and other qualitative studies have examined adolescents' perceptions of PA (e.g., Brooks & Magnusson, 2007; Ries et al., 2008; Thompson, Rehman, & Humbert, 2005; Whitehead & Biddle, 2008). However, few researchers have considered both these health behaviors with the same group with the exception, for example, of O'Dea (2003) and Protudjer, Marchessault, Kozyrskyj, & Becker (2010).

### **Guiding Theory**

This study was exploratory and examined how middle-school girls interpreted physical activity, nutrition, and health, and how this interpretation can lead to healthy behaviors within a leisure context. This approach reflected assumptions regarding Symbolic Interactionism (Blumer, 1969; Henderson, 2006). The meanings of the data were examined using a grounded theory approach that examined the descriptions girls attached to behaviors like PA, nutrition, and healthy living. The results were somewhat congruent with Bandura's Social Cognitive Theory (SCT), which emphasized principles of social learning and the interactions among people, their behavior, and the environment (Muuss, 1996). Based on these guiding frameworks, new theorizing was proposed related to how physical activity, nutrition, and physical health were reflected in leisure behaviors.

### **Methods**

To explore adolescent girls' attitudes toward leisure-time physical activity (LTPA), eating, physical health, and the perceived influences on health behaviors within a leisure context, four focus groups were conducted in the fall of 2008 in two middle schools. The sample was comprised of 6th, 7th, and 8th grade girls in the southeastern part of the U.S.

A qualitative research approach was chosen to gain a deeper understanding of adolescent girls' perceptions about PA and health. This approach allowed participants to give rich descriptions about their attitudes and experiences. Barriball and White (1994) indicated that semi-structured interviews "are well suited for the exploration of the perceptions and opinions of respondents regarding complex and sometimes sensitive issues and enable probing for more information and clarification of answers" (p. 330). Additionally, Krueger (1988) noted that a major advantage of focus groups is their social nature. Adolescent girls are socially oriented so this structure appealed to them.

This focus group structure also allows researchers to observe interactions and nonverbal cues within the group (Veal, 2006). Engaging in conversation with peers seemed to be more comfortable than talking about potentially sensitive issues alone with a stranger. Participants were able to support each other when talking, which had the potential to invoke deeper conversation (Overlien, Aronsson, & Hydén, 2005). Additionally, if a participant did not wish to comment on certain topic, she was under no pressure. Other advantages of focus groups included low cost and the ability to involve several people in a relatively short period of time.

### **Participants**

Students in the four focus groups came from two schools and were selected and contacted by a school official (e.g., the guidance counselor or vice principal). We requested that the officials avoid girls who may be at risk for eating disorders or otherwise might have issues discussing their eating or exercise habits. Priority was placed on girls who were not involved in sports because we wanted to explore why girls were not engaging in LTPA.

A total of 28 middle-school girls participated in the focus groups. Fifteen were in 6th grade, four in 7th grade, and nine in 8th grade. Having separate focus groups for 6th grade students at the two schools was decided in consultation with school personnel. An 8th grade-only group was conducted at the first school, while 7th and 8th grade students were combined for the final focus group at the second school. The girls were not necessarily friends, though some may have been classmates or acquaintances. The participants were almost equally represented by minority and majority racial/ethnic status with 11 Caucasian, 14 African-American, and three Latina girls. Because of the nature of the exploratory study and the difficulty in making comparisons based on race or grade, the participants were generally described as a collective group of young women.

### **Data Collection**

The primary researcher, a Caucasian female, served as the moderator for the four focus groups. A female African-American assistant was also present at three sessions to take notes and help the moderator with meeting logistics. Healthy snacks (e.g., fruit, fruit juice, raw vegetables, crackers) were served at every focus group. Focus groups lasted between 75 and 90 minutes and each was recorded with a digital recorder.

An interview guide was used. Examples of the questions asked included: "Tell me about what girls your age like to do in their free time. What does health mean to you? What are your opinions about physical activity, like playing sports or exercising? What role does eating play in your social activities?" The moderator transcribed each session verbatim shortly after it was conducted and added notes about individual participant characteristics and the group as a whole. All participants' names were changed to pseudonyms.

### **Data Analysis**

After transcription, data were entered into ATLAS.ti 5.2 and open coded to identify concepts. Next, axial coding was done to organize the concepts into cat-

egories. Many of the open codes overlapped several categories. Documents were created that included all the quotes associated with a particular category. Constant comparison was used to compare these documents to the focus group transcripts to assess the prevalence of a theme across groups. A list of topics was derived, and these themes were then collapsed into four broader themes. Meetings were held with all authors throughout the process to discuss coding and development and organization of themes.

## **Findings**

Four themes emerged from the data analysis: a) perceptions of health, b) family and food, c) social norms, and d) enjoyment. The girls' preferences for and attitudes toward PA and nutrition in their free time were interwoven throughout these themes.

### **Perceptions of Health**

Girls described health primarily in a physical sense related to PA and diet, which could have been a result of the types of questions discussed. The girls said health was something they might think about from time to time, but it was not a priority for the majority of the girls. Other participants added that health meant staying in shape, getting enough sleep, having sweets in moderation, and personal hygiene. They felt that some girls were more concerned with health than others, especially girls preoccupied with being skinny. Older girls generally felt that health was becoming more significant as they became increasingly self-conscious and independent.

Health also seemed related to having choices as well as the support and time necessary to live a healthy lifestyle. Most of the discussions about health were extrinsic in nature. Some girls were primarily concerned with health to avoid getting fat and being teased. Trista noted that girls are concerned with health "so they won't get picked on... girls think that if they're fat, they'll get picked on a lot more." Bianca agreed and stated, "Cause I have overweight friends and they tell me they get picked on at school for no reason, just 'cause they're overweight." Similarly, Mercedes' immediate reaction was that fat is not healthy and can lead to future medical problems, "It means a lot 'cause you don't want to grow up fat! [laughter] Thick is good but ...overweight is...you might have health problems and stuff." Aisha felt that exercise was important, but not necessarily for disease prevention. While some girls thought of relatives who were affected by poor dietary habits, Aisha did not see the same effects on her peers.

Participants agreed that some girls were more concerned with health than others. However, for the most part, health was defined in relation to body size. They explained that some girls think that skinny equals healthy and they may be willing to sacrifice feeling well to look good. Discussion on this topic mostly revolved around stories about peers who skipped meals or starved themselves relative to suspicions of eating disorders. Other girls, however, simply did not care about health regardless of their size. Jacklyn felt that most girls thought health was annoying because they would prefer to eat junk food. Others, however, disagreed.



Some of the older girls said they became more concerned with health as they matured and became more self-conscious. For example, Diandra explained:

I did not care in 6th grade...fresh out of elementary... you get in 8th grade, you start thinking more about high school, college... 'cause even in high school it'll be like, you get a job, and you get a car. You gotta stay healthy, especially in college 'cause you're more independent 'cause you don't have Mom and Dad there so you gotta know what to do. So you go to college, you're kinda on your own. So it kinda helps you, being younger and understanding....

The girls could articulate the relationship regarding balanced food intake and exercise as illustrated in this dialogue:

PORSCHE: Well, my cousin, I'm not picking on her or anything, but she is so fat. She can't even breathe when she walks up steps. She just like [makes heavy breathing sounds] trying to breathe. And I be like, girl... why? [laughter]

PORSCHE: But it's not funny, ... there's certain people that's fat and there's certain people that's not fat. My uncle and aunt, they let her [cousin] just eat anything she wants. Anytime of the night she can get up like 3 o'clock in the morning and just fix herself something to eat. No, you don't do that. You don't go back to sleep once you eat. You're supposed to go do something. [sounds of agreement] ...'cause I learned that when you eat and go do something, go run or something, 'cause if you go back to sleep, all that is building up and it's goin' be...

BIANCA: It's gonna be fat.

PORSCHE: Yes. So, she just be eatin.' I be like, girrrl...

Alexis further reinforced another aspect of caloric imbalance:

Well, you need it to get energy so you can go out and do a sport or physical activities. If you don't eat, you'll pass out or something, so you need to eat and you need to eat healthy food because the unhealthy food will just, like, backfire.

In sum, although some girls changed their diets or PA behaviors with the intent of improving their health, it seemed the majority of girls did so to lose weight or stay in shape. This perception in combination with generally negative attitudes toward obesity, underlined a common fear of being fat. The girls perceived health to be important in preventing future disease, though this concern was not necessarily immediate or reflected in their leisure choices. Diet seemed to be a stronger contributor to disease and obesity rather than a lack of LTPA. However, overall, leisure preferences were not associated with health concerns, but rather motivated by personal preference and social influence.

### **Family and Food**

The younger girls spoke more often of their families, but peer relationships were more evident among the older girls. Girls' families played roles in facilitating or discouraging PA and healthy diets. Girls felt that parents should be responsible for their children's health and gave examples of how their parents (i.e., primarily mothers) tried to incorporate healthy foods into their diet or encouraged them to participate in sports. Unfortunately, unhealthy or indulgent foods were often central to family activities and gatherings. These activities were usually intentional leisure-type activities such as family night or vacations. Girls also shared stories about foods they enjoyed as part of family traditions. Overall, family influence was secondary to peers but seemed to provide the foundation for healthy (or unhealthy) habits, which was influential throughout the middle school years.

Frequently, family activities were intentional and preplanned such as vacations, weekend trips, or designated family nights to get everyone together. Gatherings often revolved around food such as cookouts or holiday celebrations. Family night often meant pizza for dinner. The group of 8th graders discussed examples of family activities:

ELIZABETH: Maybe going out to do something like going to the park or to watch a movie or something, but...

TRISTA: On my mom's side of the family, we have a lot of cookouts.

BIANCA: Mine, too.

PORSCHE: It ain't even gotta be a special occasion. A Saturday, or a Friday. Grandma says, "We want a cookout. Whatch'all want to eat?" I'm like, "I want some hamburger on the grill." [laughter] ...

We have family reunions.

BIANCA: Every cookout is like a family reunion 'cause once someone calls someone else, someone has to call someone else to tell them that my grandma's having a cookout.

Families seemed to play a role in ensuring that healthy foods were available at home. Two girls specifically mentioned that they would eat fruit whenever they had it at home. Mothers were referenced as trying to incorporate healthy foods into their daughters' diets or dictating which foods they should eat. Fathers were occasionally mentioned but generally not related to trying to promote healthy diets. Lindsay noted, "If I have a sleepover with one of my friends, we order pizza and my mom, she sometimes makes a salad to go with it." Jacklyn confirmed, "Usually my mom, every time we have dinner or something, she usually gives us salad and milk or chocolate milk or something, and some vitamins."

Some girls said their families tried to make healthy food more tolerable by disguising it in something else or presenting it in a creative manner. The girls were suspicious but sometimes pleasantly surprised:

DANA: So, [my aunt] made this really, really good spinach pie or something, I can't remember. But I thought it was just broccoli, with cheese inside. But it's actually spinach with cheese inside and once I actually knew that I was like, ew, in my head but really good outside.

TONYA: My mom made Italian food with beans... for some reason the beans didn't even seem in there. It was spaghetti... with Italian but it tasted really good. We ate it for three days straight ... so that's what she does. She makes us try different foods from different places.

Girls enjoyed talking about food and sharing family stories. Girls of all ages expressed that spending time with family was harder than in the past due to more schoolwork and an apparent growing interest in spending time with friends. Their leisure activities typically revolved around friends or doing things alone, even though girls liked family leisure including walking dogs, traveling, and celebrating holidays and special occasions.

### **Social Norms**

Social norms and perceived expectations were implied in all focus groups including conceptualizations of femininity, acceptable eating behaviors, and common leisure activities. These norms seemed to dictate many aspects of middle school girls' lives. Norms prescribed the correct way to look (i.e., skinny), the appropriate forms of communication (e.g., cell phone, text, and MySpace), and the right things to eat (e.g., pizza at sleepovers). Girls seemed to struggle with pressure to fulfill these expectations at the same time their bodies and identities were evolving. They described pressure to be perfect and how peers could be judgmental and mean. Family expectations were sometimes in conflict with peer norms. Girls' interest in boys was growing, and some discussed the disparities in sports opportunities for boys compared to girls. The girls also implied social norms related to the appropriate leisure activities they chose.

In addition to a growing interest in boys, drawing, reading, watching television or movies, traveling and playing with pets were popular among the girls. Other activities mentioned were singing, hunting, crocheting, knitting, and sewing. Several girls talked about summer camp, and birthday parties and sleepovers were also quite important. Trista noted that on her birthday, "IT'S ALL ABOUT ME..." Pizza and popcorn were the foods of choice at parties and sleepovers.

A few of the girls talked about some of the ways their lives had changed within the past couple years because of some social expectations. They discussed increasing pressure from school and thinking about their future. Some participants had to give up sports to concentrate on school. Alexis explained:

Well, you have school and you have to care about your grades and so you don't have all the free time... like I don't have to study and do homework and all that... I want to get good grades but... I mean, it would be nice if I could do both. But... I still do soccer though, so... I get at least some exercise in there.

The girls seemed to indicate pressure to aspire toward a feminine ideal. Participants expressed that girls they knew wanted to be skinny, which seemed to be the major way they talked about health as noted previously. They mentioned TV

models as a source of this desire, although sometimes the girls also commented that models were not a realistic or healthy weight.

They also felt that despite this desire to be thin, most girls prioritized other things such as their social activities higher than healthy activities. Gwenyth explained, "There's not that many girls playing sports 'cause they think it's not that important. They think it's more important, the other stuff, not exercising or eating right."

Girls indicated how the norm of a perfect body was a constraint to health. Savannah noted, "I think when some girls think of exercise, the first image that pops into their head is like, the perfect sports girl who's skinny and muscular and goes to the gym every day.... They're just like, I'll never be like that..." Dana described the constraint of differing from this expected norm:

And sometimes, at my old school, these [overweight] girls got picked on a lot. One girl wouldn't eat anything, and people called her bad names and different names and stuff so she wouldn't eat for a really long time.

Kristin described the changing pressures to conform:

Yeah, in 6th grade we just came from elementary school and ... we really don't care what people think ... like even adults and people that weren't in middle school and high school say you shouldn't care about what people think. But when you're actually in this position, you really care what people think, so you really take it seriously.

A handful of girls complained about leisure activities they missed out on by feeling they had to conform to female norms. The predominant issue seemed to be a lack of sport options for girls compared to boys. Elizabeth was particularly concerned with masculinity and femininity regarding strength and athletic performance. She wanted to prove that girls were equally competent athletes but complained about many more "boy sports" than "girl sports."

ELIZABETH: Lots of girls hate how they're being discriminated against... they're... lots of people think that boys are stronger... Well, lots of boys think that boys are stronger and that boys are faster, and so I think a lot of girls really care about being healthy so they can prove them wrong.... Well, it's kind of hard to find a good sport for a girl 'cause most sports are considered guy sports. So it makes it harder for girls to get into those sports. If girls like football that makes it a lot harder 'cause it's a really guy sport. They only have tennis and gymnastics for girls, and maybe soccer... and softball. Not that much for girls. Way more for guys.

Chanique also discussed boy sports and girl sports, "... me and my family sometimes go to have a picnic and just play all types of sports. All my uncles and my dad, they all go play football. And me, my mom, and my other little cousin, we go play tennis somewhere."

Norms also seemed to be associated with eating. Fast food seemed to be a routine part of life. Girls mentioned it casually yet acknowledged that it was “bad” for you. Consensus was evident about “good” and “bad” foods. Fruits, vegetables, and salads were the most frequently cited examples of good or healthy foods, while it was less clear what constituted a bad food. Less healthy foods were commonly used as a treat, which could lead to a habitual tendency to resort to these foods for comfort or pleasure. The indulgent rewarding nature of unhealthy foods or the freedom to eat as much as wanted appeared, consequently, connected to having fun. Unhealthy food almost became a necessary criterion for an activity to be considered fun or enjoyable. In addition, as peer influence became more significant, girls were more concerned with appealing to the norms of their peers and adjusted their diets and behavior accordingly. At the same time, they seemed to be growing more self-conscious and described pressure to be skinny and appeal to a feminine ideal. These social norms dictated nearly all aspects of life. Conversely, however, food consumed with friends or family was a contradictory norm that was enjoyable, indulgent, and gratifying.

### **Enjoyment**

Enjoyment was a critical factor in dictating both PA and eating behaviors related to health and unhealthy behaviors. Overall, appearance (i.e., being skinny) and enjoyment of the immediate benefits of activity or eating healthy foods were more important than long term health benefits from these behaviors. The girls explained that if they did not like something, whether it was running or broccoli, they avoided it. Fun was critical to the enjoyment of both food and PA. Friends and socialization were essential for PA to be fun. Food had to taste good to be enjoyed but creativity and innovation were also helpful elements, especially when trying to make healthy foods more appealing. Fun aspects such as preparation style, appearance, texture, and smell could make or break the decision to eat a certain food item. Variety was enjoyed both in PA and food.

For some girls, participating in organized sports was too much commitment and pressure to perform at a certain standard. Most of the girls who did participate in school sports were enthusiastic about doing so. Sixth grade girls at both schools looked forward to school sports despite some of their reservations about competition.

Some girls disliked competition or too much emphasis on performance or ability, which detracted from the fun of the experience. Chanique described her sport experience: “I played once but then I didn’t want to, because they started yelling at me. They thought I wasn’t good enough. So I quit.” Trista explained, “It depends what kind of sports it is. ‘Cause at school we have step, and last year we had cheerleading and dance. And we have soccer. Like soccer, I can play it, but I don’t know if I wanna play it on the team.” Elizabeth stated, “Some sports are just totally intense and it gets crazy and scary.” Several younger girls added how they enjoyed casual unstructured PA like just walking around with friends.

Despite some girls’ preference for cooperative activities, an element of competition seemed to make PA more worthwhile and exciting for some. Dance, gymnastics, or cheerleading were examples of a high level of energy expenditure and

competition, yet participants did not directly face off against or come into contact with other teams. These types of activities provided opportunities to socialize with group members, work together as a team, and showcase abilities to compete for a title or award. The pressure was to perform well, but different from competing against someone on your own or in a contact sport.

Girls in all of the focus groups were able to identify some general benefits of PA, such as fun, fitness, staying healthy, and living longer. The girls involved with sports articulated a wide range of benefits of sport participation:

MEGHAN: It's fun, like at volleyball practices and stuff.

KRISTIN: Yeah, once you get involved with it, you learn to like it more and especially after you get used to playing and you get better at it, you enjoy it more....And it builds self-confidence.

ALEXIS: And you like it, and it's good because you get exercise and you get to stay healthy also.

DIANDRA: And with your friends, too. I know at cheerleading you probably have a lot of your friends there.

What girls disliked about PA was specific and varied from girl to girl. Several girls mentioned sweating or smelling bad detracted from their enjoyment. Some girls felt that boys were likely to cheat during games and they were often allowed to get away with it. Running for long distances or highly competitive games, particularly in physical education classes, were generally unpopular. Several participants had an aversion to bugs and consequently did not enjoy outside activity.

The girls were probed to suggest how to make PA more enjoyable, particularly for inactive girls. Although girls recommended that PA should be fun, they sometimes struggled at identifying actual elements that made an activity enjoyable. Friends were generally important. Variety was also good so girls would not get bored. Some felt that skill development instruction would be valuable, especially for girls who were trying a new sport. One 8th grader mentioned that girls her age felt they were too old to start a new sport and that if they did, they would be grouped with little kids. Kristin explained:

I think a lot of girls our age think exercise is all serious, like going to the gym and stuff. If you get involved with sports and you find something that you enjoy doing it's not... you take it seriously, but you don't think about it as much and it's not that much of a big deal. 'Cause once you're doing something that you actually enjoy, once you're doing it, you don't think hey, I'm exercising, 'cause you're having fun.

The girls' food preferences related to enjoyment were about as diverse as their likes and dislikes of PA. Vegetables had mixed results; certain ones were considered adequate if prepared in certain ways. Specific foods were associated with special occasions, such as going to the fair or the mall. These foods were usually more indulgent and reinforced the idea having fun and enjoying food went together. Additionally, some girls noted that when they were rewarded at school for good

behavior, they had treats like ice cream and candy. Pizza, however, was the more commonly mentioned foods by all groups. Girls enjoyed eating pizza on virtually any occasion including sleepovers, family night, on vacation, and at school.

Enjoyment was, therefore, an imperative factor in girls' decisions on whether or not to eat healthy foods or participate in PA. Although some girls enjoyed cooperative activities (e.g., dance, cheerleading) and others preferred competitive sports (e.g., volleyball, soccer), one dominant commonality was that they appreciated opportunities to be active with friends, which made PA more fun. Girls recommended less structured PA as well such as going on walking trips, bowling, and skating. These activities provided a venue for socializing. Food had to be enjoyable as well, because taste, texture, appearance, and smell were all important qualities. Less appealing foods such as vegetables could sometimes be disguised or hidden in other foods to make them more pleasant. Since social activities were such a key component of the girls' lives, enjoyable foods contributed to the fun with their friends and family.

## Discussion

The purpose of this study was to explore adolescent girls' attitudes toward leisure-time physical activity (LTPA), eating, physical health, and the perceived influences on health behaviors within a leisure context. Four themes emerged from focus group discussions: perceptions of health, family and food, social norms, and enjoyment. Leisure perspectives related to health behaviors were intertwined in all themes.

Two summative conclusions are offered as a means for theorizing about these data. First, short-term enjoyment of PA or eating activities through social interactions and intrinsic outcomes defined the healthy behaviors of these young adolescents. Enjoyment was observed in both unhealthy and healthy behaviors. However, the results seemed to indicate that healthy behaviors had to be associated in some way with leisure as personal or social enjoyment. Both PA and foods could be associated with fun, excitement, choice, social interaction, and acceptability. Enjoyment and leisure-like activities related to PA and nutrition were associated with disguising activities as something fun rather than something prescriptive. Although certainly not new, the intrinsic reasons trumped the extrinsic reasons, except in the case of body image for most girls.

Second, Social Cognitive Theory (SCT) was useful in understanding the results of this study concerning how decisions were made regarding behavior and health. This determinism model illustrates how an individual, behavior, and the environment are interrelated and interdependent. Adolescents are strongly influenced by their peers and their social environments. The girls in our study were generally fearful of becoming fat, felt pressured to live up to a feminine ideal, and were primarily concerned with their social activities and relations. Health was important relative to losing or maintaining weight, but behaviors were often guided by social and intrinsic expectations. The girls seemed to learn about health through negative and positive reinforcements they received personally as well as those they observed in others. They learned about social norms and gender expect-

tations through primarily leisure interactions with their peers and to some extent with their family.

The girls' definitions of health were generally associated with PA and healthy eating, which dominated the discussions in the focus groups. The middle school girls were still in the process of learning about the facets of health. The girls in our study drew upon topics they learned through health class, personal experiences, and information they had encountered from peers, family, and media outlets. Despite the idea of leisure choices impacting their long-term health (either positively or negatively) leisure preferences and choices were primarily influenced by whether they perceived immediate health benefits or enjoyment. For example, students were told that they needed to be active and eat balanced diets. However, they did not seem to observe any immediate benefits from these behaviors. On the other hand, these girls saw their peers being inactive and eating unhealthy foods without negative consequences. Therefore, they saw no reason not to imitate these behaviors. SCT would suggest that any advantages of participating in a healthy leisure activity (e.g., engaging in physical activity, eating healthy foods) would be more negatively than positively reinforced if the activity was not perceived as enjoyable.

SCT has also been used specifically to guide physical activity and nutrition based interventions among girls and women. For example, Sharma (2008) reviewed PA interventions among Hispanic girls and women and found that programs guided by theory were more successful in achieving their outcomes. Second, SCT was the most popular guiding theory operationalized by these interventions related to health.

Health was important to focus group participants mainly as a way to avoid unenjoyable and uncomfortable repercussions. Other researchers have also found that size and weight are more important to girls than actual health (Booth, Wilkenfeld, Pagnini, Booth, & King, 2008) and that weight control is considered a higher priority for adolescents than other health prevention behaviors such as healthful eating and avoiding drugs and alcohol (Evans, Gilpin, Farkas, Shenassa, & Pierce, 1995). Girls often perceive that being healthy is a constant, miserable struggle of restricting calories and putting in hours at the gym, which were perceived as unenjoyable. A push/pull exists between wanting to avoid negative outcomes and also wanting to reap positive intrinsic as well as extrinsic benefits. Teenagers often witness overweight peers getting teased or perhaps personally have been made fun of for athletic incompetence. Therefore, avoiding this negative reinforcement was perceived as more immediate and socially damaging than the intangible status of being unhealthy or the potential of acquiring a future disease. On the contrary, adolescents generally enjoyed eating unhealthy foods and did not always experience negative repercussions. The positive reinforcement from friends who also enjoyed the same foods and the gratification of consuming energy-dense food appeared greater than the prospect of gaining weight some time later in life.

Despite the decline in PA during early adolescence, girls reported enjoying PA in the right leisure-type settings, similar to the findings of Flintoff and Scraton (2001). Therefore, this decline may not be due to a dislike for PA but instead to shifting attitudes and a reprioritization of activities that no longer left sufficient



room to be active in acceptable ways (e.g., with friends). The female adolescent norms of spending more time on personal appearance and with friends had direct consequences for PA.

This shift in priorities with a new emphasis on socializing and personal care activities has also been examined by other researchers (e.g., de Bruyn & Cillessen, 2008; Jago, Anderson, Baranowski, & Watson, 2005; Whitehead & Biddle, 2008). The concept of reciprocal determinism in SCT explains that a girl's environment impacts her behavior as well as her own priorities and motivations. Girls may elect to participate in sports because their friends are on their team. However, if girls see their friends spending more time on their appearance and socializing, they often do not want to be left out. They may quit sports to devote more time to these pursuits, or other activities such as studying. Additionally, by this age girls who are not already active in sports may feel they have missed out on learning necessary skills and perceive that they cannot catch up (Thompson et al., 2003). When more value is placed on performance and ability, girls may drop out of sports they played casually because they are not particularly talented. They also may be less likely to start new sports.

