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Exploring Motivations and Constraints of Minority Participation

College Outdoor Adventure Programs

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Abstract

While national demographics in the United States are steadily becoming more racially diverse, participation in outdoor and adventure recreation programs is still dominated by individuals identifying as White and Caucasian. College outdoor adventure programs aiming to provide opportunities for diverse recreational and educational experiences to the student body at large generally struggle to attract minority students. While much research has discussed the disparity, little literature exists to help understand and guide recruitment, and increase participation. This study explored factors contributing to leisure choice in outdoor recreation, awareness of university outdoor programming, and the motivations or constraints that influenced individual participation. Focus group interviews and a constructivist perspective were employed using a qualitative, inductive reasoning strategy to inquire about the subject and come to the conclusions found herein. This study found that factors that constrained minority participation in COAP programming included structural and inter/intrapersonal barriers, family leisure history,

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lack of role models and knowledge of adventure, cultural differences, and negative perceptions related to participation in adventure activities.

Keywords: minority participation, constraints, motivations, adventure, analytic induction

Introduction

While nearly half of Americans participate in outdoor activities such as running or biking for health benefits, women, racial and ethnic minorities participate in much lower numbers than Caucasians (Johnson, Bowker, English, & Worthen, 1998; Lee, Scott, & Floyd, 2001; Manning, 1999; The Outdoor Foundation, 2017). For example, in 2016, 70% of Americans participating in outdoor recreational opportunities were Caucasian or identified as white/non-Hispanic (The Outdoor Foundation, 2017). African Americans and Hispanics experience the lowest participation rates in outdoor recreational activities, primarily because of a “lack of interest” (The Outdoor Foundation, 2016). While the number of Asian, African Americans, and Hispanics participating has steadily increased over the past 10 years, according to the Outdoor Foundation’s (2016) report they continue to have lower interest in camping or backpacking and are thus underrepresented in these outdoor recreation activities.

While the most popular outdoor recreation activities do not vary between race/ethnicity, camping and backpacking were rated as the most popular activities by only 4% of African Americans, compared to 15% of Caucasians and 10% of Hispanics (The Outdoor Foundation, 2016). Previous research has included several theories that aim to explain lower rates of racial/ethnic participation, but outdoor recreation, camping, and backpacking remain as primarily white pastimes. As Allison (1996) noted, recreation programs must continually educate themselves as they serve more diverse populations. The purpose of this study was to explore minority students’ “lack of interest” and participation in university based outdoor programs, and to examine themes and patterns influencing this phenomenon in outdoor recreation activities.

Review of Literature

There has been a steady growth in the popularity of adventure programs in the U.S. since the 1970’s (Attarian, 2001), with a corresponding growth in

college-based outdoor adventure programs. According to Flood and Parker (2014), “adventure programs equip students to undertake self-motivated activities occurring in small groups and requiring a natural outdoor setting. Resources provided by these programs often include instructors, equipment, transportation, and/or other necessary items” (p. 104–105). These programs typically offer activities such as challenge courses and guided trips (Flood & Parker, 2014) as well as other adventure activities including canoeing and kayaking, rock climbing, cross country skiing, and mountain biking.

Adventure programs may also be hosted by colleges and universities to students, hereby described as college outdoor adventure programs (COAPs). As of 2001, COAPs accounted for one-third of the US outdoor adventure program market (Attarian, 2001). These programs exist on many college campuses across the United States and provide adventure programming ranging from unstructured indoor climbing wall usage to instructor/guide-led multi-week outings for students. Oftentimes, these programs offer skills-based courses (i.e. canoeing) that provide college credit towards a related degree or elective credits, though participation in classes may also be purely recreationally motivated. COAPs in this context are generally administered by a non-academic body within the host university, such as recreation sports, student affairs, campus recreation, or the student union, though some may offer classes for credit. COAPs are staffed and run by professionals and may be staffed by paid or unpaid students.

One challenging aspect of this situation is that historically, places in which people engage in outdoor adventure recreation and education have been dominated by Caucasians (Chavez, Winter, & Absher, 2008; DeLuca, 1999; Roberts, 2009). Considering the “whiteness” of places where outdoor recreation and adventure activities occur and low rates of participation in those activities by racial and ethnic minorities in the United States, it is important to understand the barriers and leisure constraints that may exist for students to participate in COAPs. Leisure constraints as described by Jackson and Scott (1999) are “factors that are assumed by researchers and/or perceived or experienced by individuals to limit the formation of leisure preferences and/or inhibit or prohibit participation and enjoyment in leisure” (p. 233).

