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OUTDOOR EDUCATION PROGRAMS
AS GENDER EQUITABLE ENVIRONMENTS?
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

by

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B.Sc., University of Ottawa, 1995

THESIS

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ABSTRACT

Many physical education researchers have been searching for gender equitable physical education programs. The purpose of this ethnographic study was to examine the issue of gender equity in one outdoor education program. More specifically, the study focused on the perspectives and behaviours of 10 young women and 14 young men with respect to gender relations and gender equity in one outdoor education program. Qualitative and triangulated data collection methods were used, namely; (a) a content analysis of official outdoor education program documents; (b) a non-participant observation of program participants and their counsellors; and (c) a semi-structured, small, single-sex group interviews with program participants. The program documents were collected in June of 1996 and then content analysed. The observations and interviews took place during the last five days of a 12-day outdoor education camp. The recorded interactional episodes, and the tape recorded interviews were transcribed onto a word processor, content analysed, and patterns with regards to gender relations and gender equity/inequity emerged. From the results, two main conclusions could be drawn. First, the young women and young men at the outdoor education camp displayed some traditional stereotypical attitudes and behaviours that produced oppressive gender relations and contributed to a learning environment that was not gender equitable. Second, the campers also demonstrated attitudes and involved themselves in behaviours that challenged traditional gender relations and promoted gender equity.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

According to Dallaire and Rail (1996), the concept of equity refers: "at the personal level, to a way of being and, at the social level, to a climate that allow for the choice, respect, valorization, advancement, promotion, encouragement, and recognition of individuals, regardless of their gender, sexuality, age, physical ability, race, religion, culture, or socioeconomic level. An equitable environment involves a language, structures, policies, practices, and forms of intervention that are equitable" (pp. 9-10; translation). Even though some teachers and administrators have attempted to provide a gender equitable physical education environment, researchers continue to report that physical education is a male preserve (Bennett, 1991; Borys, Daniels, Dallaire & Watkinson, 1990; Briskin, 1990; Briskin & Priegert Coulter, 1992; Dallaire & Rail, 1996; Dewar, 1991). Researchers have established that often times, physical education programs do not provide students with substantial gender equitable opportunities (e.g., Knapp, 1989). Additionally, research has revealed that many physical education environments are not conducive to the empowerment of students (Borys, Daniels, Dallaire & Watkinson, 1990; Browne, 1988, 1992; Dallaire & Rail, 1996; Evans, 1984; Fernandez-Balboa, 1993). Same-sex physical education classes have been viewed, by some practitioners, as a possible solution. Researchers are still debating benefits of sex-segregated versus co-ed physical education. Therefore, it is uncertain

which provides children with the most gender equitable situation (Browne, 1988, 1992; Flintoff, 1990, 1991; Hoferek, 1982; Jobling & Macdonald, 1987; Jones, 1981; Knapp, 1989; Knoppers, 1988; Macdonald & Jobling, 1992; Macdonald, 1989a, 1989b, 1993; Skillington, 1988; Talbot, 1986, 1989; Williams & Nelson, 1983).

Outdoor education has been presented as another potentially useful alternative because of its presumed empowering characteristics (Anderson & Frison, 1992). The term "presumed" is used here since the literature on outdoor education has generally not relied on empirical evidence. This literature has suggested that participants benefit from outdoor education programs (Bunting, 1989; Ford, 1989; Nichols, 1989), and that outdoor education programs provide both girls and boys with an environment that empowers them and challenges fixed gender roles and stereotypes (Ewart, 1986; Jensen & Briggs Young, 1981; Moore, 1986). Some of the theoretical literature surrounding outdoor education has also addressed the positive social, emotional and physical characteristics of its pedagogy (Bunting, 1989; Latess, 1986; McAvoy & Dustin, 1986). Although many essays have expounded on the benefits of outdoor education, only Humberstone (1986, 1987, 1990, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995) has provided researchers and practitioners with some empirical evidence regarding outdoor education's gender equitable environment. Through an ethnographic study (1993, 1995) of an outdoor education program in England, she has found that boys and girls can challenge gender stereotypes through outdoor education. In contrast with

regular physical education programs, she found that the outdoor education program provided an environment that encouraged young women and men to learn and play together while holding fewer gender stereotypes.

Apart from Humberstone's research, little has been done to investigate and understand the issue of gender equity/inequity in outdoor educational experiences. In Canada, there is simply no empirical evidence to support the claim that outdoor education environments are gender equitable. Generalizing Humberstone's findings to Canadian outdoor educational settings would be difficult since, as she explained herself, her results would have to be "translated" in order to account for "subtleties and nuances of contextual variability" (1995, p. 152). Furthermore, in Canada, England or elsewhere, the perspectives of outdoor education program participants with respect to gender equity have never been investigated. In brief, there is a gap in the literature and little is known about the perspectives and behaviours of young women and men with regards to gender equity in Canadian outdoor education programs.

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study was to examine the issue of gender equity in one outdoor education program in Ontario. More specifically, the study focused on the perspectives and behaviours of young women and men with respect to gender equity in this outdoor education program. The main objectives of the study were: (a) to understand the perspectives of young women and men with regards to gender relations and gender equity in one

outdoor education program; and (b) to understand the perspectives and behaviours of young women and men involved in this outdoor education program in relation to gender equity.

Methodology

The study was ethnographic in nature. Qualitative and triangulated data collection methods were used, namely: (a) a content analysis of official outdoor education program documents; (b) non-participant observation of program participants and their counsellors; and (c) semi-structured, small single-sex group interviews with the program participants.

The study involved a group of 24 participants registered in one outdoor education program in Ontario. A total of 10 young women and 14 young men (between 8 and 13 years of age) were involved in the study. In terms of the data collection, official program documents, pamphlets, participants' application forms and other miscellaneous documents were collected from the outdoor education centre. The observation occurred during a 5-day period in August of 1996. Non-participant and systematic observation took place in 2-hour periods each morning, afternoon and evening, as well as whenever an important development regarding gender equity/inequity presented itself. Field notes were taken on cards designed as observation guides. An observation guide was used to categorize information related to the various episodes observed at the camp. The who, what, where, when and how of each episode observed was recorded on a card designed to guide the observation. Finally, all 24 subjects were interviewed in small, single-sex groups of two to

four participants, for 20 to 30 minutes. An interview guide, containing a series of open-ended questions regarding gender relations and gender equity at the outdoor education program, was used.

After the camp, observational data were content analysed. The data were coded according to themes and vignettes, which summarized the interactional episodes, were arranged according to the same themes. The data underwent multiple readings, and patterns with regards to gender relations and gender equity/inequity emerged.

As for the tape-recorded interviews, they were transcribed onto a word processor, and qualitatively content analysed. The text was cut into sub-texts according to the theme of each question, and the researcher's marginal notes were used to clarify the participants' perspectives. After multiple readings of the sub-texts and the marginal remarks, general patterns relating to gender relations and gender equity/inequity arose.

Significance of the Study

From a thematic point of view, the literature on outdoor education and gender equity is very limited. It is hoped that this study will contribute to the body of knowledge by offering insights regarding one outdoor education program geared for young participants and its potential for gender equity.

From a theoretical standpoint, this study is unique and it offers an example of why and how to investigate the perspectives and behaviours of young women and men in an outdoor education program. This study should

also encourage further research in the area of gender equity and outdoor education.

From a methodological point of view, this study offers a type of ethnographic inquiry that should contribute to the growing literature on qualitative studies. Such methodology yields qualitative information that should help to further develop the fields of sport sociology and feminist education.

From a practical standpoint, schools, school boards and outdoor centres might be interested in the results of this study since a number of recommendations are offered for the development of more gender equitable learning programs. Finally, this study should contribute to a greater understanding and an increased awareness of the importance of gender equity not just in outdoor education but in physical education and other educational environments.

Delimitations

The present study was delimited to the participants in one outdoor education program in Ontario and to their perceptions and behaviours with regards to gender relations and gender equity. The study was further delimited to a five-day observation period, and interviews with 10 young women and 14 young men.

Limitations

There are certain limitations stemming from the type of data collection and analysis used in this study. First, the researcher immersed herself in the social setting and, as an observer, experienced tension throughout the investigation. Trying to collect data as systematically and rigorously as possible at the same time as trying to display an image of someone not connected to the camp administration may have created some anxiety or caused some confusion on the part of the camp participants. During the observation period, the participants may have behaved somewhat differently (compared to when an observer was not present) and this may have impacted the results. Second, the participants were only observed during five days and the results may have differed had the observation period been longer. Third, there was only one person doing the observation. More or different observers (for instance, someone of a different gender) might have chosen different or more episodes to observe and their results may have been somewhat different. Finally, this study focused on one program in one specific time frame. Therefore, extrapolations of the results of this study to other programs located in different places or times should be avoided or done with extreme caution.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

This chapter is divided into four sections presenting the literature related to the present study. In the first section, literature related to gender equitable and empowering learning environments is examined. Next, literature related to physical education and gender equity is discussed. The third section is a review of studies related to gender equity and outdoor education environments. Finally, the fourth part provides a number of conclusions on the preceding three sections.

Literature Related to Gender Equitable and Empowering Learning Environments

While exploring women's issues in the realm of education, Briskin (1990) has argued that inside most classrooms, issues of sexism and gender stereotyping are predominant. She has explained that classrooms should be places where girls and boys are treated equally and where teachers are sensitive to gender equity. However, she has found that the hidden curriculum "reinforces the salience of gender, the significance of gender difference and the devaluation of women" (p. 4). In her report on gender equity within schools, she has suggested that the dynamics of a feminist pedagogy could create positive experiences for young women in the schools and classrooms. She has also added to the understanding of feminist pedagogy by explaining that the role of teachers and students within a

feminist curriculum should be based on the sharing of power, privilege, property and opportunities. Similarly, Briskin and Priegert Coulter (1992) have suggested that the education system needs a new and improved curriculum that provides a positive learning environment that is conducive to social change.

According to Hoffman Nemiroff (1989), girls and young women in today's school systems are rarely encouraged to have anything more than a passive learning role. She has suggested that educational environments need to acknowledge young girls' and women's oppression and speak to students as individuals. A lack of freedom of thought and feeling is unquestionably restrictive to the overall growth of the students. Hoffman Nemiroff has also discussed the development of, and the elements necessary for empowering pedagogical situations. She has depicted the feminist classroom as a dynamic centre where dialogue is designed to build confidence and improve skills that enable students to fully understand affective and cognitive material. According to her, the present delivery of the education curriculum needs to be changed in order to provide positive recognition of students and empowering situations in the classroom. Hoffman Nemiroff has explained that empowering pedagogies present such opportunities where each student's emotions and skills are recognized. She has also added that teachers educating from a feminist perspective or with empowering pedagogical methods try to create a classroom where "students build confidence and improve skills of public presentation" (p. 11).

While challenging the traditional views embedded in the educational system, Dewar (1991) has discussed feminist pedagogy as a potential tool for a gender equitable learning environment. Feminist pedagogy integrates theory and practice so that students develop the ability to critically reflect on the knowledge presented to them and the conditions under which learning takes place. Adding to her report, Dewar has also claimed that if students and teachers were given the opportunities to cooperate and fight against various forms of oppression, patriarchal traditions could be challenged.

Weiler (1991), has suggested that feminist pedagogy seeks to empower subordinate and oppressed social groups. From a feminist perspective, she has challenged Western knowledge systems in an article that critically discusses Paulo Freire's work on liberation pedagogy. Weiler has questioned Freire's assumptions regarding the abstract goals of liberation when she stated:

when we look at *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* from the perspective of recent feminist theory and pedagogy, certain problems arise that may reflect the difficulties that have sometimes arisen when Freire's ideas are enacted in specific settings. The challenges of feminist theory do not imply the rejection of Freire's goals for what he calls a pedagogy for liberation; feminists certainly share Freire's emphasis on seeing human beings as subjects and not the objects of history. A critical feminist rereading of Freire, however, points to ways in which the project of Freirean pedagogy, like that of feminist pedagogy, may be enriched and re-envisioned. (p. 252)

Weiler considers both Freirean and feminist pedagogies to be similar, since both strive for an environment that provides justice as well as empowers its students, but she claims that feminist pedagogy provides more advanced and complex visions of learning than the ideas behind "liberatory

pedagogy." While reflecting on and enriching Freire's ideas, Weiler has explained that like Freirean pedagogy, feminist pedagogy aims at ending oppression and bringing about social transformation, but that unlike Freire's pedagogy, feminist pedagogy was equipped to address the various forms of power held by teachers depending on their race, gender, and the historical and institutional settings in which they work, and therefore the oppression experienced by different people or groups.

In her discussion of feminist pedagogy, empowerment education and women's studies courses, Rail (1996) has discussed the increasing importance of providing women with holistic educational experiences that empower them to further challenge and improve gender relations within their communities. According to Rail, adopting a teaching model such as an empowerment education model that acknowledges the diversity of women and recognizes their full potentials, can prepare women to fight for equity and justice. Rail has suggested that the pedagogical strategies of an empowerment education model encourage learners to challenge powerful forces and gradually carry out social changes. She has also indicated that empowerment can emerge through "the interaction of reflection and praxis" (p. 2). Rail has further explained that empowering courses follow "a holistic perspective, touching upon the intellectual (i.e., knowledge), but also the affective (i.e., value, emotions, etc.). There [is] a break from the expert model which only values information ("savoir"), in order to include knowhow ("savoir-faire") and knowledge about attitudes, values and ways of being ("savoir-être)" (p. 1).

Rail (1996) has developed a list of objectives that should guide an empowerment education course: (1) values experiential knowledge; (2) values multi/interdisciplinary; (3) rejects either/or thinking; (4) emphasizes discovery learning; (5) is liberatory; (6) is participatory; 7) is active and engaging; 8) is empowering; 9) synthesizes mind, body and spirit; 10) sees class as a community; 11) has a commitment to growth; (12) values self-responsibility; (13) breaks the expert model; (14) values cooperation; (15) uses facilitators as opposed to teachers; (16) is non-competitive; (17) emphasizes power sharing; (18) insures equity among participants; 19) rejects oppression; 20) leads to conscientization; (21) pays attention to process; (22) acknowledges and validates differences; (23) is participant-centred; (24) leads to action and change (p. 3).

With respect to feminist pedagogy and empowerment pedagogical principles, Rail (1996) has remarked that they have the potential of providing women with knowledge that empowers and motivates them to be successful multiplying agents that can promote feminist educational ideals in their communities.

While studying feminist pedagogy in physical education, Bennett (1991) has explained that the pedagogy found in today's schools forces hierarchical powers that place many students, especially girls, in passive learning roles. According to Bennett, feminist pedagogies empower students in the process of learning. As a feminist and a physical education teacher, she depicts feminist pedagogy as an approach to teaching physical education that searches

for ways "to empower students and teachers as subjects in [their] own learning rather than as objects which merely receive and transmit information" (p. 62).

In brief, feminist researchers have reported that the education system needs dramatic changes. Bennett (1991), Briskin (1990), Briskin and Priegert Coulter (1992), Dewar (1991), Griffin (1989, 1991), Hoffman Nemiroff (1989), Rail (1996), and Weiler (1991) have agreed that empowerment techniques associated with feminist pedagogy are beneficial for the classroom settings. All of these researchers have suggested that feminist pedagogy enables the creation of an equitable and empowering educational environment.

Literature Related to Physical Education and Gender Equity

In a position paper on gender equity in physical education, Borys, Daniels, Dallaire and Watkinson (1990) have explained the challenges facing physical education programs in the 1990s. They have indicated that most physical education programs within our patriarchal society are not providing equitable access or opportunity for young women. They have further suggested that physical education programs rarely reflect gender equity, and rather reflect the fact that society expects young women and men to participate in and receive different physical activity opportunities. Borys and her colleagues have remarked that socially constructed gender roles and identities are not challenged within physical education programs, which perpetuates sexist and patriarchal barriers that provide fewer choices for girls

and women. They have observed the need for a curriculum serving students with equal and empowering opportunities. In their eyes, quality physical education programs will not exist unless issues of inequity are identified and removed.

According to Borys and her colleagues, the youth of today unconsciously identify with certain activities that are traditionally masculine or traditionally feminine. The presence of sex and gender stereotyping during childhood produces and reproduces ideals that misguide the youth and limit activity opportunities for girls and women. Borys and her colleagues have discussed equity as a characteristic that must incorporate justice, fairness, equal access, and equal opportunity for all individuals to develop their maximum potential.