Gender issues also emerged in conversations about opportunities to participate in sports or PA during leisure. These girls were particularly influenced by peer norms and perceptions of acceptable gendered behavior. As many teenagers become interested in dating, conveying femininity or masculinity is important. In addition, the focus group participants perceived that they had fewer opportunities to engage in PA than boys, which reflected that perhaps, too much attention has been given to boys' sports (Booth, Wilkenfeld, Pagnini, Booth, & King, 2008; Morgan et al., 2003; Thompson et al., 2003), and co-educational activities are often dominated by boys (Flintoff & Scraton, 2001).

Disguising both PA and healthy foods seemed to make them more enjoyable for the girls in this study. Girls liked PA if it was seen as an opportunity to be social with friends, perhaps because they primarily enjoyed socializing, and secondarily enjoyed the activity itself. Whitehead and Biddle (2008) similarly found that friends were an imperative component of enjoyment: "The thought of being active without friends or peers however, was extremely threatening to these girls and many simply would not entertain the idea of being active in such as environment" (p. 253). Likewise, Trinh, Rhodes, and Ryan (2008) reported that "approval from friends was the key correlate of PA for girls" (p. 83).

As the girls in our study also explained, families can be important in adolescence to facilitate healthy lifestyles and to set examples (Davison & Jago, 2009). For example, a recent study examining adolescents' time use found that girls were more likely to exercise with family members than boys (Dunton, Berrigan, Ballard-Barbash, Perna, Graubard, & Atienza, 2010). However, the opportunities for this physical activity to occur may be different for some girls. A longitudinal study found that Black adolescent girls reported less LTPA and lower likelihood of playing sports with a parent than Black boys (Robinson, Stevens, Kaufman, & Gordon-Larsen, 2010). Therefore, parents can help their children identify opportunities for PA and healthy foods that they enjoy.

Furthermore, the significance of enjoyable leisure activities given the time constraints perceived by adolescent girls has also been a salient theme in prior studies (Robbins et al., 2003; Taylor et al., 1999). The importance of peers and the lack of importance placed on long-term consequences of behavior on health also support prior research (Booth et al., 2008; O'Dea, 2003). The insights from our study can be used to restructure girls' current environments so that they are more developmentally supportive of healthy leisure choices. These changes may include a wider array of alternatives to be physically active, including opportunities to explore gender-desired activities where girls feel more comfortable. Further, similar to the findings of Robbins, Pender, and Kazanis (2003), girls should have an opportunity to have input into the design of programs particularly as time constraints are perceived as a key barrier. Adolescence is a critical developmental period for cultivating healthy behavior that transcends across the lifespan underscoring the importance of encouraging opportunities for girls to engage in healthy leisure choices.

Despite the study's contribution, this research had several limitations. First, this study was exploratory and only included girls from two schools in one school district. Second, although focus groups have many advantages as described earlier, they also have some limitations that we tried to address in collecting the data. Nevertheless, focus groups can be dominated by a few participants, and minority opinions may be repressed. Particularly with adolescent participants, a girl whose opinion was not in line with the majority may have been hesitant to speak up for fear of violating perceived social norms. Sensitive topics such as body image and eating disorders may have been uncomfortable for some girls to discuss. Despite these possible limitations, however, this method seemed appropriate and a great deal of useful data was generated.

## **Conclusion**

The trend of adolescent girls' physical inactivity (Koezuka et al., 2006; Trost et al., 2002) and unhealthy nutritional patterns (Francis, Lee, & Birch, 2003) during their leisure time reinforces the need to understand the connection with perceived enjoyable activity and health.

Quantitative studies have uncovered important information such as how much activity and nutrients teenagers are getting, how important they perceive PA and healthy eating to be, and some of the barriers to engaging in PA and eating healthfully. However, our qualitative research helped further explain the context of these attitudes and behaviors.

Further research could provide insight on how girls' attitudes change throughout middle school. Since teenagers eventually become less influenced by their peers in late adolescence, repeating this study with high school and college students would be interesting. Conducting focus groups with boys to better understand how they perceive health, PA, and nutrition could also be informative. Additionally, investigating how girls actually learn about health and the value they place on information from different sources (e.g., school, peers, parents, magazines, and the internet) would be advantageous. This information would help communicate

factual information and dispel myths. Other research could consider intrinsic versus extrinsic motivation for PA and healthy eating as well as adolescents' understanding of the connections between physical and mental health.

Our research, however, has demonstrated that connections exist among perceptions toward PA, healthy eating, and health in general. Peers and social norms, family, and definitions of enjoyment seemed to relate to all aspects of girls' lives. Young teens face many pressures (e.g., being thin versus indulging in unhealthy foods, being feminine versus being athletic) and health related to PA and nutrition are clearly connected.

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## **The Influence of Parents on Achievement Orientation and Motivation for Sport of Adolescent Athletes with and without Disabilities**

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### **Abstract**

The purpose was three-fold. First, to analyze the psychometric properties of scales used. Second, to test the relationship among athletes' perceptions of parents' goal orientation and their own goal orientation and intrinsic motivation. Third, to compare athletes with and without disabilities with respect to the influence of parents on athletes' achievement orientation and motivation for sport. Participants were 173 amateur athletes (80 with disabilities, 93 without disabilities). Structural equation models revealed that for the athletes with disabilities, task orientation and the perceptions of parents' task orientation were related to athletes' interest-enjoyment and effort-importance. For the athletes without disabilities, ego orientations showed a negative relationship to interest-enjoyment and a positive relation to tension-pressure, and task orientation was related to interest-enjoyment, perceived competence and effort-importance.

*KEYWORDS: Adapted sports, amateur sport, significant others, intrinsic motivation*

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For the past two decades, research has consistently linked sports participation to a variety of physical and psychosocial benefits such as quality of life and emotional well-being (Donaldson & Ronan, 2006; Giacobbi, Stancil, Hardin, & Bryant, 2008; Mactavish, Mackay, Betteridge, & Iwasaki, 2007), and it has been identified as an important factor in reducing the risk of many health problems including cardiovascular disease, high blood pressure, and obesity (Blair, 2009; Moliner-Urdiales et al., 2010). However, despite the evidence regarding the benefits of sport, youth participation rates are low, both for persons with and without disabilities (Kristén, Patrikson, & Fridlund, 2003; Ortega et al., 2010; USDHHS, 2003).

To help more youth reap the potential benefits of sport participation, more needs to be known about what influences motivation in sports (Stuntz & Weiss, 2009). Thus, identifying the mechanisms associated with sport motivation in the general population, and in particular for persons with disabilities, has become an important area of research (Driver, 2006; McAuley & Blissimer, 2000).

From the beginning of the "adapted" sports movement in the mid-1930s, the participation of people with disabilities in sports activities has been promoted mainly as a therapeutic activity, designed both for the functional recovery of the individual and as an aid toward social integration, regarding adapted sports as a means toward a utilitarian end (DePauw, 2000). As noted by Bedini and Anderson (2005), Causgrove Dunn and Dunn (2006) and Kosma, Cardinal and Rintala (2002), the benefits of physical activity among individuals with disabilities have been well documented; however, very few people with disabilities are physically active compared to people without disabilities. One reason for this situation might be low motivation to participate in sports, therefore it is of paramount importance to carry out further research in order to identify optimal strategies to increase motivation among individuals with disabilities toward sport practices and healthy, active lifestyles, including an examination of the roles parents can play with regard to motivation.

Therefore, the purpose of our research was three-fold: (a) To analyze the psychometric properties of the Spanish version of measures to assess athletes' goal orientations, athletes' perceptions of parents' goal orientations, and athletes' intrinsic motivation. (b) To study the relationship among athletes' perceptions of their parents' goal orientations and their own goal orientations and intrinsic motivation when engaged in sports. (c) To examine if there are differences between athletes with and without disabilities with respect to the influence of parents on athletes' achievement orientation and motivation for sport.

## **Literature review**

### **Achievement Goal Orientations**

Achievement goal theory is a widespread theoretical perspective for studying motivation in sport (Bortoli, Bertollo, & Robazza, 2009). Two constructs of the theory have received special attention in sport literature, namely task orientation and ego orientation (Roberts, Treasure, & Conroy, 2007). A central theme in goal perspective theory is that an individual uses task- and/or ego-oriented criteria to evaluate success and competence (Nicholls, 1989; Roberts, 2001). For example,



success and competence for the individual high in task orientation is determined by employing self-referenced criteria. That is, the individual focuses on learning something new, personal improvement, and/or meeting the demands of the task (Duda, 2005; Roberts, 2001). In fact, the person high in task orientation feels most successful when he or she has exerted high levels of effort and observed mastery of a skill. The ego-oriented individual judges feelings of competence and adequacy by employing normative or other-referenced criteria, and therefore defines success in terms of whether he or she won and how superior his/her ability was in comparison to that of others (White, 1998). Although a dominant predisposition to be either task- and/or ego-oriented has been identified, due to the orthogonal nature of goal orientations, it may be possible to be high or low in both (Roberts, 2001; White, 1998). In fact, it is considered ideal to be high in both, because an individual who is high in both task and ego goal orientation has two sources of success and several reasons to continue his or her participation in the activity (Roberts, 2001).

Whether or not a certain achievement goal is adopted will depend on the importance this goal has for the individual, the perceptions of the salient goals in the situation, and the influence of significant others (such as parents, coaches, and peers) who reinforce or emphasize one goal perspective or the other (Causgrove Dunn, 2000). Individual differences in the disposition to be ego- or task-oriented may result from socialization through task- or ego-involving contexts at home, in the classroom, or the sports activities experienced (Ames, 1992; Duda, 2005), but the most influential variable is the individual's perception of the situation rather than the situation itself (White, 1996, 1998).

### **Differences in Goal Orientations Based on Age, Gender, Level of Participation and Type of Sport**

The development of an ego-involved conception of success and competence in children involves the capacity to differentiate between the concepts of effort and ability (Nicholls, 1989). Children go through stages in their understanding of hard work and ability and their interdependence (Fry & Duda, 1997). Specifically, most youth prior to the age of 12 either do not recognize the difference between trying hard and being able to do something or they think that effort is the primary determinant of success or failure in sport. With maturity, children acquire an understanding of ability as current capacity. That is, by the time they are 11 or 12 years of age, most children can comprehend that outcomes are influenced by level of ability and how hard one works. Children, by the time they move to adolescence, also recognize the sobering reality that effort can only get someone so far if he or she does not possess the requisite ability or talent. As a result of such differences in processing ability and effort, and their interplay, young athletes cannot be truly ego-involved until they possess a mature understanding of competence. Moreover, because of such cognitive developmental factors, younger children are inclined to be task-involved (McArdle & Duda, 2002). However, while many studies have shown that younger athletes tend to be more task-oriented than older athletes (Weiss & Ferrer-Caja, 2002), other studies have failed to identify age differences in task- and ego-orientation (Chin, Khoo, & Low, 2009).

Although there appears to be a tendency to find males higher in ego orientation than females, there is a lack of consensus concerning gender differences in goal orientations. For example, Li, Harmer, and Acock (1996) found males scored significantly higher on ego orientation, and no significant gender differences in task orientation, while Hanrahan and Biddle (2002) did find that females scored significantly higher than males on task orientation, but there was no significant difference between males and females on ego orientation. Additionally, White and Duda (1994) found that athletes who were involved at the highest competitive level were significantly higher in ego orientation than their adult counterparts who participated in recreational activities or athletes at a lower level of sport involvement, and there was no significant effect of competitive level on task orientation scores.

Differences in achievement goal orientations may also occur for athletes participating in different types of sports. For instance, Hanrahan and Biddle (2002) found that athletes from track and field scored significantly higher than squash and football players on task orientation, possibly because track and field orients athletes to think of success in terms of personal bests (e.g., times or distances). This finding suggests that closed-skilled sports may promote a stronger task orientation than open-skilled sports. Individual sport athletes may perceive themselves to have greater control and responsibility for their performances than do team sport athletes because they are not directly interacting with or relying on teammates. Potentially this could result in individual sport athletes making more internal and controllable attributions for their performances compared to team sport athletes (Hanrahan & Cerin, 2009).

### **Achievement Orientations and Intrinsic Motivation**

Adoption of an achievement goal perspective by the athletes should generate insight into the variability in intrinsic motivation observed in sport contexts (Duda, 2005). Studies have suggested that intrinsic motivation provides the subjects with satisfaction derived from the activity, effort, and persistence. It is presumed that task involvement will be positively associated with intrinsic motivation, while ego involvement is more likely to correspond to decreased intrinsic motivation (Duda, 2005; Roberts, 2001). A negative relationship between ego involvement and intrinsic motivation is expected because one engages in sport as a means to an end, when ego-involved (Papaioannou, Ampatzoglou, Kalogiannis, & Sagovits, 2008; Roberts et al., 2007; Stuntz & Weiss, 2009).

Maladaptive behaviors, such as choosing very easy or very difficult tasks and failing when one encounters obstacles, are predicted in the case of the ego-oriented athlete, who has low perceptions of ability. In contrast, adaptive motivational patterns such as choosing challenging activities, applying effort, and persisting in the face of difficulty are predicted when someone is task-oriented or when one is ego-oriented and is convinced of his or her high ability (White, Kavussanu, & Guest, 1998; Papaioannou, et al., 2008).

Although an ego orientation has at times been linked to high levels of achievement, it also has a number of less desirable correlates, such as inconsistent effort, higher levels of performance anxiety, reduced persistence or withdrawal in the face

of failure, decreased intrinsic motivation for sport involvement, and a willingness to use deception and illegal methods in order to win (Duda, 2005; Lemyre, Roberts, & Ommundsen, 2002; Sage & Kavussanu, 2008; Smith, Smoll, & Cumming, 2009). Nevertheless, although being high in ego orientation is usually associated with discounting effort as a cause of success, when high ego individuals also are high in task orientation, this is sufficient to mediate this belief among high ego-oriented individuals. In fact, Roberts, Treasure and Kavussanu (1996) found that high ego/high task-oriented individuals exhibited the same adaptive beliefs as the high task/low ego-oriented individuals.

### **Parents as Socializing Agents**

Within a sports context, an individual's attitudes and behaviors toward participation may be influenced by a variety of social agents such as parents, coaches, peers and friends (Anderson, Wozencroft, & Bedini, 2008; Martin, 2006; Ruddell & Shinew, 2006). Consequently, social influences are considered one of the most important constructs in predicting sport behavior (Litwin, 2003; Stuntz & Weiss, 2009). While parents of athletes with and without disabilities have been found to be among the primary sport socializers (Brustad & Partridge, 2002; Fredricks & Eccles, 2005; Horn & Horn, 2007), family support is especially important for the development of adolescents with disabilities (Blum, 1998).

A large number of authors have concluded that the beliefs, values, and success criteria of significant others such as parents can influence athletes' participation and motivation in sports (e.g., Collins & Barber, 2005; Duda & Hom, 1993; Escartí, Roberts, Cervelló, & Guzmán, 1999; Fredricks & Eccles, 2004; White, et al., 1998). This statement is equally valid for athletes with disabilities and for those without disabilities (Duncan, 2001; Martin, 2006; Page, O'Connor, & Peterson, 2001; Ruddell & Shinew, 2006). However, with regard to persons with disabilities, Kosma et al. (2002) have highlighted that their families do not stimulate them toward the practice of physical activity. Furthermore, people with disabilities frequently suffer incidents of discrimination by sports technicians, organizers, and others like peers, friends or coaches, by offering different treatment, ignoring their presence and providing low expectations about their sport practices. Negative attitudes toward persons with disabilities create a significant barrier to participation in community recreation activities. Some studies suggest that society's perception of persons with disabilities is the most influential factor in understanding why they do not participate in sport activities. Along these lines, Duncan (2001) stated that "the real problem is social rather than physical" (pg. 1). The way society views persons with disabilities and the institutionalization of these views is the source of the stigma which inhibits participation in sports. People with disabilities become 'nonpersons' when they are relegated to careless ableist stereotypes that rob them of their human rights (Bedini, 2000).

Several authors have examined the role of adults in the sport socialization process of children and adolescents (e.g., Dorsch, Smith, & McDonough, 2009; Greendorfer, 2002; Gutiérrez & Escartí, 2006; Papaioannou et al., 2008; Shannon, 2006; White et al., 1998), and have indicated that significant others such as coaches, peers and parents may play an important role as socializing agents in the de-

velopment of athletes' goal orientations. A number of studies in the sport domain have illustrated a strong link between parental influence in the form of attitudes, beliefs, expectancies, and behaviors and children's self-perceptions, self-reported motivation, and levels of activity involvement (Brustad & Partridge, 2002). Specifically, Duda and Hom (1993), White (1998), and McArdle and Duda, (2002), examining the relationship between parent and child self-reported goal orientation, found that children's goal orientations were significantly related to those of their parents. Children who were higher in task orientation perceived their significant parent to be higher in task orientation; the same held for ego orientation.

The influence of parents on the development of children's and young adolescents' achievement motivation has been also examined in multiple studies (e.g., Dorsch et al., 2009; Fredricks & Eccles, 2005). In relation to this, Duda and Hom (1993), Duda, Chi, Newton, Walling, & Catley (1995), Escartí et al. (1999), and White et al. (1998) showed that children's valuation of parents' expectations of them influence the intrinsic motivation of the participants when engaged in sports, and that the belief a person holds about what is valued in a certain achievement context could influence his or her intrinsic motivation.

### **Comparison between Athletes with and without Disabilities**

It could be assumed that people with disabilities derive the same satisfaction and benefit from sport participation, and that their motives for such participation are the same as those for athletes without disabilities. However, several researchers have compared people with and without disabilities in the context of achievement orientation and motivation for sport, and have found differing results.

On the one hand, analyzing the motivational orientations of athletes that practice amateur sports, Brasile, Kleiber, and Harnisch (1991) found an overall similarity in the relative importance of various reasons for participation among the athletes with and without disabilities. However, Gutiérrez and Caus (2006) found that athletes with disabilities were more ego-oriented than athletes without disabilities, and that athletes with disabilities scored higher in social integration incentives and social affective incentives than athletes without disabilities. Similar results have been obtained by Skordilis, Koutsouki, Asonitou, Evans, and Jensen (2002) who found in their work that wheelchair athletes scored higher than able-bodied athletes on the subscales of competitiveness and ego orientation.

On the other hand, in a study analyzing the motivational orientations of athletes that practice highly competitive amateur and professional sports, Pensgaard, Roberts, and Ursin (1999) found that Paralympic and Olympic athletes had similar motivational profiles, but the Paralympic athletes perceived a more task-oriented climate, and were also significantly more satisfied with effort and results. In contrast, Cervelló, Fuentes, and Sanz (1999) found that tennis players showed higher task and higher ego orientations than wheelchair tennis players. In a study conducted by Skordilis, Gavriilidis, Charitou, and Asonitou (2003), the authors concluded that their subjects, professional basketball players, were more win-oriented than amateur and wheelchair basketball athletes, and that the wheelchair and amateur athletes possessed similar sport-achievement orientations when competing in basketball.

### **The Present Study**

There are disparate findings when comparing goal orientations between people with and without disabilities in the area of sports. This, along with socio-cultural aspects that characterize sport for people with disabilities, and a scarcity of studies on athletes with disabilities carried out in the Spanish context, suggest the need to delve more deeply into goal orientations and motivation toward practicing sports in different cultures. The average age at which Spanish people with disabilities begin sport participation is higher than for people without disabilities (Pérez, 2009), and opportunities to participate in sport are quite low for people with disabilities compared to the opportunities available for people without disabilities (Caus, 2004; King et al., 2009; Law, Petrenchik, King, & Hurley, 2007).

Furthermore, the Spanish educational system did not begin to formally address the unique issues and needs of students with disabilities until the late 1980s (Giné & Carbó, 2007), and today there are still different ways of understanding disability in social terms (e.g., the medical rehabilitation model, the social minority model, and disability as a social construct) (Pérez, 2006). In Spain, the more traditional medical rehabilitation model prevails to a higher degree than in other countries, therefore people with disabilities are more likely to start participating for rehabilitation purposes rather than for social integration (Gómez, Verdugo, & González, 2007; Ruiz, 2007). Thus, with regard to sport, a number of physical, economic, and social barriers persist in the Spanish context, which force athletes with disabilities to be more dependent on their parents and relatives (Pérez, 2009). Many of these barriers are similar to those noted by Law et al. (2007) and Hunter (2009) in other first-world countries, including architectural barriers, inaccessible exercise equipment, overprotectiveness by family members, discrimination, and antiquated medical advice relating to the benefits and risks of physical activity participation for individuals with disabilities.

In light of the points made above, the purpose of the present study was threefold. First, to provide psychometric evidence of the factorial validity and reliability of the Spanish version of established measures to assess athletes' goal orientations, athletes' perceptions of parents' goal orientations, and athletes' intrinsic motivation. Second, to test the relationships among athletes' perceptions of parents' goal orientations, athletes' goal orientations, and athletes' intrinsic motivation for sport practices. Third, to see if there are differences between athletes with and without disabilities with respect to the influence of parents on athletes' achievement orientation and motivation for sport.

Consistent with achievement orientation theory and based upon previous research (e.g., Duda & Hom, 1993; Escartí et al., 1999; White et al., 1998), our general hypothesis was that the athletes' perceptions of their parents' goal orientation would be related to their own goal orientations, which in turn would be related to intrinsic motivation in their sports participation. More precisely, we hypothesized that athletes' perceptions of their parents' goal orientations related to task would favor their task orientation and increase intrinsic motivation, whereas athletes' perceptions of their parents' goal orientations related to ego would favor their ego orientation and diminish intrinsic motivation. Further, we hypothesized that the influence of parents on the motivation of athletes with disabilities would be dif-

ferent when compared to the influence of parents on the motivation of athletes without disabilities (see Figure 1).

## Methods

### Participants

A sample of 173 participants (108 male and 65 female), 93 able-bodied and 80 athletes with disabilities, was recruited from different Spanish amateur sports clubs. Participants ranged in age from 14 to 20 years. The two subsamples were significantly different in age ( $t = 9.7, p < .001$ ), with a mean age of  $17.5 \pm 2.2$  years for the athletes with disabilities; and  $15.0 \pm 1.1$  years for the athletes without disabilities. There also were significant gender differences in both subsamples ( $\chi^2_1 = 14.4, p < .001$ ), 77% of athletes with disabilities were males compared to 49.5% of athletes without disabilities. All of the participants practiced swimming and, additionally, other individual sports (athletics, boccia, gymnastics, and slalom). Among the 80 athletes with a functional disability (43 with cerebral palsy and 37 with physical disabilities), 20% were affected at a low level, 39% at a medium level, and 41% had a high degree of disability, in accordance with the *International Paralympics Committee Classification Manual* (2003). None of them had cognitive impairments that would limit their understanding of the instruments administered. In 66% of the cases within the subsample of athletes with disabilities, the mother was the parent most involved in the children's sport practice compared to 52% for athletes without disabilities.

### Instruments

**Athletes' goal orientations.** The Task and Ego Orientation in Sport Questionnaire (TEOSQ; Duda & Nicholls, 1992) was used to assess the athletes' dispositional goal orientation. This questionnaire requires participants to think about when they have felt successful at sports and then indicate their agreement with items reflecting task-oriented (e.g., "I feel most successful at sports when I work really hard") or ego-oriented (e.g., "I feel most successful at sports when others can't do as well as I can") criteria. Responses are made on a five-point Likert-type scale ranging from (1) strongly disagree, to (5) strongly agree. In this study, a Spanish version was used. The TEOSQ has demonstrated factorial validity and internal consistency in its original English version for people without disabilities ( $\alpha$  task = .79,  $\alpha$  ego = .81; Duda & Hom, 1993), as well as for people with disabilities ( $\alpha$  task = .74,  $\alpha$  ego = .75; White & Duda, 1993).

**Athletes' perceptions of parent's goal orientations.** The TEOSQ (Duda & Nicholls, 1992) was also designed to measure the athletes' perceptions of the goal perspective of the parent who is most involved in and responsible for their sport participation, according to the instructions by Duda and Hom (1993). The stem for each item was "My father/mother feels I am really successful in my sport when..." (for example, I'm the best). Responses were indicated on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree). The internal reliabilities obtained by Duda and Hom (1993) were:  $\alpha$  task = .78, and  $\alpha$  ego = .87.

**Athletes' intrinsic motivation.** The Intrinsic Motivation Inventory (IMI; McAuley, Duncan, & Tammen, 1989) measures overall levels of intrinsic motivation and is comprised of four subscales assessing the degree to which an activity is deemed enjoyable and interesting, perceived competence, perceived exerted effort in and the importance placed on the activity, as well as the reported tension and pressure experienced while participating. The first three dimensions are considered positive indices of intrinsic motivation while the fourth dimension is scored as a negative indicator (Duda, et al., 1995). In the present study, a Spanish version of the IMI was used, and the questions were related to the sports context (e.g., "I enjoy sports very much," "I think I am pretty good at sports," "I put a lot of effort into sports practice," "I feel tense while playing sports."). Responses are made on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). McAuley et al. (1989) have provided evidence showing the validity and reliability of the IMI when applied to sport and exercise settings. Alpha coefficients for each of the subscales were: interest-enjoyment ( $\alpha = .78$ ), perceived competence ( $\alpha = .80$ ), effort-importance ( $\alpha = .84$ ), and tension-pressure ( $\alpha = .68$ ).

