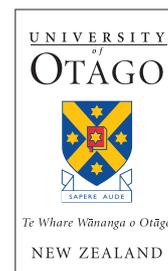


**‘PLANTING THE SEED’:
FAMILY PREFERENCES,
EXPERIENCES AND BENEFITS
ASSOCIATED WITH OUTDOOR
RECREATION IN AOTEAROA/
NEW ZEALAND**



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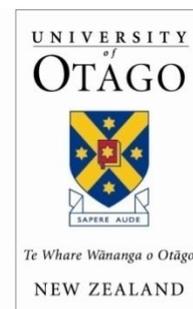
'Planting the seed': Family preferences, experiences and benefits associated with outdoor recreation in Aotearoa/New Zealand

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ABSTRACT

There is a dearth of published research informing an in-depth understanding of recreational experiences of families in the outdoors, particularly when cultural values may be and influence on activity and setting preferences. The present study aims at providing a better understanding of activity choices, experiences, benefits and constraints for family outdoor recreation in natural areas. The study focuses on Dunedin and Wellington families in order to present perspectives from two major urban settings in New Zealand, representing the South and the North Island. In addition, one rural area, Twizel, was included for comparison purposes. Interviews with 25 families from the three locations were conducted between late 2009 and early 2010. This study also involves an analysis of public initiatives that intend to encourage active engagement of families in public natural areas. To this end, seven in-depth, face-to-face interview sessions were conducted with a total of ten representatives from different levels of central and local government. Public documents relevant to the promotion of recreational opportunities were analysed for their family orientation. In addition, the study provides findings that illustrate Pākehā, Māori and Pacific Island perspectives as a result of interviewing families with diverse cultural backgrounds at the study sites.

This study identified a number of features impacting upon family participation in outdoor recreation in New Zealand. These are grouped under three major themes in this report, namely Family Life-Stages, Barriers or Constraints to Participation, and Cultural Influences. Recommendations for 'family-friendly' policy and planning development in outdoor recreation are presented.

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SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION

New Zealand hosts a significant range of natural landscapes from alpine to coastal areas, with many public lands and protected areas open to recreational use. Within these areas there are various recreational opportunities available to the general population, including family groups, particularly on the conservation estate (in National Parks, Regional Parks and Scenic Reserves) and also close to urban areas (e.g. Regional Parks). The Department of Conservation, Regional Councils, City Councils and other government and non-government agencies have driven the provision of services, activity settings, and promotion of recreation in natural areas. Despite these efforts there has still been concerns regarding the future trends of participation rates in outdoor recreation in New Zealand (e.g. SPARC 2009; Dignan and Cessford 2009). According to SPARC's Outdoor Recreation Strategy, "in order to grow participation and support, sector groups will need to carry out more informed planning and management of recreation opportunities" (SPARC 2009:6). In this context, encouraging families to actively engage with the outdoors seems to be one valuable strategy to increase New Zealanders' long term commitment to participation in outdoor recreation. Previous studies in the field of family leisure have suggested "that parents are socializing agents in the development of children's beliefs about leisure", and that "activity preferences, as well as an inclination toward leisure, appear[s] to be formed early in life" (Siegenthaler and O'Dell 2000:281, 284). However, as stated in SPARC's Outdoor Recreation Strategy, in order to promote such socialisation it is necessary to better understand demands, preferences and constraints to participation in recreation activities in natural settings, particularly for families. There is a dearth of published research informing an in-depth understanding of recreational experiences of families in the outdoors, particularly when cultural values may be underlying influences for activity and setting preferences.

This project aims to contribute to addressing this gap in the knowledge base in the following ways:

1. The research expands the literature in this area by contributing a study that considers diverse social and cultural perspectives in a New Zealand context.
2. The study provides insights into families' experiences of outdoor recreation in a variety of settings.
3. The study aims to contribute to an understanding of how management can promote and provide outdoor recreation opportunities to family groups.

The study focuses on Dunedin and Wellington families in order to present perspectives from two major urban settings in New Zealand, representing the South and the North Island. To this end, apart from investigating family participation, this study also involved the analysis of government initiatives to encourage active engagement of families in public natural areas. Furthermore, with the intention of understanding different cultural influences on families' experiences, the study provides findings that illustrate Pākehā, Māori and Pacific Island perspectives as a result of interviewing families with diverse cultural backgrounds at the study sites.

In addition to interviews with Wellington and Dunedin families, the study also included three interviews with families based in Twizel, a rural community at the doorsteps of Aoraki/Mount Cook National Park in the South Island of New Zealand. During the course of the project, the researchers felt that a contrast, or comparison, with a rural environment would provide further insights into the analysis of the material that emerged from the two selected urban centres. This became particularly relevant when 'Constraints to Participation' emerged as a

recurrent theme in interviews with Dunedin and Wellington families, and access to the outdoors was being frequently mentioned.

1.1 Research Objectives

1.1.1. Research Goal:

To investigate the activity choices, experiences, constraints and benefits of family groups in New Zealand as they relate to outdoor, nature-based recreation in regional and conservation parks.

1.1.2. Research Objectives:

- Identify the context for family recreation in New Zealand, particularly in the urban centres of Dunedin and Wellington, through the analysis of the means by which outdoor or natural area site management/staff in each study area identify, develop and promote recreational opportunities for families;
- Identify constraints to participation in outdoor recreation by families in the Dunedin and Wellington areas, as well as their strategies to overcome barriers and maintain participation;
- Investigate culturally distinct family group members' preferences for activity choices and settings, constraints to participation, actual experiences and resulting benefits arising from recreation in the outdoors;
- Examine the underlying influences on recreation preferences arising from family social groupings, including distinctions between cultures.

SECTION 2: RESEARCH METHODS

A literature review informed the background context for the study. Ethics Approval Category A was obtained via the University of Otago Ethics Committee to undertake qualitative interviews and focus groups with families, including children, and other research participants. The research project also gained approval from the University of Otago Ngai Tahu Māori Research Consultation Committee.