Fernandez-Balboa (1993) and Borys, Daniels, Dallaire and Watkinson (1990) share the idea that hierarchy is caused by the presence of sex and gender stereotyping, which in turn limits opportunities. In his examination of hidden social concepts, patterns and characteristics taught in the physical education curriculum, Fernandez-Balboa (1993) has explained that educators tend to contribute to social injustices and inequities. By analysing specific patterns of behaviour in physical education, he has shown how social beliefs are produced and reproduced through hegemonic ideology. He has claimed that since most physical education programs are within a male-dominant perspective, young women are placed in inferior and subordinate roles. Students therefore learn that girls are weak and boys are strong, and physical

education programs reinforce these "culturally-based stereotypes by channelling students toward socially appropriate activities" (p. 236). Fernandez-Balboa has also presented the idea that hierarchy and stratification can be detected within our education system, first through the ordering of its members by status positions from top (strong) to bottom (weak), and second by the fact that risk taking is discouraged and the freedom of subordinate individuals (i.e., students) is limited. He believes that in order to raise awareness and create new visions, one must fight stratification, hierarchy, elitism, competition and individualism; the dominators of education. Lurking within the daily lesson plans and subject matters, he has found that teachers and students unconsciously teach and learn how to accept power structures and social roles through undetected messages: the "hidden curriculum." According to Fernandez-Balboa (1993), educators need to challenge and correct the injustices of our society as well as the unjustified differential treatment of students on the basis of race, gender, socioeconomic status and physical ability.

Hendry (1986) has also argued that today's physical education programs reproduce unconscious ideals that misguide the youth of both sexes. She suggested that schools need to play a larger role in socializing the youth in order for future generations to evolve with fewer oppressive experiences. Dodds (1993) has also noted that today's typical physical education classes are often characterized by oppressive inequities, as well as sexism, heterosexism, racism, classism and motor elitism. Both Dodds (1993) and Hendry (1986)

have encouraged and challenged all physical education teachers and developers to create or find better physical education programs that combine enjoyable, educational classes with equity for all students.

Clark (1994) and Varpalotai (1991) have added that the promotion of gender equity in the sport and physical education milieu has encouraged community organizations and school programs to increase accessibility of programs and facilities for young girls and women. In that regards, Clark (1994) has reported that communities have begun to ensure equity by honouring government legislation that requires safe and equitable opportunities.

In physical education, researchers have debated and discussed the issue of equity and whether it is best achieved in integrated or sex-segregated classes. Browne (1988, 1992) has claimed that single-sex physical education classes provide young women with equal biological-based opportunities that are free of gender stereotyping and harassment. In contrast, a great number of researchers (Carrington & Leaman, 1984; Evans, 1984; Hall & Lee, 1984; Macdonald, 1989a, 1989b; Talbot, 1989) have argued that integrated or co-ed physical education is the optimal setting for equal opportunity since there is a possibility of socializing both genders.

According to Browne (1988, 1992), equity for girls occurs within segregated physical education classes because they provide the most efficient opportunities for learning. In her later article, she has discussed the introduction of high school co-educational physical education in Australia,

and raised some concerns with regards to physical sex differences as well as traditional gender-related role expectations among students and teachers.

In Australia, as much as in Britain, the United States and Canada, physical education class arrangements are under constant controversy. Macdonald (1989a) has explained that single sex classes have been reintroduced in some Australian secondary schools as an affirmative action strategy to overcome the disadvantages experienced by girls in mixed-sex classes. While supporting arguments for the implementation of mixed-sex physical education, she has argued that the inconsistencies and limitations of the Australian National Curriculum are such that fundamental discriminatory problems are not confronted in an education system that deeply reflects a sexist social context.

An empirical study by Macdonald (1989b) focused on Australian high school students' perceptions towards gender equity in physical education. The study aimed to uncover any gender stereotypical perspectives among students towards physical activity, to determine if either sex felt more successful in the physical education program than the other, and finally to expose the students' perceptions of differential treatment from male and female teachers. Results showed that most boys and some girls strongly supported physical education programs within the curriculum. Mixed-sex physical education classes were perceived by girls and boys as more enjoyable, but both sexes felt certain activities should be segregated. Finally, students, especially beginners, felt that female teachers were more supportive than males teachers. Macdonald

concluded that schools need to survey the attitudes of its teachers and pupils when implementing equitable education opportunities.

While examining equal opportunities and assessing the national physical education curriculum in England, Flintoff (1990) has argued that the curriculum planning had little reference with regards to equal opportunities. Concerned with the need to address the "hidden curriculum" that reproduces sex and gender stereotyping, she has noted that girls and boys deserve to be treated as individuals with the same rights to access educational experiences. Flintoff has further argued that offering boys and girls different activities serves to "bolster and perpetuate patriarchal ideologies of male superiority in physical activity and sport" (p. 410). She has claimed that schools and their curricula need to become aware of "social constructionism" and "biological essentialism" in order to interpret differences and provide equal opportunities for all individuals (Sayers, 1982, cited in Flintoff, 1990, p. 410).

Griffin (1989) has reported that even when law dictates "equitable environments," girls still receive fewer academic, athletic and physical education opportunities because time and accessibility continue to be a major problem in the physical education classroom. Not unlike Flintoff (1991), Griffin noted that sex differences have been framed with a biological definition of gender, creating a basis for differential expectations for women and men. Griffin has explained that gender is rooted deep in the minds of individuals and that teachers need to become aware of gender issues within physical education.

In the United States, Hall and Lee (1984) have indicated that co-educational physical education programs improve both girls' and boys' performance levels, and that earlier reports of gender-related performance differences may have been due to sociocultural expectations. Hall and Lee believe that integrated instructional programs benefit both sexes and that providing the youth of today with sensitivity awareness early in life will likely contribute to a well-rounded society.

Williams (1993) has reported that many primary school children are being advanced to secondary schools with stereotypical attitudes that disadvantage girls in physical education and sport. Williams has found the curriculum experiences to be gender-biased, and the curriculum content to be inappropriate for either sex, but especially for girls. Moreover, she has discussed the fact that activities accessed outside of the school curriculum (extra-curricular activities) create opportunities for technical mastery of skills, but since sports are often organized and supervised by males, girls receive less encouragement and are repeatedly denied access to informal play. Despite the distribution of pre-pubertal strength among students, Williams revealed how girls (the stronger group as compared to the boys) were socialized into a less active lifestyle and offered fewer opportunities to acquire appropriate skill levels. Williams has also discussed the need for teachers in all subject areas to be properly trained to provide favourable, equitable educational opportunities. She stressed the fact that parents and community figures are

influential and must help to create more gender equitable opportunities in physical education and elsewhere.

Scruton (1993) has also discussed secondary schooling in England, and the relationship between gender, equal opportunity and physical education. While pushing for the implementation of co-educational physical education, she has suggested that "mixed-sex groupings [are] not an automatic route to equality between the sexes" (p. 140), but more a progression towards equal opportunity. Scruton has noted that the non-gender sensitive structuring of physical education rarely generates proper co-educational teaching and/or learning, but rather perpetuates gender stereotypes and attitudes among students and teachers. Recruiting women physical educators is necessary to break down the "masculine" and "feminine" stereotypes in physical education, but the strong ideology of "familism" (p. 151) often emphasizes stereotypes that cause career constraints for potential women physical education teachers. In moving towards co-educational physical education, Scruton has raised caution and considered a number of issues that need to be dealt with in order to challenge existing inequities. She indicated that equity and co-education are achievable in physical education with "short-term reform" and "longer-term structural change" (p. 152).

The literature suggests that many questions are still unanswered with regards to segregated and integrated physical education. No doubt that in either types of physical education, the deep structures of the physical

education curriculum need careful examination if gender equity is to be achieved.

Borys, Daniels, Dallaire and Watkinson (1990) have provided a number of suggestions to help develop situations within physical education programs that lend themselves to gender equity: (a) all students need to discover the same movement skills that will be beneficial to them in later life; (b) teachers need to recognize and accept individual differences; (c) any form of discrimination between students and teachers should not be present; (d) evaluation needs careful gender assessment to ensure fair and equitable grades; (e) leadership roles need to be equally distributed among all students regardless of sex; (f) equal amounts of female and male role models need to be provided. Borys and her colleagues have suggested that in order to guarantee equal access and opportunity, the social barriers that drive inequities need to be eliminated. They have also explained that society must become more "conscious of culturally normative activities of both girls and boys" (p. 23). The latter should be encouraged to participate and do well in all of the activities if we are to successfully eliminate the cultural stereotypes associated to the games played. Borys and her colleagues have argued that grouping techniques, teaching styles, language, and the use of role-modelling are all factors that can help attain equity in physical education programs. Furthermore, teacher preparation and curriculum development are important considerations when creating changes for the move towards gender equity.

Lirgg and Feltz (1989) have suggested that participation in physical activity helps to develop motor competency, social acceptance, self-image, and positive feelings about physical activity. Lirgg and Feltz recommended six enhancement strategies that provide girls with more equitable opportunities: (a) ensure successful performances in order to increase confidence; (b) avoid sex-typing activities by sending messages that sport is for everyone and not just for boys; (c) communicate sincere positive encouragement and instruction; (d) use female role models as much as possible to dispel the myths about sport as a male preserve; (e) decrease competitive situations; and (f) reduce anxiety-producing situations. Knoppers (1988) has stressed the importance for girls and boys to become more aware of sexism in the school, the gymnasium and the sports world. Varpalotai (1991) has stressed the same need for teachers and suggested that cooperative rather than competitive elements are better suited for equitable activities. Her work, along with that of other researchers has provided a great number of ideas for policy makers, administrators, teachers and students to develop a physical education program that is equitable.

In this respect, the action-research conducted by Dallaire and Rail (1996) is interesting. They surveyed close to 2,000 francophone female and male high school students across Canada and conducted group interviews with 677 of them. Their results showed that in either segregated or mixed physical education classes, much needed to be done to establish an equitable learning environment. The uniqueness of Dallaire and Rail's approach laid in their

use of an empowerment education model in the "action" part of the project. In partnership with students, physical educators, school administrators, education ministry representatives, and representatives of other organizations, community empowerment sessions were organized and enabled the real experts (e.g., grass roots individuals) to discuss gender equity, to identify strategies to achieve it in their community, and to find concrete realistic, and inexpensive ways to put these strategies into action.

Finally, Humberstone (1986, 1987, 1990, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995) has discussed a new approach that could provide an equitable physical education environment. She has explained that "outdoor education, as a peripheral to physical education, has the potential to challenge oppressive gender relations and promote greater understanding and respect between girls and boys" (1995, p. 153).

Literature Related to Outdoor Education and Gender Equity

Bunting (1989) has attempted to find some compatibilities between physical education and outdoor education. In an examination of past and present philosophies of both physical and outdoor educational domains, he reported that the physical self and the spiritual self were currently being neglected due to the growing importance given to the development of the mind. In order to provide adequate learning experiences, Bunting has written in favour of outdoor education as a holistic training method that uses all aspects of learning through physical activity. In contrast, he has found that

physical education places a negative emphasis on the social and emotional components of learning. Similarly, in a report by McAvoy and Dustin (1986), adventure-based programs were identified as environments for learning and personal growth that allow the average and below average student-athletes to test themselves physically, emotionally and intellectually.

While investigating the effects of outdoor adventure on elementary school children, Moore (1986) has explained that adventure activities can help students grow physically, emotionally and intellectually, while developing life-long leisure and physical activity skills. Moore's study also offered an in-depth look at new ideas for elementary physical education curricula that involve outdoor adventurous activities. She introduced the notion that adventure activities, when woven instructionally into the curriculum, can enhance performance of the mind and body. Similarly, Anderson and Frison (1992) have found that by incorporating cognitive, affective and psychomotor components of learning, outdoor educators can expect positive benefits for their students. Other benefits of outdoor education found in Anderson and Frison's (1992) as well as Moore's (1986) reports are improvement in self-concept, self-confidence, and self realization; increased trust, responsibility, willingness to take risks, and problem-solving skills; and improvement in group cohesion, small group communication, and cooperation and compassion toward others.

Anderson and Frison (1992) have investigated an adventure-based program and attempted to identify some of the skills developed through the

activities. After a qualitative examination of 16 students engaged in one class session and one overnight expedition, these researchers suggested that properly sequencing activities within a program will ensure the development of small group and individual skills, and the improvement of self-concept. Analysis of the tape recordings and notes of the briefing and de-briefing sessions allowed researchers to report that, according to the students, engaging in risk-taking activities results in an increased trust in self and group members, an ability to voice concern and opinions without fear of rejection or ridicule, and an increase in self-confidence.

Other articles discussing the benefits of outdoor education programs are those of Ewart (1986), Ford (1989), Jenson and Briggs Young (1981), Knapp (1989), Latess (1986), and Nichols (1989). Nichols (1989) has suggested that unlike formal education, outdoor education provides students with opportunities for a holistic education that benefits participants and society through the development of mental, physical, and social skills.

While exploring the affective domain of outdoor education, Knapp (1989) has expressed his support for the implementation of outdoor activities in the curriculum as he suggested that they continuously increase knowledge and create awareness for social issues and environmentally friendly attitudes. According to Knapp, a three to five day residential program encourages group interactions, develops communication skills, and improves self-esteem. Latess (1986) has also argued that incorporating outdoor activities into secondary physical education programs strengthens the learning

environment and provides participants with an opportunity to learn activities that are accessible for a lifetime.

According to Jensen and Briggs Young (1981), outdoor adventures stimulate the use of personal and collective resources, provide interesting and understandable experiences, and lead to an increase in self-awareness, interpersonal effectiveness and maturity, and positive as well as informative educational tools for future pursuits. Ewart (1986) has similarly contended that physical activity in the outdoors generally produces a socially supportive atmosphere where participants can believe in themselves, accomplish set goals, and feel positive about their experience.

According to Ford (1989), outdoor education is a method of extending the curriculum by involving "direct learning experiences." Ford, as well as Knapp (1989), Jensen and Briggs Young (1981), and Nichols (1989) suggested that unlike formal education, outdoor learning can easily incorporate geography, environmental sciences/biology, history/social history, and even English/literature to capture the students' interests and enhance their cognitive learning. In this regard, Humberstone (1993) has remained a dissenting voice. She has argued that if outdoor activities become an interdisciplinary subject, patriarchal and technically-based activities may develop rather than equitable person-centred activities. She has also argued that in and of itself, outdoor education has the ability to create equitable experiences that challenge gender stereotypical behaviours and inequities based on sex, religion, ability or ethnic background.

Humberstone, in a series of articles (1986, 1987, 1990, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995), draws from her ethnographic research and outlines the experiences and actions of both the pupils and teachers involved in an outdoor education program. Her qualitative research on outdoor education confirms that in certain contexts, the holistic activities of outdoor education offer quality learning and challenge the construction of gender stereotypes.

In an early report, Humberstone (1986) explored the issue of gender in education by discussing the teachers' and students' perceptions and observations collected at an outdoor education centre. Through the analysis of observations and informal interviews, she found that boys were more sensitive (e.g., supportive and encouraging) towards girls in outdoor education situations, as compared to physical education. She also noted the importance of a relaxed and personal relationship between pupils and teachers at the camp for the provision of a learning setting that values individual needs and capacities. She then discovered that with the appropriate teaching methods, most girls and boys developed confidence in themselves and became more aware of their own abilities. In turn, they were more willing to perform unfamiliar, adventurous tasks. Humberstone concluded that outdoor education encouraged gender equitable behaviours among students and teachers.

In 1987, Humberstone compared teachers, students and institutional features of co-educational outdoor education programs with those of physical education programs. She observed that outdoor education classes better resist

societal influences of masculine and feminine stereotypical ideology, and challenge the stereotypical views found in traditional segregated classes. Humberstone later observed that a "holistic integrative approach to education" (1992, p. 163) such as that found in outdoor education, empowers pupils and encourages social change. She also noted the importance of sensitivity and understanding between pupils and teachers in the struggle to eradicate stereotypes. Not unlike proponents of feminist pedagogy, Humberstone argued that the goal of outdoor educators is to empower pupils to gain confidence and take responsibility for their own learning: empowerment occurs when students are creators of the knowledge rather than just consumers.