### **Procedures**

Data were collected in different amateur Spanish athletics, gymnastics, swimming, and adapted sports clubs at the end of the 2007 season. First, the governing group from each sports club was contacted in order to explain the objectives of the study and the instruments that would be used. Later, meetings were held with the athletes at their training sites (30 minutes before beginning each workout session). After having the characteristics of each questionnaire explained to them, the athletes answered the questionnaires individually. The order of application of the questionnaires was counterbalanced among participants. The athletes who needed help in filling in the questionnaires were provided with alternative communication systems (computer means adapted for persons with disabilities). All of the athletes participated voluntarily in the study after receiving information about the objectives proposed by the researchers.

### **Data Analysis**

The data were examined at four levels. First, Confirmatory Factor Analyses (CFA) were carried out to examine the factorial structure of the TEOSQ and the IMI, which were designed to measure athletes' goal orientations, athletes' perceptions of parents' goal orientations, and athletes' intrinsic motivation, in order to determine whether the structure of our data matched the previously tested structure. The Cronbach alpha coefficients were also calculated for each of the dimensions obtained. Second, bivariate correlation analyses were performed to determine the relationship of goal orientations to the scales of the IMI for athletes with and without disabilities, separately. Third, Structural Equation Modelling (SEM) with observed variables was conducted to explore the pattern of relationships within the data set. Confirmatory factor analyses and path analyses were estimated within the EQS 6.1 program (Bentler, 2005) using maximum likelihood estimation with Satorra-Bentler's corrections in standard errors and fit indices, due to the non-normality of the variables (Finney & DiStefano, 2006). For the assessment of

model fit, a selection of the better performing indices (Hu & Bentler, 1999) were used: Comparative Fit Index (CFI) and Goodness-of-Fit Index (GFI), with values of about 0.9 considered adequate; and Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) should approximate or be less than 0.08 to be indicative of adequate fit of the model to the data (Kaplan, 2000; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007). Although the samples are not very large (80 athletes with disabilities, and 93 athletes without disabilities), simulation studies have shown that even smaller samples can work well in SEM (Marsh, Balla, & McDonald, 1988). Fourth, t-tests were conducted to determine whether there were differences in goal orientations and indices of intrinsic motivation between athletes with and without disabilities.

## Results

### Validity and Reliability of the Instruments

**TEOSQ.** The initial CFA of the TEOSQ showed good fit indices, both in the athletes' perceptions of parents' goal orientations ( $\chi^2_{\text{robust}, 64} = 111.48, p = 0.0002$ ;  $\text{CFI}_{\text{robust}} = 0.94$ ;  $\text{GFI} = 0.91$ , and  $\text{RMSEA}_{\text{robust}} = 0.06$ ), and the athletes' goal orientations ( $\chi^2_{\text{robust}, 64} = 107.40, p = 0.0005$ ;  $\text{CFI}_{\text{robust}} = 0.94$ ;  $\text{GFI} = 0.91$ , and  $\text{RMSEA}_{\text{robust}} = 0.06$ ). Consistent with the factor structure and pattern of item loadings of the original scale (Duda & Nicholls, 1992), six items loaded on the factor reflecting ego orientation, and seven items loaded on the factor reflecting task orientation. As can be seen in Table 1, the structure of the TEOSQ is the same for the two administrations, although the factor loadings vary slightly in each of them.

Internal reliability of the task and ego orientation subscales was calculated using Cronbach's coefficient alpha. Satisfactory internal consistency coefficients were obtained for both the task and ego orientation subscales in the two administrations (athletes' goal orientations:  $\alpha_{\text{task}} = .78, \alpha_{\text{ego}} = .85$ ; and athletes' perceptions of parents' goal orientations:  $\alpha_{\text{task}} = .82, \alpha_{\text{ego}} = .85$ ) (see Table 1).

**IMI.** To analyse the factorial validity of the IMI, two CFAs were conducted based on the structure reported by McAuley et al. (1989). The first CFA revealed poor fit indices ( $\chi^2_{\text{robust}, 129} = 207.11, p < 0.0001$ ;  $\text{CFI}_{\text{robust}} = 0.87$ ;  $\text{GFI} = 0.87$ , and  $\text{RMSEA}_{\text{robust}} = 0.05$ ), two items showed a low standardized solution (item #12 =  $-.213$ ; item #17 =  $-.219$ ), and the fourth factor was independent from the other three factors. Accordingly, items 12 and 17 were deleted and a second CFA was specified. This CFA showed a reasonable fit:  $\chi^2_{\text{robust}, 101} = 155.64, p = 0.0004$ ;  $\text{CFI}_{\text{robust}} = 0.90$ ;  $\text{GFI} = 0.90$ ; and  $\text{RMSEA}_{\text{robust}} = 0.05$ ). Again, there were significant correlations among the first three factors:  $F1-F2 = .643, F1-F3 = .851, F2-F3 = .771$ .

As can be seen in Table 2, four factors were obtained: interest-enjoyment ( $\alpha = .76$ ), perceived competence ( $\alpha = .78$ ), effort-importance ( $\alpha = .70$ ), and tension-pressure ( $\alpha = .69$ ). One alpha coefficient was lower than .70 recommended by Nunnally and Bernstein (1994), perhaps due to the number of items this factor has (4). In spite of this, we decided to retain this subscale with alpha below .70 in the analyses because their standardized factor loadings were satisfactory (e.g.,  $>.40$ ).



Table 1

*Standardized Factor Loadings for Task and Ego Orientation in Sport Questionnaire*

Items	Ego Orientations		Task Orientations	
	APPGO	AGO	APPGO	AGO
1. I'm the only one who can do a play or skill	.565	.714		
3. I can do better than my friends	.760	.682		
4. The others can't do as well as me	.658	.631		
6. Others mess up and I don't	.455	.600		
9. I score the most points/goals/hits/etc.	.823	.869		
11. I'm the best	.835	.811		
2. I learn a new skill and it makes me want to go to practice more			.588	.638
5. I learn something that is fun to do			.534	.561
7. I learn a new skill by trying hard			.643	.731
8. I work really hard			.560	.656
10. Something I learn makes me want to practice more			.714	.656
12. A skill I learn really feels right			.718	.735
13. I do my very best			.529	.658
Cronbach Alphas	.85	.85	.78	.82

*APPGO: Athletes' Perceptions of Parents' Goal Orientations; AGO: Athletes' Goal Orientations*

### **Correlations among the Observed Variables**

Pearson correlations between all the observed variables used in the study are presented in Table 3 with the results of the athletes with and without disabilities shown separately. For the sample of athletes with disabilities, the data show a significant correlation ( $p < 0.01$ ) among the athletes' perceptions of parents' ego orientation and athletes' ego orientation, as well as among the athletes' perceptions of parents' task orientation and athletes' task orientation, interest-enjoyment, perceived competence, and effort-importance. Additionally, athletes' task orientation was positively correlated with interest-enjoyment and effort-importance. For the sample of athletes without disabilities, the correlations found were similar to the case of athletes with disabilities. The only difference was the positive correlation among athletes' goal orientation and perceived competence (see Table 3).

Table 2

*Standardized Factor Loadings for Intrinsic Motivation Inventory (IMI)*

Items	Interest	Compet	Effort	Tension
1. I enjoyed sport very much	.762			
7. Playing sport was fun	.645			
8. I would describe sport as very interesting	.462			
13. While playing sport, I was thinking about how much I enjoy it	.523			
2. I think I am pretty good at sport		.527		
9. I am satisfied with my performance at sport		.755		
14. After playing sport for a while, I felt pretty competent		.537		
16. I am pretty skilled at sport		.671		
18. I couldn't play sports very well		-.434		
3. I put a lot of effort into sport practice			.703	
4. It was important to me to do well at sport			.520	
6. I tried very hard while playing sport			.608	
5. I felt tense while doing sport				.698
10. I felt pressured while playing sport				.612
11. I was anxious while playing sport				.663
15. I was very relaxed while playing sport				-.535
Cronbach alphas	.76	.78	.70	.69

Table 3

*Bivariate Correlations among the Observed Variables*

Variables	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<i>TEOSQ scales</i>								
1. Athl.' Perc. Parents' Ego Or.	---	.04	.32*	.16	.03	-.02	.08	.16
2. Athl.' Perc. Parents' Task Or.	-.02	---	.16	.48*	.56*	.29*	.48*	-.14
3. Athletes' Ego Orientation	.46*	-.14	---	.03	.01	-.03	.08	-.05
4. Athletes' Task Orientation	-.05	.51*	-.10	---	.39*	.06	.29*	-.01
<i>IMI scales</i>								
5. Athletes' Interest-Enjoyment	-.19	.34*	-.29	.32*	---	.38*	.66*	-.19
6. Athletes' Perceived Competence	-.07	.43*	-.19	.40*	.44*	---	.49*	-.03
7. Athletes' Effort-Importance	-.10	.30*	-.11	.36*	.51*	.49*	---	-.05
8. Athletes' Tension-Pressure	.10	.02	.20	-.08	-.20	-.28*	.01	---

\* $p < .01$ . Elements in the upper triangle represent correlations among the variables for the athletes with disabilities sample. Elements in the lower triangle represent correlations among the variables for the athletes without disabilities sample.

### Relationships among Goal Orientations and Athletes' Intrinsic Motivation

A theoretical model (see Figure 1) was proposed to simultaneously predict the four factors from the IMI (interest-enjoyment, perceived competence, effort-importance, and tension-pressure). This model was tested by means of SEM with observed variables (path analysis). Correlations among IMI dimensions were included due to results in the CFA model.

First, the model was calculated for the athletes with disabilities ( $n = 80$ ). The a-priori model did not fit the data well ( $\chi^2_{\text{robust}, 15} = 31.29, p = 0.2751$ ;  $\text{CFI}_{\text{robust}} = 0.64$ ;  $\text{GFI} = 0.90$ , and  $\text{RMSEA}_{\text{robust}} = 0.12$ ). Therefore, modifications were needed in order to achieve a good model fit. These modifications were: a) to delete relationships which were very close to zero and statistically nonsignificant, and b) to use the Lagrange Multiplier (LM) test to add statistically significant relationships (Bollen, 1989). Only two parameters have been added accordingly to LM test indices. These two modifications were athletes' perceptions of parents' task affecting athletes' interest-enjoyment, and athletes' perceptions of parents' task affecting athletes' effort-importance. With these modifications, the model fit the data well ( $\chi^2_{\text{robust}, 17} = 21.15, p = 0.2193$ ;  $\text{CFI}_{\text{robust}} = 0.91$ ;  $\text{GFI} = 0.94$ , and  $\text{RMSEA}_{\text{robust}} = 0.05$ ). Statistically significant correlations among the first three factors of the IMI scale were also found for the sample of athletes with disabilities (see Figure 2).

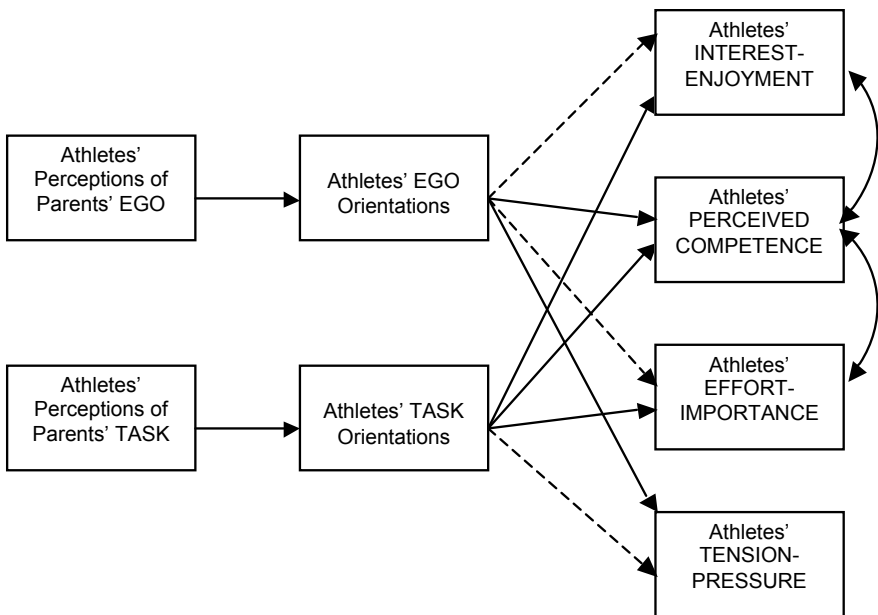


Figure 1. Hypothesized Global Model of Relationships among the Variables. Note: Continuous lines indicate positive relationships; discontinuous lines indicate negative relationships. Correlations among IMI dimensions were included due to results in the CFA model.

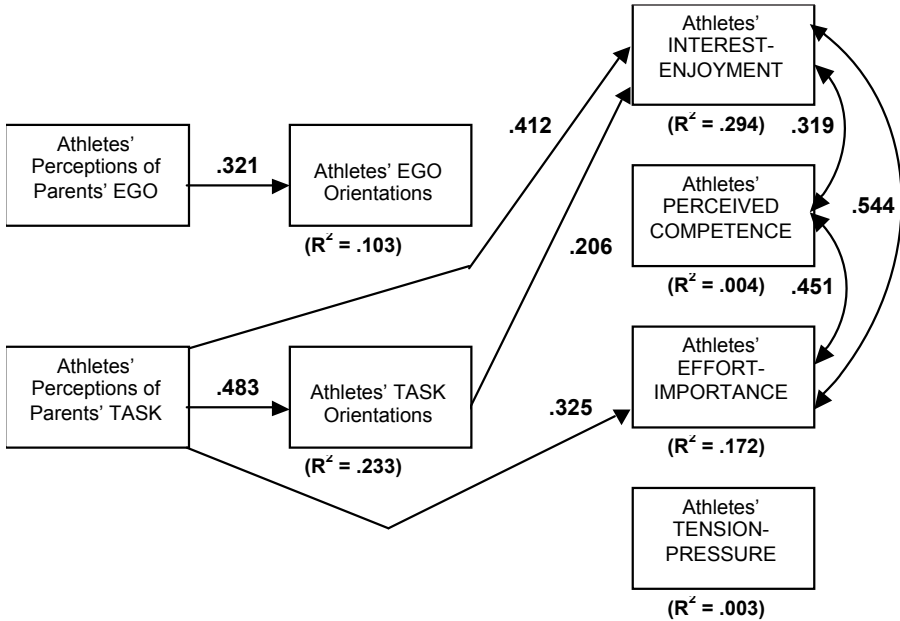


Figure 2. Prediction of the Intrinsic Motivation of the Athletes with Disabilities. Notes: All structural relationships are statistically significant ( $p < .01$ ). Non-significant relationships not shown for the sake of clarity.

The main results showed that the goal orientations of the athletes with disabilities would depend on the perceptions they had of the success criteria of their parents. An ego orientation was related to perceptions of the same orientation in the parents ( $\beta = .321$ ), and a task orientation was related to perceptions that the parents were oriented toward the task ( $\beta = .483$ ). It should be pointed out that the goal orientations of the athletes with disabilities only presented a significant relationship between athletes' task orientation and athletes' interest-enjoyment ( $\beta = .206$ ). However, the perceptions of the parents' task-oriented success criteria were directly related to athletes' interest-enjoyment ( $\beta = .412$ ), and effort importance ( $\beta = .325$ ) (see Figure 2).

For the athletes without disabilities ( $n = 93$ ), the hypothetical model adequately fit the data ( $\chi^2_{robust, 15} = 22.08, p = 0.1053$ ;  $CFI_{robust} = 0.95$ ;  $GFI = 0.95$ , and  $RMSEA_{robust} = 0.07$ ). As a first result, the correlations already found in the CFA of the IMI among the first three factors were also statistically significant in the SEM structural model (see Figure 3). The results of this model showed that for this group, the perceptions of the parents' ego orientation had a positive relationship with the athletes' ego orientations ( $\beta = .461$ ), and this was positively related to tension-pressure ( $\beta = .196$ ), and negatively to interest-enjoyment ( $\beta = -.263$ ). On the other hand, the perceptions of the parents' task orientation showed a positive relation with the athletes' task orientations ( $\beta = .512$ ), and this had a positive

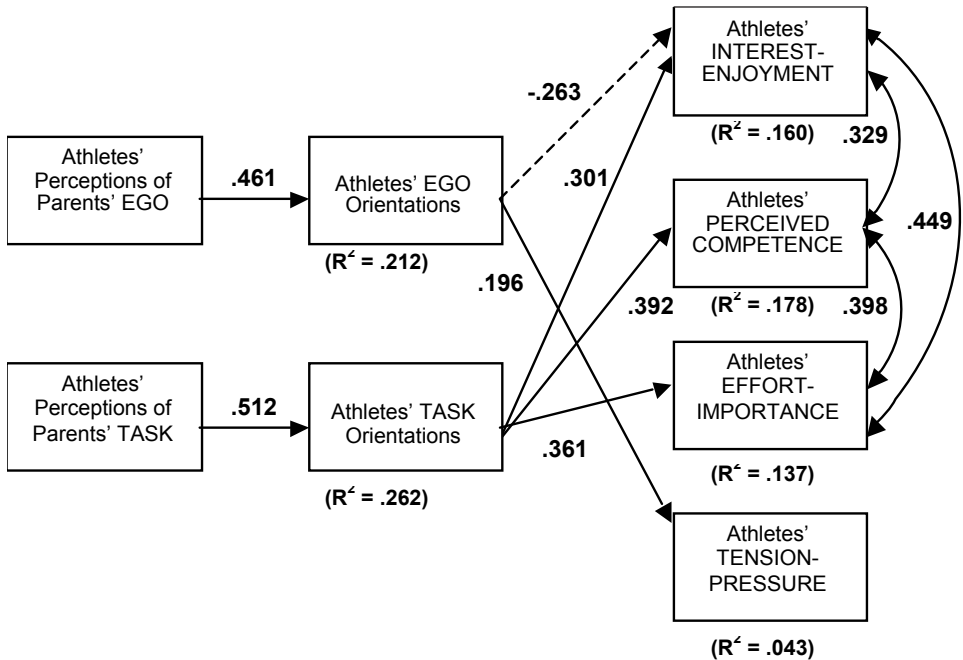


Figure 3. Prediction of the Intrinsic Motivation of the Athletes without Disabilities. Notes: All structural relationships are statistically significant ( $p < .01$ ). Non-significant relationships not shown for the sake of clarity.

relation with interest-enjoyment ( $\beta = .301$ ), perceived competence ( $\beta = .392$ ), and effort-importance ( $\beta = .361$ ) (see Figure 3).

### Differences in Goal Orientations and Intrinsic Motivation among Athletes with and without Disabilities

A mean score was calculated for each of the subscales. The means and standard deviations for the TEOSQ and the IMI subscales are presented in Table 4. Follow-up t-tests indicated that athletes with disabilities scored higher in perceptions of parents' ego orientation, ego orientation, task orientation, interest-enjoyment, perceived competence, and tension-pressure than athletes without disabilities (effect sizes range from .03 to .07). Cohen (1987) characterizes the effect size as small ( $\eta^2 = .01$ ), medium ( $\eta^2 = .06$ ), and large ( $\eta^2 = .13$ ).

Although the literature indicates that dispositional goal orientations are related to age (Fry & Duda, 1997; McArdle & Duda, 2002), we did not find differences in this variable based on age of the participants, neither between athletes with and without disabilities nor within each subsample.

Table 4

*Differences among Athletes with and without Disabilities*

	Total		With Disabilities		Without Disabilities		<i>t</i> -value
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	
<i>TEOSQ scales</i>							
Athl.' Perc. Parents' Ego Or.	2.78	1.0	3.04	1.0	2.56	0.9	3.06**
Athl.' Perc. Parents' Task Or.	4.36	0.5	4.42	0.6	4.30	0.5	1.42
Athletes' Ego Orientation	2.82	1.0	3.02	1.0	2.64	1.0	2.39*
Athletes' Task Orientation	4.46	0.5	4.60	0.5	4.33	0.5	3.38**
<i>IMI scales</i>							
Interest-Enjoyment	4.49	0.6	4.63	0.5	4.37	0.6	2.98**
Perceived Competence	3.90	0.7	4.05	0.6	3.77	0.7	2.68**
Effort-Importance	4.37	0.6	4.40	0.6	4.34	0.6	0.62
Tension-Pressure	2.45	0.9	2.64	1.1	2.30	0.8	2.38*

\* $p < .05$ ; \*\* $p < .01$

## Discussion

The first purpose of this study was to test the psychometric properties of the TEOSQ and the IMI scales. The results obtained suggest that the TEOSQ has satisfactory psychometric properties when assessing athletes' goal orientations and athletes' perceptions of parents' goal orientations in Spanish samples of athletes with and without disabilities. CFA reported satisfactory data fit of the two factor model (ego, task) reported by Duda and Nicholls (1992). Its reliability indices were also satisfactory for the two administrations, with coefficient alphas from .78 to .85.

With regard to the IMI scale, the results obtained in this study coincide with the four factor structure proposed by McAuley et al. (1989) (interest-enjoyment, perceived competence, effort-importance, and tension-pressure). The only difference was the fact that it includes two items (#12, #17) less than the original scale. The reliability was acceptable for three of the subscales, while the tension-pressure factor only obtained  $\alpha = .69$ , so new revisions for this subscale are suggested. However, we decided to retain this subscale in the analyses because its factor loadings were satisfactory (from .53 to .69). We have indicated above that the tension-pressure factor was not related to the other three factors of the IMI in our study. The same result was obtained by Duda et al. (1995), who concluded that "the tension-pressure dimension is a negative indicator of intrinsic motivation." Nevertheless, in other investigations the results were different. For example, Goudas (1998) found that tension-pressure was only related with effort-importance ( $r = 0.33$ ), and in the study conducted by Kim, Williams, and Gill (2003) the tension-pressure fac-

tor was only related with perceived competence in a sample of American athletes ( $r = 0.26$ ), while it was significantly related with the other three factors of the IMI in a sample of Korean athletes. As Kim et al. (2003) argued, these differences could be explained by the cultural-influence perspective, which suggests that divergent motivational processes exist due to differences among cultures. Another reason could be the different level of athletes' sport involvement in the different sport contexts (recreational sports, amateur sports, high competition sports).

The second purpose of this study was to analyze the relationships between the athletes' perceptions of their parents' goal orientations and their own goal orientations and intrinsic motivation. The model tested was based on achievement goal theory (Ames, 1992; Duda, 2005; Nicholls, 1989), and intrinsic motivation (Carr & Weigand, 2002; Deci & Ryan, 1985; Roberts, 2001). We hypothesized that perceptions of parents' goal orientations related to task would favor athletes' task orientation and increase intrinsic motivation, whereas perceptions of parents' goal orientations related to ego would favor athletes' ego orientation and diminish intrinsic motivation. We also hypothesized that the influence of parents on the motivation of athletes with disabilities may be different from the influence of parents on the motivation for sport of athletes without disabilities.

In predicting the intrinsic motivation of athletes with disabilities, the athletes' perception of a dispositional ego orientation on the part of the parents was associated with the athletes' ego orientation, just as the perception of parents' task orientation was associated with the athletes' task orientation. These results coincide with those found by Duda and Hom (1993) when they studied interrelationships between young athletes' and parents' personal and perceived goal orientations in sport. Their results revealed that athletes' goal orientation was significantly related to their views concerning the goal orientation adopted by their parents: the athletes' task orientation was positively correlated with their perceptions of their parent's degree of task orientation, and athletes who scored high in ego orientation were likely to believe that their significant parent was also ego-oriented.

Our findings also support those obtained by White et al. (1998) when they analyzed the relationship between goal orientation and perceptions of the motivational climate created by significant others among young athletes. They found that task orientation was related to perceptions of a task involving climate created by both parents while ego orientation, on the other hand, corresponded to the perception of an ego involving climate in sport.

However, the most striking result was that for the athletes with disabilities, their perception of their parents' task orientation was directly related to interest-enjoyment and effort-importance, while their own ego goal orientation was not related to their intrinsic motivation, and their own task orientation was only related to their interest-enjoyment. That is, for the athletes with disabilities, the perception of the parents' opinion about the success of their children in sports could be more important than the goal orientation of the athletes themselves with regard to fostering intrinsic motivation for sport. This finding seems especially relevant and may be due to the high degree of parent involvement in their children's sport, because of the functional disability of the athletes. Many athletes with disabilities depend on their parents when doing everyday tasks (changing

their clothes, personal hygiene) and in many aspects of the game itself, so it could explain the importance given to the perception of the parents' orientation about the success in sports activity (Kristén et al., 2003).

The direct relationship between the perception of the parents' opinions and the athletes' goal orientations suggests the special care parents must take when manifesting dispositional goal orientations when their children carry out their sports activity. If parents have a direct influence on interest-enjoyment as well as on their children's effort-importance, it is probable that if parents pay more attention to the expression of task involved motivational orientations, they will promote lower tension and pressure in the athletes. This interpretation is based on the information provided by Kosma et al. (2002), who noted that if students with movement difficulties are task oriented, they will prefer a task climate demonstrating high-perceived competence and so too may exhibit high intrinsic motivation to participate in physical activity. On the other hand, ego-oriented individuals may experience high-perceived competence as long as they compare well socially. In sum, high perceived performance climates nurturing ego perspectives in sports might result in low perceived competence and eventual dropout.