Though the current demographic trends in the United States point to a country becoming increasingly more ethnically and racially diverse, there are important ramifications for both adventure recreation and the broader field of outdoor recreation to consider. Traditionally, racial and ethnic minorities have been under-represented by participation numbers in many outdoor recreation locations such as National Parks and National Forests

(Stanfield, Manning, Budruk, & Floyd, 2005). Moreover, Manning (1999) points out that there are a number of ways in which minority groups use natural and open spaces differently than Whites. Some of these differences have implications for adventure recreation and include minority groups preferring more urban-oriented facilities, participating in more sports and fitness-based activities, using areas closer to home, and a preference for land-based activities over water-based pursuits (Manning, 1999). Related to these preferences and potential constraints is the broad issue of motivations for participating in a set of activities such as outdoor adventure.

Motivations for Participation

There is a robust body of literature relevant to leisure motivations for participation in outdoor recreation and adventure activities, though few studies have explored participation in COAPs (Bentley, 2003). Those that do exist suggest that motivations for participation in COAP programming include seeking novelty in an experience, social components and group development associated with the experience, and increased feelings of mastery and competence (Ewert & Hollenhorst, 1989; Zwart, 2017). Fewer studies exist that explore constraints to participate in COAP offerings by underrepresented racial and ethnic minorities (Schwartz & Corkery, 2011). There are likely many reasons why students choose to participate in college adventure programming (Berman & Berman, 2009), and leisure constraint literature and theories may help frame the problem of why underrepresented minority students choose not to participate. It is thought that exploring these issues will help to understand why minorities choose to engage or not to engage in these activities, help programmers market to minority groups, and potentially enhance diversity throughout outdoor adventure education (OAE) programs at large.

Theoretical Considerations: U.S Participation Trends

Several hypotheses and theories have emerged that attempt to provide reasons for these differences, and to help frame this research and include marginality hypothesis and ethnicity/subculture hypothesis (Washburn, 1978), cultural assimilation hypothesis (Floyd, 1999) and the leisure constraints model (Crawford, Jackson & Godbey, 1991). Numerous studies have provided evidence supporting the plausibility of these hypotheses (for example: Johnson & Bowker, 1999; Shiner, Mowatt, & Glover, 2007; Roberts & Drogin, 1993; Metcalf, Burns, & Graef, 2013). Manning (1999) suggests that, depending on the context, all three or a combination of these hypoth-

eses may be applicable. As suggested by the work of Ewert, Chavez, and Magill (1993), the issue of minority group participation in activities such as adventure and outdoor recreation can be complex and multidimensional, and involves a mix of perceived or real constraints, motivations, awareness, and opportunities to participate. For the purposes of this study, it is important to provide a brief explanation of each hypothesis as these ideas helped to frame this study.

Marginality hypothesis. Washburn (1978) posits that minority groups experience systemic barriers and constraints to participation in outdoor recreation. This hypothesis suggests that minority groups do not participate to the extent that Whites do because they are more likely to suffer from economic and related disadvantages. Thus, either real or perceived costs, available transportation, equipment and clothing needs, and access to information such as guide books, etc. could be considered examples of disadvantages that make it difficult for minorities to participate.

Ethnicity/subculture hypothesis. First developed by Washburn (1978), the ethnicity/subculture hypothesis suggests that differences in outdoor recreation usage and types of use is a function of subcultural and ethnic values. These differences in values often result in differing sets of resultant behaviors. For example, different values may explain why some minority groups prefer larger group sizes than do many White groups when engaging in adventure or outdoor recreation activities. These types of values effect all facets of the recreation experience including location, group size, expectations, and behaviors to name a few.

Cultural assimilation hypothesis. The cultural assimilation hypothesis seeks to provide an optimistic view of participation in outdoor activities by speculating that minority groups will come to share the values of the majority group (Floyd, 1999). African Americans may not have been socialized into outdoor activities and lack exposure and role models that can encourage people to try otherwise “white” sports (Roberts & Drogin, 1993). Non-traditional groups may not be motivated to negotiate constraints as necessary to increase participation in outdoor recreation, where more traditional groups may have worked to fit outdoor recreation into their leisure time (Metcalf, et al., 2013).