More recently, Humberstone (1995) has further discussed the views and perspectives of teachers and pupils involved in an outdoor education program. She has found that in this program, stereotypical assumptions concerning masculinity and femininity were challenged and that gender identities and relations were altered. Humberstone demonstrated the empowering philosophy at the basis of the program by quoting one outdoor educator who attempted to challenge her students:

I'm trying to make it so that the pupils achieve something. Give them as much help . . . so that they can develop their full potential in the activities. Each one is an individual, and you have to assess their capabilities so that you can take them as far as they are able to go. Each one is different so that their physical capabilities are different, and you have to gauge how far they are able to go and aim slightly above that. . . . It's not necessarily the activities that I'm interested in, it's the individual pupils and what they can achieve themselves. (p. 148)

Humberstone (1995) also argued that encouragement and positive interaction between teachers and students produce an empowering environment with plenty of opportunities for independence. A student participating in her study reported:

They help you if you can't do it. They really help you to do it, like I've done climbing. I couldn't go any further—I'm glad she made me go further. It was all right. . . . She was trying to build your confidence, I think. . . . You don't get treated like babies here! (p. 149)

In her conclusion, Humberstone (1995) has revealed that in certain contexts (e.g., small classes, with non-authoritarian, child sensitive teaching approaches), co-educational outdoor education challenges oppressive gender relations and promotes greater understanding and respect between girls and boys.

Conclusion

The literature in feminist pedagogy has suggested that educational environments that enhance holistic learning and empower pupils are beneficial to young girls and women since they are environments that challenge sexism and gender stereotypical attitudes, as well as create equal opportunities for all.

In the field of physical education, some teachers and administrators have attempted to provide a gender equitable curriculum, but the literature continues to reflect physical education as a male preserve, where gender equity is not present. Researchers have established that many physical

education programs do not provide pupils with a gender equitable environment, do not enhance learning, and do not empower pupils. Mixed-sex and single-sex physical education is still under tremendous debate as it is uncertain which provides children with the most equitable situation.

In general, the literature focusing on outdoor education programs has suggested that, in contrast to physical education, participants benefit from these programs. Most authors have argued that outdoor education programs provide both girls and boys with an environment that empowers them and catalyzes progressive social change. Theoretical works on outdoor education have addressed the positive social, emotional, and physical characteristics of its learning possibilities.

Although much of the literature addresses the theoretical benefits of outdoor educational experiences, there is little empirical research to support this assertion. With the exception of Humberstone's studies in England (1986, 1987, 1990, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995), there is little empirical evidence to support the claim that outdoor education environments are gender equitable. In Canada, no studies have been conducted on this issue and little is known about gender equity or gender relations in outdoor education programs. Similarly, the perspectives of learners in outdoor education programs have never been investigated. The present study therefore constitutes an attempt to help and fill the void in the physical education and sports studies literature.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This ethnographic study focused on the issue of gender equity in one outdoor education program. This chapter presents the methods used in the study and includes information on the research protocol, the sample, the two research instruments, the data collection procedures as well as the data analysis procedures.

Research Protocol

In the summer of 1996, a study was carried out at an outdoor education centre in Ontario. The study was ethnographic in nature. Qualitative and triangulated data collection methods were used, involving: (a) a content analysis of official outdoor education program documents; (b) non-participant observation of program participants and their counsellors; and (c) semi-structured, small group interviews with the program participants. The ethnographic approach was favoured to examine the perspectives and behaviours of young women and men in one outdoor education program.

Sample

The study involved a group of 24 young women and men (8 to 13 years of age) involved in one outdoor education program in Ontario. The outdoor program was developed to provide campers with 12 days of friendship and outdoor adventure experiences. From August 6 to August 18, these young

women (n=10) and men (n=14) experienced one out trip, canoe and kayak instruction, and a host of other competitive and cooperative activities. All participants were observed and the observation period consisted of the last five days of the camp, excluding the departure day. In terms of the interviews, all 24 participants involved in the outdoor education program were interviewed.

Instruments

Observation Guide

LeCompte and Goetz (1984) mentioned that ethnographers are often frustrated with the difficulty of recording everything they observe and suggested that observational grids be used to categorize data. Therefore, an observational guide (see Appendix A) was used throughout this study to categorize information related to the various episodes observed at the camp: (a) who was in the episode, how many young women and men, their relevant characteristics; (b) what was happening, how were the young women and men behaving, what were the activities, what was the nature of the interaction or conversation, what was said or done; (c) how were the young women and men physically located or organized, who was at the centre of the interaction, who was dominating the episode; (d) where was the episode taking place, what was the physical setting; (e) what was the time/length of the episode; (f) what was the observer's interpretation of this episode, were there elements indicative of the type of gender relations, were there elements

indicative of gender equity or inequity; and (g) what was the observer's reaction or feeling towards the episode.

Interview Guide

The purpose of interviewing was to elicit responses from the campers in order to highlight their perceptions regarding gender relations and gender equity in the context of the outdoor education program. The interview guide (see Appendix B) was divided into four major sections that included questions regarding: (a) the participants' perceptions of the outdoor education centre's environment; (b) the participants' experiences at the camp - probing here for information regarding equitable or unequitable practices or perspectives present at the camp; (c) the participants' experiences at the camp and whether these experiences changed their perceptions of the other gender and of mixed participation in learning activities; and (d) the participants' perceptions of the camp and whether it offers an environment free of gender stereotypes.

Data Collection

Consent forms (see Appendix C) were distributed to the outdoor education centre's director and to the participants' parents or guardians who signed the forms authorizing the subjects to participate in the study. Once consent was established, data collection started.

Program Documents

The program pamphlets and official program documents were collected from the outdoor education centre's reception office in June of 1996. The sample of official documents collected for the study included: (a) the participants' application forms collected by the outdoor education centre; (b) pamphlets sent to participants by the outdoor education centre; (c) official program documents; and (d) other miscellaneous camp documents (e.g., schedules, job description sheets, staff manual, etc.).

Observation

Field notes were taken on interactions occurring daily during the last five days of a two-week outdoor education camp held in Ontario in August 1996. The researcher was introduced to the participants the day before the observation period so that participants could get used to her presence by the time the observation period began. During her whole stay, the researcher immersed herself into daily events and relationships in order to explore gender relations in the context of the outdoor education centre. The researcher remained with the participants throughout her stay, attending all their lessons, breaks, as well as attending the evening activities, in order to develop a connection with the participants and to obtain an in-depth understanding of the participants' behaviours in this outdoor education environment.

During the five-day observation period, systematic observation took place in two-hour periods during each morning, afternoon and evening, as well as whenever an important development regarding gender equity/inequity presented itself. The researcher took field notes on cards designed as observation guides. Each episode observed was recorded on one card.

Interviews

The interviews were conducted in person during the participants' free periods throughout the five observation days. The 24 subjects (10 young women, 14 young men) were interviewed in small single-sex groups of two or three, for 20 to 30 minutes, a period short enough to accommodate the needs of the subjects. The interviews took place in informal settings such as the cafeteria, lodges, outside play areas, outside picnic tables, etc. The group interviews were recorded on tape. At the end of the interview, respondents were asked if they had any questions. Participants were then encouraged to contact the researcher through the remainder of that week if they had any questions or further comments that developed during their stay at the camp.

Data Analysis

Program Documents

Fetterman (1989) has explained that ethnographers can find information within documents, discover patterns within the text and seek key elements recorded in print. The data that were obtained from the campers' personal

application forms were analysed individually providing general background information on each participant involved in the study. As for the information pamphlets, official program documents and other miscellaneous program documents, they were analysed to better understand the philosophy and the goals of this outdoor education program and to determine whether the camp administration represented the camp as a gender equitable learning environment for young women and men.

Observation

The observational data that had been recorded on cards (e.g., one card per episode) were qualitatively content analysed using a process called "data reduction." Miles and Huberman (1994) explain that data reduction is "a form of analysis that sharpens, sorts, focuses, discards, and organizes data in such a way that final conclusions can be drawn and verified" (p. 11). A summary of each episode was transcribed onto a single sheet that included an overview of the who, what, where, and when of the episodes as well as the observer's reactions and feelings toward the episodes. Miles and Huberman explain that writing a "summary sheet" (p. 52) is a first data reduction process that helps to create, in the researcher's mind, an illustration of basic information. The summary sheet was then read and re-read. Harvey (1990) states that multiple readings of data are crucial for the researcher to familiarize herself with the data. Next, the observational data were coded and organized in different ways. Data were organized in chronological order of the episodes, then according to the episodes' time of day (e.g., morning, afternoon, and evening), then

grouped in either mixed-sex or single-sex episodes (e.g., girls only, boys only, and girls and boys). "Coding" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 56) entailed assigning meanings to the data, while still keeping the data intact so that reflecting on the information was made easier and the emergence of patterns was facilitated. Using a second data reductions strategy, the episodes were put into a "narrative, story-like structure" called "vignette" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 81). The vignettes, which summarized the interactional episodes, were arranged according to "themes," and then "piled" (Harvey, 1990, p. 13). "Piling" as explained by Harvey, is a process of arranging materials into piles according to themes. Harvey adds that themes are derived from the reoccurring ideas that are sourced from the collected data (p. 13). The themes used to organize the vignettes were first the various settings (e.g., campsite, campfire, lodge, dock, and out trip), and then the camp events (e.g., meals, cleaning, evening activities, and competitive and cooperative activities). Next, the thematically-organized data were read and re-read. The researcher then drew from these readings and identified underlying patterns, commonalities and differences, with regards to gender relations and gender equity/inequity.

Interviews

As soon as the camp was completed, the tape recorded were transcribed onto a word processor. It should be noted that during the interviews, participants were identified by their names, but that the names of the participants were deleted from the interview transcripts. The interview

transcripts constituted a text to be submitted to a qualitative content analysis. First, the text was reorganized according to the questions that had been presented to the participants in the semi-structured interviews. Basically, the text was cut into sub-texts which were piled according to themes, each theme corresponding to the main idea underlying one interview question. Second, the piles of sub-texts were re-read and "marginal remarks" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 67) were made. This process of making "notes" or "remarks" in the margins of the interview transcripts was used in order to add clarity and more meaning to these transcripts as well as to identify and describe the reoccurring ideas and perspectives of the participants. According to Miles and Huberman, marginal remarks lead to a deeper analysis and an alternative way of interpreting the data. Third, through multiple readings of the sub-texts and remarks, similarities and differences between the participants' perceptions arose with regards to gender relations and gender equity at the camp. In the reporting of the results, quotations were presented in order to exemplify these patterns. In reporting the qualitative data, anonymity and confidentiality were ensured at all times. Pooled data was used and when quotes were used in the thesis, all information allowing to identify a participant was deleted.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

This chapter focuses on the results of this ethnographic study. The chapter begins with the results of a content analysis of the official camp documents to better understand the context of this study with regards to gender equity. An overview of the camp environment and the campers' demographics is provided. Adding to the contextual information, an overview of the camp activities observed during the length of the study is presented. Then, the results of the qualitative analysis of the interactional episodes observed at the camp is offered, in order to provide a first understanding of the young women's and men's behaviours with regard to gender relations and gender equity in this outdoor education program. In the final section of the chapter, results of the content analysis of the group interviews with the young women and men are presented, providing understanding of the campers' perspectives with respect to gender relations and gender equity within the program.

The Camp Environment

This camp, as described in the program pamphlet, is a year-round outdoor education facility located on 700 acres of forests, lakes and wetlands in the Ottawa Valley (Eastern Ontario). The pamphlet also indicates that during the summer months, the program offers co-ed residential outdoor

camping experiences for youth between the ages of 8 and 14 years. The facility is described as being situated among tall trees and on a private lake, operating solely on solar, wind and composting technologies. The pamphlet also reports that the campers will experience living with nature, by discovering wilderness camping. The pictures, in the pamphlet, highlight social encounters between campers of both sexes laughing and playing together at campsites, meal times and during planned activities. According to the camp's advertisements, the two-week stay costs \$770 per child. This suggests that the camp may be mostly accessible to children coming from middle to upper class families.

According to the pamphlet and staff manual, while the campers stay at this camp, they reside in co-ed camp sites of eight campers of similar ages supervised by two counsellors. In the pamphlet, a picture illustrates a living quarter as being a canvas-covered cabin with a porch. In the staff manual, it is understood that campers share cabins with other campers of the same sex, and that campers of the opposite sex are not allowed to enter. The documents also explain that groups of similar ages decide together on the activities in which they will take part during the mornings, while in the afternoons, campers can make their individual choices from an array of planned activities. As listed in the pamphlet, the activities offered at this camp include kayaking, canoeing, fishing, windsurfing, swimming, underwater hikes, sailing, pond walks, archery, astronomy, eco-games, night hikes, mountain biking, story telling, and arts and crafts. According to the pamphlet, this camp

accommodates a high staff-camper ratio during activities, the stated goal being to ensure personal attention for each camper. On the registration form, a questionnaire invites the campers to list the activities they enjoy and new activities they wish to try. According to the official documents, the camp attempts to provide a child-centred environment that challenges personal growth by learning new activities, and social growth by practicing group work. It is expected that these experiences will develop a sense of self-confidence, self-worth, self-esteem, and team work among the campers.

According to the staff manual, campers also have the duty to keep their own cabin, the lodge and their surroundings neat, safe and tidy. As for meals, the documents explain that campers may eat meals at the tables in the lodge or around the fire, and then together they must compost scraps and clear the tables.

The camp is privately owned and operated by a woman with 14 years of experience in the camping industry. In the pamphlet, she explains that the goal of this camp is to "provide a safe, wilderness camping experience for youth, a real place to grow, explore and to nurture respect for oneself, others and the natural environment." In the staff manual, a similar philosophy is mentioned: "We believe that sharing an awareness and appreciation of the natural environment empowers persons of all ages to contribute towards a healthier world." In addition, the staff manual lists a number of goals that incite the staff to create many opportunities for the campers to care, share, understand, appreciate, respect and cooperate. According to official

documents, this outdoor education facility does not explicitly state the idea that it will provide campers with gender equitable experiences.

The Campers

According to the pamphlet, this camp can accommodate 24 young women and men. During a two-week period (August 6 to August 18, 1996), 10 young women and 14 young men, all white and English speaking, but from different regions in Ontario, attended this outdoor education camp and agreed to take part in this study. According to the registration forms, this specific group of campers was composed of young women and men between the ages of 8 and 13 years (see Table 1).

Table 1
Gender and Age of the Participants in the Study

Age (years)	Young Men (n)	Young Women (n)	Total (n)
8	0	2	2
9	1	1	3
10	4	1	4
11	2	3	6
12	3	2	5
13	4	1	4
Total	14	10	24

The registration information also revealed that 16 campers were from an

urban community in Ontario, while the other 8 campers were from rural communities.

The pamphlet acknowledges that campers reside in camp sites with other campers of similar ages. During the two weeks specific to this study, the first site sheltered 3 young women (8 and 9 years old) and 5 young men (9 and 10 years old), while in the second site there were 4 young women (10 and 11 years old) and 5 young men (11 and 12 years old). There were 3 young women (12 and 13 years old) and 4 young men (13 years old) in the third site.

Once campers were registered, additional material was sent to the campers in order for them to prepare for their stay at the camp. A "Suggested Clothing and Equipment Check List" was distributed to all campers, girls and boys, recommending specific items needed to stay comfortable and warm while at the camp. Each camper received the same list of clothing and equipment which included warm sweaters, warm tops (sweat shirts), wind breaker/jacket, rain coat, rain boots, long pants, shorts, summer shirts, bathing suit, underwear, pyjamas, socks, sun hat, shoes, towels, flash light, life jacket, sleeping bag, and a blanket. The girls and the boys were both notified to pack appropriate camping clothing, which appeared neutral for both sexes.

The Camp Activities

During the five days of observation, 23 different camp activities were identified. The activities can be categorized into outdoor physical activities, and art and craft activities. The campers attended 11 outdoor physical

activities, including water games and sports, day and night hikes, and mountain biking. Also, the campers participated in 12 different art and craft activities such as story telling, drama, native crafts, and drawing lessons. All of these activities were geared around the natural environment and included a co-ed atmosphere; that is, each camp activity consisted of young women and young men participating together.

Outdoor Physical Activities

Four of the physical activities included all campers, while the other seven involved small groups of eight or nine. All of the physical activities accommodated a 4:1 ratio of campers to counsellors. For example, when the group of 24 campers participated in the large group night walk or the swamp walk, there were seven counsellors guiding the activity. Similarly, during small group activities such as mountain biking or water games and sports, the same 4:1 ratio appeared. It seems that the great number of counsellors available to the campers often accommodated an atmosphere of encouragement and inspiration to both skilled and unskilled campers. For example, a young woman camper was not a very strong mountain biker, and during a ride, the counsellors as well as campers cheered and encouraged her to push harder and travel further. During other activities, the counsellors and campers were seen on many occasions commenting or praising a task or activity skillfully executed.