The goal orientations of athletes without disabilities were also significantly related to their perception of their parents' goal orientations, as in the case of athletes with disabilities, but the two subsamples differed in the prediction of intrinsic motivation based on their own goal orientations (see Figures 2 and 3). In the case of able-bodied athletes, their goal orientations were directly related to intrinsic motivation, and the perceptions of their parents' goal orientations were not directly related to motivation, its relationship was only indirect, mediated by their own goal orientation. In contrast, for the subsample of athletes with disabilities, the perceptions of parents' goal orientations were directly related to two of the four variables of their intrinsic motivation (interest-enjoyment, effort-importance). This is consistent with the point made by Burstein, Bryant, and Chao (2005) that as athletes with disabilities transition from childhood to adolescence, their parents' criteria of success in the sport context is more important to them than for athletes without disabilities who typically acquire their independence earlier. Furthermore, due to the later autonomy and independence, athletes with disabilities weight the opinions of their parents more than their own opinions.

For the subsample of athletes without disabilities, our study indicates that those who perceived task-oriented motivational goals in their parents were task-oriented themselves, had greater interest-enjoyment, greater perceived competence and greater effort-importance in sports activities. Those who perceived ego orientation in their parents, on the contrary, had lower interest-enjoyment and felt tenser and more pressured when practicing sports. These results suggest the effect of the dispositional orientation expressed by parents in the athlete's environment on the athlete's motivational orientation in a sport context. These results are in line with those found by Duda et al. (1995), Duda and Hom (1993), and White et al. (1998). Duda et al. (1995), who, while examining the interdependencies between goal perspectives and intrinsic motivation in the sport domain, found that athletes who scored high in task orientation tended to enjoy their sport more and find the sport more interesting. In contrast, a negative relationship was found



with respect to ego orientation and scores on the enjoyment and interest subscales. Ego orientation was not significantly related to scores for effort-importance.

The findings of our study lend only partial support to our general hypothesis: athletes' perceptions of their parents' goal orientation would determine the athletes' goal orientations, which in turn would influence intrinsic motivation in their sports participation. This occurred to a greater degree in the case of athletes without disabilities, and did not occur in the case of athletes with disabilities, because the relationships between the athletes' perceptions of parents' goal orientations and athletes' intrinsic motivation were direct and not mediated by their own goal orientations. Our findings, as well as those in other studies on the topic (Brustad & Partridge, 2002; Duda et al., 1995; Duda & Hom, 1993; Escartí et al., 1999; Greendorfer, 2002; White et al., 1998), suggest that parents can play an important role as socializing agents for adolescents' goal orientations in sport contexts.

In summary, we can conclude that, for the two groups, there was a clear relationship between athletes' perceptions of their parents' goal orientation and their own goal orientation. On the other hand, as can be seen in Figures 2 and 3, the results of this study support the argument that intrinsic motivation increases when athletes without disabilities are task-oriented, and that this orientation appears when they perceive the same type of dispositional goal orientation in their parents. Athletes are more likely to exhibit adaptive behaviors when sheltered by a task-oriented motivational climate. Furthermore, as has already been clearly described by previous research (Causgrove Dunn & Dunn, 2006; Duda & Hom, 1993; Escartí et al., 1999; White et al., 1998), the perception of the motivational orientation expressed by significant others (such as parents) is the variable that could have the greatest influence on athletes' goal orientation and motivation. These effects are much more accentuated for athletes with disabilities, as the relationship with their parents is usually more intense, due, among other things, to the needs that arise in everyday life (e.g., assistance for personal hygiene, for changing their clothes, for feeding, for displacement) (Burstein et al., 2005; Kristén et al., 2003). In light of the findings, it is not enough for parents to provide a certain dispositional goal orientation; they must also make sure this orientation has been perceived in the appropriate way by their children. This may be very important as parents do play an important role in the development of their children's overall achievement-related perceptions of the sport domain (White, 1998). Therefore, parents need to be careful about how and what they say to them when discussing skill development and/or athletic performance.

The third purpose of the present study was to analyze the differences between athletes with and without disabilities. Considering disability as an independent variable, the results showed that athletes with disabilities perceived their parents as more ego-oriented than athletes without disabilities. Moreover, athletes with disabilities were more task- and more ego-oriented than athletes without disabilities. It could be because parents of athletes with disabilities live the sport experience of their children as a way to socially countersign their capability. These results contrast with those by Cervelló et al. (1999) and Skordilis et al. (2003), that found higher task and higher ego orientation in able-bodied tennis players than in wheelchair tennis players, and partially coincide with those by Gutiérrez

and Caus (2006) and Skordilis et al. (2002), that demonstrated athletes with disabilities scored higher in ego orientation than athletes without disabilities. These differences may be due to the different characteristics of the samples analyzed, as Cervelló et al. (1999) examined a sample of top class tennis players, Gutiérrez and Caus (2006) focused on a sample of amateur sport practitioners, and Skordilis et al. (2002) studied a sample of recreational basketball players. Furthermore, our study revealed that athletes with disabilities scored higher in interest-enjoyment and perceived competence, and higher in tension-pressure than athletes without disabilities. Our results also are related to those of Martin (2006) who found that youth with disabilities who participate in sport reported high levels of sport commitment, sport enjoyment, perceived physical ability and sport friendship quality. Participants in the same study also reported that participation in sports allowed them to feel physically capable and perceive that their parents were very supportive of their participation in sport. Hence, it is perhaps not surprising that athletes with disabilities scored higher than athletes without disabilities, as athletes with disabilities have a strong need to demonstrate their ability to themselves as well as to their parents and others. The findings are also in line with Kirby's (1995) who identified fun or enjoyment as an important motivating factor for becoming involved or practicing an adapted sport.

These arguments are very important because, although internal reasons, task-incentives, or intrinsic motivation are often invoked by athletes with a disability to explain their participation, this does not mean that external reasons, ego-incentives, or extrinsic motivation are not important when trying to understand why such individuals play or compete in adapted sport (Perrault & Vallerand, 2007). Moreover, we cannot forget that participation of young athletes with disabilities in sports depends greatly on their parents' support and involvement, so the parents' goal orientation is crucial to understanding the motivation of people with disabilities.

### **Limitations to the Study and Future Research**

Certain limitations have possibly influenced the present findings, and results can only be generalized with caution. The data utilized in this study are cross-sectional, and no conclusions regarding causal relationships can be drawn. Furthermore, these data are based on athletes' self-reports. Future studies should also include parents' self-reports about their criteria of success with regard to their children' sport practices. Additionally, athletes with disabilities were older than athletes without disabilities, and this might be a problem comparing them. Researchers have indicated the importance of age and experience in formulating psychological profiles of athletes with disabilities (Skordilis et al., 2002).

Since we only controlled for disability in the present study as a moderate variable, age and gender may be used as main effect and covariates to control for differences among groups. The use of HLM (Hierarchical Linear Modeling) as a statistical aid, given the multilevel nature of the data, could be considered as a future line of research. The formation of the athletes' dispositional goal orientations is not exclusively based on the influence of parents. Future studies should also include the perceptions of additional 'significant others' such as coaches, friends or

siblings (Rudell & Shinenew, 2006). Recommendations for research also include taking into consideration a comparison between individual sports and team sports. Finally, it could be important to analyze the differences among the parents' influences on the athletes' goal orientations depending on the gender of the parents and athletes, especially for athletes with disabilities as so often the mother is the primary caregiver. Finally, as also expressed by Duda and Hom (1993), it would be interesting to determine the sources of young athletes' views concerning their parents' motivational perspective. That is, what parental behaviors, cognitive responses, and affective reactions do children use in interpreting how their mothers and fathers define success in the sports domain?

### **Implications**

It seems to be generally assumed that the motivational climate created by parents can play a role in children's and adolescents' motivational orientation in sports. The way parents value and conceive sports participation influences their children's goal orientations when practicing sports. However, the socialization process into and through sports can differ between people with and without disabilities.

This research study reveals practical implications, especially for parents of children with physical disabilities. According to Burstein et al. (2005) and Kristén et al. (2003), parents of children with disabilities have an important role in strengthening and supporting their children in everyday life, because children and adolescents with physical disabilities do not ordinarily have natural access to club activities, nor do they receive the same support for physical activities as their peers without disabilities. As noted by Kosma et al. (2002), disability is socially constructed within the realm of constantly changing sociocultural principles, ideas, and expectations. Thus, in order to enhance motivation for persons with disabilities, scholars and practitioners in the area of adapted physical activity and sports should strive to establish task-oriented motivational climates, which nurture task-oriented individuals in order to increase their perceived competence, intrinsic motivation, and physical activity adherence, and decrease attrition.

It should be noted that parents are not the only group whose goal orientations influence the sport practices of people with disabilities. Page et al. (2001) suggested that teachers and coaches may also wish to provide athletes with disabilities with a balanced and highly organized array of sport opportunities (e.g., competitive and cooperative sports, team and individual sports) that emphasize all of the different aspects of goal setting and competition. This is best accomplished in an atmosphere that recognizes the individual skill improvement of all of the participants, and challenges participants to go beyond their current levels of performance. Individuals should be encouraged to pursue activities that make them feel competent and proficient rather than special or brave.

Our findings suggested the importance of paying attention to athletes with disabilities' perceptions of their parents' goal orientations, because according to White (1998), the most influential variable is the individual's perception of the situation rather than the situation itself. These findings note the necessity of considering a global model that implicates parents, coaches and peers, to establish

the way sports practices of people with disabilities should be conducted. All these agents could work together to transmit the appropriate orientation for the sports to accomplish the physiological and psychosocial benefits that are assumed for athletes with disabilities. If our major concern is that of maximizing young athletes' involvement in sport, however, it appears that there is a need for mothers and fathers to talk to their children and attempt to understand how they construe success as well as failure in sports contexts. Athletes might also benefit from speaking with their parents about how their parents construe sport achievement.

As explained in the theoretical framework, a lingering and pervasive problem in Spanish society and within many Spanish families is a failure to recognize the full value of sport practice for people with disabilities beyond medical rehabilitation. Furthermore, our outcomes highlight the major importance of parents' goal orientations for young athletes with disabilities. We propose that efforts to change the social perception of disability should target parents. If more parents of children with disabilities come to appreciate the full range of benefits associated with sports participation, they are more likely to shift their own perspective from the rehabilitation model to the social inclusion model and become facilitators of autonomy as well as personal and social wellness for their children. As more individuals and families adopt and advocate for such a position, they can exert influence at the community level to break down social barriers that currently limit the level of physical activity and sport participation among people with disabilities.

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## Participants' Experiences in Two Types of Sporting Events: A Quest for Evidence of the SL-CL Continuum

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### Abstract

The dichotomy of serious leisure (SL) and casual leisure (CL) has significant limitations, leaving some leisure experiences unexplained. The SL-CL continuum proposed by Shen and Yarnal (2010) aims at filling this gap by providing a description based on behavioral commitment. We present evidence supporting the SL-CL continuum obtained by comparing participants in two different types of sporting events: an international/major and a national/minor event. Quantitative data on leisure motives and identity, corresponding to four SL and two CL characteristics, were collected from self-administered questionnaires. Both samples reported moderate to high intensities across the characteristics. However, international/major participants were more serious and national/minor participants more casual in their leisure experience. Participants were not effectively described in terms of the SL-CL dichotomy.

*KEYWORDS: Casual leisure, continuum, identity, motives, serious leisure*

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There is a large body of literature that studies serious leisure (SL) participants in a wide range of activities (e.g., Baldwin & Norris, 1999; Brown, 2007; Gibson, Willming, & Holdnak, 2002; Hastings, Kurth, Schloder, & Cyr, 1995; Mackellar, 2009; Shipway & Jones, 2007; 2008; Stalp, 2006). However, casual leisure (CL) participants have only received minimal research attention (Shinew & Parry, 2005). Although these studies further our understanding of both leisure fields, they also stress their separateness and assist in establishing and maintaining the SL-CL dichotomy (Stebbins, 1997). Consistent with the recreation specialization framework developed by Bryan (1977), who argued that participants in any given activity fall along a continuum demonstrating different styles of involvement, Shen and Yarnal (2010) recently expressed the need to re-evaluate the SL-CL dichotomy. The authors suggested to study leisure participants along a SL-CL continuum, as one activity may attract participants with different levels (or intensities) of behavioral commitment and thus displaying different levels of SL and CL characteristics.

Past research examining the SL-CL continuum included participants from one particular activity (e.g., Brown, 2007; Scott & Godbey, 1994; Shen & Yarnal, 2010). However, in the recreation specialization framework, Bryan (1979) emphasized that there are not only differences in specialization within but also between activities. Therefore, the current study will test and evaluate the SL-CL continuum approach in two different types of sporting events using a cross-activity design. Furthermore, although previous research has examined SL participants at different types of sporting events (e.g., Hastings et al., 1995; Heo & Lee, 2010; Shipway & Jones, 2007; 2008), no studies were found that examined CL participants in the same sporting context. In order to test the SL-CL continuum, CL characteristics of participants will be included in the current study. This will provide a more holistic understanding of the leisure experiences of sporting event participants.

Methodologically, most research on SL or CL has taken a qualitative approach (e.g., Brown, 2007; Gibson et al., 2002; Mackellar, 2009; Shen & Yarnal, 2010; Shipway & Jones, 2007; 2008). Several authors, however, advocated for the collection of quantitative data as an avenue for future research since it allows for testing variations among participants (Scott & Godbey, 1994; Scott & Shafer, 2001), or examining the intercorrelations among the SL and CL characteristics (Shen & Yarnal, 2010). The current study will therefore take a quantitative approach. Furthermore, previous studies focused on the experiences of adult respondents, which means that our understanding of adolescents' leisure experiences is minimal. The current study includes a sample ranging from adolescents to older adults (i.e., 14 to 77 years of age). Lastly, recreation/regeneration (i.e., the ability of recreation to feeling refreshed) was discussed as one of the benefits of CL (Stebbins, 2001a). However, this CL characteristic was notably absent from Shen and Yarnal's (2010) findings.

Thus, the purpose of this study was to develop our knowledge of the SL-CL continuum conception as opposed to the SL-CL dichotomy. The SL-CL continuum theory will be tested comparing leisure characteristics of participants in two different types of sporting events, namely the 2005 Pan American Junior Athletics Championships and the 2008 Canadian Transplant Games. Quantitative data were collected on different leisure characteristics such as leisure motives (i.e., mastery,

intellectual, social, and escape) and identity (i.e., athletic self-identity and athletic social identity) from self-administered questionnaires. These characteristics correspond to four SL and two CL characteristics, which will be elucidated in the next section. The primary question that guided our research was, Is there evidence that participants in two different types of sporting events score differently on the SL-CL continuum?

## Review of Literature

### Serious Leisure

SL is defined by Stebbins (1992) as “the systematic pursuit of an amateur, hobbyist, or volunteer activity sufficiently substantial and interesting for the participant to find a career there in the acquisition and expression of a combination of its special skills, knowledge, and experience” (p. 3). Six defining qualities of SL were identified: perseverance, leisure career, personal effort, ethos/subculture, durable benefits, and identification. Several studies, written exclusively from a qualitative research perspective and including only a small sample, have confirmed the presence of these six SL qualities among SL participants in different sporting contexts, including football fans (Gibson et al., 2002), shag dancers (Brown, 2007), marathon and long distance runners (Shipway & Jones, 2007; 2008), festival participants (Mackellar, 2009), and Masters swimmers (Hastings et al., 1995). Participants were labeled “serious” based on the presence of a combination of these six SL qualities, which are discussed subsequently.

First, participants need to persevere through constraints such as embarrassment, danger, injury, fatigue, time, and so on (Stebbins, 1992). Second, participants develop a leisure career in terms of progressing through the activity (Scott & Shafer, 2001) and encountering “special contingencies, turning points and stages of achievement or involvement” (Stebbins, 2001b, p. 9); or regress from serious to casual (Brown, 2007). Third, significant personal effort is necessary to prepare for and participate in the activity, which may be based upon specially acquired skills or knowledge (Gibson et al., 2002; Green & Jones, 2005). Fourth, participants are part of a social world with its own unique ethos or subculture (Bryan, 1977; Green & Chalip, 1998; Green & Jones, 2005; Scott & Godbey, 1994). Fifth, participation in SL can lead to a range of durable benefits such as “the enhancement of the self-concept, self-actualisation, self-enrichment, self-expression, feelings of accomplishment, enhanced self-image and self-esteem, and social interaction” (Green & Jones, 2005, p. 168). SL activities can also offer rewards of “pleasure/enjoyment” and “recreation/regeneration” to its participants (Stebbins, 1997). Sixth, SL activities have the potential to provide participants with a strong identification, which can take place at the personal or social level (Brown, 2007; Green & Jones, 2005; Scott & Godbey, 1994; Scott & Shafer, 2001; Shipway & Jones, 2008).

**Serious leisure and motives.** Some of the aforementioned SL benefits correspond with leisure motives, such as intellectual, mastery, social, and escape motives (Beard & Ragheb, 1983). Self-actualization, for instance, can be described as “developing/learning new skills, abilities, and knowledge” (Shen & Yarnal, 2010, p. 170) and corresponds with intellectual motives. Competition may lead to feel-

ings of accomplishment, which can be described as “feelings accomplished or realized through participation” (Shen & Yarnal, 2010, p. 170) and correspond with mastery motives. Furthermore, social interaction is described as “interacting with others; developing meaningful relationships with others” (Shen & Yarnal, 2010, p. 170) and is consistent with social motives. A study by Hastings and colleagues (1995) encompasses all three aforementioned motives. Canadian and U.S. Masters swimmers reported that fitness, skill development, achievement, and sociability were important motives for participating in a SL career. Recreation/regeneration can be described as “feeling recreated or refreshed through participation” (Shen & Yarnal, 2010, p. 170) and corresponds with escape motives.

**Serious leisure and identification.** Since the current study focuses on sporting events, identification corresponds with athletic identity dimensions, namely athletic self-identity and athletic social identity. Athletic self-identity refers to the individual’s personal importance of being an athlete, whereas athletic social identity refers to the individual’s perception of the social importance of being an athlete (Green & Chalip, 1998; Shamir, 1992). The centrality of a leisure activity to an individual’s identity was likewise stressed by Bryan (1977) in the context of recreation specialization.

Thus, these motives and identity are indicators of SL characteristics, which create the leisure experience. While there is a large body of literature that studied SL participants in a wide range of activities, including sporting events, no studies were found that examined CL participants in the same sporting context.

### **Casual Leisure**

Contrasted to SL, unserious or CL is defined as the “immediately, intrinsically rewarding, relatively short-lived pleasurable activity requiring little or no special training to enjoy it” (Stebbins, 1997, p. 18). However, Stebbins (1997) also argued that it is possible that some participants might have had a significant level of skill and training, but these have weakened to the point that their participation is now more casual than serious. Brown (2007) reported how shag dancers progressed and regressed between being serious and casual participants. Former serious dancers explained that they became casual dancers because it was more fun and less time-consuming. These findings indicate that SL and CL pursuits may lead to different durable benefits or rewards.

According to Stebbins (1997), all CL activities are hedonic and produce a significant level of pleasure and enjoyment for their participants. Stebbins (2001a) also identified five other benefits of CL: (a) creativity and discovery, (b) edutainment, (c) recreation or regeneration, (d) development and maintenance of interpersonal relationships, and (e) well-being and quality of life. Overlap between activities exists as both SL and CL activities may offer benefits of recreation/regeneration and social interaction to its participants (Stebbins, 1997). Therefore, the benefits of recreation/regeneration and social interaction are identified as overlapping CL and SL characteristics (defined as CL/SL characteristics hereafter).

CL has received minimal research attention and no studies were found framed within CL theory examining the benefits of CL among leisure participants in different sporting contexts. However, two studies on cause-related sport event partici-

pation included the CL/SL characteristic of social interaction and revealed that social motives formed the strongest emergent theme for participating in the events (Cornwell & Smith, 2001; Filo, Funk & O'Brien, 2008).

### **SL – CL Continuum**

Stebbins (1992) acknowledged continuity between the SL and CL fields as “individuals may be ranked by their degrees of involvement in a particular activity” (p. 6), which is supported by other leisure researchers. This idea is integral to the recreational specialization framework (Bryan, 1977; Scott & Godbey, 1994; Scott & Shafer, 2001). Participants along the continuum have different motivations, attitudes, values, preferences, and so on. Participants at the high end of the SL-CL and specialization continuum can be expected to evince a high level of identification, skill development, and knowledge. Shen and Yarnal (2010) recently conceptualized and examined the SL-CL continuum, whereas the exploratory findings of other studies (e.g., Brown, 2007; Green & Tanabe, 1998; Scott & Solomon, 2003) indirectly provided some evidence for continuity between the SL and CL fields. These studies described participants’ leisure experiences in terms of particular characteristics and are elucidated subsequently.

Shen and Yarnal (2010) argued that “neither the forms of activities nor the distinguishing SL/CL qualities appeared to be reliable criteria for determining the nature of a leisure pursuit as serious or casual” (p. 167). The SL-CL dichotomy represents two extreme or ideal types of leisure; however, most leisure experiences occur between the extremes along the SL-CL continuum. Shen and Yarnal proposed the Leisure Experience Characteristic framework, which locates individuals on a continuum of leisure experiences based on their SL and overlapping CL/SL characteristics. The authors examined the seemingly CL experiences of women involved in the Red Hat Society and found that they demonstrated both SL and CL characteristics. Socialization and fun/enjoyment (two CL/SL characteristics) were the leisure experiences most frequently identified by the participants, whereas sense of accomplishment and self-esteem (two SL characteristics) were the strongest leisure experiences reported at the highest levels of intensity. The authors argued that “the SL-CL dichotomy (a) ignores the connections between the two concepts and (b) captures the prototypical leisure pursuits but leaves a variety of in-between experiences unrepresented” (p. 177). The SL-CL continuum proposition, which exists on various dimensions of the leisure experience, attempts to bridge this gap.

Although Brown (2007) intended to look at shag dancing from a SL perspective, the study provided evidence for the SL-CL continuum as five types of shag dancers emerged from the findings ranging from casual to serious dancers, based on dancer traits such as identity and some leisure motives (e.g., tendency to improve skills, tendency to compete, experiential preference, orientation to dance, and interpersonal relationships with other dancers). Occasional and recreational shaggers were types of casual dancers, whereas wannabes, competitive and hard core shaggers were types of serious dancers. Findings indicated that casual dancers were as committed as serious dancers, but in different ways. For instance, casual dancers wanted to have fun and socialize, but they were not motivated to improve their skills or compete. Moreover, being a dancer was less important in their iden-

tity compared to serious dancers. In contrast, serious dancers showed continuous efforts to develop and showcase their skills, but they were less motivated to have fun and socialize. Evidence of continuity between the different types of leisure participants was also presented. Some dancers described how they progressed from casual to serious dancers, whereas some regressed. Former serious dancers explained that they discontinued their SL career as it was “no longer challenging or too time-consuming in terms of practice and travel time, too much work, and no fun” (Brown, 2007, p. 643), describing some of the differences in durable benefits obtained from SL and CL pursuits (Stebbins, 1997).

This is part-and-parcel to the specialization framework presented by Scott and Godbey (1994), who revealed that contract bridge players defined themselves as either serious or social players, with four types of bridge players emerging based on different styles of involvement. However, they argued the four types of players were not part of a continuum per se, but members of two different social worlds. Serious players wanted to develop their skills, whereas social players were more invested in developing close friendships. Significantly, both groups were committed to the leisure activity. Furthermore, contrary to Brown’s (2007) findings, many social bridge players were not interested in and actually resisted progression to serious bridge. Elsewhere, Scott and Shafer (2001) stated that “progression is not a typical career path pursued by leisure participants” (p. 337).

Green and Tanabe (1998) examined whether participants in four events of the Gold Coast Marathon (i.e., marathon, half marathon, 10 km run, and 10 km walk) differed in terms of their identification with and commitment to running and/or their leisure motives (Green, 2001). Although this study was not directly linked to SL or CL theory, the findings indicated that marathoners reported higher levels of identification—both self- and social identity—with and commitment to running, which are identified as characteristics of SL (Stebbins, 1992), compared to other runners and walkers. Furthermore, participants in the four races did not differ in terms of their leisure motives, suggesting that all participants shared similar levels of some SL (mastery and intellectual motives) and CL/SL (social and escape motives) characteristics. Lastly, Scott and Solomon (2003) found evidence of a continuum of participants at a cause-related sport event, a 5 km run or walk event aimed at raising funds to support breast cancer research. They observed a continuum of attendees ranging from “junkies” participating for the sport event and competition, to “social butterflies” participating for social interaction, to “activists” participating to support the cause. Thus, researchers have identified different ways to measure CL and SL, both empirically and a priori. However, there is no consensus as to which specific measures need to be used as indicators of these constructs. The recreational specialization framework uses behavior, skill, and commitment to explore variation among recreation participants (Scott & Shafer, 2001). The literature review on the SL-CL continuum revealed how leisure motives and identity represent SL and CL/SL characteristics and it has shown the relevance of investigating leisure motives and identity for both SL and CL participants. However, these concepts have never been the focus of past studies framed in SL or CL theory. In addition, Bryan (1979) stressed that differences in specialization not only occur *within* but also *between* activities. The current study therefore examines the concepts of



leisure motives and identity among two samples of sporting event participants in order to find evidence to support the SL-CL continuum. Although motives and identity are not experiences, they are “indicators” of CL and SL characteristics, which in turn create the leisure experience. In contrast to the studies described above, which were mostly qualitative in nature, our study will take a quantitative approach. The following section describes the leisure context of the current study.

### **Context and Setting**

The two sporting events chosen for this study are the 2005 Pan American Junior Athletics Championships and the 2008 Canadian Transplant Games. Both events were organized in Windsor, a medium-sized city in Ontario, Canada. The availability and proximity of the events provided the researchers at the University of Windsor with an excellent opportunity to collect data from a sample of participants.