College Student Participation

It has been noted that participation rates in COAPs have not been well understood (Flood & Parker, 2014). Many students are not participating in the opportunities for adventure that may be available at their college or university (Beggs, Elkins, & Powers, 2005). A study by Schwarz and Cork-

ery (2011) addressed motivations and constraints of participation with an emphasis on understanding how factors of race and ethnicity contribute to lower rates of participation in college-based adventure programming. Their findings suggest that women and students of color were significantly affected by social, cultural, financial and access barriers, which contributed to lower rates of participation (Schwartz & Corkery, 2011).

Motivations for participation. A number of studies have investigated the motivations for participation in COAPs. Zwart (2017) examined whether motivational factors were similar among different activities for student participants as well as student leaders and instructors. This study found that social components of COAPs were reported to be the strongest motivational factor for both groups, pursuit of mastery and competence were higher for student trip leaders, and that intellectual and developmental motivation associated with participation was significantly higher for student trip leaders. Flood and Parker (2014) found that college freshmen were motivated by fun and thrill seeking and participated more often than older students, who were more focused on learning and skill development. While not reporting ethnic and minority demographics, the same study found 73% of college students who participate in COAPs view outdoor recreation as moderately to extremely important, with 28% participating at least weekly (Flood & Parker, 2014). Todd, Anderson, Young, and Anderson (2003) explored differences in motivation over time in college adventure recreation experiences. Their results indicated that after participating in a 13-day adventure course, students showed increases in seven dimensions of motivation to participate including taking risks, achievement, personal challenge, to experience nature, and to develop skills

Constraints to participation. The leisure constraints model takes intrapersonal, interpersonal, and structural constraints into accounting for leisure preferences, interpersonal compatibility, and coordination, which influence a person's ability to participate in a leisure activity (Crawford, Jackson, & Godbey, 1991). This model was utilized as a foundation for the data collection phase of this particular study. For example, Metcalf et al. (2013) found that the types of recreation that non-traditional users enjoyed were not available in their study area, thereby structurally constraining participation; this is important to consider as it may well be the case in other areas of study (Johnson & Bowker, 1999). Lack of information was found by Metcalf et al. (2013) to be a greater constraint for non-traditional users. Simply put, minority groups may not have enough information or interest to navigate these constraints (Metcalf, et al., 2013).

Constraints specific research in adventure programming by college students is lacking. However, existing literature provides a good starting point

to examine this topic. Students may not be aware of the opportunities provided by college outdoor education programs, suggesting a need for changes in marketing efforts on campuses (Schwartz & Corkery, 2011) and students may face cultural or familial pressures and thus may not want to seek activities perceived as “White” (Schwartz & Corkery, 2011). All of these factors, coupled with the existing hypotheses described above, likely contribute to the findings of this study, and helped guide its research process.

Method

Procedure

The purpose of this study was to use an inductive reasoning model (Merriam, 2009) to explore the experiences racial and ethnic college students have with outdoor recreation and their motivations and constraints towards participating in outdoor adventure programs. Following a constructivist perspective, inductive reasoning allowed researchers to identify patterns and themes surrounding ethnic minority students’ constraints to participation in adventure activities at the host COAP. This research utilized an analytic induction methodology (Znaniecki, 1934) where two focus groups of a total of seven underrepresented, undergraduate college students were conducted to inquire about minority and ethnically diverse group participation in OAE and COAPs. Ethical clearance for research with human subjects was obtained by the researchers’ Institutional Review Board (IRB), and all reasonable efforts to protect participant anonymity were employed, including keeping signed informed consent forms and audio recordings of the focus group interviews in a secure location as well as assigning pseudonyms to all audio recorded speech represented in the transcript texts; there is no identifiable information contained in any transcript or audio recording.

The focus group sessions were each around one-hour in length, audio recorded, and transcribed verbatim by the research team using a word processing program. All uniquely identifiable voices were given a pseudonym in subsequent transcripts. Open coding of the data was conducted using an inductive, emergent reasoning strategy to identify themes and sub-themes among the data (Merriam, 2009). Data were analyzed independently by two researchers using Dedoose, a qualitative data management and organization software. Emergent themes and sub-themes derived independently by the researchers were compared and vetted for use in reporting after data analysis for congruence and to ensure interrater reliability among the codes given to themes and patterns inherent in these data (Merriam, 2009).