As the 5-day study proceeded, it was evident that the campers offered more encouragement and support to fellow campers, especially those of the

opposite sex. For instance, on the first day of the study, an organized water activity was the occasion for the boys to cheer for other boys and the girls, for other girls. In contrast, later in the week, the boys and girls at one camp site worked together to build a shelter from branches found in the woods. In the beginning, the girls did not care to participate, but the boys persuaded them that it was fun, easy and would have an interesting outcome.

The physical activities at this outdoor education camp included both competitive and cooperative games. In one activity, a competitive water game was facilitated by the counsellors, and the activity was attempted by the young men, but was unsuccessful due to the young women's lack of interest. The campers then changed the activity into a non-competitive, unorganized experience where the campers just played catch with a sponge full of water. Two out of six girls in the vicinity decided not to join the group game, and instead snorkelled within the swimming boundaries. In this example, the camp displayed flexibility in scheduling and a capacity to adapt to responses of the campers.

A co-ed diving competition, involving a small group of four young women and four young men invited many cheers and encouraging words from fellow campers and instructors. In order for every camper involved to feel competent in this competition, the instructors devised 10 events (the best, longest, coolest, funniest, etc.). As the diving events progressed, six out of eight campers participating won an event, leaving one young man and one young woman without any victory. This loss seemed to affect the young man

more so than the young woman. Meanwhile, the young woman continued to the next event and stated to another female camper that she did not understand why the boy was sad, since they had done their best and that was all that mattered.

Most of the physical activities at this camp seemed to lead to a fun and respectful relationship between the genders. During a swamp walk, for example, young women and men helped each other during a few messy adventures. First, a young boy fell into the water and became incapable of removing his feet from the mud. A group of two female and two male campers helped the troubled camper out, regaining his packsack as well as a lost boot. This teamwork was also evident when a group of campers came across a hornets' nest. All of the campers (female and male) worked together to retreat out of the dangerous situation and gather all of the supplies (magnifying glasses, underwater lights) used during the swamp expedition. During the evacuation, it was apparent that all campers, both female and male, equally executed important evacuation tasks. For instance, a counsellor and a female camper went back into the bush to alert a few campers of the incident and to reroute their return to the camp, while a male camper comforted a younger frightened female camper.

Art and Craft Activities

A total of 12 art and craft activities were performed with all campers together (N=24), while the other 6 activities involved small groups of 6 to 10 campers, with the majority being female. The noise level was lower at these

activities than at the observed physical activities. During all of the art and craft activities, the campers worked quietly, telling stories, singing songs, and/or helping one another to complete projects.

The art and craft activities were all facilitated by counsellors of both sexes. A ratio of 3:1, 4:1 and 5:1 campers to counsellors was observed during various activities. In small groups, the counsellors simply gave the campers the needed materials and general outlines for the planned activity. This provided campers with more time to complete their work, and more time for the counsellors to provide needed assistance and plenty of encouragement. During these activities, the instructors circulated around the work area helping campers with difficulties and providing more creative ideas and lots of reinforcement. This encouragement and motivation was also evident between campers. During a friendship bracelet craft session, two young men were having problems interpreting the instructions, so a skilled female camper provided them with assistance. At one point, one of the male campers claimed that he could not do it, but the female camper praised his good work providing this male camper with a boost to finish his task.

The camp planned a full day dedicated to friendships which seemed to encourage friendly attitudes among the campers. The day began with a story about a girl and a boy who were best friends. Then, in a large group, a few campers shared stories, songs and quotations about friends. During this time, two boys explained that all the talk about friendship reminded them of all the new special friends they had met at the camp. Young women and men were

often observed enjoying each other's companionship during art and craft activities. Evidence of this friendship was observed during a nature tattooing and a hair wrap activity. Both the young women and men discussed what type of tattoo or hair wrap they would receive. Together, as friends and as equals, female and male campers chose the images and the colours to complete their project.

Interactional Episodes Observed at the Camp

During the last five days of the 2-week camp, observations were conducted to better understand the behaviours of young women and men with regards to gender relations and gender equity in this outdoor education program. At various times during the mornings, afternoons and evenings, a total of 36 interactional episodes were recorded, ranging in duration from 15 minutes to 1 hour. These episodes involved small and large groups of young women and/or men. More than half of these episodes ($n=19$) involved a small number of campers ($n=2$ to 9), while the others ($n=17$) involved all or almost all of the 24 campers.

Timing of the Episodes

The interactional episodes ($N=36$) occurred at various times throughout the observation period. These episodes took place during the morning ($n=11$), the afternoon ($n=8$), as well as during the evening ($n=17$). The observation was designed to capture more spontaneous interactions, which took place more often during "free time" as compared to planned activities. From this, it

is possible to report that the campers were given more free time during the evenings.

Location of the Episodes

The episodes were captured at various locations within the camp grounds. These episodes took place around the campfire pit (n=5), at the campsites (n=8), in or around the lodge (n=14), on the dock or the beach (n=6), and during an out trip (n=6).

At the campfire, campers were observed during morning meals and evening social events. During the morning campfires, campers prepared their own breakfast and interacted with other campers. The evening campfires consisted of snack times, and get togethers with singing, story and joke telling, and opportunities for campers to mix. With respect to the interactional episodes recorded at the campsites, the campers were observed resting, writing letters, talking, playing games, preparing for activities, and cleaning cabins and washrooms. The interactional episodes examined at the main lodge involved eating meals (lunch and supper), cleaning (indoors and outdoors), taking part in evening social activities, and waiting between planned camp activities. Typical interactional episodes at the dock included supervised, but "free" swim periods and a star gazing activity. Finally, observations done during the out trip featured interactions between the campers while canoeing, portaging and performing expedition-related duties such as preparing meals, collecting wood, starting fires, cooking meals and setting up a shelter.

The presence of the counsellors was less evident during "free" time at the campsite, as compared to "free" time at the lodge, dock, campfire, or out trip. However, during all 36 interactional episodes, it was apparent that the counsellors were not very far from the location of the interacting campers. Despite this, it seems that the counsellors were removed considerably enough from the campers' space to enable spontaneous interactions to unfold.

Participants in the Episodes

The interactional episodes observed in this study involved single-sex episodes ($n=7$) and mixed-sex episodes ($n=29$). The single-sex episodes took place solely at the campsites, while the mixed-sex episodes took place at a variety of settings.

Single-Sex Episodes

At the campsite setting, while campers were resting or getting prepared for subsequent activities, single-sex episodes were observed. During rest times, especially in the first few days of the study, the female campers tended to spend this time laying down, talking, writing letters and comforting each other. Later during the camp, the older female campers (ages 10 to 13) were observed spending more free time at their campsites with the boys, while the younger female campers (ages 8 and 9) still maintained time for themselves inside their cabin. As for the single-sex episodes involving the boys, they too were observed at the campsites, inside the cabins. Boys were seen playing board games, card games and conversing. It seemed as though the cabin was a

privileged place for single-sex interactions. But, more importantly, the single-sex environment appeared to be more of a refuge for the female campers, especially the younger ones. A summary of the single-sex episodes provides evidence of this:

Episode #3: Day 1. At campsite A, the younger male campers are putting on warmer clothing for the evening meal and activity. The boys quickly dress inside their cabins, and then sit and talk about the different activities in which they were involved during the day as well as the event that will take place tonight.

Episode #4: Day 1. The younger female campers at campsite A are getting dressed with warm clothes. They are choosing different sweaters and pants and contemplating what to wear. Then, the girls are lying down for a few minutes and talking with low voices about how tired they are and how hard they worked. One girl is writing a letter to her friend from home. It is now time to go, so the girls go outside and meet the boys. They walk to the lodge together as a group.

Episode #5: Day 1. At campsite B, the older girls are preparing for dinner and the night activity by getting out warm clothes. They trade different clothing articles until they are dressed in half of their roommates' clothes. These girls talk very loud. They are laughing and joking about different things that happened during the day's activities.

Episode #6: Day 1. The boys at campsite C are changing from their shorts and T-shirts and putting on jeans and sweaters in order to keep warm for the evening. One boy is pressured by fellow roommates to pick his clothes off of the floor and put them in his nap-sac. The boys are all ready. They sit together and tell jokes about things they did during the afternoon activity, like when one boy's shorts fell off when he was jumping in the water.

Episodes #10: Day 2. It is the afternoon rest time at campsite A in the younger girls' cabin. Everyone is lying on their bed. One girl is writing letters to her mother and a friend. Another girl is lying down trying to sleep. The other is reading a book silently. They are tired and exhausted. The girls are saying that they wished the boys in the other cabin could "pipe down" a bit and be more quiet. Another girl says that they should rest.

Episode #18: Day 3. During the rest time at campsite C, the older girls are moving around in their cabin. One of the girls is sending a letter to her friend back home. She keeps sitting up and telling the others about her friend. Another girl is writing herself a letter and posting it home. The other girl is cleaning up the clothes on the bed and the floor. A consistent conversation fills the cabin with spirit. The girls are chatting, laughing and screaming extremely loud. The boys and the counsellors ask them to quiet down.

Episode #17: Day 3. During this free period, a few of the boys at campsite B (older group) are on the floor of their cabin quietly playing a board game. Two others are sitting on the bunk-bed playing cards. A conversation is going on between both groups of boys about their morning activity. These boys are totally consumed by their games and are unaffected by outside activities.

Clear patterns emerged from these seven episodes to differentiate the girls from the boys, and the younger girls from the older ones. The girls used their free periods mostly to talk with the other girls about the camp, and to rest and revitalize for the next activity. The boys also used their free time to interact with each other. However, they were more energetic than the girls. They kept occupied by playing competitive games, discussing cabin issues and telling funny stories about camp events. A slight difference was also evident between the younger and the older girls. The younger girls rather liked to spend their free time alone, cleaning up, taking naps, reading or writing letters. In contrast, the older girls were more likely to interact with each other discussing camping fashions, camp activities and other campers.

Mixed-Sex Episodes

Mixed-sex episodes (n=29) were observed in a variety of settings, including the campfire, the lodge, the campsite, the dock, and at the out trip. Interactions took place during morning meals as well as during evening

snacks and social activities around the campfire pit. Lunches, suppers, evening social activities, rest times and clean up tasks were the occasions for mixed-sex interactions at the lodge. At the dock, a couple of free swims periods and a star gazing evening were observed. At the various campsites, campers were observed during rest and clean up times. During the out trip, campers canoed, portaged, and shared expedition duties like cooking, wood collecting and shelter making.

Interestingly, the four mixed-sex episodes observed at the campsites included the older campers. Overwhelmingly, the mixed-sex episodes took place during planned periods, or events (e.g., evening activities, meals, free time, rest).

Campfire episodes. Morning meals were held outside around a campfire. The male campers tended to prepare meals with the fire more often than did the female campers. Note the following observation taken from a campfire breakfast:

Episode #16: Day 3. Boys and girls are sitting on benches around the campfire. Four male campers are using the fire to prepare a toasted bagel. Three girls are eating un-toasted bagels. One of the girls says to a boy that toasting the bagel looks good. The young man offers his toasted bagel to the girls and then makes another one for himself.

This thoughtful gesture reoccurred during subsequent breakfasts with both young women and men making toasted bagels for other campers of similar and opposite sex. It appeared that, as the camp neared the end, female campers were more confident around the fire and wanted to learn more about caring for a fire. Witness the following two observations, displaying the

ease and comfort gained by the girls around the campfire:

Episode #15: Day 3. A boy and a girl express an interest in learning how to start a fire. A female counsellor approaches them and offers to teach them about campfires. She gives them a lesson on the type of wood needed, how much wood with which to start and safety procedures. Together, the three successfully start the morning fire.

Episode #27: Day 4. With only two days left at the camp, the girls seem more confident around the campfire during breakfast. Two girls are trying to keep the fire going by adding wood and stoking the fire. The girls are cooking their food over the fire.

During evening campfires, the younger campers were observed interacting with other campers of their own sex, especially during the beginning of the study. As the camp progressed, the younger, but especially the older campers appeared to interact with the opposite sex during these campfires. Late in the campers' stay, campfires and snack times created a comfortable and relaxing atmosphere where young women and men regularly joked, told stories and sang songs. The relationship between female and male campers appeared to strengthen as they approached the end of the camp, especially with the older campers. Consider, for example, the following episodes:

Episode #14: Day 2. Stories, jokes and songs fill the campfire ring. Girls and boys are sitting on benches with campers of both sexes. The boys and girls are talking about funny incidents that happened during the camp. A story is started around the fire pit and is continued for some time. Each camper is asked to add events to the story in order to make it funny and interesting. The story is done and everyone gets quiet. A few girls stand up and sing a couple of songs and everyone joins in. Boys and girls take turns telling jokes. A young quiet girl gets up in front of the whole group and quietly sings a song and then tells a joke.

Episode #25: Day 3. The campers are making bannock (Indian bread) over the evening campfire. Girls and boys are singing, talking, and telling stories and jokes. The campers seem very confident speaking in front of the whole group.

Lodge episodes. Lunches and suppers were served in the main lodge where campers of the same sex sat together. However, on a couple of occasions, tables would host a mixed group of campers. Witness the following observations made with respect to mixed-sex interactions:

Episode #7: Day 1. One group of campers (one young woman and four young men) is sitting at one table waiting for supper to be ready. Campers are discussing the afternoon activity and talking about different things they could do during the evening activity. The young woman is talking easily with the other male campers at her table. The conversation is not dominated by anyone at the table.

Episode #8: Day 1. A table of girls and a table boys are waiting for their meals. The two tables are right next to each other. The girls are talking with the girls at their table, the boys with other boys at their table. After a few minutes, the boys and girls are exchanging across the two tables. Two girls get up and stand closer to the boys' table and continue to interact with both groups until supper is ready.

At this outdoor education camp, it was evident that each individual camper was expected to take equal responsibility keeping the lodge clean. Consider the following episodes of both young women and men campers challenging stereotypical roles:

Episode #19: Day 3. Girls and boys are cleaning up the lodge's washroom and mess room, and sweeping the eating room. All campers are sharing the duties in order to finish quickly and prepare for the next outdoor activity. All most all of the campers are complaining about their chores, but they are working together to finish the job. The counsellors are around, but they are not really interfering with the campers' work.

Episode #20: Day 3. Girls and boys are outside of the lodge collecting wood chips to place on the walking paths in order to keep the ground from breaking down. They are taking turns collecting and piling wood that they are cutting in the wood cutting machine. A counsellor is in charge of this cutting machine, and is teaching each camper how to cut the wood. The girls and boys are working equally hard.

Episode #24: Day 3. Girls and boys are cleaning up tables and games from the evening activity. Two girls and a boy are sweeping the floor. Girls and boys are storing heavy tables and chairs.

It is clearly evident that both female and male campers equally took part in the duties. There did not seem to be a division of labour according to gender as the girls had no problem collecting, chopping and piling wood, and the boys were frequently observed cleaning washrooms and sweeping floors.

Episodes observed during evening activities and between activities at the lodge demonstrated that, as the camp progressed, the girls and boys developed a more friendly relationship with the opposite sex. Consider the following progression from the first day episodes to later in the third day:

Episode #9: Day 1. In the evening, campers are choosing a game to play in the lodge. Together, they choose Win, Loose or Draw. They all want girls against the boys, instead of making two mixed teams. After a few minutes, the boys move to the front, and the girls are sitting at the back. The boys are yelling and screaming out answers. The girls are talking and ignoring the game. The boys are winning the game because of their level of participation and the girls' lack of participation. The girls do not seem to care about winning or losing.

Episode #12: Day 2. A mixed group of seven older campers is sitting together eating a snack. The campers are waiting for the counsellors who are in the other room having a small meeting about the next activities. The campers are interacting and telling jokes. They prepare a few drama skits to perform in front of the other campers. Everyone is watching and laughing.

Episode #22: Day 3. Tonight, the girls and boys are taking part in a Casino Night. Tables are set up with games. Mixed groups are moving from table to table placing bets. Individual campers join mixed groups at games already in progress. Girls and boys are interacting during and between the gambling games. Two counsellors are at each gambling table.