Various scholars have offered different typologies of sporting events (e.g., Getz, 2007; Gratton & Taylor, 2000). For the purpose of this study, we have adapted Solomon's (2002) framework for defining sporting events which is based on the participant's perspective and geographic reach. The participant's perspective distinguishes between amateur or professional events and whether events are of major or minor sporting importance. The geographic reach indicates the event's impact on the local, regional, national, or international level. One other component Solomon brings in is “sanction,” indicating that the event is recognized by a sport governing body. Generally, sanctioned events are more important and more recognized by the sporting public than are non-sanctioned events. We have limited the focus of this study to two amateur sporting events: one international event of major sporting importance and one national event of minor sporting importance. Events of major importance emphasize sporting performance and excellence, while events of minor importance embrace participation for the sake of recreational participation and/or as a means to other ends (e.g., socializing, raising funds, or creating awareness). Generally, participants in events of minor sporting importance are linked with a reference group which is meaningful to them (Misener & Taks, 2009).

The Pan American Junior Athletics Championships is an international event of major sporting importance, organized bi-annually in various Pan American countries under the auspices of the International Association of Athletics Federations and the Pan American Athletics Commission. The event is a world-class track and field meet that features some of the western hemisphere's best up-and-coming junior athletes, who are selected by their national federations. Excellent participation at this event may lead to a successful track and field career. The 2005 event was hosted by the University of Windsor, in partnership with the local Track and Field Club, the community, corporate, and regional partners. Thirty five countries were represented at the event. Since it was a “junior” championship, all 443 athletes were 19 years of age or younger. The event attracted mainly local but also international spectators (Local Organizing Committee, 2005).

The Canadian Transplant Games is a national event of minor sporting importance, organized bi-annually in Canada by the Canadian Transplant Association

and a local host organization to create awareness about organ and tissue donation and to encourage transplant recipients to maintain a healthy lifestyle. The Canadian Transplant Association invites all transplant recipients, young and old, recreational and competitive athletes, to participate. The event brings together transplant recipients (athletes), donor families and supporters (spectators), and volunteers to celebrate the second chance at life and to pay tribute to organ donors and their families. A total of 124 athletes from Canada and the United States were at the 2008 event, with ages ranging from 7 to 77 years (Canadian Transplant Association, 2010).

Based on the SL and CL literature and Solomon's (2002) typology of sporting events, there is a seemingly clear distinction between the two types of events. The international event of major sporting importance emphasizes sporting performance and excellence, which relates to some SL qualities such as a leisure career (Stebbins, 2001b), durable benefits of self-actualization and feelings of accomplishment (Green & Jones, 2005), and strong identification (Stebbins, 1982). In contrast, the national event of minor sporting importance emphasizes recreational participation as a means to raise awareness and socialize, which relates to some CL qualities. The hedonic nature of the sporting activity offers benefits to the participants: it contributes to their well-being and quality of life, assists in developing and maintaining interpersonal relationships (Canadian Transplant Association, 2010), and offers recreation/regeneration (Stebbins, 2001a).

Under the SL-CL continuum proposition (Shen & Yarnal, 2010), and consistent with the recreation specialization (Bryan, 1979), participants at two different types of sporting events can display various SL and CL characteristics with various levels of intensities. It was hypothesized that within the seemingly more serious leisure context of the international event of major sporting importance, both SL and CL characteristics would be observed with various levels of intensities, with the SL characteristics being more dominant. Similarly, it was hypothesized that within the seemingly more casual leisure context of the national event of minor sporting importance, both CL and SL characteristics would be observed with various levels of intensities, with the CL characteristics being more dominant. In addition, Bryan (1979) stressed that there are differences in specialization within and between activities. In this context it can be argued that participants in the Pan American Junior Athletics Championships show a higher level of specialization, since these athletes are selected to participate in this event based on performance criteria in athletics. Thus, it can be assumed that not only the level of specialization of the participants in this type of event will be higher, but also, that the range of specialization will be narrower compared to the participants in the Canadian Transplant Games. For participants in the latter event, the level of specialization is expected to be lower, although some participants may be highly specialized. Thus, we expect larger standard deviations for participants in the Canadian Transplant Games compared to the Pan American Junior Athletics Championships.

## Methods

### Research Design

The purpose of the initial study was to identify differences in leisure motives and athletic identity among participants at two different types of sporting events. The study was not designed to test the SL-CL continuum theory, but the collected data allow for analysis of some of the SL and CL/SL characteristics described in Shen and Yarnal's (2010) Leisure Experience Characteristic framework. By examining leisure variables among two samples of sporting event participants, the SL-CL continuum theory could be tested with a cross-activity design. We collected quantitative data using a self-administered questionnaire, which allowed us to examine intercorrelations among the characteristics. The economy of the design and the rapid turnaround in data collection were the two main advantages of using a questionnaire method. Furthermore, the data consisted of respondents' scores on each leisure characteristic, including the concept of recreation/regeneration which was missing in previous studies, providing a more holistic view of their leisure experiences.

### Participants and Procedures

Data were collected using self-administered questionnaires completed by participants at two sporting events: the 2005 Pan American Junior Athletics Championships, considered an international event of major sporting importance and the 2008 Canadian Transplant Games, considered a national event of minor sporting importance. The researchers contacted the organizers and requested to collect data during the events. The request was approved and the researchers attended the events while clearly identifying themselves as researchers (e.g., wearing university T-shirts, setting up a research booth). Due to biases associated with event participation, which includes significant travel costs for the majority of participants, our study sample may not represent the general population.

Participants at the international event of major sporting importance received a questionnaire, a letter of information and consent, as well as a pencil and a blank envelope in the athletes' welcome package. Participants were asked to fill out the questionnaires and return it in a sealed envelope to the research booth over the three-day course of the event. Upon returning the questionnaire, respondents received an invitation card to participate in a draw to win a token of appreciation (i.e., an iPod). The winner of the draw was announced at the farewell party. Confidentiality and anonymity were guaranteed. During the course of the event, researchers encouraged as many participants as possible to partake in the study. A total of 443 athletes participated in the international event of major sporting importance (labeled international/major participants hereafter) and 147 returned the questionnaire (response rate = 33%). Due to missing data, only 117 questionnaires were usable for further analyses. Slightly more than half of the respondents were female (55%). For the sample of international/major participants ( $n = 117$ ), all participants were 19 years of age or younger as the age ranged from 15 to 19 years ( $M$  age = 18.18;  $SD = 0.99$ ).

Data at the national event of minor sporting importance were collected during registration on the first day of the four-day event. Participants, who were all transplant recipients, were required to register in order to receive their name tags, room keys, food vouchers, etc. Immediately after registration, participants were invited by the researchers to partake in the study. The Research Ethics Boards required participants to be 14 years of age or older to be part of the study. Only participants who were 14 years of age or older and agreed to partake in the study, received a questionnaire, a letter of information and consent, and a blank envelope. They were asked to fill out the questionnaire at the research table and return it in a sealed envelope that ensured confidentiality and anonymity. Upon returning the questionnaire, respondents received an invitation card to participate in a draw to win a token of appreciation (i.e., an iPod). The winner of the draw was announced before the closing ceremony. A total of 124 athletes participated in the national event of minor sporting importance (labeled national/minor participants hereafter). Only 106 athletes were 14 years of age or older and therefore, eligible to partake in the study. Overall, 75 questionnaires were returned (response rate = 71%). One questionnaire was excluded due to missing data, thus 74 questionnaires were usable for further analyses. Slightly more than half of the respondents were male (57%). For the sample of national/minor participants ( $n = 74$ ), the age ranged from 14 to 77 years ( $M$  age = 44.89;  $SD = 14.95$ ).

The study did not involve stratification of the population before selecting the sample. Thus, for the total sample of sporting event participants ( $N = 191$ ), the age ranged from 14 to 77 years ( $M$  age = 28.59;  $SD = 16.00$ ). The sample of international/major participants can be considered homogeneous (15 to 19 years) and the sample of national/minor participants heterogeneous (14 to 77 years). An equal number of males and females were represented in the total sample.

### **The Survey Instrument**

The questionnaire included measures of athletic identity and leisure motives. In order to collect some data on demographics, respondents were also asked to report their gender (measured as a dichotomous variable) and age (measured as a continuous variable).

**Athletic identity.** Shamir (1992) developed the Leisure Identity Scale to measure two aspects of athletic identity: (a) athletic self-identity which is measured with the Identity Salience Scale and includes seven items, and (b) athletic social identity which is measured with the Social Commitment Scale and includes eight items. Self-identity is defined as the importance of a leisure identity for the respondent's self-definition relative to other identities (e.g., being an athlete describes me). Social identity refers to the respondent's perception of other people's awareness of participation in the leisure activity, their definition of the respondent as a participant, and their expectations of continued involvement (e.g., people would be surprised if I just stopped being involved in sport). Shamir's (1992) scales were internally consistent with an alpha of .87 for self-identity and .89 for social identity. Snelgrove, Taks, Chalip, and Green (2008) modified Shamir's original scale towards a scale containing two subscales, measured with three items each, which made the questionnaire easier to answer and less time consuming for re-

spondents. Their modified scales, which were used in this study, were internally consistent with an alpha of .88 for self-identity and .93 for social identity. The response range was a 6-point Likert scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). Item scores of each subscale were averaged to form an aggregated measure of the intended identity.

**Leisure motives.** Psychological and sociological reasons for leisure activity participation were measured with a modified version of Beard and Ragheb's (1983) Leisure Motivation Scale. The original scale contained four dimensions: competency-mastery (or mastery), intellectual, social, and stimulus-avoidance (or escape), measured with 12 items each. The mastery dimension encompasses motives to achieve, master, and compete (e.g., to gain experience at a high level). The intellectual dimension includes motives to learn, discover, and explore new ideas (e.g., to expand my knowledge about sports). The social dimension incorporates motives to build friendships and to receive esteem from others (e.g., to meet new and different people). Lastly, the escape dimension integrates motives to escape from daily life situations (e.g., to relax mentally). Beard and Ragheb's (1983) dimensions were internally consistent with alpha's ranging from .90 to .92. Snelgrove et al. (2008) modified Beard and Ragheb's original scale toward a scale containing the same four dimensions, measured with three items each, which again made the questionnaire easier to answer and less time consuming for respondents. Their modified scale, which was used in this study, was internally consistent with alpha's ranging from .75 to .94. The response range was a 6-point Likert scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). Item scores of each dimension were averaged to form an aggregated measure of the intended motive. We acknowledge that the construct validity of the modified Leisure Motivation Scale (Snelgrove et al., 2008) has limitations as it only includes four dimensions and excludes dimensions such as fun/enjoyment, which are important within SL and CL theory.

Table 1

*Connection between Leisure Experience Characteristic (LEC) and Questionnaire Dimensions*

<b>LEC Dimension</b>	<b>Questionnaire Dimension</b>
<i>Serious Leisure</i>	
Sense of accomplishment	Mastery motives
Self-actualization	Intellectual motives
Identity/sense of belonging	Athletic social identity
Self-expression	Athletic self-identity
<i>Casual Leisure/Serious Leisure</i>	
Socialization/social interaction	Social motives
Recreation/regeneration	Escape motives

*Note.* The LEC Dimensions are from "Blowing Open the Serious Leisure-Casual Leisure Dichotomy: What's In There?," by X.S. Shen, and C. Yarnal, 2010, *Leisure Sciences*, 32, p. 170.

Table 1 shows how the aforementioned questionnaire dimensions of athletic identity and leisure motives fit the Leisure Experience Characteristic framework (Shen & Yarnal, 2010). The characteristics were compared among the two samples of sporting event participants in order to examine whether they scored differently on the SL-CL continuum.

### Data Analysis

Alpha coefficients for each dimension were calculated to examine internal consistencies of the measures, in accordance with Nunnally's (1978) recommendation of .70, and ranged from .68 to .86. Although the mastery dimension ( $\alpha = .68$ ) had a lower than recommended internal consistency value, it was still included in the analyses. Correlations among the different dimensions were also calculated and Table 2 shows that there were no problems with multicollinearity as the correlations were not high ( $r > .90$ ) nor perfect ( $r = 1$ ). Based on the 6-point Likert scale measurement, each respondent had a score from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*) on the four SL and two CL/SL dimensions. Descriptive analyses (means and standard deviations) were used to calculate the levels of intensity of the leisure experience dimensions (Table 3). In order to examine the differences between international/major and national/minor participants along the SL-CL continuum, we used the Welch *t* test for independent samples and the following assumptions were satisfied: first, the observations were independent from one another, and second, the samples followed a normal distribution (as outliers were deleted). The Welch *t* test does not assume equal population variances or equal sample sizes. The results are presented in Table 4.

## Results

The mean scores and standard deviations for the SL and CL/SL characteristics, which were measured with a 6-point scale, are presented in Table 3. All the mean scores were distributed above the median of the scale and ranged from 3.26 to

Table 2

### *Intercorrelations among Questionnaire Dimensions*

	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Mastery motives	-	.72**	.39**	.55**	.11	.05
2. Intellectual motives		-	.32**	.46**	.25**	.20**
3. Athletic social identity			-	.60**	.06	-.19**
4. Athletic self-identity				-	.01	-.05
5. Social motives					-	.42**
6. Escape motives						-

Note. \*\* $p < .01$ , two-tailed.

Table 3

*Means and Standard Deviations of Leisure Characteristics*

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
<i>Serious Leisure</i>		
Mastery motives	5.10	0.95
Intellectual motives	4.33	1.25
Athletic social identity	5.25	0.96
Athletic self-identity	5.04	1.15
<i>Casual Leisure/Serious Leisure</i>		
Social motives	5.14	0.82
Escape motives	3.26	1.28

Note. Measured using a 6-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree).  
*N* = 191.

5.25. These scores represent the level of intensity of the respondents' leisure experiences. Sporting event participants, in general, reported strong experiences (i.e., greater than 3 on a 6-point scale), with some variation across the characteristics. Athletic social identity ( $M = 5.25$ ) and social motives ( $M = 5.14$ ) ranked highest. The other leisure experience characteristics, including mastery motives ( $M = 5.10$ ), athletic self-identity ( $M = 5.04$ ), and intellectual motives ( $M = 4.33$ ) also received high ratings. Escape motives ( $M = 3.26$ ) were ranked lowest.

The mean differences between national/minor and international/major participants are presented in Table 4. Both groups reported moderate to high levels of intensity across the characteristics. However, the results suggest that the leisure experiences of both groups differed significantly. Furthermore, the differences clearly correspond with the four SL and two CL/SL characteristics. International/major participants seemed more serious as they reported a higher athletic social identity ( $M = 5.68$ ) and athletic self-identity ( $M = 5.63$ ) and as they were more interested to master ( $M = 5.56$ ) and learn ( $M = 4.89$ ) while participating in the sporting event. International/major participants also reported moderate to high levels across the CL/SL characteristics, however, significantly lower than their national/minor counterparts. As a result, national/minor participants seemed more casual as they were more interested to socialize ( $M = 5.46$ ) and escape ( $M = 3.86$ ) while participating in the sporting event. National/minor participants also reported high levels across the SL characteristics, however, significantly lower than their international/major counterparts. As expected, the standard deviations for SL characteristics are larger for the national/minor participants as opposed to the international/major participants. Interestingly, the standard deviations of the CL/SL characteristics are larger for the international/major participants, compared to the national/minor participants.

Table 4

*Comparing Mean Differences of Leisure Characteristics among Two Samples of Sporting Event Participants*

	<b>National/minor participants (n = 74)</b>	<b>International/major participants (n = 117)</b>	<b>Welch statistic <sup>a</sup></b>
	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>M (SD)</i>	<i>F (df1, df2)</i>
<i>Serious Leisure</i>			
Mastery motives	4.39 (1.05)	5.56 (0.51)	78.21 (1, 93.7) **
Intellectual motives	3.46 (1.24)	4.89 (0.88)	74.08 (1, 120.7) **
Athletic social identity	4.64 (1.12)	5.68 (0.49)	57.42 (1, 92.3) **
Athletic self-identity	4.21 (1.29)	5.63 (0.51)	80.46 (1, 89.5) **
<i>Casual Leisure/Serious Leisure</i>			
Social motives	5.46 (0.54)	4.94 (0.90)	24.71 (1, 185.4) **
Escape motives	3.86 (0.84)	2.89 (1.36)	36.18 (1, 185.9) **

Note. <sup>a</sup> *Asymptotically F distributed.*

\*\* *p < .001, two-tailed.*

*N = 191.*

## Discussion

The purpose of this study was to further develop our understanding of the SL-CL continuum by exploring leisure experiences of participants in two different types of sporting events. Based on the SL and CL literature and Solomon's (2002) typology of sporting events, it was hypothesized that there was a seemingly clear distinction between participants in the two types of sporting events. The original hypotheses of the study were confirmed as the SL and CL/SL characteristics of both groups of participants were compared and significant differences were found. International/major participants showed higher levels of SL characteristics when compared to national/minor participants, whereas the latter showed higher levels of CL/SL characteristics when compared to the former. Athletic social identification was the SL characteristic reported highest among international/major participants, whereas social motivation was the CL/SL characteristic reported highest among national/minor participants. Therefore, based on their differences in leisure motives and identity, international/major participants could be considered more serious and national/minor participants more casual in their leisure experiences. Moreover, the standard deviations of the SL characteristics were larger in the group national/minor participants, showing a wider range in levels of specialization among participants, which was expected based on Bryan's (1977) ideas about recreational specialization. However, the larger standard deviations and the wider range in CL/SL characteristics among the international/major participants is a new finding, confirming that for some international/major participants the casual component can also be of high importance.



However, the two groups of participants could not be described completely in terms of the SL-CL dichotomy as no extreme low versus extreme high values were observed. In order to be categorized as CL participants, national/minor participants should have scored low on the SL characteristics. The mean values, however, ranging from 3.46 to 4.64 on a 6-point scale confirmed the opposite. The national/minor participants' leisure experiences included both CL/SL and SL characteristics at high levels of intensity. Furthermore, there are no characteristics exclusively tied to the concept of CL. Nevertheless, international/major participants scored moderate to high on the CL/SL characteristics. The mean values ranged from 2.89 to 4.94 on a 6-point scale.

Overall, international/major participants showed both SL and CL/SL characteristics at moderate to high levels of intensities, but the SL characteristics were more dominant when compared to national/minor participants. Similarly, national/minor participants showed both CL/SL and SL characteristics at high levels of intensities, but the CL/SL characteristics were more dominant when compared to international/major participants. These findings support the idea that participation in complex leisure activities is better represented as a continuum of involvement rather than a dichotomy of serious versus casual (Shen & Yarnal, 2010).

By using a cross-activity design, we found that sporting event participation is a combination of SL and CL. Our findings are similar to shag dancing and contract bridge, as the more serious participants were more committed to compete, gain experience at a high level, improve their skills, and discover new things about sports and less interested to socialize and interact with others compared to the more casual participants (Brown, 2007; Scott & Godbey, 1994). Although the more casual national/minor participants were more interested in socializing compared to their more serious international/major counterparts, our findings support the use of the SL-CL continuum as these participants were also highly committed to compete, gain experience at a high level, improve their skills, and discover new things about sports while participating in the sporting event. These findings are similar to the CL participants at the Red Hat Society who also reported SL characteristics at high levels (Shen & Yarnal, 2010). Furthermore, international/major participants were found to be similar to marathoners as they reported the highest levels of athletic social identity and athletic self-identity compared to national/minor participants (Green & Tanabe, 1998). However, once more our findings support the use of the SL-CL continuum as the two samples of sporting event participants differed significantly in terms of their leisure motives.

Our findings also add to the knowledge of the CL/SL characteristic of recreation/regeneration, which was measured via escape motives. Past research did not clarify the recreation/regeneration dimension, as it did not find evidence for this characteristic (Shen & Yarnal, 2010), did not include this as a trait in the study (Brown, 2007; Scott & Solomon, 2003), nor did it find significant differences among participants (Green & Tanabe, 1998). The more casual national/minor participants were more motivated to get away from their everyday lives and relax while participating in the sporting event, compared to the more serious international/major participants. However, the latter group still reported moderate values for the escape characteristic (2.89 on a 6-point scale, slightly below the

median). This highlights the importance of leisure activities offering the benefits of recreation/regeneration to its participants, serious or casual, along the SL-CL continuum (Stebbins, 1997).

Furthermore, this quantitative study provided results on the intercorrelations among the SL and CL/SL characteristics. The correlations among the four SL characteristics were moderate to high (ranging from .32 to .72). Similarly, the correlation among the two CL/SL characteristics was moderate (.42). However, the correlations among the six characteristics together were low (ranging from .01 to .25). This indicates that although social and escape motives are defined as overlapping SL/CL characteristics (Stebbins, 1997), there is a clear disconnection between these two dimensions and the four SL dimensions. Therefore, based on the SL-CL continuum as opposed to the SL-CL dichotomy, social and escape motives could be conceptualized as CL characteristics and future research should continue to examine their prevalence among both SL and CL participants.

Lastly, by finding evidence to support the SL-CL continuum, our study confirms that CL may also offer psychological benefits that have been typically identified with SL (Shen & Yarnal, 2010). Durable benefits such as self-actualization and feelings of accomplishment were thought to be exclusively related to SL (Green & Jones, 2005; Stebbins, 1992). However, our study confirms that more casual national/minor participants were also committed to compete, gain experience at a high level, improve their skills, and discover new things about sports and thus, gain some of the durable SL benefits. From this, we can emphasize that CL should be taken out of its residual role when being compared to SL, as "casual leisure is an important form of leisure in itself" (Stebbins, 1997, p. 18). Thus, it is important to note that more casual participants might enhance their psychological well-being via participation in sporting events, which is relevant for both adolescents and older adults. This may become the subject of a future study.

Event organizers and sport managers should use the findings of our study to improve their marketing communications and event activities in order to attract a wide range of participants along the SL-CL continuum. Green (2001) argued that event promotions should market the core aspects of the sporting event as this positively influences consumption and participation. The mission statement of the international/major sporting event emphasized sporting performance and excellence. The more serious participants indicated that athletic social identity and athletic self-identity were the most important characteristics when taking part in the sporting event. As a result, in addition to highlighting the opportunities to strengthen their self-identity, the opportunities to celebrate, parade, and share their social identity as athletes should also be emphasized in the marketing communications. Green and Chalip (1998) reported how event organizers attempted to give a women's football tournament a more serious image by focusing on the football competition and by limiting the subcultural festivities, which had been a marketing mistake as event regulars started to reconsider the tournament's value. On the contrary, the mission statement of the national/minor sporting event emphasized recreational participation as a means to socialize. The more casual participants indicated that social motivation and athletic social identity were the most important characteristics when taking part in the sporting event. As a result,

in addition to highlighting the opportunities to socialize, marketing communications should also emphasize the opportunities to celebrate, parade, and share their social identity as athletes. Overall, athletic social identity can be promoted and fostered via formal social activities, for instance opening and closing ceremonies, and informal social activities, for instance social interactions with other participants, spectators, visitors, and residents (Green & Chalip, 1998). Thus, both events should not only be marketed as sport performance/excellence events or recreational participation events, but also as events that celebrate the participants' athletic identities on a social level.

Furthermore, event activities should be tailored to satisfy participants' leisure motives as this maximizes performance and ensures continuation (Fung, 1992). For the more serious international/major participants, high quality and challenging competitions with experienced referees will satisfy their mastery motives, whereas additional workshops (e.g., about new equipment) or guest speakers (e.g., professional athletes) will satisfy their intellectual motives (Green & Tanabe, 1998). Lastly, formal and informal social activities (e.g., opening and closing ceremonies and social interactions) will relate to their social motives, while presenting an opportunity to relax and unwind during the event, although escape motives were only moderately important among these participants. Although the more casual national/minor participants reported high levels of the same leisure motives, different types of event activities must be selected based on the recreational participatory nature of the event. Social activities, not necessarily linked to athletics, will satisfy participants' social motives (Green & Tanabe, 1998). Furthermore, competitions must be an essential aspect of the national/minor sporting event in order to satisfy their mastery motives. However, different levels of activities, ranging from high to low intensity, must be jointly organized, for instance 5 km runs and 5 km walks, so that participants can select their level of competition. Nevertheless, all accomplishments must be celebrated with medals and tokens of appreciation. Furthermore, if multiple activities are organized, participants can try out new and different events as a way of satisfying their intellectual motives. Also, the difference in activity intensities will provide opportunities to relax and unwind and thus satisfy their escape motives. The participants at the national/minor sporting event were very heterogeneous, with ages ranging from 7 to 77 years, and therefore, offering choices between activities is very important.

There are several limitations associated with the study. There is no consensus as to which specific measures need to be used as indicators of SL and CL characteristics to test the SL-CL continuum proposition. The variables used in the current study were framed based on availability in both data sets. Furthermore, there are limitations in the chosen sample. First, based on the nature of sporting event participation, which may include travel costs, our findings cannot be generalized to the wider population. Second, the two sporting events were selected based on their convenience and proximity to the researchers' university. Third, the sample was relatively small although the researchers encouraged all event participants to partake in the study. And fourth, a sample bias with regards to age was acknowledged. However, the selected statistic for comparing the two samples did not assume equal population variances or equal sample sizes. Another limitation was that the

survey instrument does only include a small number of SL and CL characteristics and other questionnaire measurements might be better suited for the purpose of examining the SL-CL continuum (e.g., Driver, Tinsley, & Manfredi, 1991).

Based on the continuity between SL and CL (Brown, 2007; Scott & Godbey, 1994; Scott & Solomon, 2003; Shen & Yarnal, 2010; Stebbins, 1992), future research may further explore the leisure experiences of participants who partake in different types of sporting events on a yearly basis in order to examine whether their leisure experiences shift along the SL-CL continuum (regress or progress). In addition, future research may examine and compare sporting event participants with different age groups in order to more fully understand the relationships between age and the SL-CL continuum. Furthermore, traveling to participate in sporting events has been exclusively associated with SL (e.g., Mackellar, 2009; Shipway & Jones, 2008; 2009). Lastly, future research may build on the SL-CL continuum by examining SL traits among more casual participants and CL traits among more serious participants.