Recruitment of participants involved numerous stages. Families were invited to participate in the research through poster adverts placed in public spaces such as public libraries, supermarkets, public pools, churches, sport clubs, primary and secondary schools, and at Otago and Victoria universities. An advertisement was placed in a local community newspaper in each city. Finally, invitations were sent out via several email networks (e.g. Māori and Pacific Island Centre networks based at the University of Otago, the New Zealand Alpine Club). Flyers were distributed with school newsletters in one school in Dunedin and two schools in the Wellington region. Finally, families who agreed to participate suggested other families of their acquaintances via 'word of mouth' recommendations. Invitations to participate in focus groups met with nil response from potential family participants, interviews being the preferred choice as they could take place in the family homes at times that suited their timetables and did not require participants to travel to and from the interviews (logistically problematic for families with younger children). The families selected were chosen to fulfil the sociodemographic and ethnic focus of the study.

It is notable that the researchers had more offers from Pākehā families in response to the study recruitment methods. The researchers had to politely decline offers from several families in both cities but did so by requesting their details and asking if they would be willing to participate in another study at a later date (another Centre for Recreation Research SPARC-funded project). In contrast, finding Pacific Island family participants was problematic. Besides the low response from Pacific Island families to our recruitment efforts, several interview participants who confirmed participation ended up not being available or at home when the researchers arrived to conduct interviews, usually because the participants had forgotten about the appointment, despite reminders, owing to busy family programmes. A level of hesitancy and perceived irrelevance of outdoor recreation were other suggested reasons as to why there was a lower level of interest from Pacific Island families in the study.

An important aspect of the methodology was the inclusion of a whole-family approach. Although still marginal in family studies, this is not a new method in family interviewing (Ástedt-Kurki, Hopia and Vuori 1999). It is, however, more common in general family studies to interview members individually in order to provide more freedom for the disclosure of more sensitive issues. Due to the nature of the present project, this individual approach was not considered necessary as our topic of investigation did not involve issues of a sensitive nature. In addition, such an approach incurs more financial, logistical and time costs to the project, without necessarily adding more relevant data. As Ástedt-Kurki, Paavilainen and Lehti (2001) argued, if the study aims to gain a better understanding of interactional data or shared meanings, the family unit should be considered the informant. The assumption here was that, by interviewing all family members collectively, we would be able to capture the meaning of outdoor recreation to the family as a unit that shares a group life. According to Handel (1997:346), "a family constructs its life from the multiple perspectives of its members, and an adequate understanding requires that those perspectives be obtained from their multiple sources." Also, the presence of

children provided the opportunity for family members who usually have less input into different aspects of family functioning to have a say or, at least, to become aware of motives and expectations for family participation in outdoor recreation. Children's involvement also enabled them to participate in the research process and communicate their preferences for and experiences of outdoor activities – a research approach advocated by Jamison and Gilbert (2000). However, due to the limitations of this study, and following the family unit rationale, the greater emphasis of this report lies with the collective contribution that emerged from the interviews, rather than a focus on children's, mothers' or fathers' individual opinions.

It is also important to clarify the definition used in this report for what constitutes a family unit. The authors understand the family unit as “a self-identified group of two or more members who may or may not be related by bloodlines or law” (Ástedt-Kurki, Paavilainen and Lehti 2001:289) and that may include “heterosexual cohabitants (with or without children), same-sex partners (with or without children), single-parent households, blended families, networks of extended kin, non-related individuals that form surrogate families, and others” (Smolka 2000-01:630). In fact, such a broad definition aligns well with the concept of whanau, which is roughly defined as family for Māori. For Metge (2001:20), “whanau is a group of kin who act and interact with each other for common purposes (...) It is moreover a group of kinsfolk (...) These kinsfolk are of two kinds: a core group of members descended from a common ancestor or ancestral couple, and spouses and children who come from outside this core descent group.” As described in more detail later in this section, a relatively diverse range of family units was interviewed for this research project, contributing to a more varied and nuanced understanding of 'family' leisure practices, particularly in outdoor settings.

2.1 Qualitative Interviews

Interviews were in-depth and semi-structured, and lasted between 20 and 75 minutes, with most lasting around 60 minutes. Keeping the interviews to time was crucial for families as children participating would lose interest if longer than an hour and the interviewers were conscious of other family commitments.

Interview questions focused on family experiences in the outdoors, particularly the activities pursued, common places for family outdoor recreation, frequency of engagement, patterns of participation pre- and post-children, changes of activities through the different life-stages, perceived benefits, main barriers to participation, and cultural associations of outdoor recreation pursuits (see Appendices 1 and 2 for an overview of questions and themes). Participants were also encouraged to raise other issues that they considered relevant as well as to discuss extensively what they considered pertinent to the stated aims of this research. The questions and themes selected for the interviews, although theoretically influenced by previous research findings were not transposed from any single previous research study from the literature review. Several questions were influenced by themes in current academic literature on family recreation but other questions emerged from documents relevant to outdoor recreation policy in the New Zealand context. Notably there was an observed lack of studies that focus on the same themes as the ones elected, or studies that employ a similar methodology to the one adopted here. Most previous studies were quantitative or the literature purely theoretical in basis.

All participants received a copy of an information sheet detailing the study, including the aim of the project, what types of participants were being sought, what was to be asked of participants, participants' right to withdraw

from the project at any stage of the study; what information was being collected and the use that would be made of it; and researchers' contact details (see Appendix 3). In most cases an electronic version was sent prior to the interview and a hard copy printed and given to an adult family member at the time of the interview. Interviewees were asked to sign a consent form, where they provided permission for the use of the material gathered through the interview process, including material provided by under-aged children (see Appendices 4 and 5).

Interviews were conducted at the site of choice of the participants, and at a day and time that was convenient to them. All interviews followed a similar format: 1) a brief overview of the research was given to present family members in language accessible to all; 2) one paper copy of the information sheet was provided; 3) one of the parents was then asked to sign the consent form; 4) recording and note taking of the interview began. Interviews followed an exploratory structure accommodating participants' willingness and ability to respond to questions. The previously determined questions acted as prompts for the interviewers and were adapted to the specific context and participants' readiness to respond and engage (Minichiello et al. 1995).