Campsite episodes. Most of the episodes observed at the campsite were single-sex interactions and occurred during free time. However, the following examples of "spontaneous" mixed-sex interaction were also observed during free time at the campsites:

Episode #28: Day 4. The girls' cabin is fairly tidy. A few cosmetic items and clothing articles are lying around on their beds. One girl is sweeping the floor very fast and the other girls are rearranging their clothes. The girls move onto the boys' porch. They are trying to look into the boys' cabin. The boys tell them to get lost and the girls sit down on benches outside. The boys are embarrassed at their messy cabin. No. They are mad at one boy's mess. His duffel bag of clothes is scattered on the floor. He waits and waits to pick it up. The boys are getting very mad now. The girls are sneaking a peak. They find the mess. The girls are teasing the boys. They are saying the girls' cabin is cleaner than the boys.

Episode #29: Day 4. Girls and boys are cleaning the bathrooms at campsite B. It is turning into a competition. The boys quickly, without complaints, finish sweeping the bathroom floor and adding leaves to the environmental toilet. The girls are not doing their work. It is time to leave the campsite and the counsellors notice the girls' bathroom is not clean. The girls now finish the bathroom chores, while the boys watch closely. The boys are taking this opportunity to tease the girls. One of the boys says: "We will inspect your job, just like you did. It had better be clean."

While at the campsite, the observed interactions reflected a competitive spirit between the female and male campers.

Dock episodes. A few observed episodes, demonstrated female and male campers interacting during planned free time at the dock:

Episode #13: Day 2. Free swim. Campers of both sex are jumping in a funny way or diving from the dock, and making plenty of noise. The campers are having fun. The activity is non-competitive. Girls and boys are interacting between dives. A few campers are talking in the water. The counsellors are supervising and encouraging campers. They are not interfering with the campers' conversations.

Episode #21: Day 3. This is a free swim period. All of the campers are taking turns jumping and diving into the water. A few boys and girls are allowing other campers to go ahead of them in the line if they are not ready right away. The diving is not competitive. The campers are cheering and applauding all of the dives and giving advice to some campers. Counsellors are present. They are life guarding and applauding each camper's jump or dive.

Episode #26: Day 3. The campers are on a star gazing night. The counsellors and campers are lying down on the dock watching a meteor shower. Girls and boys lay next to one another. One girl asks: "What is a falling star?" A boy asks: "How far are the stars?" The campers appear interested in the sky. They are looking into the sky and are very calm and quiet during the whole gazing session.

During each episode observed at the dock, the campers appeared to interact with everyone. The interactions at the dock, either between campers of the same sex or between campers of the opposite sex, were generally friendly.

Out trip episodes. During an out trip toward the end of the camp, campers seemed to be more at ease with each other. Aware of their up coming departure, they seemed to stick close to their new "best" friends. The campers displayed teamwork as well as problem solving and decision making skills during this trip. The trip also provided evidence that these girls and boys could and did work well together. In addition, the girls and boys seemed to

challenge gender stereotypes. Witness the following notes from observations during the out trip expedition:

Episode #30: Day 5. The campers are getting ready for their out trip. Groups of two and three are carrying their canoes to the water and loading their packs. The canoes are carrying single sex groupings. While canoeing, boys and girls are talking back and forth to each other. All of the campers canoe for one kilometer. They get out and portage for half a kilometer. Many campers are finding the portage very difficult. They have to carry their canoe and their bags. A few older campers (two females and two males) finish their walk fast and still with energy. They go back down the portage path and help the other campers with their packs.

Episode #31: Day 5. After the portage, all of the campers are back in their canoe and are heading to their campsite. A race starts when a few of the older female campers encourage the boys to race. They race the boys. Loud screams and cheers fill the lake. The girls win. The boys loose. Right away the campers jump into the water and swim together; boys and girls.

Episode # 32: Day 5. Campers arrived at the out trip setting for the night. The canoes are being pulled out of the water and everyone unpacks. Individually, campers choose different chores to do to get the campsite ready. A few girls and boys go looking for wood to start a fire. A few girls and boys look for a place to make their shelter for sleeping. Other girls and boys are unpacking and getting ready for supper. The girls and boys are working together preparing their new campsite. The counsellors also help put the campsite together.

Episode #34: Day 5. After supper, the older female and male campers are swimming in the lake. The counsellors are within the viewing area. A group of older female and male campers are hanging over a tipped canoe. They are talking. Some older girls and boys are floating on a lifejacket and making jokes and laughing. The younger group of female and male campers are paddling quietly near the shore talking to each other and pointing out different things they see in the water and on land. Their conversation is hardly heard.

During this out trip, it was evident that female and male campers worked together to complete daily living responsibilities. While involved in the expedition duties, campers seemed to find time to laugh and play with

one another. The difference between younger and older campers was unmistakable. The younger female and male campers enjoyed talking quietly and doing activities involving less energy expenditure. Meanwhile, the older girls and boys used their time to play hard and loud. The younger campers appeared less competitive than the older ones.

Gender Relations and Campers' Interactions

It was evident, as the camp progressed, that the female and male campers felt more comfortable spending rest times at the campsite talking with campers of the opposite sex. For instance, in the beginning, it was common for the campers to interact with others of the same sex in their own cabin during rest times. However, during the last two or three days of the camp, girls and boys seemed to spend more time with campers of similar age but opposite sex. During these mixed-sex encounters, the older female campers seemed to dominate and be at the centre of the interaction. The older boys did not appear to ignore or insult the girls, but rather they were genuine and followed the girls. As for the younger girls, they seemed subdued and did not resist much. For instance, when the whole group of campers were sitting by the campfire, the older girls moved around socializing with the group, talking loudly and teaching songs or reciting stories. However, the younger girls followed the conversations speaking only when given the opportunity.

Campers' interactions during meals. Episodes observed during the meals occurred in the lodge and around the campfire. In the lodge, campers generally sat with campers of the same sex, yet took the opportunity to

communicate with many other campers, including those of the opposite sex, at other tables. At the campfire meals, it was also apparent that campers easily and often spoke with others of the same and opposite sex. The interactions observed around the campfire appeared to change from the beginning to the end of the 5-day observation period. Earlier, the girls seemed less sociable and did not move around the group while around the morning campfire. But, on the third morning of the study, following a successful evening campfire, things seemed to change around the fire pit. Perhaps, the increase in the comfort level as a result of the evening activity carried over to the morning and allowed the girls to be more confident around the fire pit.

Campers' interactions during cleaning duties. The interactions occurring during the cleaning duties were observed at the cabins and the lodge. During the cleaning episodes, girls and boys seemed to work in a competitive atmosphere, where they challenged each other. The most competitive attitudes seemed to be present at the cabins, where girls and boys had the responsibility of keeping their own cabins and washrooms clean and tidy. At the lodge, perhaps because the cleaning was completed as a co-ed task, campers were observed complaining yet working together.

The way tasks were distributed at this camp seemed to challenge the traditional and sex-stereotypical division of labour. For instance, girls were observed performing heavy lifting of tables and chairs, cutting and piling wood as well as making fires, while the boys were seen cleaning and sweeping.

Campers' interactions during evening activities. The evening activities observed at the lodge and campfire reflected an improvement in gender relations. In the beginning, as seen in the Win, Loose or Draw activity, the female and male campers appeared unable to play a game together. Later, during the Casino Night, the campers showed that they could mingle with the opposite sex. Still later, when campers were observed at the campfire, they were involved in friendly interactions. This camp seemed to provide an environment where the campers could develop positive mixed-sex relations.

Campers' interactions during free time. The rest or "free" periods observed during the interactions contained all of the single-sex episodes and a few mixed-sex episodes. The single-sex interactions were observed at the campsite, while the mixed interactions were at the docks. During these episodes, the campers interactions differentiated. When the girls and boys were together at the campsite, they minded to themselves doing stereotypical female or male social activities. The girls chatted, while the boys played competitive games. During the episodes at the dock, the girls and boys seemed to enjoy interacting with members of the opposite sex.

During the five days of observation at this camp, the episodes appeared to reveal many interesting interactions displaying forms of equity. The number of positive mixed-sex interactions during the evenings events increased as the camp progressed. Evidence collected during the evening activities also supports the idea that the boys' and girls' relationships changed positively. For instance, in the beginning, the girls and boys tended to spend

their free time with others of the same sex, but as the camp progressed, campers appeared to enjoy mixed-sex interactions more often.

Campers' competitive and cooperative interactions. The difference between competitive and cooperative interactions was evident in the observations. In single-sex groups, the boys seemed to continue to seek out competitive activities during free time, while the girls were more inclined to socialize and be more cooperative. Interestingly, when the female and male campers met during free periods at the campsite, the competition between the sexes occurred. During the planned periods away from the cabin, like at the dock and evening campfires, the female and male campers were lead into a non-competitive situation and seemed to involved into friendly mixed-sex interactions.

Campers' interactions during the out trip. All of the campers seemed to be challenged, at different occasions during this study, social stigmas. The girls often lead many of the social activities, in that they spoke out concerning the consequences. But, as a whole the campers seemed to work as a team to accomplish tasks, rather than individually. During the campers out trip, this strong and supportive atmosphere was evident. It was obvious that during the out trip, campers worked as a team creating a unique camaraderie among the group. However, collectively within the groups, all campers were able to experience individual as well as group accomplishments, and thus be empowered by their positive outcomes.

Interviews with Campers

During the 5-day observation period, the 24 campers were interviewed in order to better understand their perceptions with regards to gender relations and gender equity in this outdoor education program. The interviews were done in small, single-sex groups of two to four campers of similar ages. The interviews (N=8) took place in informal settings such as the cafeteria, lodge, campsites, cabins, and outside picnic tables, during free time in the morning and afternoon. The length of the interviews was restricted by the camp schedule and all of the interviews lasted between 10 to 20 minutes.

The interviews captured the campers' perceptions regarding gender relations and gender equity in the context of this outdoor education centre. The interview guide (see Appendix B) included open-ended questions to elicit information on: (a) the campers' perspectives of the outdoor education centre's environment; (b) their experiences at the camp with regard to gender equitable or unequitable practices or perspectives at the camp; (c) their experiences and perspectives with respect to campers of the other sex and of co-ed participation in learning activities; and (d) their perceptions of the camp and whether it offered an environment free of gender stereotypes. All of the questions avoided terms such as gender equity or gender relations which would have been unclear to most 8 to 13 year olds. Rather, the researcher asked questions pertaining to the campers' experiences at the camp, with other campers, and with their counsellors. Also, it must be said at the outset that the time restriction (10 to 20 minutes) and the limited attention span of

the campers made it very complicated to probe for in-depth details regarding gender-related experiences.

Gender and the Campers' Reasons for Attending the Camp

All of the campers were eager to share their reasons for attending this outdoor education camp. Twelve of the campers explained that a friend or family member proposed the idea of enrolling in a summer camp. There did not seem to be any major difference between the girls and boys at this camp with regards to their reasons for attending the camp. It was evident through their testimonies that the campers were influenced by people close to them (e.g., family and friends) and publicity (brochures and prior visits) to take part in a camp. However, each of the campers seemed to believe that they would experience "fun time," with "neat" and "cool" activities. Consider, for example, a few of the male campers' statements:

I looked at the brochure and it looked pretty neat and I liked the sound of all the activities we were going to do.

I found a flyer and I checked it out and it looked cool.

My grandpa told me about this place and said how about going to this camp and it would be fun.

My sister came here and it sounded fun, so I wanted to try it.

My mom decided I should go to camp and she looked into different camps in the area and I looked at them and I chose to come to this one because it sounded fun.

Now consider the following young women's responses:

Because my aunt told me it was fun.

Because I wanted to try it out, cause it sounded fun and my friend [name] was also going to be coming.

I knew a girl who came here and she said she didn't like it, but we checked the brochure and came here to check it out. It looked neat.

Cause I like it last year. Last year I came because my brother and his friend were coming and so I decided to come too again this year.

A few campers mentioned that specific events that would take place at this camp enticed them into registering. Two female campers thought that the environmental aspect of the camp would provide an interesting learning experience and a broad base of new knowledge concerning the environment:

Well, it seemed interesting. I liked it because it was smaller than other camps and I liked that it has solar power and stuff.

My mom decided I should go to camp and she looked into different camps in the area, gave me a brochure, and I looked at them and chose to come to this one, cause it sounded fun and had environmental things to learn.

A veteran male camper supported the camp's commitment to learning and added, like most of the other campers, that this camp is also fun. He also explained that he was returning to see a female friend:

A few years ago, I thought this was a place to be baby sat, sort of, but I was able to learn new things at the camp and be able to do fun games and activities in the outdoors. It was obvious to see that all of the campers, girls and boys, wished to attend this camp because it had a lot of fun activities. I came this session cause a girl from the last year's camp was coming again.

Gender and the Campers' Learning Expectations

Many of the campers disclosed that they did not necessarily come to the camp expecting to "learn," but they basically wanted to do all the "stuff" in which they could not do on a regular basis in the city. The statements from the girls and boys demonstrated that most of the male and two female

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campers did not expect to learn anything. In some cases, it seems that "learning" was interpreted as not to include being physically educated (e.g., learning kayaking, wilderness camping, etc.). It was evident that the boys who did not anticipate learning, did, however, expect to participate in a variety of activities. Consider, the following statements from a number of boys at this camp:

I don't want to learn, I want to feel what it is like to be wilderness camping.

Basically, I want to go fishing and all the stuff I can't do in the city.

I want to go swimming and play all of the water activities, cause it is a private lake and you can do what you want.

I don't want to learn anything, I just want to have fun.

My favourite activities are the night games. I don't really want to learn anything, I just want to have fun.

I thought we could rest, relax, do water activities and the stuff they said in the brochure. I don't think I will learn anything.

I read it [brochure], and I got an idea of what we would do here and I liked that I would be swimming and being in the water.

In contrast, a majority of the girls and three boys hoped they could learn something. These young campers explained that they wanted to learn outdoor education activities such as survival techniques, kayaking, and ecology. Witness the following excerpts from interviews with the female campers:

I want to learn all about nature, and look at stars and forests.

I expect to learn survival in the bush.

Well, I expect to learn things about nature that I have never learned.

I expected to do water activities, and learn how to kayak.

I want to learn what it feels like to be in the wilderness camping out.

I want to learn a lot about nature things: like what are the stars and the trees, what is good, bad for you in the outdoors. Little nature things.

Well, in the brochure it said that we would get to go kayaking, canoeing and sailing, and also I expect to learn a lot about the wilderness and how to make shelters and get clean water if you're in the wilderness; you have to filter it through stuff.

Similarly, the boys expressed the view that they wished to learn a variety of wilderness survival techniques, perform nature crafts, and play a variety of water and land activities. Consider these boys' statements with regards to learning expectations:

Natural stuff, like about trees and the wilderness, stuff about lakes and swamps and also how to make crafts from the wilderness.

I just want to have fun and learn more about nature.

I want to learn how to kayak and do archery.

Gender Differences with Regards to What Campers Learned

When the campers were questioned with regards to what they have "learned" at the camp, a variety of responses were provided by campers. There appeared to be a difference between the girls and the boys with regards to what they had learned. In general, the girls mentioned learning a variety of outdoor survival techniques and performing different types of craft activities. Consider the following young female campers' explanations of what they have learned:

I learned how to make stuff out of nature and make different animal crafts.

I've learned how to live with nature.

I've learned how it would feel if I did not have anything to live with, like the stuff in the city.

I've learned how to fish and release them and un-hook them. I've learned that the camp is fun and all of its experiences with nature are good.

I learned candle making and kayaking and that my brother was wrong about some things. He said all the kayak paddles at [name of camp] were twisted but they are not, they are flat paddles here.

Cleaning toilets, hahahaha! No really though, I learned something new, how to build one of those boomerang things, called um... You tie the thing around, oh oh oh, they are called something that I can't remember.

Oh, oh, oh. We learned how to make dream catchers, I didn't finish mine, I stuck it with one of the instructors to finish for me.

In contrast, since most of the boys had previously mentioned they did not come to the camp to learn, they discussed performing specific activities (archery, fishing, predator pray, kick the can, and swimming), rather than learning anything. The boys expressed interest in competitive or traditionally male activities. Only two boys demonstrated a greater interest for non-competitive activities, like bracelet making and free swimming activities. Now, witness the following statements from the male campers with regards to what they have "done," rather than learned, at this camp:

Water activities, especially I like the free swimming, but I don't like it when we have to swim fast, cause I am not a really good swimmer.

Bracelets, swimming and water stuff.

Archery and everything else.

I liked doing archery, fishing, kayaking and canoeing.

We did everything, but more specifically, kick the can, capture the flag and predator pray.

We went fishing, hiking, playing night games, predator pray, and stuff like that.