Although the areas of SL and CL have received a lot of research attention, most research continues to contribute to the SL-CL dichotomy which has serious limitations when describing participants' holistic leisure experiences. Furthermore, past research has not examined CL in the area of sporting event participation. Overall, this study supports Shen and Yarnal's (2010) SL-CL continuum proposition based on evidence of participants' leisure experiences at two types of sporting events. By comparing participants' leisure motives and identity, corresponding to four SL and two CL/SL characteristics, international/major participants could be considered more serious and national/minor participants more casual, although both groups of participants showed moderate to high levels of intensity across the characteristics. The SL-CL continuum offers a useful tool to describe leisure experiences that would be left unexplained by the SL-CL dichotomy.

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## Educational Travel and Global Citizenship

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### Abstract

We examined whether participation ( $n = 623$  students) in educational travel programs influenced support for environmental policies across different citizen types (justice-oriented, participatory, personally responsible, and non-citizen). Findings showed that (1) participation increased support for environmental policies across all groups, (2) justice-oriented citizens reported the highest support, while non-citizens demonstrated the lowest support, and (3) significant interaction effects suggest these main effects cannot be interpreted without considering the effects of (a) destination/country and (b) student major. If educational travel programs are to respond to calls to foster global citizenry, they should focus less on promoting personal responsible citizenry and more on a critical assessment of the justice issues surrounding global environmental problems.

*KEYWORDS:* Educational travel, study abroad, global citizenship, environmental policies, curriculum development, leisure studies, tourism

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With anticipated passage of the Senator Paul Simon Study Abroad Foundation Act,<sup>1</sup> there are increasing calls for studies to empirically demonstrate the link between study abroad and global citizenry. In response to these calls, we examined the extent to which participation in short-term, educational travel, study abroad programs to the South Pacific influenced support for environmental policies across different citizen types, and the effect of destination (Australia or New Zealand) and student characteristics (gender and major) on this relationship.

### **Global Citizenship**

The notion of citizenship is typically associated with the rights and duties of a particular nation-state; however, global citizenship cannot be extended in this way since there is no global government (Noddings, 2005). While contemporary definitions of global citizenship remained focused on notions of obligations and justice, they also incorporated a concern for environmental protection and many argued that global citizenship was firmly rooted in an environmental context (Attfield, 2002; Bryant, 2006; Dobson, 2003; Dower & Williams, 2002; Shallcross & Robinson, 2006; Winn, 2006). Attfield (2002), for example, suggested “environmental responsibilities form the most obvious focus of concern for global citizens, as well as the territory where global obligations most clearly arise” (p.191). Similarly, the environment provided the basis of Dobson’s (2003) post-cosmopolitan view of citizenship, as an obligation to reduce our ecological footprint to sustainable levels; i.e., to act as an “Earth Citizen.”

According to Dobson (2003), the concept of justice is used to distinguish between a community of citizens and that of humans: A “Good Citizen” is one who accepts a political obligation to act in a just and fair manner, in contrast to a “Good Samaritan” who may act out of a duty. The distinction between justice and duty is illustrated using the example of climate change, “if global warming is principally caused by wealthy nations, and if global warming is at least a part cause of strange weather, then monies should be transferred as a matter of compensatory justice rather than as aid or charity.... globalization then changes the source and nature of obligation” (Dobson, 2003; p. 31). The global nature of many environmental issues such as climate change, ozone depletion, the supply and distribution of renewable and non-renewable resources, and biodiversity and species loss transcend national boundaries with effects distributed across the planet. It follows therefore, that the civic concern expressed by citizens most appropriately concerns the sustainable use and conservation of earth’s resources. As such, global citizens are not simply international by reason of their world travel but as a result of their ecological footprint—the quantity of nature (specifically, the amount of natural resources) required and consumed to sustain their lifestyle choices and behaviors. Moreover, global citizenship in this sense is not just a matter of being a good community member, rather in recognizing an ethical imperative or willingness to reduce one’s ecological impact and support a sustainable footprint that

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<sup>1</sup>The Senator Paul Simon Study Abroad Foundation Act was approved on June 10, 2009 by the House of Representatives as part of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act and is presently with the U.S. Senate. Its goal is to increase the number of U.S. students studying abroad to one million within 10 years of enactment and to promote study abroad as a norm (and not as the exception) within undergraduate curricula.



may have no immediate, personal value but ultimately benefit others around the world.

Westheimer and Kahne (2004) have proposed three types of citizens: (a) *personally responsible citizens* (someone who acts responsibly in his/her community, obeys laws, recycles, gives blood, and/or volunteers in times of crisis); (b) *participatory citizens* (someone who is an active member of civic and community organizations, organizes community efforts such as environmental clean-ups, etc); and (c) *justice-oriented citizens* (someone who critically assesses social, political and economic structures to see beyond surfaces and challenges injustice, knows about social movements, and explores the root causes of problems). The distinction among these three citizen-types is described as follows, “if participatory citizens are organizing the food drive and personally responsible citizens are donating food, justice-oriented citizens are asking why people are hungry and acting on what they discover” (p. 3). Westheimer and Kahne, as well as others (e.g., Brown, 2006; Bryant, 2006; Dolby, 2007), further maintained that academia, and educational systems generally, have failed to foster civic obligations and responsibilities, especially at the justice-oriented level, resulting in a student body apathetic to the politics of democracy and global citizenship. While students may gain the practical skills (and concerns) of personally responsible citizenship (recycling, park and river clean-ups, donating blood) and of participatory citizenship (participating in civic and community groups and organizations), the programs rarely empowered students to address social problems through a critical assessment, with the goal of affecting profound social change and justice.

By definition, these three types of citizens (plus a fourth group, not explicitly addressed by Westheimer and Kahne but included in our study, of non-citizens) are likely to differ with respect to their support for sustainable (pro-) environmentalism; however, there are no known published findings to this effect. Westheimer and Kahne acknowledged that, “a focus on justice guarantees neither the motivation nor the capacity to participate in democratic change. Many—ourselves included—would applaud programs that manage to emphasize justice-oriented citizenship inextricably linked to a desire and capacity for participation” (2004, p.6). Our study was intended, in part, to address this research gap and explore how participation in educational travel programs influences support for environmental policies across these different citizen types. For example, are justice-oriented citizens more or less likely (than other citizen groups) to support sustainable environmental policies as a result of studying and traveling abroad?

### **Educational Travel**

Educational travel<sup>2</sup> characterizes the classical notion of leisure (*scholē*) as an experience that nurtures citizenry or citizenship (Gray, 1998). Aristotle, in *Politics* (translated by Rackham, 1932), maintained that a virtuous citizenry (*paideia*) was a primary extension of *scholē*, suggesting leisure-oriented experiences that foster

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<sup>2</sup>Educational travel is defined by Mill and Morrison (1985, p. 36) as, when “education itself serves as the primary reason for travel.” Subsequently, Sirakaya, Sasidharan and Sonmez (1999) identified educational travel as a major theme of ecotourism that specifically “generates environmental awareness and imparts natural and cultural education” (p. 171).

citizenry may be of the highest good. Such citizenry is often associated with *logos*, the ability to engage in a thoughtful, articulate, political discourse in which new ideas and beliefs can be exchanged and defended. Moreover, Socrates maintained that this was essentially a public activity – members of the community had a civic obligation to practice and seek out new dialogical partners and justify their beliefs. Socratic citizens are considered to be “citizens of neither the Left nor Right, they reject pre-packaged platforms and sound-bite analyses” (Talissee, 2006). The first self-proclaimed global citizen, *cosmopolite* (citizen of the world), was thought to be Diogenes (born 404BC), who rejected the contention that citizenry could only be practiced and nurtured in a democratic city where politics and discursive equality resided (Yonge, 1853). In more modern times, Virginia Woolf (in Reid, 1966) argued for globalization in the study of arts and, in identifying herself (and women, generally) as an outsider and second-class citizen, she declared, “as a woman, I have no country. As a woman, I want no country. As a woman, my country is the whole world” (p. 109).

Skocpol (2003) suggested that the foundation of a functioning democracy lies in a voluntary, participatory civil society. This importance of greater participation in the educational and developmental aspects of society has been mirrored in the leisure literature. Glover (2004) has, for instance, demonstrated how active participation in leisure activities can build both a sense of citizenship and responsibility, as well as an increased sense of community and belonging. Hemingway (1999), too, documented a primary linkage between leisure activity and citizenry involvement, both participatory and representative. Specifically, he argued that “democratic social capital grows out of leisure activity that fosters democratic norms like autonomy, trust, cooperation, and open communication” (p. 162). As such, educational travel may be an effective instrument for fostering autonomy, trust, cooperation and communication among its participants. Typically, educational travel, in particular group study abroad, is comprised of educational, experiential, social and leisure opportunities. In a sense, educational travel may be equated to dynamic leisure experiences in that both are “dependent upon a sequence of episodes (i.e., interactions between a leisure participant and other features, including people and physical attributes in the natural environment)” (Lee, Shafer, & Kang, 2005, p. 94). During study abroad group travel experiences, participants are immersed to varying degrees in the host country’s culture and physical environment. Students share many common experiences (educational and leisure, formal and informal) and explore a variety of environments (natural and built). Study abroad then represents opportunities for unique dynamic leisure and educational experiences for participants (Chieffo & Griffiths, 2004; Harrison, 2006; Litvin, 2000; van ‘t Klooster, van Wijk, Go, & van Rekom, 2008). While students in travel groups may experience similar experiences and environments, they each bring their own personal background, and their own self-perception. This interplay between one’s “situated self-identity” and other people, places and events may combine to create the rich and, perhaps lasting, emotional and behavioral impacts, associated with the study abroad experience (Lee & Shafer, 2002).

There is also a growing body of research addressing issues of curriculum development in educational travel. For many years, the academic rigor of study

abroad has been questioned (Vande Berg, Balkcum, Scheid, & Whalen, 2004) and with the growing popularity of short-term, travel-based, study abroad programs, these concerns are likely to remain prevalent. General consensus, however, is that well structured educational travel programs, of any duration, have the potential to promote learning outcomes that go beyond the impact of traditional campus-based instruction (e.g., Chieffo & Griffiths, 2004; McKeown, 2009; McLaughlin & Johnson, 2006; National Survey of Student Engagement, 2007). Such learning outcomes include not only goals such as personal development (e.g., Harrison, 2006), functional knowledge and/or learning (e.g., McKeown, 2009), and inter-cultural awareness (e.g., van 't Klooster, et al, 2008), but also extend to global citizenship.

### **Educational Travel and Global Citizenship**

Notwithstanding the potential negative environmental and cultural impacts tourism can pose (such as reliance on fossil fuels for airline travel, effects on local community systems, etc), educational travel can be a useful context for examining global citizenship since it provides a medium in which students struggle and negotiate their national identity while interacting with people from different geographic locations and cultures in an educational environment (Dolby, 2007; Shallcross & Robinson, 2006; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Current congressional interest in study abroad and educational travel stemmed from a report by the bi-partisan Lincoln Commission (Commission on the Abraham Lincoln Study Abroad Fellowship Program, 2005) calling for greater attention to U.S. (a) global competence and (b) national needs. The former was in response to increasing demands that nations respond to the global environmental crisis (U.N. Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change, 2007). The second reason concerned national security and a growing need for U.S. leadership and economic competitiveness in the international community. Both objectives reflected an interest in nurturing a global citizenry that was not only sensitive to, and aware of, complex human-environment relationships but was also willing to act in ways appropriate to ever-changing needs and demands facing society. In a globalized world, domestic concerns will be increasingly driven by foreign conditions and dynamics. As such, a primary outcome of the Lincoln Commission has been a directive to nurture a global citizenry in the U.S. through promoting study abroad and educational travel.

While only about 2.1% of all U.S. students currently study abroad, the Institute of International Education's Open Doors Report (2009) shows that the past 15 years have witnessed unprecedented growth in student numbers with an increase of over 300% from 75,000 students in 1994 to 262,416 students in 2007/08. Moreover, the fastest growing segment of study abroad is the short-term, educational travel market, which has grown in popularity, in part, because of lower costs and fees (as compared to semester- or year-long programs) and availability in the shoulder seasons of the academic calendar (i.e., either in the winter break or summer semester) thereby allowing students to receive additional credits and not jeopardize their graduation requirements. In one of the few studies on this issue, Donnelly-Smith (2009) found that global engagement (defined as levels of civic commitment and volunteerism) was unrelated to the length of the study abroad program suggesting that even short-term programs have pronounced learning out-

comes. There is also evidence that simply having participated in study abroad is sufficient to nurture a global ethic (see also Chieffo & Griffiths, 2004; McKeown, 2009).

### **Confounding Variables**

We explored three variables hypothesized to influence the extent to which participation in educational travel influences support for environmental policies across different citizen types: Study abroad destination (country), students' major, and gender. These variables were selected because either (a) previous literature identified their role in determining the learning outcomes of study abroad (i.e., destination and gender) or (b) the variable (i.e., major) is directly related to the dependent measure under study (environmentalism).

**Study abroad destination.** U.S. students study abroad on every continent, including Antarctica. While European destinations remain the most popular (the U.K., Italy, Spain, and France were the top four countries to study abroad in 2007/08), both Australia (with a total of 11,042 students) and New Zealand (with 2,629 students) rank in the top 25 (6th and 21st, respectively) (Institute of International Education, 2009). Study abroad programs have traditionally focused on language acquisition and cultural exposure, however, there is increasing emphasis on programs with a sustainable development focus and Australia and New Zealand, given their natural environments (Australia actively promotes itself as an eco-tourism destination and New Zealand has its 100% pure, clean and green image), have become increasingly attractive destinations for students.

There has been little cross-cultural investigation of study abroad and studies have reported contradictory findings. Litvin (2000, 2003) argues that travel promotes understanding and increased tolerance toward others' views, but the direction of attitude change depends on both the countries of origin and destination; notably, Singaporean students had increasingly negative attitudes towards their hosts after studying abroad in Egypt but more positive attitudes towards Israelis after traveling in Israel. In other work (e.g., Pizam, 1996; Pizam, Jafari, & Milman, 1991), tourism experiences resulted in minor (and often negative) changes in the attitudes and opinions of the tourists to their hosts. If any general consensus can be drawn from past studies it is that post-trip attitude change depends on the country visited. Nyaupane, Teye, and Paris (2008), for example, found that while attitudes of U.S. students toward their host country after the study abroad experience were more positive towards Europeans (Dutch and Austrians), negative towards Australians, and mixed toward Fijians, the level of attitude change was partially dependent on pre-test scores (i.e., negative attitude change was associated with host countries that had the highest pre-trip attitudes, such as Australia).

**Major of study.** No prior published work on the effect of the student's major on study abroad outcomes was found. However, it is feasible that since students in the biophysical sciences will likely have had broader exposure to environmental issues (through their respective academic coursework) than social science students, participation in an environmentally-focused study abroad program may have different effects on the level of support for environmental policies of the two groups of students. This is consistent with previous studies in the social-psychological lit-

erature showing that knowledge can influence pro-environmental behaviors and/or behavioral intent as a mediator in the attitude-behavior relationship (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Rajecki, 1982; Zanna, Olson, & Fazio, 1980).

**Gender.** Study abroad participation is dominated by female students with almost twice as many women than men participating in international programs (Institute of International Education, 2009). Pre-departure, females have been found to express greater concerns about inter-cultural issues (Carlson & Widaman, 1988) and accommodations and social contacts (Martin & Rohrlich, 1991) than males; but it is unclear how participation in the program affects the sexes. Hett (1993) suggested that study abroad programs produce higher post-test scores on global mindedness for females (than males), while Kehl and Morris (2007) reported the opposite effect (males score higher on global mindedness) following participation. It has been argued that females exhibit stronger pro-environmental behaviors than males because of higher altruistic and cooperative behavior levels in women (Stern & Dietz, 1994; Stern, Dietz, & Kalof, 1993; Zelenzy, Chua, & Aldrich, 2000).

### **Purpose of Study**

This study explored the extent to which participation in short-term, educational-travel, study abroad programs to the South Pacific (Australia and New Zealand) influenced support for environmental policies across four different citizen types: Justice-oriented citizens, participatory citizens, personally responsible citizens, and non-citizens. In addition, the effect of three confounding variables (study abroad destination—Australia versus New Zealand, gender, and major – biophysical sciences versus social sciences) on environmental support across citizen types was examined.

**Null hypothesis 1: Country of destination.** The program destination (Australia versus New Zealand) will not significantly impact the extent to which the educational travel program influences support for environmental policies across citizen types.

**Null hypothesis 2: Major of study.** A students' major (biophysical sciences versus social sciences) will not significantly impact the extent to which the educational travel program influences support for environmental policies across citizen types.

**Null hypothesis 3: Gender.** A students' gender will not significantly impact the extent to which the educational program influences support for environmental policies across citizen types.

## **Methods**

### **Sample and Educational Travel Program**

The sample was comprised of students from 10 U.S. universities participating in four-week/six-credit educational travel programs to either Australia or New Zealand in May, June, and/or July in 2008 and 2009. The two programs form part

of a suite of courses offered through a consortium of universities working together to provide short-term, faculty-led, programs to the South Pacific. All programs focus on a mix of social and environmental sciences under the academic theme of Sustainable Development: Sustaining Human Societies and the Natural Environment and utilize a combination of classroom-based study (at host institutions in the South Pacific) with field coursework and educational travel (including service-learning research/monitoring projects, cultural activities and multi-week field trips). The primary form of assessment is a series of field modules comprised of essay-based, inter-disciplinary questions addressing relatively complex ecological, environmental and social issues related to sustainability.

Collectively, the field modules drive the academic content of the program and, as such, represent a key component of the treatment effect (educational travel program). As an excerpt from the “Module Overview” reveals, this approach demands that students actively engage in the learning process by building pieces of knowledge from all aspects of their experience:

You are actively engaged in finding the pieces of information from multiple sources. True, one of these sources is the traditional classroom lecture, but there are also mini field-lectures, class discussions on the road, informal conversations with field faculty, meetings with specialists and professionals, service-learning projects, field assignments and activities, and direct experience and observation, as well as the related readings. The module approach obliges you to be an active learner, an active participant in the learning process.

This approach forces students to reconsider their traditional (and often rigid) beliefs about environmental issues and to form new interpretations of existing phenomena (albeit in new contexts) by molding inter-disciplinary information. Such learning is active—it occurs with faculty from host institutions, dedicated (24/7) field guides, and faculty from their own institution in peer-based, field situations—and is arguably more sophisticated in that it requires reconciling multiple (and often diverse) viewpoints. All of the educational material (field and non-field) is directed toward the module questions; i.e., the field activities are led by a trained guide/educator (often a professor or lecturer at a local academic institution) who provides instruction in that specific geographic locale in the context of the specific sub-theme and set of module questions. In turn, the modules require students to contrast their current beliefs with new beliefs and value orientations; this is conducted within the realm of broad human–environment relations in which questions of responsibility and actions/responses are key considerations.<sup>3</sup> In Australia the primary field destinations (for all students) included the Great Barrier Reef, the Rainforest, and the Outback; in New Zealand, all students circum-navigated the South island of New Zealand including the Southern Alps, Queenstown,

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<sup>3</sup>All of the program content is divided into classroom and field hours, in which a one-semester credit course is equivalent to 15 classroom contact hours (where two field instruction hours equate to one classroom contact hour). A six-semester credit course, for example, would require 90 classroom equivalent contact hours.

Fjordland, West Coast (and glaciers), Abel Tasman, Kaikoura, Banks Peninsula and Christchurch. The field module questions were developed by faculty representing the disciplines of anthropology, geography, international affairs, and forestry/recreation and tourism. Sample module themes common to both the Australia and New Zealand programs included: Indigenous perspectives of conservation; historical approaches to natural resources management; environmental values; preservation and sustainable development; and human impacts to the environment.

### **Research Design**

A pre-test post-test design was adopted in which students voluntarily completed a survey instrument on the first day (pre-program) and last day (post-program) of the program in the destination country. Surveys were matched using three variables: Date of birth, gender, and zipcode of permanent residence.

### **Variables**

Citizen-type was measured according to the three-item categorical scale by Westheimer and Kahne (2004) plus one additional item (non-citizens). Respondents to the pre-program survey were asked to select, from one of four citizen-types, the one category that best describes them: "Someone who recycles, gives blood, and/or volunteers in times of crisis" (Personally Responsible), "Someone who actively participates in civic and community organizations" (Participatory), "Someone who knows about social movements and explores the root causes of social and environmental problems" (Justice-oriented) or "None of these best describes me" (Non-citizen).

Support for environmental policies was measured on both the pre-program and the post-program surveys using three willingness-to-sacrifice items representing environmental policy support (EPS) from Stern et al., (1999): "I would be willing to pay much higher taxes in order to protect the environment;" "I would be willing to accept cuts in my standard of living to protect the environment;" and, "I would be willing to pay much higher prices in order to protect the environment." A 7-point response scale from 1 ("Strongly Disagree") to 7 ("Strongly Agree") with a mid-point of 4 ("Neither Agree nor Disagree) was used. The scale has a reported internal reliability (alpha) of .78 (see Stern et al., 1999) and was selected because it represents notions of obligations (a willingness to act) and civic responsibility (i.e., toward paying higher taxes, reducing standards of living, and protecting the environment) inherent in contemporary thinking about global (or Earth) citizenship.

As a measure of external reliability, results should be replicable across time (Cook & Campbell, 1979); i.e., in the short term, there should be no difference between data collected in one year versus another. For this reason, a variable called year was created that represented study abroad programs completed in 2008 versus 2009. (Data had not been collected in previous years.)

### **Analysis**

A repeated measures multivariate analysis of variance (SPSS Version 17.0, 2009) with a significance level of  $p=.05$  was used to test all hypotheses. The design was a one-way within factor measure (representing pre- and post-program scores)

by two-way between factors (representing citizen type and one of the following independent variables: year, destination, major of study, and gender).<sup>4</sup> Items for the pre- and post-program EPS scales were summed and Cronbach's alpha was used as an indicator of internal consistency. Tukey's statistic provided the post-hoc test to examine for significant differences in mean scores for each citizen type (four levels) and Levene's statistic tested for equality of variance in the samples.

## Results

### Descriptive Findings

Of the total sample of 696 students, 89.5% ( $n=623$ ) completed both surveys; non-respondents were comprised entirely of pre- and post-program surveys that could not be matched because of illegible hand-writing, or inconsistent/unmatched or blank responses. Fifty-five percent ( $n=383$ ) participated in 2008 programs and 45.0% ( $n=313$ ) in 2009 programs. Overall, 97 respondents (15.6%) were classified as non-citizens, while there were 285 (45.7%) personally responsible citizens, 147 (23.6%) participation citizens, and 94 (15.1%) justice-oriented citizens. Over two-thirds (70.0%) of the total sample was female and almost one-half (45.3%) were seniors (with 2.2% freshmen, 12.8% sophomores, 36.2% juniors, and 3.5% graduate students). This compares to the overall breakdown for all U.S. university and college study abroad programs in 2007/08 (the most recent data available) of 65.1% female and 35.9% juniors, 21.3% seniors, 13.1% sophomores, 3.5% freshmen, with the remainder unspecified or graduate level (Institute of International Education, 2009). Over one-fifth (21.4%) of our sample was business majors, while other prominent academic disciplines included biology (11.9%), natural resources/environmental sciences (10.8%), journalism (6.0%), psychology (5.4%), health promotion (5.1%), engineering (4.6%), and parks and recreation (3.5%). The pre-test and post-test scales for EPS demonstrated internal reliabilities (Cronbach's alpha) of .87 and .90, respectively.

### Multivariate Analysis

Results were interpreted according to the highest-order interaction effect or, in the case of a non-significant interaction effect, by the respective main effects. The following effect titles were used for all tests of the hypotheses: Within-subjects (pre- and post-program) refers to differences in EPS scores across pre- and post-test programs; between-subjects (citizens/year/country/major/gender) refers to differences in EPS scores between the four citizen types/two sample years/two countries/two types of majors/two genders; and interaction effects occur when there is a significant two-/or three-way interaction effect among the within- and between-subject factors.

**Year (2008 versus 2009).** Table 1 shows descriptive statistics (mean, standard deviation, and sample size) that supported a significant within-subjects (pre- and post-test program) effect (Pillai's = .085,  $F=57.01$ ,  $p<.001$ ) and significant

<sup>4</sup>The sample size was too small to generate cell sizes of at least 30 respondents (the minimum number considered sufficient) for three- or four-way between factors analyses.