All family interviews were recorded and professionally transcribed. All interviews with relevant organisation or government representatives were recorded through note taking and audio tape but only four were later professionally transcribed having been identified as rich in usable quotations of use for the study. The other interviews were referred to for key themes, references or resources that had been suggested as of importance but lacked relevant quotes. Because of financial limitations the researchers had to ensure transcriptions focussed on the family interviews. This approach also recognised that the informative nature of the interviews with organisational/government representatives was such that they set the context for the family interviews. In contrast the family interviews were central to the research aims.

2.1.1. Family Interviews

In-depth, face-to-face interviews were conducted with a total of 25 families; 13 in Dunedin, 9 in Wellington and 3 in Twizel (see Tables 1, 2 and 3 below). As the urban family interviews unfolded, a common theme to emerge was the organisational 'hassles' and costs of transporting children to outdoors sites, such as national parks, as a major barrier to participation. Therefore, in order to provide a counterpoint to the urban environment, and verify if this constraint was imposed only on urban families, Twizel families were included in the later stages of this study. Twizel was chosen as a location to conduct additional interviews because of the very close proximity and access to two conservation parks, the Waitaki Lakes, Lake Ruataniwha, several ski fields and Aoraki Mt Cook National Park. The range of outdoor recreation opportunities (e.g. fishing, boating, mountain biking, skiing) accessible to Twizel families meant interviews with willing participants from this group could provide insights into ease of access and the influence of proximity to outdoor recreation opportunities.

Most interviews were conducted in the participants' houses as that was deemed more convenient by interviewees, particularly those with young children who would be inconvenienced having to travel from home. Most interviews had all members of the household present, including preschoolers, primary and/or secondary school children, and extended family members living in the same house, such as cousins, and grandparents. Participating children and teenagers had full participation in all interviews, making comments, listening and adding their own impressions to the conversations.

Table 1: Dunedin Families Interviewed

Identifier	Household Members	Ages	Ethnicity	Level of Education
D1	Father, Mother and 2 children	Parents: 39/39 Children: 7/3	Father: Samoan/Pākehā Mother: Chinese	Father: Trade Certificate Mother: Tertiary ¹
D2	Father, Mother and 2 children	Parents: 47/46 Children: 16/14	Father: Pākehā Mother: Pākehā	Father: Tertiary Mother: Tertiary
D3	Father, Mother, 2 children and grandmother	Parents: 54/52 Children: 18/14 Grandmother: unknown	Father: Pākehā Mother: Pākehā	Father: Tertiary Mother: Tertiary
D4	Divorced Mother, Partner and 1 child from first relationship	Caregivers: 32/36 Child: 12	Mother: Māori Partner: Pākehā	Mother: Tertiary Partner: Secondary
D5	Father, Mother, 4 children (2 adopted)	Parents: unknown Children: two adopted teenagers and two primary school children	Father: Samoan Mother: Samoan	Father: unknown Mother: unknown
D6	Father, Mother and 2 children	Parents: 49/49 Children: 16/13	Father: Pākehā Mother: Pākehā	Father: Tertiary Mother: Tertiary
D7	Father, Mother and 2 children	Parents: 45/47 Children: 18/14	Father: Pākehā Mother: Māori	Father: Tertiary level Mother: Tertiary level
D8	Father, Mother and 2 children	Parents: unsure Children: 5/3	Father: Māori Mother: Pākehā	Father: Tertiary level Mother: Tertiary level
D9	Father, Mother and 1 child	Parents: 35/32 Children: 2	Father: Pākehā Mother: Pākehā	Father: Tertiary level Mother: Tertiary level
D10	Father, Mother, 4 children and one niece	Parents: unknown Children: 18/13/10/3/21	Father: Samoan Mother: Pākehā	Father: Tertiary level Mother: Tertiary level
D11	Father, Mother and 3 children	Parents: 30s/40s Children: unknown	Father: Samoan Mother: Samoan	Father: Tertiary level Mother: Tertiary level
D12	Father, Mother and 2 children	Parents: 45/50 Children: 13/11	Father: Pākehā Mother: Pākehā	Father: Tertiary level Mother: Tertiary level
D13	Father, Mother, 2 children and grandmother	Parents: 43/37 Children: 6/4 Grandmother: unknown	Father: Māori Mother: Pākehā immigrant	Father: Tertiary level Mother: Trade certificate

¹ Including Polytechnics, Wananga, and Universities (undergraduate and postgraduate levels).

Table 2: Wellington Families Interviewed

Identifier	Household Members	Ages	Ethnicity	Level of Education
W1	Father, Mother and 2 children	Parents: unknown Children: 3/1	Father: Cook Islander Mother: Māori	Father: unknown Mother: Tertiary
W2	Father, Mother and 2 children	Parents: 46/39 Children: 3/1	Father: Pākehā Mother: Pākehā Children: Pākehā	Father: Trade certificate Mother: Trade certificate
W3	Father, Mother and 2 children	Parents: 46/36 Children: 5/3	Father: Māori Mother: Pākehā	Father: Secondary Mother: Tertiary
W4	Father, Mother and 2 children	Parents: 48/45 Children: 12/6	Mother: Pākehā/Māori Partner: Pākehā	Mother: Tertiary Partner: Tertiary
W5	Father, Mother, 2 children and grandmother	Parents: 20s Children: preschoolers Grandmother: 50s	Father: Pacific Island Mother: Māori	Mother: Uni Student Father: Secondary
W6	Divorced Mother, re-married, with 2 children from previous marriage and one from current	Caregivers: 55/61 Children: 21/19/12	Father: Pākehā Mother: Pākehā	Father: Tertiary Mother: Tertiary
W7	Father, Mother and 4 children	Parents: unknown Children: unknown	Father: Pākehā/Māori Mother: Pākehā	Father: Tertiary Mother: Tertiary
W8	Father, Mother and 3 children	Parents: 41/41 Children: 8/6/3	Father: Pākehā Mother: Pākehā	Father: Tertiary Mother: Tertiary
W9	Divorced Father, re-married with 2 children from previous marriage and one from current	Parents: 40/28 Children: 12/8/1	Father: Pākehā Mother: Pākehā	Father: Secondary Mother: Tertiary