Gender and Preferred Activities or Events

A variety of responses were presented by the campers when they were asked about the best event or occurrence at the camp. A pattern surfaced, illustrating that the campers enjoyed various planned activities. Generally, the girls favoured water activities (e.g., swimming, canoeing), while the boys valued making new friends, performing outdoor education games (e.g., kick the can, capture the flag), and going on a variety of excursions (e.g., out trip, astronomy). Witness the discussion between two boys about their greatest time during an out trip to another lake:

Camper A: The best thing that happened this week was the out trip because we could swim and tip canoes.

Camper B: Me too, I like the out trip because I like fishing, canoeing and camping in the tents.

Another group of boys explained that the highlight of the camp was playing ecological and environmental night activities. For instance, some of them offered the following statements:

I like playing kick the can.

I liked night games too, like capture the flag.

Everything is really cool, but astronomy I think I liked it the most. We walked in the bush and looked in a telescope and watched the meteor shower from the dock. It was really cool.

Witness the following statements from a group of boys who agreed that the friendships acquired, with both the young women and men during this camp, were the best things they had experienced at camp:

The best things were that I met a lot of friends and had fun with everyone at the camp and everyone here is my friend.

Making friends. Everyone here is also my friend. Boys and girls.

Everything is good here. I have lots of new friends, the whole camp is my friend.

In contrast, a majority of the girls felt that swimming and doing water activities were the best part of the camp. Only one female camper mentioned that she did not like going in the water because she had been sick all week. Consider the following statements from some of the girls:

I like it in the water, especially cause the weather has been good.

I like the water activities. They are always loud and I like going to them.

I like swimming activities and going canoeing and tipping canoes.

Two female campers explained that the best thing about the camp was that they could choose the activity that they preferred doing. It was evident that these two girls appreciated having the responsibility of their own time management. Consider for example, these girls' statements:

I like that sometimes when you are not feeling well that you can just go to a quiet activity like reading, cause every day they have a quiet activity.

Some people like to swim everyday, but I like to mix it up everyday and do different things, a bit of everything, land and water activities, so I like that we can pick swimming, canoeing, crafts or anything.

Gender and Worst Activities or Events

A question pertaining to the worst event or worst thing that occurred during the stay at the camp produced a variety of responses from the campers. Five (two girls and three boys) out of 24 campers interviewed could not recollect anything in particular. The other campers offered a variety of answers to describe the worst things that happened to them during their stay at this camp. In general, girls' worst memories were related to not feeling competent or not being able to participate fully in a camp activity. For instance, witness the following statements from young women campers:

It happened today. It was dream catchers, because when I put it together, it fell apart.

The food, the food, the food. But other than that, the mosquitoes, the dream things. We got kicked out of it for asking to go to the washroom We had to massage hands and go to sleep.

I don't know, the worst activity was um, well, it was the obstacle course activity we did in the water. It was like playing games in the water. And it was not fun because we had to wear a big fat life jacket. It was like dragging behind, and you're like, "I can't move."

The worst thing that happened to me was when I cut myself when I was playing with the boys. And one boy tripped another boy and he fell on me and I got hurt.

Probably when I was sick and I could not participate in the activities.

In contrast, six of the boys mentioned that their worst memories derived from an illness, an injury due to a fall or an insect bite. For example, here are a few of the boys' recollections:

Getting hurt; I walked on a plank and fell and hurt my leg.

Stung by a wasp. I was walking on a trail and I walked into a nest and I did not see it and a wasp went into my nose and stung me.

The swamp walk was not fun because I got stung by a wasp.

Berry picking, cause it's too hot and cause you have to walk far away and you get tired, hot and sore.

One of the younger boys claimed that the girls were rarely get injured, because they did not take the same risks as boys did:

Girls don't often get hurt, because the girls don't often participate in any of the physical activities. And, they don't walk on the planks [unrestricted area], they don't do anything on the edge.

Similarly, one of the young female campers mentioned that:

The boys are very hyper and the girls are more relaxed.

Gender and the Campers' Relationships with their Counsellors

There were five female and five male counsellors between 17 and 23 years of age. Most of the campers, boys and girls, agreed that they liked the counsellors at this camp. During the interviews, it was apparent that all of the girls and some of the boys believed their instructors were good. A few of the older male campers expressed concern over the way counsellors treated them and the other campers. However, a few girls and boys did perceive their counsellors as helpful leaders who planned activities and carried out safety procedures. In general, most of the campers felt that their counsellors were very good and that they dealt with camp situations exceptionally. Witness these girls' reasons for liking their counsellors:

Yes, because they treat us nice.

Yes, they are pretty nice.

The counsellors here are really fun, they are nice. They treat us really good.

They are all different. My counsellors are pretty nice. They make jokes about how slow we move in the morning. And then they bug us about not getting ready in time for starting the fire.

Now, consider these boys' responses:

Yes, I like the instructors because they treat us nice. If you're sick, homesick, they talk to you and make you feel better.

When I'm cold, they let me have their jacket and let me eat before them. They help with everything if you're hurt, they help you.

Yes, they are good. They are nice and they don't tease you. Instructors at other camps give, tell you that you have privileges and then they take them away.

I like all of the instructors. When you ask for something even if you don't say please, they'll give it to you.

Now, witness the following statements in which boys appear not to like their counsellors all that much:

Most of them, some of them we do not like.

The ones that treat us good, treat us really good and they treat us the same. The ones that you know are awesome, but the ones you don't know are not always nice.

Well, most are good, but some are plain old jerks.

They are pretty much OK, but some could be better.

Gender and the Campers' Preference for Female or Male Counsellors

When the campers were questioned about whether they preferred being lead by a female or male counsellor, very distinct answers arose between the two sexes. In general, girls and boys admitted that they did not mind being taught by either a female or male counsellor. However, female campers observed differences between female and male counsellors. They perceived the female counsellors as being "cooler," "calmer," and "not as strict," and

thus measured differently than the "fun," "jumpy," and "more strict" male counsellors. All of the boys explained that they did not really care if they were lead by a female or male instructor. For example, here are a few of the boys' statements:

I don't really care, as long as they are fun, and all the instructors here are fun.
 It doesn't matter, because they treat us the same.
 No, not really, I think they are both good.
 I think one girl is the "coolest," but everyone is really fun. It doesn't matter who leads the activity, they all treat us the same.

The female campers also agreed that both female and male counsellors would be just fine, but they did explain further the differences between them.

Witness these accounts:

I guess it really does not matter. I like the boys because they are really fun, and I like the girls because they are not as strict, and the boys are more demanding.

I think sometimes the guy instructors are different than the girls because the girls are more calmer and the guys are more jumpy and "let's do it."

It really doesn't matter, but the girls are cooler and the boys are funnier. But it doesn't matter who leads us.

It depends on what counsellor, because some girls are good and some boys are good.

I like kind of both, cause I like a girl as a counsellor sometimes and I like boys as instructors too.

Gender and the Campers' Perceptions of their Treatment by Counsellors

The campers were asked whether their instructors encouraged girls and boys in the same way. There was a general consensus among all of the boys on the idea that everyone, girls and boys, received equal treatment from the counsellors. The view of the female campers, especially the older ones, was

that the counsellors treated the girls and boys differently. The older girls also explained that the counsellors interacted differently with them when they were at their campsites as compared to during activities. As for the younger girls, they suggested that the boys required greater amounts of encouragement and attention but rather in the form of authority. First, witness the boys' statements suggesting the counsellors treat campers equally:

The girls and boys are treated the same and encouraged the same amount.

They treat us both the same amount and there is no favourites.

They talk to all of us and treat us good.

I have not noticed any differences, they treat us all the same.

If you are on their bad side they might not talk to you as much, but if you are good, they talk to you more. It does not depend if you are a girl or a boy.

They talk to both the same amount, considering the weakness and strength of the person at whatever activity they are doing.

I like the small groups here cause there is more one on one. So they get to talk to boys and girls when they need help.

They treat them the same as the boys. The girls, when we were collecting wood today, the girls said they were collecting wood chips for the bathroom and we were collecting logs for the fire, and I would rather have done wood chip collecting. But, the instructors said: "everyone do a bit of both and the next time we will do it again that way."

Even though the boys believed the counsellors treated the campers equally, the girls strongly believed there were differences. Consider, for example, some older female campers' responses:

Camper #1: I like the girls better, because well, I find them easier to talk to.

Camper #2: Yeah!

Camper #3: Girls, because they know how I feel.

Now, witness this girl's response:

I think one male instructor [name of instructor] talks more to the boys. But we shouldn't talk, cause I guess we don't talk to him at all.

Some of older female campers were asked: "What do you think about the girl instructors and guy instructors, do they treat you different?" The following discussion ensued:

Camper #1: Kind of.

Camper #2: Yeah!

Camper #3: Well, yeah!

[Interviewer: How do the girls treat you?]

Camper #2: Well more like equals kind of. Well, I think it is easier for them to treat us as equals. The guy campers treat us like equals too. But, [male instructor A], like he is a show off. And [male instructor B], in the morning, he goes; "girls get up," and he goes right in you face: "KNOCK, KNOCK, KNOCK" (ha ha ha).... And with the boys he goes: "it is time to get up" (with a lower voice).

[Interviewer: Do you think the instructors treat the boys and girls the same?]

Camper #3: It is actually a bit different. When we are at the cabins it is different but when they teach us, they treat us the same.

Camper #2: Yes.

Camper #1: Yes.

A discussion with three younger female campers provided an insightful view of how they perceived instructors at this camp. Consider the following interaction:

Camper #1: The instructors don't push you to do anything. They let you do and learn what you want to, so I guess they encourage us all to do our best. They encourage the boys and girls the same.

Camper #2: I think that they encourage the boys a little bit more than the girls.

Camper #1: I don't think so.

Camper #3: I think so. It is because the boys are more demanding, so the instructors encourage them more to do all the activities to burn their energy so that they are not as demanding.

Camper #1: Maybe.

However, one older girl reported that equity was present during activities.

Consider her statement:

When we are doing clay things and stuff, they treat the boys and girls the same, by like saying "everyone can make whatever they want," instead of saying "the boys can do robots and the girls can do little hearts and stars and stuff."

Gender and the Campers' Participation in Co-ed Activities

When the question arose concerning whether the activities were performed by boys and girls together, all of the girls and boys answered positively, but a few boys had interesting comments to follow their answer. All of the girls agreed with a simple "yes" answer, while the boys' testimonies provided some understanding as to why they were pleased with the coed character of the activities. In general, the boys expressed that they valued the young women campers' talents in both crafts and physical activities. The boys seemed to agree that the girls' presence added fun and excitement to all of the activities at the camp. Consider, the following statements:

Most of the time, depending on what the activity is. Some girls like some activities and other girls like different ones. The same goes for the boys.

The girls make the camp fun, because they are all very nice.

Also, witness a group of boys together recalling why they enjoy participating in activities with the female campers:

Camper #1: Yes, we do all the activities with girls and I like working with them.

Camper #2: Well, in bracelet making they help us; and at the water, some girls are good canoers and kayakers.

Camper #3: They are very good at bracelet making and crafts, and at the water, the boys and girls help each other.

Throughout the questioning with regards to campers' participation in co-ed activities, it seemed evident that the girls and boys at this camp viewed their mixed sex relationships differently. The male campers appeared more positive about their mixed interactions, than did the female campers. The boys felt that co-ed activities were "fun", and they believed that camp would "suck" without the participation of female campers. Witness the boys statements which depict positive interactions with the girls at this camp:

It is more fun with the girls.

It would suck without girls, because they are fun and funny.

I do not really mind. It is quite fun with them.

Yes, because it adds more fun to the activity itself. Cause I don't know how to explain it but when it is all guys, you know you don't have any worries, but when there is girls you don't want to act like a goof in from of them.

Yes it is good. But you get to know guys better because girls always hang out together and the girls do not hang out with the boys. This is because we don't share cabins with girls and we see guys more often.

The older female campers remarked that they enjoyed working with the boys, but their descriptions of their encounters with the boys were ambiguous.

For instance, as the interviews progressed, the girls mentioned some positive and negative elements of their participation with boys. Consider, the older girls' opinions:

Yes, they are not bad. They are the same as the boys at school. They are fun. We talk sometimes.

Sometimes the boys are obnoxious and whiny and get on our nerves, but it is not really that bad, we do skits with them.

It is OK.

Yes, it is OK, but it depends on what we are doing, like activities are good.

It is not like they are sexist pigs or anything, and they include the girls and whenever we go into their cabin, which is rare, to look at their things; they don't go "UHUHUUHHAHAHAHAH." They just say: "Come on in." They have no problem letting us go in their cabin, they are really nice.

As for the younger female campers, they revealed that they were not very impressed during interactions with campers of the opposite sex. They seemed to feel that some of the boys were loud, annoying and cruel. Consider the explanations of these younger girls:

They are very disgusting and when we were doing archery, they put bugs on the end of their arrows and shot them at the board.

Sometimes they are annoying. At rest time, they are loud and they sing crazy songs and camp songs, and we are sick of them.

No, not really. They are very loud and annoying; they bug us when we are trying to get changed. They are not exactly perfect, but the boy counsellors are cool.

These three young girls testified to disliking working and playing with boys because of their inappropriate behaviour. One boy validated these campers' claims and added deeper insight:

The girls treat us good, but the first night we were bad, we all said: "Hey you stupid." Now we have learned to be friends with them instead of having word battles.

When the campers were asked whether or not they would rather participate in single-sex activities, many differences were noted between the

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girls and boys as well as between the younger and older female campers. It was evident that the girls and boys at this camp held different views with regards to the amount of activities in which they wished to participate in with campers of the opposite sex. The younger female campers did not seem to feel comfortable participating with the boys. As for the older girls, only one expressed the idea that girls should be able to do certain activities without the boys, while the others mentioned that they enjoyed being with the boys, especially during free time. The younger female campers expressed little enjoyment when doing certain activities with the boys. For example, consider the following interaction between younger girls:

Camper #1: No, I don't like working with them.

Campers #2: No, me too.

[Interviewer: Are you sure?]

Camper #3: Well, sometimes they get really over reactive.

[Interviewer: Are there any times you like working with the boys?]

Camper #1: Well, sometimes when we are doing quiet activities like beading or something, and some come and they concentrate on the activity.

[Interviewer: What about activities in the water?]

Camper #1: ...or like running? You know, I think that when you ask if they enjoy working with us, they will say no too.

[Interviewer: Why?]

Camper #2: Cause we keep teasing them.

An older girl also explained that she felt that time without the boys would be a positive change in the camp:

It would be nice to have just a group with girls, even for a few hours.

In comparison, most of the older girls explained that they really enjoyed being with the boys, especially during their free time:

At lunch hour we do funny plays together and stuff. It is like we use different peoples' arms and legs and we make up married or working or funny stuff. It is fun and we really laugh a lot.

Well, I don't like doing any of the planned stuff, but at lunch hour we do funny plays together and stuff. It is fun and we really laugh a lot.

I like inviting them onto our deck to show them plays and everything.

The boys' point of view was quite different from the girls'. The boys felt that they would rather participate in the activities as a whole group, with boys and girls together. Witness these young boys' statements:

I like having the girls with us for all games. They are good at everything.

It would suck without girls because they are fun and funny.

I don't care who we are with, as long as the people I'm with are nice.

I don't care either. I'm used to playing with girls because at my school half are girls in my class. So, I am used to playing with girls and most of them are pretty athletic. The girls here are the same and are funny and fun to play with.

I think I like having the girls here.

Gender Relations among Campers

During the interviews, all campers were asked questions about the campers of the opposite sex. With respect to the boys, most of them perceived the girls as equal them. But, among some male campers, evidence of different levels of proficiency between girls and boys were also noticed. For instance, one boy mentioned that the girls were stronger athletically in water activities

(e.g., swimming), while another boy noted that the girls were not as competent in certain activities (e.g., camouflage games). Consider some of the boys' responses to the question, "Are the girls or boys better at some things?":

I think it is an even mix, girls are good at some things, boys too are good at some. Some guys are good swimmers and so are some girls. Many guys are good at camouflaging, but I don't know about the girls, I've never really noticed.

The majority of the girls are really faster swimmers than a lot of the guys. I think girls are good at talking too (laughing).

Consider this boy's statement depicting the girls as more proficient and stronger athletically in swimming skills:

The majority of the girls are really fast swimmers, faster than a lot of the guys.

In contrast, one boy acknowledged that the female campers were not as proficient as boys in certain activities:

The girls are not very good at night activities, because when we have to hide in the bush and stuff, the girls are too giddy, and the boys are not noisy and we hide quietly.