Participants

For this study, racial and ethnic minority students were defined similarly to Loo and Rolison (1986) as any students that identified as “underrepresented, non-White.” The focus groups were composed of two separate groups of male and female African American student participants ($n = 3$) and Latina student participants ($n = 4$) attending a large public university in the Midwest. The research participants were all college aged (18–24 years) and were enrolled in a major Midwestern university with an active COAP offering a variety of recreational and educational adventure experiences. Six of seven research participants had not participated in any COAP programming at the time of data collection.

Procedure Rationale

Focus groups were implemented in this study as a way to conveniently access several minority students’ perspectives on the topic, and participants were recruited to participate via IRB approved methods and materials for soliciting several minority focused student organizations located at the host campus. Focus groups were chosen due to low response rates to invitations to participate and conflicts in scheduling individual participant interviews with IRB approved data collectors. Focus group questions followed a semi-structured interview protocol (see Appendix A) and focused on our primary categories of interest which include definitions of and past/present participation in outdoor activities, participation in programming offered at the host COAP, leisure history, social influence on leisure, and an open-ended question to end the sessions to ensure that participants were able to share any other stories, thoughts, perceptions, or ideas that were not addressed in the protocol.

Protocol questions were ultimately guided by the leisure constraints model and leisure constraints and motivations literature combined with a desire to understand participants’ leisure behavior from a social-psychological perspective of study, and to gain “understanding [of] leisure behavior and experience from the perspective of the individual” (Kleiber, Walker & Mannell, 2011, p.92). Focus group interview protocol questions were constructed by the researchers in several stages and were ultimately reviewed, and “piloted” for feedback by research colleagues who have a background and experience in outdoor adventure and recreation instruction, programming, and administration. Colleagues’ recommendations were considered and aided in shaping the focus group interview protocol which was used in this research (see Appendix A).

Results

The focus group sessions gave the researchers a better understanding of how study participants conceptualize outdoor recreation activities in the context of motivations and constraints to participation in COAP programming. The findings also highlight some of the potential reasons for the lower rate of participation in COAP programming among racial and ethnic minority groups on the project host's college campus. Research participants gave the researchers insight into significant influences on participation in COAP programming, including family leisure history and culture, a lack of role models in or accurate knowledge of adventure activities, and personal and structural constraints.

Participant Definitions: Outdoor Recreation

Participants of both focus groups were first asked to share how they define "outdoor recreation" and then to name the types of activities that they associate with the term. Responses to this question were varied among respondents. Emergent themes were related to activities that occur in public, outdoor natural spaces, such as city and county parks and other natural areas, where the participants had spent time engaging in outdoor-based leisure activities. Sam noted that "when I think of the word 'recreation' or 'recreational' I always think of the parks, the city parks. I always think of how the environment is an important . . . um, important factor in the setting of the activity." Some participants noted that they associated outdoor recreation with a social environment in a natural setting, including Rosa, who stated that outdoor recreation is doing "anything outside . . . with other people" and that it means "doing some sort of interaction or interacting with other people, or just interacting with the environment around you." In contrast, Sam provided that he associates outdoor recreation with a leisure setting where he can "just watch people but it doesn't require me to do anything with them."

Other activities associated with spending time in natural areas were wandering, hiking on trails, and exploration. Some specific activities that were mentioned in relation to outdoor recreation included kayaking, canoeing, hiking, and doing yoga outside. Other participants stated that any physical activity in outdoor settings should be considered outdoor recreation, including competitive sports such as basketball, tennis, volleyball, or baseball, as well as non-competitive skill-based activities such as throwing frisbee, or as Sue shared, "anything that qualifies as exercise outside." Some respondents included that they felt that anything done

outside, even if not in leisure time, could count as outdoor recreation, including self-propelled transport activities such as walking or biking to and from class or work.