Table 3: Twizel Families Interviewed

Identifier	Household Members	Ages	Ethnicity	Level of Education
T1	Father, Mother and 2 children	Parents: unknown Children: 8/10	Father: Pākehā/Māori Mother: Pākehā immigrant	Mother: Secondary level Partner: Secondary level
T2	Father with adult son, Mother remarried with 2 children	Parents: unknown Children: unknown	Father: Pākehā/Māori Mother: Pākehā	Mother: tertiary Partner: trade
T3	Divorced Mother, re-married with 2 children from previous marriage and one from current	Parents: unknown Children: 11/9/3	Father: Pākehā Mother: Pākehā	Mother: tertiary Father: Trade certificate

2.1.2. Government Representatives Interviews

Seven in-depth, face-to-face interview sessions were conducted with a total of 10 government representatives coming from different levels of relevant government and local authority organisations (see Table 4 below). Interviewees were selected according to their involvement in managing outdoor recreation areas and/or policy development and implementation, at national, regional or local levels.

Table 4: Government Representatives Interviewed

Organisation	Participants
Dunedin City Council	Community and Recreation Services Manager
Department of Conservation Otago Conservancy	Recreation Planner
Wellington City Council	Manager, Community Engagement & Reserves, Parks and Gardens Senior Park Manager Recreation Planner
Department of Conservation Wellington Hawke's Bay Conservancy	Technical Support Officer, Recreation
Greater Wellington Regional Council	Manager, Marketing & Design, Water Supply, Park & Forests
Department of Conservation National Office	Recreation Manager Visitor Information and Visitor Centres Manager, Research & Development

Most interviews were conducted at the participants' workplace as that was deemed more convenient by interviewees. One interview was conducted at the Centre for Recreation Research, University of Otago with a visiting participant. Most interviews were individual, but two had more than one member of a team involved with outdoor recreation in the specific department at the interview.

2.2 Participant Observation

An important aspect of the research was the engagement of the two first authors with outdoor recreation in all three study sites, visiting city and regional parks as well as surrounding conservation land in the Greater Wellington region, Dunedin and environs, and Twizel area. Photographs were taken in several of these places as a visual record of facilities, information and services available to families. Also, the participation of families in outdoor recreation at these sites was noted.

Throughout the course of the research, visitor and information centres were visited in all three study sites. Brochures and information readily available to visitors were collected and analysed in order to assess the content and target audience, with a particular focus on information relevant to family experiences. A selection of this material is presented in Section 4, where we discuss the policy and management context for outdoor recreation in New Zealand, but particularly in Dunedin and Wellington.

2.3 Analysis

The process of data analysis was inductive and data-led. In total, more than 25 hours of family interview recordings were transcribed into approximately 400 pages of qualitative material for analysis. Government representatives' interviews comprised 63 pages of transcripts and 9.5 hours of recording. All transcripts were read several times for key words, phrases and rich quotations by the two key researchers. Notes taken during interviews were also cross-referenced whilst reading transcripts to take into account the context of the interviews (especially when several family members were contributing or when children were playing over conversations, and therefore could result in 'messy' transcripts).

Themes that emerged during the interviews were identified and subsequently clustered and compared. Analysis of the interview data used the constant comparison method, particularly for family interviews (Strauss and Corban 1990; Glaser and Strauss 1967). Participants' experiences, preferences, motivations, and other elements relevant to the study, were observed and compared with one another. After main themes had been identified, rich quotes highlighted and relevant points annotated, researchers compared findings with each others' results to develop and prioritise themes, and identify commonalities. Subsequently, results were combined and a synthesis of the findings presented here. Quotations extracted from the interview transcripts are used throughout this report in order to enrich the discussion of the different results encountered in this study.

2.4 Ethical Considerations

Research involving qualitative approaches requires consideration of a myriad of ethical issues that need to be dealt with in order to present sound participation and results. The interview technique employed involves one main ethical issue, which is anonymity. This was addressed by the use of the following measures:

1. An information sheet including all necessary information regarding the research (aims and purposes) was provided to every family and government representative, emphasising that participation was voluntary;
2. Participants were assured of anonymity in the recording and reporting of data;
3. The researcher's contact details were included in the information sheet in case of additional questions or concerns;
4. Analysis of data was conducted in aggregated form, so to further contribute to anonymity;
5. Interviews were carried out in an appropriate location convenient to the interviewee;
6. The precise nature of the questions which are asked in an open-questioning technique cannot be determined in advance, but depends on the way in which the interview develops. Therefore, participants were reminded from the beginning that in the event that the line of questioning developed in such a way that the interviewee felt hesitant or uncomfortable, they had the right to decline to answer any particular question(s) and also that they could withdraw from the project at any stage without any disadvantage of any kind;
7. Parents or caregivers were always present when children were involved, and provided written consent for their participation.

Furthermore, identifiers have been assigned for the reporting of the results, and any data that could lead to participants being recognized were manipulated or removed from the analysis. All interview transcripts and digital recordings will remain in secure storage in the Centre for Recreation Research for five years, and then will be destroyed. More in-depth analysis of the findings pertaining to academic theory on various themes recurrent in the qualitative findings will be undertaken for academic journal articles following the same ethical guidelines.

2.5 Limitations of the Study

There are a few limitations to this study that must be considered. Although this research used a broad definition of family to recruit and incorporate families in the study, no single-parent, homosexual or child-less families volunteered to participate in the project. Other family unit compositions, however, were represented (e.g. de facto couples, divorced parents, re-married couples, extended families, children and parents from different age groups, etc.) and it is considered that a significant range of family types has been included to ensure the robustness of the results. With this in mind, it is important to note, however, that due to its qualitative and exploratory nature, the findings from this research project should not be generalised and should be considered only within the context of the present study.