All of the boys agreed that the girls at this camp were "different," and "more carefree" than at school. Witness, the following responses from the boys with respect to the question, "Are the girls different at camp compared to other places?":

Yes, the girls are more carefree here.

Yes, I think the girls like the guys here.

Girls at school are different. The girls here are fun.

If you like a girl at school, they say: "Ah, ha!" But here they don't.

Yes, very much so! Well, my teacher is an old nag and she only likes and her favourites ones are only the girls. And here it is better because the girls and guys have fun together.

Here, the girls do not treat you like: um . . . Like at school, most of the time they are more . . . They know what you are like and stuff. Here they are good, they don't know you much and you have not really ticked them off and stuff.

Now, consider the younger girls' responses to the question, "Are the boys different from the girls?":

Camper #1: Yes very. The boys are hyper and the girls are more relaxed.

Camper #3: Well, no, not all the boys are jumpy. Some of them are not hyper, like [name of boy]. He is calm and he tries to calm the other boys down.

Camper #2: Sometimes when they go to the washroom, they come here instead and tease us.

[Interviewer: When you do activities with the boys, do you expect them to do certain things differently?]

Camper #2: No.

Camper #1: Yes, like sometimes when we swim, some of the boys are at lower levels than us and we do not expect them to dive down deep like us.

[Interviewer: Do the boys expect the girls to do things differently?]

Camper #3: No.

Camper #1: Yes. They expect that we are not as good swimmers as them even though we are better swimmers than them.

During an interview with a group of older female camper, it was suggested that the boys did not perform at high skill levels. Witness this interaction:

Camper #1: No, they practically suck at everything. Haha! But, they were better at making bird houses and stuff like that.

Camper #2: No, one guy put the side on backwards.

[Interviewer: Are there some other things that the boys are not good at or that they are good at?]

Camper #2: Bird houses and stuff, they can't do very good.

Camper #3: They are really good at joking and drawing.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

This chapter is divided into two main sections. In the first section, results from the qualitative analysis of the observational data are discussed and compared to those of previous studies. The second section presents a discussion of the results emerging from the content analysis of the interview transcripts, in light of the existing literature.

Discussion of the Observations

In this study, mixed-sex episodes were recorded four times more often than single sex episodes. This result may be explained by the fact that mixed-sex interactions were built into the program through meals, evening activities at the campfire and dock, as well as during an out trip expedition. It is important to note that although there were many opportunities for campers to get involved in single-sex interactions within co-ed setting (e.g., smaller single-sex groupings being formed during larger mixed-sex activities such as eating at the lodge), campers were still seen interacting regularly with campers of the opposite sex. An interesting facet of the outdoor education camp was that campers had the opportunity to choose their own activities, and thus, to a certain extent, the types of individuals with whom they wished to participate in the activities. This suggests that, in part, campers chose to interact and participate with campers of the opposite sex. In addition, mixed-

sex episodes were observed in almost all settings and this may explain the large ratio of mixed-sex to single-sex recorded episodes. This is in itself a progressive finding that suggests that traditional gender stereotypes were discarded, at least partly, so that boys felt comfortable enough to participate in art and craft activities, and girls, in vigorous physical activities. It is possible that the outdoor education camp provided an atmosphere such that campers felt comfortable as well as confident to interact with campers of the opposite sex. In fact, Humberstone (1992) has observed that the holistic approach to teaching adopted by many outdoor education programs is designed to empower campers and to help them gain confidence. Anderson and Frison (1992), Bunting (1989), Humberstone (1986, 1987, 1992, 1993, 1995), McAvoy and Dustin (1986), and Moore (1986) have all agreed that outdoor education experiences can enhance certain personality characteristics, such as self-confidence and willingness to take risks.

With only a few exceptions, all of the single-sex episodes were observed during free time at the campsites. This result is surely a consequence of the cabins' layout. Each girl and boy resided in cabins accompanied by other campers of the same sex. Since the cabins were used during free time to rest and change, it is understandable that the single-sex episodes were exclusive to the campsite. However, toward the end of the outdoor education camp, older campers remained at the edge of their cabin during free time and interacted more with campers of the opposite sex. They appeared more confident to exchange, on a more friendly basis, with those of the opposite sex. In contrast,

the younger campers were reluctant to interact with those of the opposite sex during free periods, therefore they mainly associated with campers of the same sex. For them, the cabins remained a refuge away from campers of the opposite sex all the way until the end of the camp.

The young women and young men used free time differently while at the outdoor education camp. The boys maintained activity levels higher than those of the girls and kept themselves entertained by playing competitive games. In contrast, the girls engaged in more sedentary and non-competitive activities. The more carefree attitude of the boys and the less energetic behaviour of the girls may possibly be due to the way in which they have respectively been socialized before coming to the outdoor education camp. For instance, Borys, Daniels, Dallaire and Watkinson (1990) have shown the existence of different socialization processes, as well as inequality of access and opportunity for girls to develop the same physical and sporting skills as boys in our society. Clark (1994) and Varpalotai (1991) have also commented on the physical education and sport milieus with respect to the lack of accessibility to programs and facilities that would facilitate girls' and young women's participation in physical activities.

A majority of the young girls appeared to favour non-competitive activities and forms of personal relations, while a majority of the young men appeared to favour competitive activities and forms of personal relations. For example, girls appeared to prefer swimming, crafts, and during free time, chatting, whereas boys rather preferred activities such as predator prey, during

free time, and board games. Again, earlier socialization and gender specific barriers to involvement in physical activity may explain in part why non-competitive activities were preferred by young women and competitive activities, by young men. These results are very similar to those found by Dallaire and Rail (1996) as well as Flintoff (1990, 1991) and Griffin (1989, 1991).

Younger campers interacted less with campers of the opposite sex than older campers. Throughout the study, younger campers interacted mainly with those of the same sex while at their campsites. As the camp progressed, however, younger campers started to engage in cooperative forms of interactions with campers of the opposite sex, while older campers started to engaged in more competitive forms of interactions with those of the opposite sex. As for older girls and boys, they mixed quite frequently during free time. Late in the study, during an out trip, the younger campers appeared more comfortable interacting with campers of the opposite sex. They paddled canoes, paired with other campers of the opposite sex, and talked about their new surroundings. Meanwhile, the older campers challenged each other during a canoe race. It was evident by the end of the camp that the majority of the campers, young and old, engaged in interactions and interpersonal relations with those of the opposite sex. It is possible that, as Anderson and Frison (1992) have found, properly sequencing outdoor activities helped campers to develop confidence, a sense of trust in group members, and an increased ability to express their own opinions.

As the camp progressed, a majority of the young women showed signs of increased self-confidence in outdoor camp activities and in interpersonal relations with campers of the opposite sex. For example, at the start of the study, girls maintained distance from the fire. They did not cook their meals over the open fire nor attempt to start a fire. At the end of the study, however, they demonstrated greater levels of confidence and competence in the presence of the fire. Other examples of the girls' heightened levels of confidence were during evening activities when they were seen interacting more freely with campers of the opposite sex. During evening campfires, the girls told jokes and stories, and sang songs in front of the group. They also demonstrated their improved self-confidence during the question period of a star gazing evening. The more reserved, and less active behaviour of the girls in the beginning may have been the result of prior socialization at home or at school. It is possible that the heightened self-confidence demonstrated by the girls toward the end of the camp was a result of the learning opportunities, the opportunities to become more competent, the opportunities to practice and perform new skills and to interact with campers of the opposite sex. Providing girls with more opportunities to perform and develop motor competencies has been linked with increased self-confidence and positive feelings about their own physical performance by Borys, Daniels, Dallaire and Watkinson (1990). Lirgg and Feltz (1989) have also agreed that such opportunities are crucial if we are to encourage and empower girls and young women within a good learning environment. Humberstone (1993, 1995) has

similarly explained that if outdoor education camps can establish a comfortable atmosphere for girls to attempt numerous "new" activities, they will develop confidence in themselves and their abilities and this in turn, will empower them.

Young women and young men were observed challenging traditional gender stereotypical behaviours and engaging in positive gender relations. Girls and boys performed certain tasks at the outdoor education camp, and those tasks challenged the traditional and stereotypical division of labour. For instance, girls started fires, cut wood and lifted tables, while boys cooked bannock, cleaned washrooms and swept floors. The challenge to conventional stereotypes was further observed during a later out trip expedition. During the set up of their new campsite, girls and boys shared duties which society traditionally deems feminine (e.g., cooking) or masculine (e.g., cutting and collecting wood). Similar to Humberstone's (1993, 1995) reports, the campers' display of teamwork constituted a challenge to sex-stereotypical behaviours and pointed to the possibility of an environment free of gender stereotypes.

Discussion of the Interviews

There were no gender differences in the campers' reasons for attending the outdoor education camp. All of the campers mentioned that their main reason for coming to the camp was that they expected to have "fun." This result may be partly explained by the fact that some of the older campers had been at this camp before and had experienced fun in the past. Additionally, it

may be that outdoor activities, camping, physical activities, and new friendships are integral elements of the camp experience. Dallaire and Rail (1996) as well as Macdonald (1989b) have similarly found that girls and boys "like" physical education mostly because of its "fun" component.

Gender differences were evident with regards to the campers' learning expectations. A majority of the girls at the outdoor education camp expected to have opportunities to learn, while a majority of the boys did not expect to learn anything. It is interesting to note that the activities in which the girls expected to learn something included traditionally stereotypical feminine activities (e.g., arts and crafts), as well as traditionally masculine activities but of a non-competitive nature (e.g., survival techniques, kayaking, canoeing, etc.). As for the boys, they expected to "do" traditionally masculine activities (e.g., fishing, archery, predator pray, etc.), but did not expect to "learn." Generally, boys expressed greater interests in the more physically demanding, competitive and "on-the-edge" activities, while girls were interested in participating in more cooperative types of activities and events. The gender differences may be explained in part by the fact that boys are generally encouraged from an early age to seek and strive for competence in physically demanding activities. In contrast, young women are often discouraged from vigorous and daring physical activities. Borys, Daniels, Dallaire and Watkinson (1990), Clark (1994), Fernandez-Balboa (1993), Hendry (1986), as well as Varpalotai (1991) have all shown that even today, youths' receive different levels of encouragement and opportunities depending on sex; in

turn, they learn and reproduce traditional gender roles and perspectives. Learning expectations on the part of the boys at the camp may have been absent since activities like kayaking and canoeing may have been activities to which they had been exposed or in which they had already taken part. Perhaps because of the lack of exposure to and lack of opportunities for such activities, girls felt as though they had much to learn.

There were gender differences in what the campers perceived to have learned at the camp. The girls mentioned that they learned outdoor sports (e.g., kayaking, canoeing) and nature or survival activities (e.g., crafts, wilderness camping). In contrast, boys did not answer this question and rather spoke of the activities they had "done" at the camp. This difference may be explained by the fact that traditionally, girls have not been encouraged to participate in vigorous outdoor activities. In fact, Borys, Daniels, Dallaire and Watkinson (1990), Clark (1994), Fernandez-Balboa (1993), Hendry, (1986), as well as Varpalotai (1991) have all found that in general girls and young women receive fewer opportunities than boys and young men to engage in physical activities. Perhaps the outdoor education camp offered a comfortable and less threatening learning environment that empowered the young women to feel confident in learning new skills. As for the boys, they felt that they had not necessary learned anything new. One possible explanation to this may be that boys may have had prior experiences in the activities. Many researchers and physical education practitioners (Borys, Daniels, Dallaire & Watkinson, 1990; Clark, 1994; Fernandez-Balboa, 1993; Hendry, 1986;

Varpalotai, 1991) have indeed suggested that many physical education programs are a male preserve where boys are encouraged to do and learn new activities and where girls and young women do not have the similar encouragement or opportunity.

Gender differences were evident from the campers' testimonies of their preferred activities. The girls enjoyed performing water activities and having a choice of activities. Some boys seemed to like the non-competitive aspect of the camp, making friends and astronomy, while a majority of the boys enjoyed more competitive, physically demanding and traditionally male activities (e.g., capture the flag, survival). Dallaire and Rail (1996) reported similarly that girls and boys enjoy participating in different types of activities. The fact that these gender differences were evident at this camp may be explained by the campers' prior experiences and opportunities. Generally, girls are encouraged to participate in less vigorous and more cooperative activities, while boys are often rather encouraged to participate in more competitive, traditionally male activities (Borys, Daniels, Dallaire & Watkinson, 1990; Clark, 1994; Fernandez-Balboa, 1993; Varpalotai, 1991).

The worst memories for a majority of the young women were linked to feelings of failure and incompetence during an activity, whereas a majority of the young men spoke of injuries as their worst memories. A majority of the girls declared that their worst memory occurred during circumstances where they felt incompetent, like not succeeding in an obstacle course, or not being able to correctly complete a craft. It is possible that these feelings of

incompetence are due to a lack of self-esteem and self-confidence. In fact, a number of researchers and physical education practitioners (Borys, Daniels, Dallaire & Watkinson, 1990; Browne, 1988, 1992; Fernandez-Balboa, 1993; Hendry, 1986; Macdonald, 1989a, 1989b) have argued that girls often have low self-esteem and self-confidence while participating in physical education classes. Anderson and Frison (1992), Bunting (1989), Ewart (1986), Ford (1989), Jensen and Briggs Young (1981), Knapp (1989), Latess (1986), McAvoy and Dustin (1986), Moore (1986), and Nichols (1989) have all suggested that outdoor education programs can improve young women's self-concept, self-confidence, as well as group cohesion, but the length of stay at the camp may be an important factor to consider. In contrast, a majority of the boys mentioned an injury as their worst memory. It may be that young men learn from an early age that they must be competent and succeed in their activities. In such a context, injuries are perceived very negatively since they not only bring pain, they are also perceived as factors that slow them down and lead them to an unsuccessful performance. Interestingly, girls mentioned "internal" factors linked to their lack of competence, while for boys the external nature of the factor allows them not to lose face nor question their own competency.

A majority of the young women and young men liked their counsellors. The campers' main reason for liking their counsellors was because they perceived them as being "nice." Humberstone (1993, 1995) has suggested that many outdoor educators teach small, non-authoritarian, child-centred classes.

Since the counsellors at the outdoor education camp seemed to follow such an approach, it is possible that the campers received encouragement and attention, and thus felt positive about their counsellors. In contrast, Fernandez-Balboa (1993) has suggested that the teacher-student relationship in a physical education class often displays a hierarchy of power. It is possible that the campers and counsellors at this camp did not follow this traditional model of power relationship and approached outdoor learning in a more sensitive manner.

The young women and young men mentioned that campers of both sexes were treated equally by their counsellors but young women specified a greater openness toward female counsellors. Previously, physical education specialists (Browne, 1988, 1992; Fernandez-Balboa, 1993) have suggested that within physical education, girls and boys are treated differently by their instructors. However, similar to Humberstone's (1995) report, this outdoor education camp provided a high counsellor to camper ratio, which seemed to guarantee all participants a certain amount of attention. It is also possible that the counsellors equally encouraged and motivated girls and boys throughout the camp. The girls at the outdoor education camp expressed that they felt it much easier to have a conversation with female instructors. The idea of an older, same-sex companion with great expertise in the outdoors, a kind of role model, may have created a certain level of reassurance and enthusiasm on the part of some campers, especially the girls. Borys, Daniels, Dallaire, and Watkinson (1990), Lirgg and Feltz (1989), and Scraton (1993) have suggested

that in order for girls and young women to experience gender equity, female role models need to be provided throughout the physical education program.

Mixed-sex relationships were perceived differently: young men were more positive about these relationships, while young women were less positive. Young women and young men said that they enjoyed being with campers of the opposite sex. However, girls identified some of the boys' negative characteristics and stated, similar to what Macdonald (1989b) reported, that in certain cases, they would rather be without boys. Also, the older girls liked being with the boys mainly during free time and non-competitive activities. As for the younger campers, they felt more at ease with others of the same sex. The boys mentioned that the camp was "fun" because of the girls. From the boys' testimonies, it appeared that the camp environment had few if any negative consequences for liking, and being with girls. Contrary to the school atmosphere, the camp atmosphere was such that some boys said that they felt comfortable interacting with girls at the camp. This result may also be partly due to the gender of the interviewer. It is possible that had the boys been questioned by a male interviewer, different accounts of the girls and coed activities would have emerged.