Participant responses to the prompt to define or describe what outdoor recreation means were somewhat varied, but consistent with prominent leisure definitions. The descriptions given were all self-constructed by the individuals, which supports the idea that leisure is subjective, defined by the individual, a psychological construct, and a state of mind (Kleiber, et al., 2011). Participants described outdoor recreation as leisure by noting collectively that it is something that occurs in time that is free of obligation and may be done for its own sake (Cooper, 1999; Kleiber, et al., 2011). Definitions and attributes of outdoor recreation provided by participants in this case are also delineated by attributes of setting as a physical and social place, what types of activities occur there, as well as specific examples of activities (Kleiber, et al., 2011).

Leisure History and Family Culture

Family leisure history appears to come into play as an influence on participants' leisure choice and their aptitude to participate in COAP programming, which is supported in the leisure literature (Kleiber, et al., 2011). Participants expressed that leisure time spent with family and peer groups in childhood and adulthood were focused on traditional sports and, as Rosa noted, "what we do outside usually involves a ball." Study participants cited that they mostly participate in "traditional" and competitive sports such as basketball, soccer, tennis, and swimming. This was attributed to childhood leisure activity participation where organized local events such as those that administered at recreation centers and participating in activities with family were a focus of leisure time and likely due to a variety of reasons but aligns with existing literature in the field (Haynes & Jacobson, 2015; Weber & Sultana, 2011; Wolch & Zhang, 2004). Our research supports the concept that during childhood, parents and family have a significant influence on adult leisure choice and leisure orientation (Kleiber, et al., 2011).

Also of note, several participants expressed that while they did not participate in activities that are commonly thought of as adventure activities during childhood and adolescence, they did explore their neighborhoods with friends, siblings, and cousins either on foot or on bicycles, and engaged with their world in an adventuresome way. For example, Thomas offered the following memory:

I rode my bike, like a lot . . . like too much (laughs), growing up. And I always remember . . . like I had this sense of freedom and this sense

of like, adventure. Especially when I would maybe go a little bit further than my parents thought I might be going or than I knew I was supposed to. I don't know if you experienced anything like that, just like, 'oh, I've got my own wheels. I'm free'.

The individuals in our focus groups provided definitions of outdoor recreation that do not include pervasive reference to adventure activities, and generally said that adventure is not part of their family leisure culture. One participant, Becky, shared an insight generally expressed by participants when she said:

When I think of recreational activity in the outdoors, I grew up playing soccer or sports or things that were more aligned with my culture and what my family practices rather than what I have been exposed to here at [college].

Bill, who had previously engaged in an adventure experience facilitated by the host COAP posited,

What I did with [COAP], going white water canoeing, I don't think that's something I would have ever done with my family just because of the skills needed, the resources... I mean the boats and all that, that's very expensive, so it's not something I would have done with my family unless they were really aware of it and loved doing it as well.

We should also consider that adventure activities in general may not be among the leisure activities of minority families and non-minority families alike because of a common perception that, generally, adventure activities are associated with an inherently high level of danger and risk in addition to financial barriers indicated by this participant. Bill's comment exemplifies this perception:

My mom freaked out when I told her I was going white water canoeing . . . I told her to Google 'white water canoe' and she was like 'oh my god, I'm going to be praying for you that you're okay', and she just thought it was very dangerous, like if you flip over you are going to drown . . . so, I think family-wise, my parents, or especially my mom, they have many pre-conceived notions of what outdoor activities like those are.

It was also noted by several participants that the "woods" were off limits without parents when growing up, and that their family leisure identity did not include what are known as more adventure-oriented activ-

ities such as rock climbing. Sue shared that her family was “not that type of family.” Participants also noted that much of their leisure experiences were geared towards family-oriented activities that did not include any aspects of adventure, such as fishing. This finding speaks to the ways in which racial and ethnic minority individuals may perceive a variety of greenspaces differently than non-minorities (Manning, 1999). Indeed, the findings from these data indicated that if the “woods” or a vacant lot at the edge of the neighborhood is off limits, the resultant question follows; why then would these individuals want to venture into a national or state forest where there is more unknown or perceived danger inherent to such a greenspace? Further, the idea of wilderness was not only intimidating for these individuals, it oftentimes was not even “on their radar” or part of their understanding of natural environments and landscapes.