Table 1  
 Descriptive Statistics (Mean, Standard Deviation, and Sample Size) for Pre- and Post-test Scores on Environmental Policy Support (EPS) by Citizen Type and Year

	Citizen Type											
	Non-Citizen		Personally Responsible Citizen		Participatory Citizen		Justice-Oriented Citizen		Overall Mean		Overall S.D.	
	Mean	S.D.	n	Mean	S.D.	n	Mean	S.D.	n	Mean	S.D.	n
<b>2008</b>												
EPS pre-test	11.71	3.87	55	13.68	2.89	136	12.69	4.09	81	14.38	3.95	48
EPS post-test	12.31	3.51		14.67	3.41		13.70	3.83		15.21	4.09	
<b>2009</b>												
EPS pre-test	12.26	3.45	42	13.28	3.89	149	12.02	4.46	66	14.33	3.33	46
EPS post-test	13.64	3.88		14.30	3.89		13.50	4.05		15.07	3.67	
<b>Overall</b>												
EPS pre-test	11.95	3.69	97	13.47	3.45	285	12.39	4.26	147	14.35	3.64	94
EPS post-test	12.89	3.71		14.47	3.67		13.61	3.92		15.14	3.87	

Note. EPS consisted of three items measured on a "Strongly Disagree" (1) to "Strongly Agree" (7) response scale.

between-subjects (citizen) effect ( $F=9.606$ ,  $p<.001$ ), but non-significant main effects for year (2008 versus 2009) ( $F=.001$ ,  $p=.989$ ) and non-significant interactive effects for program by year (Pillai's = .002,  $F=1.25$ ,  $p=.264$ ), program by citizen (Pillai's = .002,  $F=.476$ ,  $p=.699$ ), year by citizen ( $F=1.012$ ,  $p=.387$ ), and program by year by citizen (Pillai's = .003,  $F=.537$ ,  $p=.657$ ). Levene's Test supported equality of (i.e., non-significant differences in) error variances for the pre-program ( $F=1.636$ ,  $p=.122$ ) and post-program ( $F=.798$ ,  $p=.589$ ) EPS scores. The strongly significant within-subjects effect suggested that EPS scores were higher in the post-program than in the pre-program for all citizen groups. The post-hoc test demonstrated that overall EPS scores for justice-oriented citizens (mean=14.75) were significantly higher than participatory citizens (mean=12.98) and non-citizens (mean=12.48). There was no significant difference between (a) personally responsible citizens (mean=13.98) and justice-oriented citizens and (b) participatory citizens and non-citizens.

**Null hypothesis 1: Country of destination (Australia versus New Zealand).** Hypothesis 1, suggesting that the program destination (Australia versus New Zealand) will not significantly impact the extent to which the study abroad program influences support for environmental policies across citizen types, was rejected. Table 2 shows descriptive results that support a significant within-subjects (pre- and post-test program) effect (Pillai's = .055,  $F=33.24$ ,  $p<.001$ ), significant between-subjects (citizen) effect ( $F=7.20$ ,  $p<.001$ ), and a significant interaction effect for program by country (Pillai's=.019,  $F=11.09$ ,  $p=.001$ ), but non-significant main effects for country (New Zealand versus Australia) ( $F=.242$ ,  $p=.120$ ), and non-significant interactive effects for program by citizen (Pillai's = .001,  $F=0.12$ ,  $p=.951$ ) and program by country by citizen (Pillai's = .004,  $F=.820$ ,  $p=.483$ ). Levene's Test supported equality of (i.e., non-significant differences in) error variances for the pre-program ( $F=1.32$ ,  $p=.239$ ) and post-program ( $F=.656$ ,  $p=.709$ ) EPS scores. The strongly significant within-subjects effect suggests that EPS scores are higher in the post-program than in the pre-program for all citizen groups. However, the significant program by country interaction effect supersedes interpretation of the within-subjects main effect: New Zealand students' pre-program EPS scores (mean=13.76) were significantly higher than Australian students (mean=12.70), but there was no significant difference in the comparable post-program EPS scores for New Zealand students (mean=14.13) and Australian students (mean=14.03). Once again, the post-hoc test demonstrated that overall EPS scores for justice-oriented citizens (mean=14.60) were significantly higher than participatory citizens (mean=13.02) and non-citizens (mean=12.44). There was no significant difference between (a) personally responsible citizens (mean=13.93) and justice-oriented citizens and (b) participatory and non-citizens.

**Null hypothesis 2: Major of study (biophysical sciences versus social sciences).** Hypothesis 2, suggesting that the students major (biophysical sciences versus social sciences) will not significantly impact the extent to which the study abroad program influences support for environmental policies across citizen types, was rejected. Table 3 shows descriptive results that support a significant within-subjects (pre- and post-test program) effect (Pillai's = .086,  $F=56.17$ ,  $p<.001$ ), significant between-subjects effects for citizen ( $F=10.26$ ,  $p<.001$ ) and for

Table 2

*Descriptive Statistics (Mean, Standard Deviation, and Sample Size) for Pre- and Post-test Scores on Environmental Policy Support (EPS) by Citizen Type and Country Visited*

	Citizen Type											
	Non-Citizen		Personally Responsible Citizen		Participatory Citizen		Justice-Oriented Citizen		Overall Mean		Overall S.D.	
	Mean	S.D.	n	Mean	S.D.	n	Mean	S.D.	n	Mean	S.D.	n
<i>New Zealand</i>												
EPS pre-test	12.20	3.41	30	13.83	3.48	95	13.79	4.04	42	14.79	4.19	38
EPS post-test	12.13	4.04		14.21	4.07		14.07	3.73		15.58	4.16	
<i>Australia</i>												
EPS pre-test	11.86	3.92	63	13.25	3.43	163	11.87	4.34	99	13.67	3.09	48
EPS post-test	13.27	3.58		14.51	3.44		13.41	4.07		14.63	3.76	
<i>Overall</i>												
EPS pre-test	11.97	3.75	93	13.47	3.46	258	12.44	4.33	141	14.16	3.64	86
EPS post-test	12.90	3.75		14.40	3.68		13.61	3.97		15.05	3.95	

*Note: EPS consisted of three items measured on a "Strongly Disagree" (1) to "Strongly Agree" (7) response scale.*

**Table 3**  
*Descriptive Statistics (Mean, Standard Deviation, and Sample Size) for Pre- and Post-test Scores on Environmental Policy Support (EPS) by Citizen Type and Major*

	Citizen Type											
	Non-Citizen		Personally Responsible Citizen		Participatory Citizen		Justice-Oriented Citizen		Overall Mean		Overall S.D.	
	Mean	S.D.	n	Mean	S.D.	n	Mean	S.D.	n	Mean	S.D.	n
<i>Biophysical sciences</i>												
EPS pre-test	12.66	3.83	41	13.83	3.53	110	13.44	3.76	61	15.41	3.26	39
EPS post-test	12.90	3.77		15.21	3.53		14.23	3.66		16.59	2.62	
<i>Social sciences</i>												
EPS pre-test	11.36	3.52	53	13.30	3.38	164	11.58	4.49	84	13.47	3.72	51
EPS post-test	13.00	3.69		14.06	3.54		13.15	4.10		13.98	4.32	
<i>Overall</i>												
EPS pre-test	11.93	3.70	94	13.51	3.44	274	12.37	4.28	145	14.31	3.64	90
EPS post-test	12.96	3.80		14.52	3.57		13.61	3.94		15.11	3.89	

*Note: EPS consisted of three items measured on a "Strongly Disagree" (1) to "Strongly Agree" (7) response scale.*

major ( $F=17.88$ ,  $p<.001$ ), and a significant three-way interaction effect for program by citizen by major (Pillai's= $.019$ ,  $F=3.89$ ,  $p=.009$ ), but non-significant interactive effects for program by citizen (Pillai's =  $.001$ ,  $F=0.27$ ,  $p=.845$ ), program by major (Pillai's= $.001$ ,  $F=.678$ ,  $p=.411$ ), and citizen by major ( $F=1.32$ ,  $p=.268$ ). Levene's Test supported equality of (i.e., non-significant differences in) error variances for the pre-program ( $F=1.26$ ,  $p=.268$ ) and post-program ( $F=1.38$ ,  $p=.210$ ) EPS scores. As in previous analysis, the strongly significant within-subjects effect suggests that EPS scores are higher in the post-program than in the pre-program for all citizen groups. However, the significant three-way interaction (program by citizen by major) supersedes interpretation of any of the main effects or two-way interaction effects: Biophysical science students reported higher pre- and post-test program EPS scores than social science students; indeed, for all citizen types except non-citizens and personally responsible citizens, the pre-test EPS scores for biophysical science students were higher than either the pre- or post-test EPS scores for social science students. However, the significant interaction is most evident in the case of non-citizens. For non-citizens, participation in the study abroad program had a much greater impact on EPS scores for social science students than it did for biophysical science students; indeed biophysical science non-citizens reported a lower post-test than pre-test program EPS. The trend in overall EPS scores across citizen groups was consistent with other post-hoc analyses: Overall EPS scores for justice-oriented citizens (mean= $14.71$ ) were significantly higher than participatory citizens (mean= $12.99$ ) and non-citizens (mean= $12.44$ ). There was no significant difference between (a) personally responsible citizens (mean= $14.01$ ) and justice-oriented citizens and (b) participatory and non-citizens.

**Null hypothesis 3: Gender (female versus male).** Hypothesis 3, suggesting that gender will not significantly impact the extent to which the study abroad program influences support for environmental policies across citizen types, was rejected. Table 4 shows descriptive results that support a significant within-subjects (pre- and post-test program) effect (Pillai's =  $.065$ ,  $F=42.04$ ,  $p<.001$ ) and significant between-subjects effects for citizen ( $F=9.68$ ,  $p<.001$ ) and for gender ( $F=27.07$ ,  $p<.001$ ), but non-significant interaction effects for program by citizen (Pillai's =  $.003$ ,  $F=.66$ ,  $p=.579$ ), program by gender (Pillai's =  $.002$ ,  $F=1.35$ ,  $p=.245$ ), citizen by gender ( $F=.445$ ,  $p=.721$ ), and program by citizen by gender (Pillai's =  $.003$ ,  $F=.690$ ,  $p=.559$ ). Levene's Test barely supported equality of (i.e., non-significant differences in) error variances for the pre-program ( $F=2.003$ ,  $p=.053$ ) and post-program ( $F=1.94$ ,  $p=.061$ ) EPS scores. The strongly significant within-subjects effect suggests that EPS scores were higher in the post-test program than in the pre-test program for all citizen groups. As with other analyses, the post-hoc test demonstrates that overall EPS scores for justice-oriented citizens (mean= $14.73$ ) were significantly higher than participatory citizens (mean= $13.00$ ) and non-citizens (mean= $12.37$ ). There was no significant difference between (a) personally responsible citizens (mean= $13.95$ ) and justice-oriented citizens and (b) participatory and non-citizens. Females reported significantly higher EPS scores (mean= $14.11$ ) than males (mean= $12.42$ ).



## Discussion

### Summary of Findings

All three null hypotheses were rejected and there were a number of consistent findings across all analyses: (1) participation in the educational travel program increased support for environmental policies across all citizen groups (i.e., as demonstrated by significantly higher post- versus pre-test scores), (2) justice-oriented citizens reported the highest support for environmental policies of all citizen groups, both before and after the program, while non-citizens demonstrated the lowest support (both pre- and post-test), and (3) significant interaction effects mean that these main effects cannot be interpreted without considering the effects of (a) the study abroad destination and (b) student major. Notably, participation in the educational travel program (i) led to significantly higher levels of environmental policy support for students in Australia (but not for students in New Zealand) and (ii) had no effect on environmental policy support for biophysical science, non-citizen, students. There was no main effect or interaction effect with year, suggesting that the results held consistent across both sampling periods (2008 and 2009). Support for environmental policies was significantly higher for females than males (both pre- and post-test).

### Limitations

Our research design may have yielded different results had the pre- and post-tests been conducted at the home (not in-country/host) institution; i.e., students completed the pre-test instrument before departure and the post-test survey after returning home from the program. There is considerable evidence that study abroad generates a transformational effect (an epistemological shift in the way that students view themselves, the world they live in, and their role in that world) suggesting responses to the post-test instrument may have been different as students recalled their experiences over time (Kegan, 2000, Mezirow, 2000). However, the challenge in post-test surveys is ensuring a high response rate (almost 90% of respondents completed both surveys in our study) since many students either graduate and/or are less likely to return instruments after coursework is complete and grades submitted. Ideally, two post-test surveys would be administered, one immediately after the program and another two to six months later. An additional concern was that the pre-test may have conditioned responses to the post-test given the program duration was only four weeks.

The research design was further weakened by the lack of student random assignment, which would be extremely challenging to achieve in study abroad because of the inherent financial and time costs of travel; as well as by the failure to include a control group, although the absence of a similar course taught on campus (i.e., the same academic content but without the educational travel component) would potentially render the control group invalid. Differences in the content of the course material will influence the learning experience and therefore may have played a role in students' responses on the EPS. While the two programs (Australia and New Zealand) adopted an identical delivery mechanism, oriented around a series of field modules, and addressed similar academic themes (relating

to indigenous perspectives, conservation management, environmental values, and sustainable development) there was, of course, a difference in the content of the classroom and field lectures, field activities, and readings between the Australia and New Zealand programs. There is simply no practical way to standardize such academic material across the two countries and develop separate programs that address the unique bio-geographic, historical, and socio-cultural features of the environments.

Finally, the faculty and/or student peers in each of the educational travel groups were potential confounding variables that could not be explicitly addressed in the study (individual program groups that students participated in were not recorded). Given the influential role of faculty/instructors and/or student group dynamics in the programs, it is likely that these factors could have contributed as agents of change. Related to this, the extent to which some students engaged with locals more than others was unknown.

### **Conclusions**

Study abroad has emerged as a national priority (Lewin, 2009) and is increasingly recognized as part of a cogent mission of most institutions of higher education (Hovland, 2009; Stearns, 2009). As universities and colleges seek to expand their international offerings, it is critical that those involved in preparing students for study abroad (administrators, faculty, and service providers) recognize that a one-size-fits-all approach may not be entirely appropriate. Our research showed that while study abroad can nurture a global citizenry, the effect was dependent on several factors. First, participation in the educational travel programs resulted in higher support for sustainable environmental policies across all citizen types, although justice-oriented citizens consistently exhibited the strongest (and non-citizens, the weakest) scores. Second, program destination and student characteristics (major of study and gender) clearly influenced the effect of educational travel programs on environmental policy support across citizen types suggesting that these variables need to be explicitly considered when institutions develop educational travel programs for their students. For example, biophysical and social science majors may require different coursework or perhaps separate educational travel programs if the goal is to nurture global citizenship. Similarly, Australia may be a more appropriate destination for students with low levels of pro-environmentalism as (a) student peers are more likely to exhibit similar support for environmental policies and (b) the effect of the study abroad program (on pro-environmentalism) is likely to be greater than if the same students studied in New Zealand. Finally, it is important to recognize that although participation in the educational travel programs will increase support for environmental policies, female students will continue to exhibit greater pro-environmentalism than male students (consistent with previous literature on this topic) and the travel program itself will have very little, if any, impact on this trend.

Consistent with the claims of Westheimer and Kahne that education programs should foster critical thinking as a prerequisite to nurturing justice-oriented citizenship, our results suggest that academic institutions have fallen short in ad-



vocating for, and delivering, international education that promotes global citizenship. Brown (2006), for example, suggested that “too little attention has been paid to identifying the kinds of skills and learning outcomes that are most likely to lead to college and university students who are well prepared to live and act as global citizens” (p. 1). Building on the work of Dobson (2003) and others, we also maintain that education for global citizenship should foster connections between humans and their environment utilizing a sustainable development perspective; requiring students to explore the links between society, economy, and the environment at both local and global levels. All too often, traditional study abroad programs simply transplant students from a U.S. campus to another campus abroad. Frequently, traditional disciplines/courses are taught without addressing either (a) the skill set required to understand the intricate relationships among the host peoples and their environment (Steinberg, 2002; Stephenson, 1999) and/or (b) the implications or behavioral outcomes associated with the new skill set (in terms of the values and behaviors required to make decisions and act as global citizens) (Stearns, 2009). As suggested in classical times, the promotion and discourse of new values, beliefs, and ideas is essential for nurturing meaningful citizenship and, in the study abroad context, this must be conducted in a highly structured, purposeful manner that advocates critical discourse on environmental policies and issues.

Galston (2001) argues that “good citizens are made, not born” (p. 217), implying that educational institutions do have a fundamental role to play in nurturing global citizenship. Consistent with Dobson’s (2003) view of an “Earth Citizen,” results suggest that if educational travel programs are to respond to calls to foster global citizenry, they should be academically and logistically structured to focus less on promoting personal responsible citizenry (e.g., recycling, volunteerism, and charity) and more on a critical assessment of the justice issues surrounding global environmental problems and actions to redress the injustices (associated with justice-oriented citizens). All too often, however, undergraduate university and college curricula fall short of the potential positive impacts they could have in the development of global citizenry. For example, in many leisure studies curricula that require practicum, work experience, internships, and/or service-learning projects, students receive credit for involvement in park and river clean-ups or volunteering for community environmental efforts; rarely, however, are these students encouraged or empowered to address social problems through a critical assessment and understanding of the key social, economic, and political agendas surrounding these environmental issues.

### **Implications**

Understanding the role of citizenship in environmentalism can have important implications for academia in general as well as for leisure and tourism professionals in particular. As the number of U.S. public and private universities and colleges that either mandate study abroad as a degree requirement and/or seek to dramatically increase study abroad participation among their student body continues to rise, short-term, educational travel programs will be seen as a viable option to meeting these goals. However, in order to nurture levels of global citizenry

consistent with the goals of federal legislation and/or institutional missions, we maintain that considerable care must be taken to distinguish between educational travel programs that simply incorporate a field component in the delivery of its instruction, and programs with a delivery mechanism that actively engages students with the real world and challenges them to critically assess and form their own opinions about global issues. The former can be little more than a type of service tourism (Susnowitz, 2006) in which the greatest benefit is the economic impact of the student spending money in the local community, while it is in the latter that real social change and justice is likely to be nurtured (Shallcross & Robinson, 2006).

Study abroad experiences certainly provide students with numerous educational opportunities, but they also serve as a catalyst for social connectedness between and among students, faculty and field guides, as well as with members of the host community (Harrison, 2006). Educational travel programs are full of “leisure-like moments during work-like activities” which facilitate the production of social capital, particularly when those interactions are voluntarily chosen (Glover, Parry, & Shiness, 2005, p. 468). Study abroad programs also offer participants varied leisure opportunities during non-program periods and these leisure episodes found peppered throughout study abroad experiences serve to facilitate social capital. By its nature, social capital contributes to a sense of voluntary obligation, that duty is owed to those with whom social capital has been established. Likewise, educational travel programs have tremendous potential for building social capital among participants and between them and members of host communities as they study environmental issues, explore unfamiliar ecosystems, and engage in leisure episodes together. As a result, students, especially those with a justice-orientation, can develop a stronger sense of environmental responsibility and nurture a sense of global citizenship.

### **Future Studies**

As Congress moves forward with the Senator Paul Simon Foundation Act, future studies should document the long-term impacts of educational travel programs on pro-environmental behaviors and investigate the extent to which graduates of such programs continue to recognize an obligation to reduce their ecological footprint years or decades after the experience. Further studies on the effect of destination, gender, and major of study on a range of study abroad learning outcomes are necessary with greater expansion to other countries (inside and outside of the South Pacific) and academic contexts.

There are, of course, a number of unanswered questions from this study: How do study abroad students differ to the general student population with respect to global citizenship (i.e., does study abroad attract a certain type of citizen)? How do short-term, educational travel programs (of the nature described here) differ to traditional study abroad programs (in which students remain at an overseas university for a semester or a year) and/or programs of a different academic focus (e.g., language acquisition, cultural immersion, etc) in terms of global citizenship—this is especially relevant given both the federal government’s interest in (and institutional commitment to) promoting citizenship through study abroad and

that short-term programs now attract more students (at an increasing rate) than traditional programs.

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## Leisure, Biculturalism, and Second-Generation Canadians

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### Abstract

This paper focuses on biculturalism, leisure, and it explores diversity within the leisure experiences of second-generation Canadians whose parents emigrated from South Asia. The participants' lives and leisure were shaped by their biculturalism—the way in which they identified as south Asian and Canadian, embracing and retaining aspects of their traditional South Asian culture, while adopting and adapting to the culture of the dominant Canadian society in which they were raised. The study found that leisure helped incorporate parts of both traditions and reconcile the differences between the two cultures by providing opportunities to draw the two sets of traditions together. This integration was accomplished by introducing family and ethnic friends to dominant group practices and likewise introducing dominant group friends into their traditional minority ethnic traditions. The longitudinal nature of the study provided a sense of the sequence of meaning making over a ten-year period.

*KEYWORDS:* *Biculturalism, leisure, longitudinal qualitative research, second generation*

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This paper reports on the third phase of a ten-year longitudinal study conducted by Susan Tirone, (Principal Investigator). Ashley Goodberry is the research assistant for the third phase of the study. A version of this paper was presented at the 2008 National Metropolis conference, Halifax, Nova Scotia. We wish to thank the Atlantic Metropolis Centre for funding the final stage of the research project and Kate Connolly for her comments on an earlier version of the paper.

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## Introduction

Leisure in the lives of the immigrants who have settled in Canada in the past 40 years is the subject of a growing body of literature. In Canada, immigrants and immigration are important because many cities and towns have experienced labor shortages due to declining fertility rates, an increasingly aging population, and a diminishing youth population (Li, 2008). Immigration has become a key strategy for workforce renewal. Since the 1970s, multiculturalism is the philosophy that guides Canadian government policy on immigration. It supports ethnic and cultural diversity and is intended to create diverse and economically sustainable communities throughout the country (Sandercock, 2009). The children of immigrants are of particular interest in Canada because they are part of a growing cohort of young people who were born in Canada to foreign born parents of diverse ethnic backgrounds. The purpose of this paper is to present the findings of a longitudinal, qualitative study of the leisure experience of children of immigrants.

The children, grandchildren, and later generation ethnic minorities are known to express varying degrees of interest and commitment to the cultural tradition of their immigrant ancestors. In some cases, people overtly adapt dominant group traits and behaviors and appear to let go of traditional cultural practices. Some adjustments in behavior are indicative of the attempts made by immigrants to be included in dominant social and community groups. In this paper, the term dominant group refers to the people of British and French ancestry who, until the 1960s, were the numerical majority in Canada (Satzewich, 1993). In the early to mid-twentieth century, Canadianization strategies were initiated to assimilate immigrants into the dominant society. Canadianization, which really meant Anglo-conformity, required all immigrants to adopt the English language and Protestant values and whenever possible to rid themselves of accents that were non-British (Burnet & Palmer, 1988). Adopting group norms when in public provided the opportunity for many people to gain social acceptance, which was much more feasible for white ethnic minority groups than non-whites. The term minority group member is used in this paper even though the authors recognize the problematic nature of the term since the majority of the people in the world are not white. Here it refers to people who do not identify as Caucasian.

Today's immigrants to Canada are not required to assimilate, and many of them retain important aspects of their ethnic identity, such as their religious practices, traditional clothing, and food. Biculturalism, however, refers to situations in which immigrants understand and participate in two cultural traditions (Stroink & Lalonde, 2009)—their own, as well as the cultural practices of Canada. Biculturalism characterizes the experience of immigrants who arrive in Canada from countries where cultural practices are different from those of Canadians.

Leisure in their country of origin may also be different than leisure in Canada. In many cases, these differences were found to enhance leisure by providing people with options and rich experiences (Tirone & Pedlar, 2005). However, differences in leisure practices are also known to lead to conflicts. For example, youth in North American immigrant families are often challenged as they attempt to access and enjoy leisure with their North American peers while balancing the



expectations of their parents, who often prefer that they sustain traditional, more family-oriented and home-centered leisure (Wolfe, 1997).

The study participants for this study were second-generation Canadian youth whose parents emigrated from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. The findings presented are primarily from the third and final phase of a longitudinal, qualitative study that explored leisure in the lives of this group of young Canadians. Data reported here were collected in 2007, ten years after the participants were first contacted and interviewed for the first phase of the study. The focus of this paper is on biculturalism and leisure and specifically explores the different leisure experiences of this group of second-generation, racial minority youth. As well, the paper discusses the role of leisure in creating a context in which parts of each culture overlap or intersect in ways to mediate the differences between the two diverse cultures. Leisure also played a role in individual identity development as members of this group entered adulthood and created lives independent of their parents and extended families.

### **Theoretical Framework**

For this discussion, multiculturalism and biculturalism theories are used to frame how people situate themselves with the cultures their parents knew before immigrating to Canada, as well as the cultures in which they are immersed in Canada. Multiculturalism is the philosophical framework for Canada's immigration strategy, which supports the maintenance of plurality and cultural diversity (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007). The philosophy and government legislation associated with multiculturalism are intended to ensure equality and a vibrant society where people of all races and ethnicities participate together (Elliott & Fleras, 1988). Multiculturalism, which supports the sustentation of the traditional cultural practices by minority ethnic people, is idealistic, but also problematic in that not all minority groups realize the benefits it intends to promote (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007). For example, immigrants and ethnic minorities do not have equal opportunities for recreation because of their relative poverty (Kazempur & Halli, 2001). As well, disproportionate numbers of ethnic minorities and in particular racial minorities, find themselves working in low-paying, labor-intensive jobs such as taxi drivers, waiters, and hotel staff. As such, they often have little money or time for their own leisure (Tirone, 2010).

Second-generation Canadians are known to wrestle with both parental expectations and the expectations of the host society, especially when the two sets of expectations are at odds with one another (Anderson, 1999; Lalonde & Giguere, 2009; Taylor, 2002). Acceptance of their parents' ideologies is often a priority for children of immigrants, and therefore some second-generation youth adhere exclusively to their parents' wishes (Hebert, 2001). Other immigrants, however, hold onto parts of their traditional cultural heritage while adopting and practicing some of the traditions of the dominant host community. Still others attempt to immerse totally within the cultural traditions of their dominant group peers. Parental and ethnic group obligations often conflict with the youths' desire to adopt cultural and leisure practices of the dominant society, while remaining respectful

of their parents' wishes (Wolf, 1997). As Bammer (1994) explained, the choices made by second-generation youth reflect issues of 'peril and survival'—those that restrict their ability to integrate and those that ground them within supportive social groups (p. 92). For example, the youth may want to participate in sports, dating, and other recreation activities with their peers. These leisure activities then become the source of conflict between the expectations of their families and the norms or the dominant society the young people wish to experience (Hebert). Wolf's study of second-generation Filipino youth found that families in which youth maintain strict adherence to traditional practice, offer a 'magnetic and positive basis' for identity development (p. 458). However, they may also be the source of tremendous stress, which for some youth becomes a source of despair and diminished mental health.