Another important limitation of the study is the under-representation of Pacific Island families. As mentioned previously, our recruitment methods and efforts did not effectively recruit Pacific Island families, for reasons yet to be determined. This was despite having Pacific Island contacts and research assistants. The researchers speculate that 'outdoor recreation' is perceived as irrelevant to or distant from Pacific Islanders' reality of living in New Zealand and therefore there was a general lack of interest in the topic. Furthermore, Pacific Island family units tend to be large, and to have other significant commitments (such as work and church) and thus the study may have proved to be too complex for families to work into their programmes.

SECTION 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

Leisure and recreation have been extensively documented as powerful tools for family well-being (Orthner Barnett-Morris and Mancini 1994; Orthner and Mancini 1990). Since the early 1950s, academics from different disciplines have been discussing the multiple benefits of shared and individual leisure time in family settings. Common benefits associated with family leisure activities are the building of strong ties between family members, marital satisfaction, conflict resolution, improvement in communication, physical and mental health, among others (Lehto et al. 2009; Smith, Freeman and Zabriskie 2009; Dyck and Dally 2006; Harrington 2006; Freeman and Zabriskie 2003). At the same time, researchers have noted that finding time and resources to participate in leisure activities, including outdoor recreation, can actually be stressful for families (De Joux 1985).

Despite the interest from academia in family leisure and recreation, the ever changing nature of the family institution in modern societies poses constant challenges to the understanding of several elements involved in the family leisure and recreation realm. One aspect in particular has not received much attention from researchers in the field: unstructured (non commercial) outdoor family recreation.

A review of the international literature on the field points to a predominance of a focus on general leisure activities without differentiating between types and styles (Jenkins 2009; Lehto et al. 2009; Such 2006). When this is done, studies usually follow the Core & Balance Model of Family Leisure Functioning, which identifies two basic patterns of family leisure: the core family leisure and the balance family leisure. Core family leisure categories “address a family’s need for familiarity and stability by regularly providing predictable family experiences that foster personal relatedness and feelings of family closeness” and which include “common every-day, low-cost, relatively accessible, and often home-based activities that many families do frequently,” such as watching television, playing games, and home-gardening (Zabriskie 2001:36). Balance family leisure patterns provide a counter-point and are activities that are novel and sometimes challenging, such as special events, travel, and outdoor recreation. According to these authors, such experiences “provide the input necessary for family systems to be challenged, to develop, and to progress as a working unit” (Zabriskie 2001:36).

Despite the predominance of general leisure activities in family leisure studies, some authors have argued that certain family recreation pursuits are more related to family good functioning than some other leisure experiences (Hill 1998; Hawkes 1991). Amongst the oft-cited recreation activities is outdoor recreation, particularly camping. Following this strand, several studies have focused on family camps and outdoor adventure programmes to examine the effects and effectiveness of these experiences in providing benefits for family functioning (Agate and Covey 2007; Berman and Davis-Berman 2007; Jansen 2004; Wells, Widmer and McCoy 2004; Huff et al. 2003; Scholl et al. 2003; Freeman and Zabriskie 2002; Kugath 1997; Burch, 1965). Benefits gained from these programmes have been reported as similar to general family leisure benefits, and include enhanced family cohesion, friendship, skill development, adaptability and communication (Wells, Widmer and McCoy 2004; Huff et al. 2003; Freeman and Zabriskie 2002; Zabriskie and McCormick 2001). Few studies, however, have gone outside these formally constituted spaces of nature-based leisure, where facilitators and organizers tailor the leisure and recreation experience to achieve certain goals.

In general terms, families have been shown to encounter constraints to leisure and outdoor recreation owing to lifecycle stage, single parent status, lack of spare time, and financial and accessibility reasons (Freeman and Zabriskie 2002; Pennington-Gray and Kerstetter 2002; Shaw and Dawson 2001). There may be cultural reasons also for participation or non-participation in specific activities or at specific settings, particularly when the natural environment and unstructured activities are involved (Shaull and Gramann 1998). Women have been found to reduce their leisure participation as they become mothers, particularly individual leisure pursuits (Little 2002; Brown et al. 2001; Crawford and Godbey 1987). Family leisure, on the other hand, becomes a central focus for mothers with home-residing children (Shaw and Dawson 2001), although the engagement with family leisure activities may not be always regarded as pleasurable and relaxing (Shaw 1992). In fact, several studies, particularly the ones drawing from feminists' perspectives, have indicated that family leisure can become another burden to mothers, who often organise and administer activities that are not entirely of their own choice (Bialeschki and Michener 1994). Family camps and outdoor adventure programmes have been particularly successful in diminishing this issue, as they often require that responsibilities be shared between family members as part of their aim to achieve family cohesiveness and enhanced communication through outdoor recreation (Wells, Widmer and McCoy 2004). Studies so far have not analysed these aspects in unstructured outdoor recreation engaged in by families. West and Merriam (1970), however, presenting one of the first studies on outdoor recreation and family, focused on other aspects of these activities on family functioning. Their results provided "only slight support for the proposition that outdoor recreation activity helps maintain and increase family cohesiveness" (West and Merriam 1970:255). Since then, not many studies have been undertaken with a focus on family and self-reliant outdoor recreation², but overall agreement from correlated research reinforces the potential of these activities for family quality of life (Lehto et al. 2009).

Within the New Zealand outdoor recreation context there is limited in-depth qualitative and quantitative research examining families' group experiences of outdoor recreation that is published in academic literature. Numerous student dissertations and theses exploring the provision of nature based experiences for children exist (see Peebles 1995). Simmons (1980) and Devlin (1976) noted that families were active as visitors participating in summer holiday programmes provided by staff at Arthur's Pass and Tongariro National Parks, however such participation was often linked to the lifecycle stages of the families. In fact, international research also has suggested that family lifecycle is an important aspect in family engagement with general leisure activities, reinforcing these authors' findings (Orthner, Barnett-Morris, and Mancini 1994; Claxton and Perry-Jenkins 2008). Another early study in New Zealand that reached a similar conclusion was produced by Crawford in 1970. His research showed low levels of family participation in all forms of recreation in Palmerston North (Crawford 1970).