It should be noted that the previously reported observations from our research are not representative of all participants’ experiences. Linda shared that “for these last like three years now my family does camping trips, so in the summer it’s camping time. My family will all set out to go places around Indiana and up in Michigan, and we’ll go camping for an entire week, or you know go for a few days.” Future studies should expand the scope of work and investigate relationships between different family cultures and associated leisure activities.

Lack of Role Models and Knowledge

Participants of this study generally did not have any history with, or role models with whom they could relate or look up to from the realm of adventure recreation. Moreover, organized sports such as little league exist in many communities and are relatively inexpensive, which lends itself to a higher likelihood of racial and ethnic minority participation rates compared with “adventure activities” like rock climbing, which have potentially prohibitive attributes such as financial and time costs of participation, or may require social association with someone who is knowledgeable of what the activity entails. Other participants noted that they only learned about and tried an adventure activity once they were in college. For example, Bill noted that he was “never really exposed to them [adventure activities] until I came here, and was like ‘I wanna try it’, and I did, and I enjoyed it, and I regret so much that I waited until senior year to do so.”

Personal Constraints

Study participants provided additional insight into their current constraints to participating in outdoor recreation and adventure education offered through their university that go beyond personal and family leisure history. These constraints may be applicable to many college students and may not be limited to racial and ethnic minorities. Lack of expendable income and funding for recreation is a constraint that was expressed by members of both focus groups, as were lack of a partner with whom to participate, self-doubts in ability to perform well at new tasks (such as snow skiing) and the subsequent desire to protect self-image. Linda said that she did not want to try downhill skiing, an activity which may be perceived to be as difficult as, or share attributes with other adventure activities:

Because that's another fear, it's like, I don't like looking stupid . . . so, if you put me out somewhere and tell me to go skiing, down a hill, I don't want to try it because I already know . . . look, I don't have the coordination for this sport . . . I'm gonna let you know ahead of time, I just won't sign up.

Relatedly, these activities may be perceived as “White activities” by various racial and ethnic groups, as in, these activities are only for Caucasians. It was also expressed during the focus groups that sometimes, minorities may like to try a new activity like skiing or snowboarding, but do not want to be perceived by their peers as conforming to white stereotypes or “becoming White” (Shelton & Richeson, 2006).

One social aspect of non-participation that was prevalent among responses from both focus groups is that they cited being more likely to participate in outdoor activities in which their friends also participated. Based on these data, those activities are generally among the types of sports or outdoor activities already mentioned that align with student activities traditionally offered on college campuses. These include college intramural sports, other organized sports leagues, and outdoor activities, namely, competitive sports and activities motivated by a desire to maintain or improve physical fitness, as identified in the following excerpt,

I think that's a key factor in what my experiences would be like if I were friends with [someone] who does those types of activities more often, because I mean, I also have friends that play tennis, or friends that like to play soccer, and that's usually what I do.

Social aspects of participation are clearly important to consider, in that, underrepresented minorities and ethnic groups may be more likely to participate if they perceive that other people like them are participating. Sue noted that “I would go if other people who looked like me were there too.”

Another barrier that was mentioned by participants in both focus groups included a general lack of free time beyond their normal routines (including exercise), citing the need to work, busy class schedules, time required to maintain good grades, and the overall studying and school-work demands of a rigorous academic schedule. Becky noted “I don’t really make an effort to . . . it’s not that I don’t make an effort, it’s just that I don’t have the time” and Thomas when asked why he has not participated, while citing that he had knowledge about COAP opportunities on his campus, noted that “it just didn’t fit in with my schedule.” Sue provided another good example of language that speaks to the aforementioned constraints to COAP participation when she said,

It’s just not something that I really think about to do, being, just like my workload, within school and like, my other obligations, and prior things I’m involved in so I’m just like . . . it’s just not something that I wanna go do I guess.

The rigors of being a full-time college student may significantly contribute to a minority student’s lack of willingness and ability to participate in COAP programming, though we should caution that this idea is not generalizable and likely applies to many students across college campuses regardless of their demographic profile. Fear and misconceptions about outdoor and adventure recreation options were also noted as constraints, as the students expressed preconceived notions that outdoor and adventure recreation are inherently dangerous or risky. Bill noted,

I would say, not growing up around that environment and then the preconceived notions that it may be dangerous or not fun, I didn’t really think it was gonna be as much fun as it was, so just because, I mean, it’s not what I was used to, I grew up with a different idea of what we do outside.