Not all, but a majority of the young men felt that girls and boys were equal in terms of competency levels in the outdoor education activities. In general, the boys perceived young women at the outdoor education camp as equally skilled as them. This evidence challenges the stereotypical view that boys consider girls not as competent in physical skills as boys. This result may

be explained by the nature of the camp. Many outdoor education professionals (Anderson & Frison, 1992; Bunting, 1989; Ewart, 1986; Ford, 1989; Jenson & Briggs Young, 1981; Knapp, 1989; Latess 1986; McAvoy & Dustin, 1986; Moore, 1986; and Nichols, 1989) have discussed the positive social qualities that can be developed between participants during outdoor experiences, and Humberstone (1986, 1987, 1990, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995) has suggested that this development of positive relations between girls and boys challenges socially oppressive gender stereotypes. Interestingly, a few boys did mention that girls were only competent in some things and still others mentioned instances where girls are not as skilled as boys. Perhaps, these traditional stereotypical views held by some of the boys were previously learned or unsuccessfully un-learned during the camp. It is also possible that in the presence of a male interviewer more of the boys would have offered similar conventional attitudes depicting the young women as less competent than the young men.

Young women and men were willing to challenge traditional stereotypical gender roles. It was clear that the girls at the outdoor education camp enjoyed performing activities that involved strength and power. The fact that, traditionally, girls have not often been seen performing these types of activities (as shown by Borys, Daniels, Dallaire & Watkinson, 1990; and Fernandez-Balboa, 1993), might simply be explained by the lack of opportunities. It may also be that, at this camp, where there appeared to be few consequences for failure, the environment was such that a majority of

the girls felt empowered to try a variety of outdoor education activities. The girls' heightened levels of confidence at the outdoor education camp (a result also found by Humberstone, 1993, 1995) may have also contributed to the boys' appreciation for the girls' abilities. Similarly, in this consequence-free environment, the boys appeared more relaxed and were able to comfortably join in on the art and craft activities. Related to this, Humberstone (1986, 1987, 1990, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995) has offered the idea that some outdoor education experiences can challenge traditional stereotypical perspectives and behaviours.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

As an active young woman, I was never encouraged to feel equal to my male classmates. Ever since Grade 8, I have struggled with feelings of inequity and injustice during male dominant physical education classes. At the time, of my physical education classes consisted mostly of traditional male competitive sports. But this was not as problematic as being told that, because of my sex, I did not deserve an A in physical education. Early on, then, I became motivated to seek out more equitable ways to be physically active. More recently, I have had the opportunity to participate in a variety of outdoor wilderness activities and I have encountered environments that seemed to be more gender equitable. Is my past experience an indication of what to expect in general in outdoor education camps? Or is the issue of gender relations and gender equity more complex than I had envisaged? This study was in part motivated by my desire to answer these personal question.

From the results, of this study, it seems that the issue of gender relations and gender equity is extremely complex. Indeed, two paradoxical conclusions can be drawn. First, the young participants at the outdoor education camp at times displayed traditional and stereotypical perspectives and behaviours that reproduced gender relations emphasizing gender differences and inequities. Second, and more importantly, young women and men at the camp demonstrated perspectives and involved themselves in behaviours that

challenged traditional gender relations and promoted better respect, equity, understanding and cooperation between girls and boys. These two paradoxical conclusions are further developed below, as well as the overall conclusion that outdoor education has great potential as a gender equitable learning environment.

At the Outdoor Education Camp, Boys Will Be Boys and Girls Will Be Girls

From the results, it is clear that the campers at the outdoor education camp often demonstrated socially learned behaviours that reproduced traditionally stereotypical gender relations and contributed to a learning environment that was at times inequitable. Evidence shows that the girls appeared interested in less competitive activities, which is fine, but more problematic was the girls' lack of confidence and feelings of incompetence, which seem to have steered them away from vigorous and physically demanding activities. At the same time, the boys engaged in and favoured activities and forms of personal relations that were competitive. Again, this is fine in and of itself. However, more problematic for the girls was the fact that for girls to interact and participate in activities with the boys, they had to do it on the boys' terms. Younger girls refused these terms and mostly interacted with other girls, complaining that boys were "hyper," "jumpy," "loud," and "annoying." Older girls partly accepted the boys' terms. They mentioned the idea of participating in girls-only activities and the idea of being with the boys, but mostly during "free time" and cooperative activities. Some of the girls

seemed to enjoy the boys' competitive spirit during group activities, but they seemed to be in the minority. Perhaps a more empowering learning environment (in terms of activities, language, forms of intervention, etc.) would have led to mixed-sex interactions on the girls' terms equally as often as on the boys' terms.

The Outdoor Education Camp Provides Opportunities for Gender Equity and for Challenging Traditional Gender Relations

As the camp progressed, the campers demonstrated behaviours that challenged traditional gender relations and promoted gender equity. The young women and young men at the outdoor education camp were encouraged to achieve individual goals as well as practice team-oriented skills. The girls challenged traditional gender stereotypes by participating in physically challenging activities (e.g., survival techniques, kayaking, etc.) and performing traditionally "masculine" duties (cutting wood, lifting heavy articles, etc.). They expressed interest in learning activities which are traditionally "masculine" activities (e.g., fishing, camping, etc.). Similarly, the boys took part in traditionally "female" activities (e.g., arts and crafts, non-competitive activities, etc.), executed stereotypically "feminine" duties (e.g., sweeping, cleaning, etc.), and felt comfortable expressing feelings that are not socially associated to the masculine gender (e.g., "the best things were that I met a lot of friends and had fun with everyone," "if you're home sick, they [counsellors] talk to you and make you feel better.") The young women and

young men at the outdoor education camp developed competencies in new skills, improved self-confidence, and were empowered when given the opportunities to make their own decisions. The diverse opportunities available at this camp seemed to have excited these campers enough to demonstrate perspectives and behaviours which challenged gender relations and promoted gender equity.

The Potential of Outdoor Education

Outdoor education needs greater recognition as a more valuable part of physical education programs. It is critical for physical educators to realized the potential benefits of outdoor education. More research is necessary in this area to provide more in-depth understanding of the gender relations among young women and young men in this environment. There is no evidence supporting the ideas that the new perspectives and behaviours which challenged gender relations and promoted gender equity during the outdoor education camp will spread through the participants' lives and into their schools, homes, or other leisure activities. We can only hope that schools and community groups, can help provide young women and men of various socio-economic and racial backgrounds with more opportunities to access and attend similar camps and centres of this nature. However, we can only hypothesize that if the new perspectives and behaviours with regards to gender relations and gender equity are not strengthened and supported by schools and other public youth organizations, it will be more difficult for

young women and young men in our society to continue to challenge oppressive gender relations.

Hopefully, this study has helped to better understand the issue of gender equity in one outdoor education program in Ontario. Also, this study has hopefully provided some understanding of the perspectives and behaviours of young women and young men with respect to gender equity in the outdoor education program. It is also hoped that this study produced opportunities for participants to discuss gender relations and various issues related to gender equity in the outdoor education program.

Recommendations

In order for outdoor education camps, physical education programs, as well as youth organizations to encourage gender equitable experiences and positive gender relations, it is recommended: (a) that both single-sex and mixed-sex environments be made available to the participants, (b) that competitive and non-competitive activities be provided in order to accommodate for individual interests, (c) that young women be given more opportunities to feel competent and gain confidence, (d) that participants be able to choose from a variety of activities in order to fulfill their individual interests, (e) that young women and young men be given an equal variety of cooperative and competitive activities from which to choose, (f) that the learning environment place more emphasis on experiencing fun, (g) that young women and young men have equal access and equal opportunities to succeed in a variety of activities, (h) that chances for injuries be minimized,

(i) that young women be given the opportunity to succeed in physically demanding activities, (j) that counsellors provide both young women and young men with equal encouragement and attention during activities, and (k) that the young women and young men be encouraged to feel comfortable interacting with individuals of the opposite sex.

It might also be suggested that, in the future, more research be performed with regards to gender relations and gender equity in outdoor education environments. It is also recommended that future researchers lengthen the observation period in order to observe, from start to finish, the campers' behaviours and gender relations. Also, in order to better interpret the observed interactions, campers should be interviewed in small groups immediately after an interactional episode that specifically reflected gender equity or inequity. For a two-hour period, on the first day of the camp, it is recommended that campers be interviewed in large single-sex groups in order to get more in-depth information and discussion pertaining to the campers' prior perspectives with regards to gender relations and gender equity. Some young women and young men should also be interviewed together in order to determine if mixed-sex and single-sex groupings offer similar results. Finally, it is suggested that a male conduct interviews with the young men. This would provide a comfortable atmosphere for them and they might offer more details during their interviews with regards to gender relations and gender equity.

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Appendix A

Observation Guide

Observation Guide

Who

- (a) Who is in the episode?
- (b) How many young women and men?
- (c) What are their relevant characteristics (gender, age, etc.)?

What

- (a) What is happening?
- (b) How are the young women and men behaving?
- (c) What are the activities?
- (d) What is the nature of the interaction or conversation?
- (e) What is said or done?

Where

- (a) Where is the episode taking place?
- (b) What is the physical setting?

When

- (a) What is the length of the episode?
- (b) At what time of the day is the episode taking place?

How

- (a) How are the young women and men physically located or organized?
- (b) Who is at the centre of the interaction?
- (c) Who is dominating the episode?

Observer's Notes

- (a) What is the interpretation of this episode?
- (b) What are the gender relations in this episode?
- (c) Is there gender equity or inequity?
- (d) What are the observer's reactions or feelings toward the episode?

OBSERVATION GUIDE

Day: _____	Time: _____	to _____	Episode # _____
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How many? Who?	Where?
-----------------------	---------------

What is Happening?	Diagram of Episode
---------------------------	---------------------------

Observer's Notes:

Feelings/Reactions:

Appendix B

Interview Guide

Interview Guide

Questions regarding the camp environment

1. Why did you choose to attend this outdoor learning centre?
2. What do you expect to learn from this program?
3. So far, have you done everything you imagined you would do?
4. What have you learned here at this outdoor camp?

Questions about the participant's experiences (probing for equitable and unequitable practices)

5. Are there lots of activities with boys and girls together? How does it go with that? Why is that?
6. What is it like working with the (boys/girls)? Is it fun? Do (boys/girls) treat you good? Why do you think the (boys/girls) like working with you (boys/girls)?
7. Are the (boys/girls) better/worse than you expected?

Questions about whether the camp has changed the participants' perceptions regarding mixed participation in learning activities

8. Since you have come to this camp, have you changed your ideas of (boys/girls) abilities to participate in physical activities?
9. What do you think about the camp? What do you like best about the camp? What do you think about the (boys/girls)? What happens here?

What was the best or funniest thing that you have done or learned at the camp?

10. How has this camp made you feel different? Have you learned new things at this camp?
 11. What was the worst thing that happened or was done at this camp.
 12. What is the best activity? Why is it your favourite?
-

Appendix C

Participant Observation and Interview Consent Form

CONSENT FOR PARTICIPATION IN OBSERVATION AND INTERVIEW AS PART OF A RESEARCH PROJECT

Purpose of the Project

To study the perspectives and behaviours of young women and men with regards to gender equity in one outdoor learning centre.

Procedure

Observation: the participants will be observed for a period of 5 days by the principal investigator, while they take part in the regular activities of the learning centre.

Interviews: the participants will be asked to participate in an open-ended, small-group (2 or 3 participants) interview conducted by the investigator and lasting 20 to 30 minutes. During the interview, the participants will be invited to discuss their perceptions about their experiences at the camp in general and with respect to gender relations in the various camp activities.

Consent

I hereby authorize my child to participate in the research being conducted by Katrina Monsour of the School of Human Kinetics at the University of Ottawa. I further grant permission for my child to be observed while taking part in the camp's activities and for tape recording of my child's participation in a small-group interview.

I acknowledge that the nature and purpose of my child's participation in the study have been fully explained to me and that Katrina Monsour has offered to answer any questions which I may ask about the procedure to be followed. I have been made fully aware that I may report any incidences that violated my child's welfare to the University of Ottawa Human Research Ethics Committee.

I understand that I may withdraw this permission at any time and that any recordings of my child's participation will be erased at once upon my request. I also understand that all materials collected as a result of my child's participation will be used only for research purposes, that they will be available only to responsible professionals and that my child's anonymity and confidentiality will be protected at all times. I freely and voluntarily consent to allow my child to take part in this research project. If I have any questions, comments or concerns, I can contact Katrina Monsour, Dr. Geneviève Rail or Dr. Roger Proulx, the chair of the Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of Ottawa at the addresses listed below.

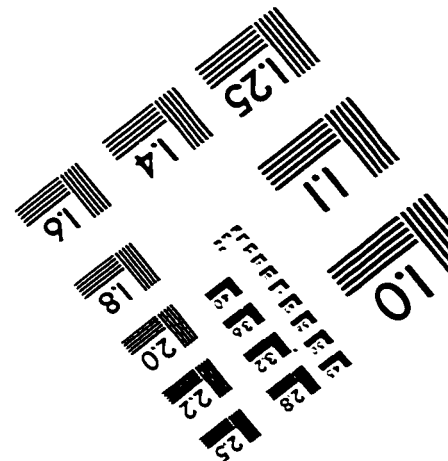
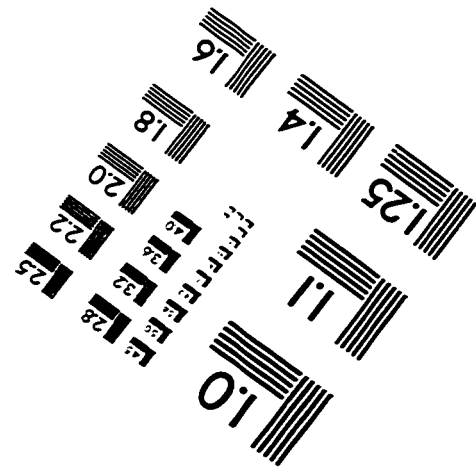
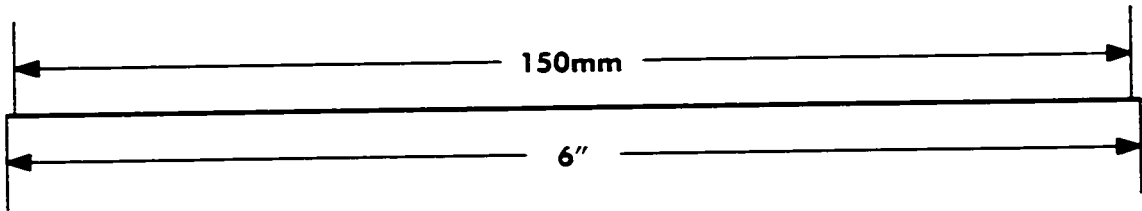
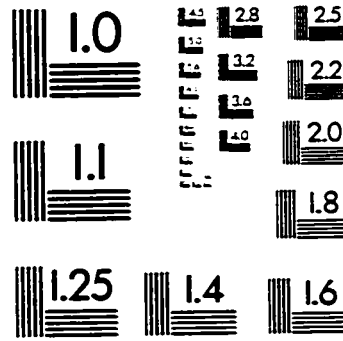
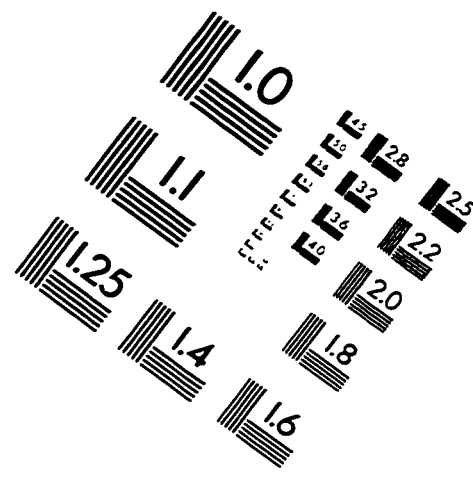
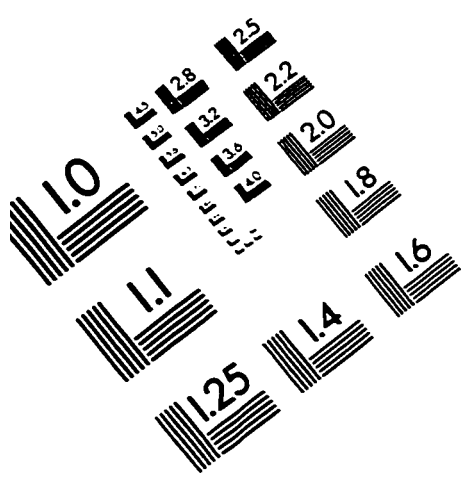
Signature of parent or guardian

Date

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