Still in New Zealand, there is a substantial body of literature focusing on general visitors' experiences and constraints associated with National Park settings, particularly emerging from Department of Conservation investigations, but limited attention has been paid to other areas of the conservation estate or to other park settings (e.g. Regional Parks). Moreover, most studies have focused on general visitor experiences and New Zealand families have received limited attention in these studies. An important finding from a New Zealand-based literature review of visitors to the conservation estate reported that families have been viewed as under-

² Although Lee, Graefe and Burns' (2008) research focused on family independent outdoor recreation participation, their aim was to investigate visitors to a scenic area who were accompanied with children and those who were not in order to identify the different motivations to visit the park participation in recreational activities.

represented amongst visitors to National Parks (Booth 1989). SPARC has examined the participation of New Zealanders, including specific subsamples of Māori and Pacific Islanders, in the Sport and Recreation New Zealand's 1997/98, 1998/99 and 2000/01 Sport and Physical Activity Surveys (McLean and Tobias 2004; SPARC 2002). Notably, these findings concentrated on sport and general activity participation, with minimal reference to outdoor recreation nor to family group experiences overall. Dignan and Cessford's (2009) review of current New Zealand literature on outdoor recreation participation, on the other hand, provided more detailed information, particularly in regards to demographic data. The authors report that:

the most active outdoor recreation participants tend to be young, male and single. They are less likely to have children at home or in their group than are the more passive recreationists (Booth, 1989; Genet 2001; Booth & Peebles, 1995). They tend to be more highly educated and to be in paid employment, employed in professional or technical and sales or service occupations. Passive recreation participants tend to be more generally representative of the population as a whole, often including family groups and those who are not in formal employment (Booth 1989). Groups under-represented as outdoor recreation participants include Māori, Pacific Islanders, other ethnic groups, disabled, the aged, and those with low incomes (Booth, 1989; Lomax, 1988; SPARC 2003) (Dignan and Cessford 2009:25).

Quantitative research conducted via a user survey in two recently established conservation parks asked specific questions about families' experiences of recreation (Lovelock, Carr and Sides 2007; Carr, Lovelock and Wright 2006). In the Ahuriri Conservation Park study a major motivation for visitors was to take their family into the outdoors: 15% of visitors were accompanied by children. The five main reasons (in descending order of importance) for visiting the park were to experience solitude, tramping, sightseeing, the ease of access to nature and to take children or family into the outdoors. Popular recreational activities included tramping, walking, fishing, mountain biking, sightseeing, photography, bird watching and soft adventure/family based activities. In the second study, the Department of Conservation and 'friends and family' were the main sources of information about the Ruataniwha Conservation Park. This indicated the importance of sharing knowledge in continuing outdoor traditions amongst family members. At the Ruataniwha Conservation Park, mountain biking, picnicking and camping opportunities were greater motivators for family groups; the most popular areas visited being the Hopkins and Temple Valleys, which were easily accessible by vehicle. The family groups were more likely to be occasional users of the park (50%) whereas other adult groups tended to be first time users (43%). For both studies, satisfaction levels with the facilities and amenities were low, with the family groups indicating possible barriers to future participation unless services were improved (particularly requesting sheltered picnicking and camping areas). Family groups indicated that the natural environment and beauty of the areas would be the paramount reasons for them to return to such locations.

The literature review has identified limited publications specifically reporting research conducted in New Zealand that provides a national context within which to understand the influences on family groups' outdoor recreation preferences and consequential socio-cultural benefits. Furthermore, research on Māori and Pacific Island family groups' experiences of the outdoors has tended to be purely theoretical, literature review-based or reflecting upon anecdotal evidence regarding these cultural groups (e.g. Matunga, Wakefield and Hume 1994; Zijlstra, Hume and Matunga 1994). An exception is the work of Lomax (1988) who explored Māori experiences of New Zealand National Parks. However, there was not a specific focus on family experiences, instead

individuals were the focus. The research focusing on Māori has attempted, nonetheless, to understand the emotional and socio-cultural values of the outdoors.

Māori participation in outdoor recreation has been described as culturally significant, “linking people and place, such as tangata whenua with their turangawaewae, exploring the natural environments and cultural traditions of their tupuna, reinforcing basic values of Māori culture and instilling a sense of cultural pride” (Matunga 1995a:18). Matunga, Wakefield and Hume (1994:np) and describe Māori recreational experience as holistic – “a mixture of work and recreation, cultural enhancement, spiritual renewal, learning and leisure.”

The Master’s thesis by Lomax (1988) researched Canterbury Māori use and non-use of National Parks and described a wide range of attitudes towards National Parks in New Zealand, depending on the degree to which the Māori participants identified with their Māori culture. Traditional Māori views of the land, relating to concepts of mana and turangawaewae, were expressed by survey participants, who also reported family group visits to National Parks which had strong cultural significance because of traditional practices and ancestral links. Furthermore, respondents felt their recreational needs were satisfied by visiting culturally significant natural areas, many of which were not within the boundaries of a National Park. Lomax’s findings indicated park visitation occurred amongst Māori primarily for motivations relating to traditional customs, particularly for food gathering or family activities. In contrast, traditional National Park visitors who are non-Māori have been described as less motivated by social reasons, instead pursuing outdoor recreation activities traditionally associated with National Parks, such as sightseeing, walking and tramping (Booth and Peebles 1995; Matunga 1995a, 1995b; Matunga, Wakefield and Hume 1994; Lomax 1988; O’Regan 1987, 1990).