Discussion

This study provided insight into motivations and constraints to participation in outdoor and adventure recreation programming for the study group.

The results support previous research findings suggesting that social influences and family leisure history contribute to an individual's perceptions of activities and their leisure participation choices as adults (Kleiber, et al., 2011). Family leisure culture also plays a clear role in participants' choice to participate in COAP programming. The participants in this study described a leisure history of community recreation and ball games, activities that may take place outdoors without being viewed exclusively as outdoor recreation.

In addition, families of racial and ethnic minorities may not approve of outdoor or adventure recreation (Schwartz & Corkery, 2011). If the "woods" were off limits to the study participants, it may have led to discomfort in outdoor activities as adults. As Schwartz and Corkery (2011) found, women were more comfortable if they were introduced to outdoor activities at an early age. Without childhood experiences of kayaking, climbing, or other outdoor adventure activities, students may not have interest as adults and come to prefer more traditional and family-oriented activities. The results of this study also are relatable to the hypotheses and model described earlier in this manuscript, and deserve further discussion to explicitly describe how the researchers view those connections and relatability.

Ethnicity/subculture

Ethnicity/subculture hypothesis (Washburn, 1978) is exemplified by participants noting that they grew up spending leisure time with family and that the activities that they grew up participating in were part of their family leisure culture, which is likely a function of their family's culture, subculture, and ethnic values (Washburn, 1978). Other examples of the relevance of ethnicity/subculture hypothesis in this section include participants noting that adventure was not part of their family culture, the woods were off limits, that they mostly engaged in family-oriented activities growing up, and that they mostly participated in sports and fitness related activities in youth and adulthood. Manning's (1999) findings that minority groups prefer more urban oriented facilities, participate more often in sports and fitness-based activities using areas closer to home support the relationships between our findings and ethnicity subculture hypothesis.

Cultural Assimilation

Cultural assimilation hypothesis (Floyd, 1999) is also relevant to these study findings. Participants mostly participate(d) in "traditional" sports

and activities centered around health and fitness, which shows adherence to the dominant culture where these activities are prevalent, even among Caucasians. Participants noted playing outside in their neighborhoods and riding bikes with friends and family members as kids, and that the recreational offerings that they generally prefer are those which are prevalent on their college campus including intramural sports, organized sports, competitive sports, and activities to promote physical fitness, which are generally valued by a majority of college students. As previously reported, study participants noted that they generally did not have any role models in adventure activities. This is likely based on lack of knowledge, which may have contributed to a lack of socialization into and exposure to adventure activities, therefore making it less likely that they would be aware of, be encouraged to try, or have any interest in participating in COAP programming.

Leisure Constraints

This study supports previous research findings that structural constraints including a lack of time, money, and information and awareness of COAP programming were the greatest constraints for college students (Flood & Parker, 2014). It is also noteworthy to point out that study findings are relatable to the marginality hypothesis (Washburn, 1978) similarly to how they relate to the leisure constraints model. Structural constraints, including perceived costs of equipment, lack of knowledge and access to information, and other structural constraints discussed in this section are examples of those overlapping attributes. While some of the constraints are common, students in the minority may face additional challenges. Their lack of experience in outdoor programs may contribute to intrapersonal constraints such as their stated lack of interest, self-doubt, fears of physical harm, preconceived notions about adventure activities, or fear of embarrassment. Interpersonal constraints that were noted by study participants that relate to the leisure constraints model are lack of a partner(s) with whom to participate and perceptions that others will not be welcoming, i.e., perceptions that COAP programming is a “White activity.” As was noted earlier, several participants said that they would be more likely to participate if they thought that their friends would, or that others “like me” were participating.

Conclusion

A holistic systems approach of providing opportunities for families to be engaged in outdoor recreation and adventure activities may be one way to

diversify participation in adventure activities offered by COAPs and other adventure programs throughout the United States. Students could be provided with more information about COAP program opportunities as well as the health and social benefits of such programs if the goal is to increase rates of among minorities in a significant way. While we are limited in how we can change people's views on outdoor and adventure programs, providing information may encourage minority groups to participate (Metcalf, Burns, & Graef, 2013). Providing opportunities for students to participate in new activities with their racial, ethnic, and gender peers may reduce their apprehension (Schwartz & Corkery, 2011).