### **Biculturalism, Identity Development, and the Second Generation**

In the context of North American society, adolescence is viewed as time for youth to develop a stable identity (Hebert, 2001). For immigrant and second-generation youth, gaining stability is a particularly challenging and fluid process of constructing, learning, and re-constructing identity as they attempt to incorporate both traditional cultural practices learned from their parents with traditions they learn from dominant groups (Anderson, 1999; Jedwab, 2008). Social constructivist theories support the problematic and changing nature of identities for immigrant and second-generation youth with identity fluctuating between the 'assignment and assertion of identity, (i.e., between what others say we are and what or who we say we are)' (p. Herbert, 157).

Interpersonal conflicts between immigrant parents and their children are known to be especially difficult when the younger generation seeks intimate relationships with partners who do not identify with the same ethnic groups. As a result, children of immigrants often encounter parental disapproval and expectations that are inconsistent with dominant Canadian social norms (Lalonde & Giguere, 2009). For instance, a valued Canadian norm is the freedom of choice, particularly when deciding on one's career, life partner, and place of residence. For second-generation Canadians, however, the transitions between living in the family home and living independently, and the ability to choose postsecondary education that meets personal goals rather than meeting imperatives associated with family economic well-being are often contentious (Lalonde & Giguere; Stroink & Lalonde, 2009; Wolf, 1997). Gaining parental approval and support in these decisions often requires complex negotiations with parents, who may or may not support their children in making decisions that the parents perceive to be rooted in Western or Canadian values.

Stroink and Lalonde's (2009) explored bicultural identity and identity conflict for second generation Asian Canadians. They determined that when individuals perceived their two cultures to be similar to one another, they tended to identify simultaneously with both cultures and reported high levels of well-being. They defined well-being as consisting of low uncertainty, high self-esteem, and high life satisfaction. In instances where participants perceived that there were differences in the characteristics of the two cultures in which they were immersed, they

were unlikely to identify simultaneously with both cultures. Conflict tended to occur when people attempted to reconcile the different expectations, values, and characteristics of two cultures and they tended to distance themselves from one culture to conform to the expectations of the other (Stroink & Lalonde). Leisure may facilitate the inclusion of people with bicultural identities in activities that support the development of positive self-concepts, but it may be problematic for those who are unable to access the range of leisure activities they prefer.

### **Leisure, Traditional Cultures, and Young People**

Some ethnic groups such as people from Northern European countries celebrate their ethnicity in symbolic rather than substantive ways (Waters, 1990). That is, one's ability to identify as an ethnic is for many people a matter of choice, allowing them to feel connected to a community when they want to do so, while at the same time allowing them to maintain their individualism and avoiding obligations associated with group maintenance (Waters). This explains the leisure choices of some second- and third-generation Irish, Italians, and Poles who participate selectively in festivals that celebrate culture and food and choose to live in places where they have little contact with other Irish, Italians, or Poles on a regular basis. However, the situation is different for racial minority ethnics, who cannot shed skin color or for those who wear traditional clothing. For them, ethnic group membership involves immersion in traditional cultural practices and creates conditions that readily identify them as members of ethnic groups. This may result in situations that disadvantage or even discriminate against these individuals (Reitz & Banerjee, 2007; Waters). The social exclusion they face extends into leisure as well. As a result, some people seek out ethnic minority groups for social support, leisure activity, and protection from exclusion (Chiswick & Miller, 2002; Stodolska & Jackson, 1998; Tirone, 1999/2000; Watson & Scraton, 2001). The availability of ethnic minority social groups and ethnic associations that promote leisure are important for those who have few of the same leisure choices as dominant groups.

Ethnic communities or enclaves are often the place where traditional cultural practices are learned and fostered. However, many scholars (see, for example, Doherty & Taylor, 2007; Hebert, 2001; Walseth, 2006) have argued that ethnic youth benefit from participation in leisure within the dominant culture as well. Leisure provides an opportunity for young people in particular to interact with dominant group peers and with peers from other minority ethnic groups and it is often the place where roles are tested and identities created (Tirone & Pedlar, 2005). The opportunity to share minority traditions, particularly with friends who also experience minority group membership, enhances feelings of belonging (Eid, 2003; Ramji, 2008).

This paper explores how young adult members of one particular ethnic minority group negotiated among and between the cultures they knew and how those negotiations contributed to their leisure and sense of inclusion in the communities where they lived. Of particular importance is how the participants balanced the two sets of traditions they knew and how they reconciled imperatives related to sustaining traditional practices in order to enjoy the rich social lives they preferred.

## Methods

This qualitative study used a social constructivist approach to explore ways in which the participants found and created meaning in their social lives and in their leisure (Patton, 2002). Schwandt (2001) describes social constructivism as one of the methodologies that aims to understand the complex world of lived experience from the perspective of those who live it. By using constructivism, we were able to interpret the constructed meanings evident in the participants' responses to questions and discussions. The longitudinal nature of the study allowed us to engage in discussions with the same four participants on three separate occasions over a ten-year period. This paper is primarily a crosssectional analysis of the data from the third phase of a longitudinal study (Thomson & Holland, 2003). For our interpretation, we were assisted by the analysis of the previous phases of the study. Using trends and themes evident in earlier phases, we were able to reflect upon the way these youth constructed meanings in 2007, how those meanings had changed over time, and how they had remained fixed or consistent over the course of the study.

The data used for this paper are from a study that began in 1996-97 with 15 children of immigrants from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. The participants at that time were interviewed individually, and several of them participated in focus group interviews. The participants were asked to reflect on their leisure activity and how it was affected by dominant cultural norms and by their traditional cultures. Nine of these same study participants from phase one participated in one-on-one interviews for the second phase of the study in 2001. They all agreed to be contacted for the third and final phase of the study in 2007; however, four people participated in this final phase. Those not included were either unable to participate or the research assistant was unable to contact them to request their involvement. Participants were initially recruited in 1996 using purposive sampling (Patton, 2002), through university student associations serving South Asian students at several Canadian universities and through an Indo-Canadian Association in Southern Ontario, Canada. Three women and one man participated in the third phase. One of these individuals lived in the United States, and three lived in Southern Ontario at the time of the third phase. One person was single, one lived with a same sex partner, one person lived in the family home and was in a relationship with an opposite sex partner, and one person was married with an infant child. All participants had completed at least one undergraduate university degree (teaching, engineering, math, and science), three were employed in professional occupations, and one was on maternity leave when contacted for the third phase of the study. One person had returned to university, studying part time for a master's degree. The small sample in this part of the study reflects the challenging nature of qualitative longitudinal research. For example, the project was funded by grants for several specific parts of the study and did not permit the researchers to maintain regular contact with the participants throughout the years of the study. As well, the participants' lives changed considerably through the years, making it difficult to locate them all and to sustain their interest in participating in the inter-

views for this last phase. The challenges we encountered are similar to the experiences of other researchers who have conducted longitudinal qualitative research (Thomas & Holland, 2003).

Data collection involved one-on-one telephone interviews. These were recorded using a telephone recording device after receiving written consent from the participants agreeing that their interviews would be recorded. The interview guide developed for this phase involved questions about the participants' accomplishments, challenges, and satisfaction with life at that particular time in their lives, their perceptions of how well they have achieved sense of belonging in the various communities in which they connect with family, friends and peers, their leisure experiences, and the nature of their participation in community activities.

Themes were developed using an inductive approach (Patton, 2002). First the transcripts were read by the researchers and thoughts and ideas in each transcript were identified and labeled. Using an open coding technique, similar ideas were grouped together to establish larger categories (Straus & Corbin, 1998). The larger categories were read and re-read to explore ways to group them into even larger categories, thereby combining similar ideas together within four large, over-arching explanations of the data. The researchers used the participants' voices to create themes that reflected the leisure of this group at the time of phase three, resulting in a cross-sectional analysis of the third phase of the study. By comparing the data to the previous phases of the study, we gained an understanding of how the participants' ideas, aspirations, and other life experiences evolved over time (Thomas & Holland, 2003).

## Findings

The study participants explained the importance of family and ethnic group membership as they entered their adult lives, settled into their jobs and careers, and established their own households. As well, they actively sought ways to connect and embed in the dominant communities in educational choices, where they worked, and where some of their leisure occurred. The following themes explain how the participants described a) their relationships with parents and close family members, b) how leisure facilitated their ability to sustain their ethnic heritage, c) the conflicts or competing priorities they experienced in their leisure, and d) how leisure helped the participants merge and blend cultural traditions. The data also explains how the lives of this group of second generation Canadians are shaped by biculturalism.

### **Biculturalism and Parent/Child Relations**

As was evident in the first two phases of the study, family and ethnic traditions remained central to the lives of the participants who were in their mid to late 20s at the time of the third phase. The participants were closely connected to their parents, siblings and other extended family members and they were appreciative of these connections:

So the time we do spend together when we do see each other is quality time and we catch up. My mom fills me in on the gossip that I don't always want to know, but I know it entertains her, so it's good. I don't know if I'd want to have more of that, but I definitely wouldn't want to have less of it.

I usually go with my family, cause our social circles are the same. Like me and my sister, her friends are my friends and my friends are her friends pretty much. And uh, if we don't go to one of their houses, we just socialize with one another. Like my brother and my sister live in Toronto and they come home almost every other weekend if not more often, and if they don't come we go there. So ... we meet a lot. And I live 15 minutes from my mom, and if I don't go every other day I get, well I miss them a lot, you know, so I am there almost every day if not every other day.

One person maintained close contact with her relatives in India. She is aware that maintaining contact with those relatives may eventually become difficult when her parents have passed away:

I think that that is going to be one of the most difficult things when my parents aren't living any more. I mean they are the biggest connection we have with India and with family that we have there, and I think I would always be welcome there, but I think that connection it's strongest when they are living, and it makes it easier I think.

Family time was an important part of leisure for the participants facilitating their involvement in traditional celebrations, such as weddings and religious events. Reflecting on their upbringing and the challenges their parents faced in raising them in Canada, they realized that their parents had adjusted their expectations of how the younger generation should be raised. Some of the parents of this group appeared to have made considerable efforts to ensure that their children were able to connect with peers and friends from school and other young people for leisure and social activities. The participants recognized that their parents supported their social leisure activities and that the support they received was not typically provided by other South Asian parents:

In high school, I went to school in a community different from where I live, so to hang out with friends outside of school before I could drive, we relied on our parents a lot to drive us out to our friends who lived 40 minutes away or to pick us up from said place. . . . And I don't feel that I had to negotiate too much around that in terms of how I wanted to spend my leisure time versus what I was allowed or not allowed to do. I think that if I wanted to make arrangements to meet with someone that my parents would actually go out of their way to try to make it happen as much as they could.

My parents were fairly liberal raising us. I mean I'm not forced into an arranged marriage or anything like that. A lot of freedom of choice.

In some cases, the plans and aspirations of the participants conflicted with those of their parents. One person spoke about her parents' views about her decision to take a job that took her out of the province in which her parents lived, a move that affected their ability to have family leisure time as often as they might have liked:

I finished university in Ontario and got a job locally and decided that I needed to branch out, so moved myself to (name of place) where I now reside. Away from my family, which I guess is kind of a big deal. My mom is not very happy about it.

All of the participants faced some challenges associated with moving out of the family home, finishing education and training, starting careers, and establishing their own families. However, dealing with parental disapproval was extremely difficult in one particular context. One participant spoke to this when discussing her life as a lesbian. She described herself as a closeted lesbian because her parents still do not know she lives with a same-sex partner. Her friends and several family members do know about her sexual orientation and remain close to her:

I'm actually living as a closeted lesbian Indian. My parents don't know so I guess there's no support there. I so don't fit that (traditional Indian) lifestyle, I don't fit that mold. Um, even my friends here (in town where she lives) in the Indian community know I'm gay, but they don't talk about it. It's not something that we talk about at all.

This situation is indicative of how in some aspects of their lives, the second generation experienced considerable challenges when attempting to influence attitudinal changes within their families and traditional communities. They did, however, remain closely connected to their parents as they entered adulthood.

### **Leisure and Maintaining Strong Connections to Ethnic Heritage**

Some ethnic traditions remained important, some changed but continued to be part of their lives, and new traditions were adopted. All of the participants described how their ability to practice and engage in traditional cultural practices shaped their leisure as well as other aspects of their lives. For example, one woman explained how she attempts to make different things more Indian: "Umm, in terms of, I'm not a very good, I don't make Indian food good, but I try to Indianize things like with spices." Others explained that an important part of leisure was participating in cultural activities such as attending celebrations with other Indo-Canadians:

It's a way of connecting to people, I think a lot of people that I've grown up with. Like for example, I went to a wedding recently where I knew the bride growing up, she's a part of the Indo-Canadian community, and go-

ing to her wedding, her reception was fantastic, cause it was all the old school Indo-Canadian kids from this area.

I enjoy the colors, the food, I enjoy the clothing, and the dressing up in it and seeing other people. I enjoy having a better understanding of what my parents are talking about with their experiences of growing up in India.

One participant whose family was Catholic explained his interest in religious celebrations:

For me, religious traditions are very big. Christmas, Easter, and that's really significant family time. So in that sense, I enjoy them very much and they're really a time for family. And it's a time that we, a few times where we do, in our busy lives, that we make time for family. So religious traditions, Christmas, Easter, and Thanksgiving, and that type of thing, so like I just said, family would be most important to share these religious traditions cause we don't often have time to spend time together.

Participation in ethnic leisure activities facilitated the ability of the young adults in this study to maintain ties to their heritage. As well they enjoyed sharing with friends who were not South Asian, which in turn contributed a multicultural flair to the leisure of the friendship groups to which they belonged:

There are certain holidays that I take to heart, like Diwali, I make it a point to go to Temple that day, make it a point to share my culture with people at work, and everybody seems to enjoy it 'cause they get free food.

Umm, but my good friends here, who are not Indian, always enjoy when it's story time with me there, cause I generally tell them things they've never heard. And it makes them want to experience those things, like National Kite Flying Day or first day of Spring in India, things like that where you know they, don't get that exposure.

Several participants explained the importance of friendships with non-South Asian peers who liked to join in on these traditional celebrations because these events enriched their own lives:

If I ever get a chance to go back home, I definitely want to spend it with my best friend who is not Indian, who's completely Canadian and so down to earth and we've been friends for so many years that it's so natural and it's just easy. It's never been a culture thing. She has experienced a lot of things in my culture, which is great. She eats Indian foods, and like she'll come to the temple with me and nobody sees her as, as an outsider looking in. She's just sort of part of it. I really miss those times.



As second-generation young Canadians who were raised in Canada by parents who immigrated from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh, the participants lived a bicultural existence, where part of their leisure prioritized South Asian traditions and part of it prioritized non-South Asian traditions. Their familiarity with, and fondness for traditions and beliefs inherent in their ethnic culture and in the context of Canadian culture contributed to their tendency to self-identify as bicultural or multicultural people. Identity as Canadian, Indo-Canadian, Indian, or something else developed through their formative years. One participant articulated this particularly well: "I mean, I'm never going to lose my identity as an Indian woman; I'm never going to lose my identity as a Canadian woman."

Skin color and traditional clothing meant that the participants were identifiable as Indian. Some people discussed how Indians reach out to one another, and these connections are the basis for enriching their social experiences. For example, the person who moved to the United States recalled a shopping excursion to an Indian grocery store where the salesclerk facilitated access to the ethnic goods that are important for this person's leisure enjoyment:

Even going to an Indian grocery store, umm people look at you and they say, you're new here aren't you and well yes. Ok, well you know we have specials this day, and if you want to get Indian movies go to this place and if you want this, go here. And it's great and you make note of it and off you go. You're never far away from an Indian connection that's for sure.

Identification with a South-Asian community enhanced some aspects of leisure for the participants. However, belonging to an ethnic group often meant that people were obliged to participate in some activities and those obligations at times created conflicts in their lives as is explained below.

### **Leisure and Conflicting Priorities**

The participants explained the importance of friendships with people who identified with the same cultures as their own. Leisure that occurred with South Asian friends and with family members was often highly social, involving large groups of friends and family. Some people commented on their enjoyment of this social leisure:

I like the communal aspect of it (leisure with Indian friends), right. I like the fact that so many people are involved and that so many people take part and so forth. So I like that, it almost makes up for the shortcoming of the individual leisure.

They liked that they did not need to explain to their Indian friends the constraints they faced if their parents objected to certain leisure activities such as dating. However, they also recognized that if they only connected with South Asian friendship groups, they may have missed other social experiences:

A lot of my friends are Indian and umm and a lot of their primary friends are Indian and it's not until recently that I've started having a lot of friends you aren't Indian. The strength of the commonality, can sometimes close you off to other experiences.

Several people described that when they socialized with Indian peers, there were expectations they were required to fulfill such as speaking Indian languages, and refraining from consuming alcohol. They described a sense of freedom and ability to relax when leisure was associated with non-South Asian settings:

Umm well, I like the fact that it's very much defined by me, right. Uhh, there's this emphasis on this part of the world on personal freedom right.

With my American friends, you're just yourself. You do whatever you want to do, you talk the way you talk and you don't have to watch your language or what you're eating or drinking. And uhh, you know they don't really judge you, you don't have a fear of them reporting back to your mom somehow.

Leisure afforded people the opportunity to develop friendships with people from a wide variety of backgrounds. Rather than trade their ethnic leisure for dominant group leisure, they tended to engage in a wide range of leisure activities, some of it within and some of it outside their ethnic family and community. As well, they explained how important it was for them to embrace the traditions of other ethnic minority people:

Going to a university and guess what, there's all these different races and you need to make sense of them. Having these friends who are African American, friends who are white, friends who are Jewish, you know, going to a wedding where a Jewish person and a black are marrying despite all the parental uproar because they love each other and seeing that, I think that's the way it happens.

When leisure occurred outside of Indian friendship groups, it was described as being more freely chosen, although not necessarily more enjoyable. One person was conflicted as she tried to make time for leisure with her friends, while balancing time with her family:

I've definitely, especially through university and even now struggled with the feeling of obligation in terms of family events versus other ways of perhaps spending leisure time. And I don't know if I think I stated that or if I articulated that to my parents that they'd be quite upset because they don't necessarily perceive that, or perhaps that is not the case and I just turn it into a feeling of obligation on my part.

Leisure was valued in that it was the site or place for relaxation and freedom from obligation. However, leisure also provided the context in which people connected with traditional cultural practices. As reported in the earlier phases of the study balancing the traditions was something people worked at, in order to enjoy a diverse range of leisure activities.

### **Blending Traditions and Influencing Social Change**

The participants shaped their lives in ways that allowed them to enjoy diverse leisure. For all of the participants, part of their leisure included volunteering, which allowed them to contribute in positive ways to the communities in which they lived:

Our family was part of establishing the mosque, the two mosques there and the community center and uh me and my brother and sister, we, well I'm not gonna say a big part but like we helped, helped a lot with creating youth programs there. Cause like growing up there and being among the oldest youth in [city] we felt, we realized that there was a great need for Muslim youth to have a place where they could uh like feel self confident and talk about issues that they could be dealing with or whatever. So yeah, I'm really connected to the community there.

The participants had developed an interest in influencing change. This was evident as they engaged in activities that informed friends and colleagues about their cultural traditions. One person explained that the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Centre and racist backlash against Muslims made her realize that she should be more outgoing in order to let dominant group people know about Muslims. This participant explained that she initially knew few people in the co-op apartment building where she lived. After 9/11, she made an effort to speak to people she had never met, an intentional effort she felt would help create friendships for her and to help her neighbors to understand that Muslim people are not to be feared:

Post 9/11, 'cause of things that happened to me and people that I know, I've just tried to make it a point to be a little more social, so that people know, well they know because like I'm visibly Muslim, like I wear the headscarf and everything. So I just to try let people know that I am normal just like everybody else and to break stereotypes so that just encourages me to be more social, I guess.

She hoped her efforts would help non-Muslim people be comfortable with her and with other Muslim people who wear traditional clothing and who may have skin color that differs from that of the dominant population. This participant and others in the study reported that they often discussed with friends, work colleagues and other people the terrorist attacks that occurred on September 11, 2001. They believed it was important for them to engage in those discussions to dispel inaccuracies about people from the Middle East and from South Asia. They felt they

could use those discussions to contribute to making their communities more welcoming places for themselves and for other minority group members.

The female Muslim participant provided an interesting example of how she and her friends shaped a Canadian leisure experience in order to make that experience accessible for the young Muslim girls in their community. She described how the girls in her community were unable to go to the high school prom because it was a mixed-gender event. She and her friends created a prom experience by holding an alternative prom just for the Muslim girls. This event was organized by young adult women for their high school aged peers:

We have this gala; I think I mentioned it last time we were talking. We have this gala once a year, sort of for the girls so that they can dress up and come and party. It's sort of like a prom, without having to go the prom.... People were hesitant about letting their daughters dress that way or partying or the music; for some reason having cultural music was okay, but having you know pop or rock, haha, I mean I understand if it has swearing or sexual connotation to it, you know, from a religious point of view, we wouldn't encourage anyone to listen to it, but anything else is okay even if it's about love. But as long as it's not anything that's really raunchy.

In earlier phases of this study people had described personal experiences of discriminatory or racist practices. In this phase people were asked if anything had changed in the way they experienced racism or discrimination and it was evident that one change was that the participants tended to frame the incidents in a different way:

I think there is a danger in labeling things racism when they may just be childhood taunting and that's not to belittle the experiences of others, but it's just first of all, it's a very heavy word, so we need to be careful of when we use it. Because if we use it too much, it really discounts real incidents of racism.

Even though they admitted that some people did not welcome diversity and that discriminatory practices persisted, their discourse about racism was cautious. They preferred language that they perceived to be non-offensive and sought ways to engage people in resolving issues rather than resorting to accusations that they believe tend to shut down the conversation and do not contribute to problem resolution.

## **Discussion**

This paper explored biculturalism and leisure in the lives of a group of second-generation South Asian Canadians. Leisure played an important part in their identity development as a mechanism for bridging two cultures that are quite different from one another in many ways. Rather than conceptualizing their lives

as though they were situated between cultures, the participants were very much a part of two cultures, and participation in both sets of cultural traditions shaped their leisure. They balanced two sets of cultural priorities and tended to avoid much of the conflict reported in other studies of second-generation youth (See for example Wolf, 1997).

Multiculturalism and plurality theories explain and support the notion that people often do not shed diverse cultural practices over time. In this study, we learned that leisure provided an opportunity for the participants to engage in activities and social networks in their minority ethnic communities and in places where leisure was characterised by dominant group cultures. To reconcile differences between leisure in the two settings, they worked to draw their two sets of traditions together by sometimes introducing family and ethnic friends to dominant group practices and at other times drawing dominant group friends into their traditional minority ethnic traditions. Parents were an important source of support as the participants welcomed non-South Asian friends into their homes and into their cultural activities.

Walseth (2006) uses the notion of identity work to explain how second-generation young people attempt to engage in social groups that do not result in major compromises to personal goals. In this study, the participants' identity work involved leisure with many sets of peers, which resulted in enhancing their own leisure and the leisure of those around them. The Muslim woman and her friends drew a Canadian leisure activity—the prom—into her Muslim community by shaping it in a way that was acceptable to the elders and to the young girls who wanted to enjoy that event. The participants who invited non-South Asian friends to Diwali celebrations and to traditional wedding celebrations provided friends a rich opportunity for leisure that all parties enjoyed, and one that dominant group members are not often exposed to. Sharing of leisure in these ways bridges cultural divides, and opens the way for people to experience and discuss cultural differences.

The parents of the young people in this study played an important role in the process of reducing stress for the young people by supporting their involvement in diverse leisure. Their support contributed to the ability of the young people to identify with two cultures, thereby developing bicultural identities. Their support involved finding ways for the young people to enjoy some of their leisure outside of the family. Evident in the third phase of the study were the enduring and strong connections the participants had with their family members. These connections played out in their leisure. However, some issue such as those affecting the lesbian woman in this study were not easily resolved. She had not been able to gain her parents' support for her relationship, even though several other family member openly supported her. Her situation may be indicative of the challenges some South Asians face as they enter into same-sex partnerships, love marriages, live-in partnerships outside of marriage, and other aspects of life that are typical in Canadian society. These may remain contentious within South Asian families.

This paper provides a glimpse of how one small group of young adults who are second-generation Canadians experience leisure. They appeared to have very rich leisure lives because of their biculturalism. Multiculturalism supports the way

in which they maintained parts of the two sets of different cultural practices they knew: their South Asian practices and the practices of Canadian culture. Their ability to share traditions of the two cultures they knew with friends and bring South Asian traditions into dominant peer groups and dominant traditions into family and ethnic community groups facilitated their bicultural identity development. This in turn appeared to reduce the conflicts reported in some studies of ethnic youth who are unable to enjoy diverse leisure without enduring parental disapproval as was the case in Wolf's study of immigrant youth from the Philippines living in the United States (1997).

Our study leaves us with several questions that future research should address. We wonder how second-generation ethnic young people cope with parental expectations when their parents do not support their leisure interests. This is of particular concern if their preferred leisure takes them outside of the family and into the lifestyle of dominant groups. We are also interested in knowing more about those leaders, teachers, employers, and community advocates who support and facilitate the friendships of diverse groups of young people. The way in which the participants attempted to address racism through a carefully chosen discourse intended not to offend anyone is a concern if the truly problematic impact of racism is masked by the discourse. How well this discourse will actually address the problem of racism is not known. We hope further research about biculturalism and leisure will explore these issues further.

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