Neither Peebles (1995) nor the researchers involved in this research could locate published academic literature about Pacific Island community members’ experiences of outdoor recreation. Nonetheless, as mentioned above, existing research on New Zealand outdoor recreation participation has reported lower levels of engagement of Pacific Island as well as of Māori groups. Therefore, there is a pressing need for a better understanding of these groups’ (apparently infrequent) outdoor recreation experiences, if we aim to recruit more participants to recreational activities in the outdoors. Moreover, the overall lack of in-depth research examining family groups’ experiences of the outdoors in an unstructured setting is apparent, and the present study intends to contribute to reduce this knowledge gap. This undertaking is important not only to provide a more nuanced understanding of family outdoor recreation in New Zealand, but also to provide policy makers with information that is practical and effective to the provision of recreational opportunities that are culturally-relevant and sensitive. An example of the importance of this issue for park management is provided by Chavez (2001) who conducted research funded by the USDA Forest Service and USDI Bureau of Land Management in Californian outdoor recreation venues. Study findings indicated that Hispanic communities tended to engage in outdoor recreation with family and extended family members, a situation that therefore leads to sites with high Hispanic presence having to provide larger picnic tables. This simple example of practical knowledge produced through qualitative and quantitative research on family recreation demonstrates the importance and implications of culture to the provision of recreation opportunities to the general population. More importantly, several studies have confirmed that ethnicity plays an important role in how people experience work, family and leisure (Rehman 2002), yet there is limited research that considers this aspect of individual identity in New Zealand leisure and recreation studies.

SECTION 4: POLICY AND MANAGEMENT CONTEXT

Section 4 presents the findings from the interviews with government representatives and their current approach to outdoor recreation, particularly as it relates to the provision of opportunities for families. As mentioned earlier in this report, this phase of the research is intended to provide contextual information related to the policy and development background to the study sites in order to better understand what is being offered and promoted by government agencies in terms of outdoor recreation, with a focus on families. Previous studies on social policy have reported an important influence of public government institutions and their policies on the leisure patterns of its population, particularly as it relates to gender and active leisure involvement (Kay, 2000; Henderson and Bialeschki 1992). According to some findings in this field, countries that provide better 'family policies', such as parental leave, publicly subsidised childcare and public education, tend to have higher rates of women engaging in active leisure activities (Kay 2000). Although our aim here was not to assess general social policies and their effect on family leisure, from the results of these previous studies it is clear that the promotion and development of strategies to engage all family members, particularly women and children, in active leisure is of the utmost importance. For this reason, we considered that it was crucial that we have a better understanding of public provision of outdoor recreation opportunities for families before conducting interviews and discussing with our interviewed families issues of access, motivations, constraints and benefits.

4.1 Department of Conservation

The Department of Conservation is the main provider of outdoor experiences for residents and visitors to New Zealand. It manages "250 campsites, 960 backcountry huts, 11,000 km of walking tracks, numerous roads, some airstrips and jetties and over 100 picnic areas" (DOC 1996:19). Recreational enjoyment of New Zealand's natural heritage is part of their mission, and management of recreation is focused on identifying priorities. "This process recognises that neither the Department nor the public want all recreational opportunities provided in all locations. Instead, a range of opportunities targeting a range of people will be provided." (DOC 2004:15).

Interviews with DOC staff reinforced statements found in their official documents, such as their Visitor Strategies and general Statement of Intent. It became clear that DOC is concerned with the identification of potential and appropriate recreation activities in the areas they manage in order to identify "the facilities and services required to enable visitors to participate in these activities." (DOC 1996:19). This approach takes into consideration distinct groups of visitors, but these are classified according to their motivation, or their relationship with the Recreation Opportunity Spectrum classes: 1) Short Stop Travellers, 2) Day Visitors, 3) Overnighters, 4) Backcountry Comfort Seekers, 5) Backcountry Adventurers, 6) Remoteness Seekers, and 7) Thrill Seekers. By maintaining their focus on these categories of visitors, DOC is assuming that the multiple roles and styles of family units, for instance, encountered in today's societies makes it impossible to categorize 'families' as one particular type of visitor. As one of our participants explained:

Because, to me, just because someone's a family, doesn't mean that they only fit as day visitor, I mean families who are wanting to get out there are wanting more backcountry comforts, some have got older kids and kids who have been building up experience, they're backcountry adventurers, they actually can still be family units. So from that perspective, we don't see that's a family track, we base it on people's experience and skills and, and the kind of things they are looking for, and families, different families might want a slightly different thing.

This approach seems to work well as a management tool, but falls short when it comes to the promotion of outdoor recreation opportunities and facilities for families, with all their different characteristics, as we will discuss later in our analysis of the family interviews. According to the information gathered through DOC staff interviews (and a review of relevant documents and brochures), and also from the family interviews, it seems that although there is a local Community Relations officer or team in each of the Conservancies, being responsible for communicating DOC's programmes to the community, there is not a general, national strategy for promoting to, and communicating with, particular groups of the community, such as families or ethnic groups apart from Māori. Usually it is up to individual managers or staff to be proactive and establish strategies that will better promote engagement with outdoor recreation on public conservation land.

There's always going to be an element of the person and the job, but I would say that you're quite right, that, that person is looking at what the community is asking for, [...] so it's, I guess there's a difference between the kind of technical way we manage things looking at experience and skills and in the communication side of actually directing families to things that will work for them.

It comes from the Conservancy and then there is support services from here and national office and it's the person I mentioned that does schools education. There is a group of about 3 or 4 people who look after community relations, they provide support for the community relations staff in the area so whatever they do locally is their own initiative and they are supported through whatever means in the national office. But each Conservancy is different and so there might be fantastic things happening in Canterbury and maybe not so much happening in the next Conservancy. It's largely people dependent and also the management structure and so perhaps there is a Conservancy who is in charge of that Conservancy has got young kids, then there might be more of a focus.

It seems, however, that DOC staff are aware of this issue and are starting to make more general moves at the national level to address it (e.g. with the forthcoming DOC Destination Management Framework currently under development).

I suppose we haven't found it necessary but I think the work we are currently doing suggests we should think more about it, is to say, like this is a picnic area for families. I think we have assumed and traditionally families have used these places. So the demographics of who uses public conservation areas includes families and groups of friends and people on their own and people in large groups, but certainly families would be a major component, type of group that would be using front country amenity areas, picnic areas and the short walks and going to look outs and waterfalls and things. So they are definitely going there.

Well, an example would be our Great Walks are a higher standard than most of the tramping tracks. There is a standard for Great Walks and easy tramping tracks is sort of similar but there are some tracks we manage so that we think more people can use them and that would definitely be targeted at families. We would expect and encourage families to use them but probably mostly by assuming that the facilities are to the right standard.