The interpretation of the data and subsequent conclusions drawn should be cautiously considered, as the small sample size limits rigor. Additionally, though the results of this study support previous research indicating a need for outdoor and adventure recreation practitioners to educate and recruit racial and ethnic minorities to participate in college adventure programs, practitioners should actively and intentionally practice and cultivate a culture of providing opportunities, innovation, invitations, and appropriate information campaigns while being careful not to adhere to a mentality that lends itself to the practice of prescribing activities for underrepresented minorities that non-minorities may favor based on a perception that "if it's good for me, it's good for everyone." In our view, the role of college adventure administrators and programmers is to be as inclusive as possible and an open resource for introducing adventure activities to all people, which may eventually increase diversity among outdoor enthusiasts, whether in a college setting or otherwise, for those who seek it.

If a goal of COAPs is to appeal to a more diverse participant base, a strategy that could be employed, as informed by participants of this research, would be to offer programming that appeals to a more diverse population and to advertise via social media and campus advertising campaigns to illustrate that participating in adventure and outdoor recreation does not necessarily mean climbing mountains or backcountry camping, and that white males are not the only people who use the outdoors for adventure and recreation. COAPs could also seek to form relationships with fraternities, sororities, clubs, and other interest groups across their campuses that represent their student body's diverse interests and racial and ethnic makeup as a way to understand how they may better serve their students. Participants also noted that COAPs may improve visibility by attending and advertising at more functions on campus where many students will be, and to try to improve visibility at student orientation functions.

Limitations

One notable limiting factor of this study, as mentioned prior, was a relatively small focus group sample size, limiting rigor. Our research was constrained by difficulty in accessing the populations of interest, time and scheduling issues, and suffered from lack of personnel to conduct the focus group sessions. Additional participants and focus group sessions may have provided more insight, however the researchers felt that moderate but adequate saturation for the two focus groups was reached as specific themes emerged from within data early on in the coding process. Studies on this topic and population with the methodology used in this study have not been regularly performed, with most studies incorporating survey questionnaires administered to research participants. The researchers believe that use of qualitative methods may increase opportunities to further develop leisure theory and adequately address related topics in leisure research.

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Appendix A: Focus Group Interview Protocol

Demographic Questions:

1. Where are you from?
2. How old are you?
3. How do you define your racial/ethnic background?

Category: Outdoor Activities Participation:

1. How do you define outdoor activities?
2. What is/has been your level of participation in the outdoor programs offered by your university?

If answers is: “I do not participate in outdoor activities sponsored by the university campus” . . . will follow this line of questioning:

- a. What type of outdoor spaces/activities, if any, were available to you in the neighborhood where you grew up?
- b. How open are you to participating in outdoor activities offered at your university? Tell me more about that. (COAP offers 1 credit outdoor courses and equipment rentals)
- c. What are the reasons you don’t participate in outdoor activities?

If answer is: “I do/have participated in outdoor activities not associated with the university” . . . will follow this line of questioning:

- a. How did you get involved in outdoor activities?
- b. What type of outdoor spaces/activities did you have in your neighborhood?
- c. If you were able to participate in outdoor activities here at the university, how open would you be to doing so? Tell me more about that.
- d. What category (amateur, proficient, expert) would you classify yourself in an outdoor activity? Tell me more about that.

Category: Social Component in Leisure Style

- Do your friends and social group have any influence on how you spend your leisure time?
 - How so?
- Do you participate in certain leisure activities for the social opportunity or social environment? Provide examples if necessary; recreation sports, jogging, backgammon, video games . . .
 - If your friends participated in outdoor adventure recreation would you be more likely to do so?

Category: Family Leisure and Outdoor Activities:

3. Tell me more about your thoughts or experiences with outdoor activities, especially local parks
4. Who took you outside or participated in leisure activities with you when you were growing up?
5. Tell me more about how your family spent their free time?

Possible follow-up:

- a. Tell me more about your family's (or *whoever interviewee names in #4*) decision to participate or not participate in outdoor leisure activities?
6. Tell me more about your outdoor involvement/perception from your teenage years to now.

Debriefing Questions:

7. Is there anything else I didn't ask you that you would like to add?
8. Do you have any questions/comments for me regarding the questions I have asked you?