The issue of expectations and assumptions needs to be addressed more emphatically since, as the literature review suggests, there are indeed characteristics that are common to most families that need to be taken into

consideration if we are to encourage more people to enjoy the New Zealand outdoors. According to some of our participants, important steps are currently being taken in this direction:

There is a marketing manager and there is communications people and I think that they are writing a marketing and communications plan and when they do that, hopefully that will identify some of the audiences that they will target for some of the communications. But to date, it's largely driven by us identifying gaps or needs in the market. So, a few years ago we produced these Easy Access Walks brochures (Figure 1 below) and you can see from the pictures on the cover that it is largely targeted at families, but the original need was for us to provide information about fully accessible facilities [...] so these brochures have been very popular and, then, since we have done that a lot of the information about accessible facilities has been included in the local area brochures, and we are actually not going to continue to produce those but what we are going to do instead is these two brochures which, [...] they are very much in development and so we have moved on from accessible short walks to accessible tramping tracks that are less than 2 hours or so from a road end. And so the focus of these is getting beginners and families into the backcountry with a destination of the huts and so they are largely focussed around the hut as an overnight stay, so you walk into the hut and back and so they are not the traditional, you know, walk the whole track, it's just, here's an introduction to bush walking and staying in a hut and we only included huts that were of a reasonable level of facility. Not the grottiest, dirtiest, horrible-st ones that we have. We don't want to put them off. And we also didn't include tracks that were very, you know, really, really steep and difficult. So this is in development at the moment but that's the progression from this basically. And I am not even sure how we are going to finalise it, so it could, it could morph into little geo booklets like this or it, we might just trial it on the website initially.



Figure 1: Department of Conservation Easy Access Walks Brochures (front covers)

An interesting aspect identified in this study is that Conservancy independence leads to very different standards and approaches to community involvement with outdoor recreation and promotion of recreational opportunities available in the region. Some Conservancies intensely engage the community, through initiatives such as

summer programmes, school holiday activities, volunteer work, etc. Also, as we can see from the interview extract above, local brochures can be produced to target particular audiences (see Figure 2 below).



Figure 2: Canterbury Conservancy Walks for Families Brochure (front cover)

According to this study, this promotional material is an invaluable form of promotion. Other examples coming from the National Office as an attempt to better equip different groups to engage with outdoor recreation activities can be seen in the figures below (here we show the ones that are of particular interest to families).

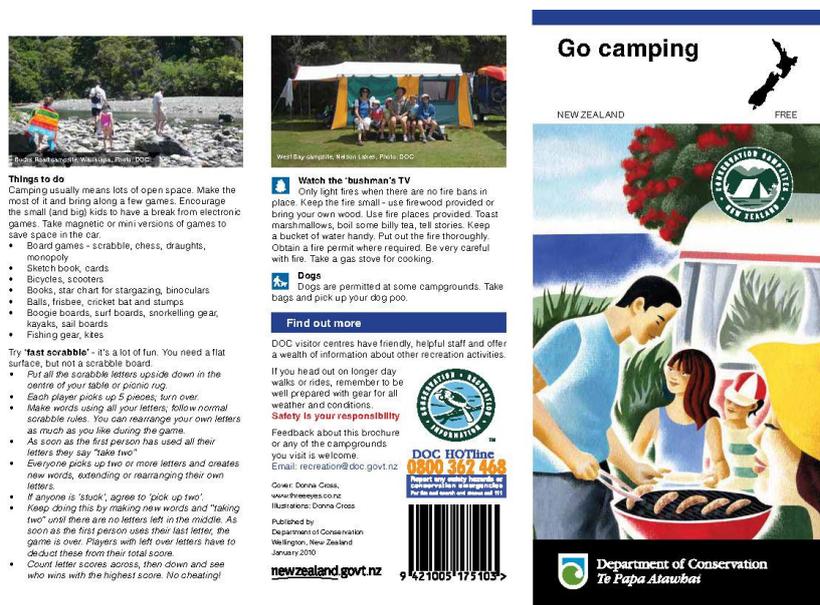


Figure 3: Department of Conservation 'Go Camping' Brochure (front)

Camping gear list

If you haven't been camping for a while, it's easy to forget things. You may not need all items. Essentials are marked* below.

A portable stove is a good investment for your emergency kit at home, and a picnic set has a lot of what you need in one handy place. Store your gear together in one place so it is easy to find.



Sleeping

- Tent*
- Ground sheet
- Sleeping mats (air or foam roll bed)
- Pillow - or use your clothes. Pillow case
- Sleeping bag*
- Towel / beach towels
- Clothes line, hammer for tent pegs
- Clothes and toiletries
- Torch, lantern and spare batteries*

Cooking and eating

- Portable stove and gas*
- Cooking pots and fry pan*
- Cutlery*
- Tin opener and corkscrew*
- Matches, lighter*
- Plastic plates, bowls and mugs*
- Rubbish bags*
- Dish liquid and scrubber / dish cloth*
- Dish washing container, bucket*
- Tea towel*
- Water bottle and container*
- Picnic rug
- Mini chopping board
- Chilly bin or bag / cooler*
- Fold up table, chairs / stools
- Plastic storage containers
- Tin foil for baking
- Coffee plunger, wire toaster

Other

- First aid kit*
- Insect repellent, sun screen*
- Raincoat, sun hat, warm hat*
- Radio to listen for weather forecast (and the cricket scores)!
- Camera, binoculars, pocketknife
- Light weight shade tent / umbrella
- Tarpaulin, rope, pegs for bad weather
- Toilet paper
- Ear plugs, personal medications



Figure 4: Department of Conservation 'Go Camping' Brochure (inside)

Camping was viewed by all managers as one of the most important family outdoor recreation activities. Brochures presented as Figures 3, 4 and 5 were an outcome of DOC research into constraints to participation in camping, and these brochures have proven extremely popular. Their success, as we see it, is based on clear and useful information provided, but particularly because they are, in all aspects, inviting for families.

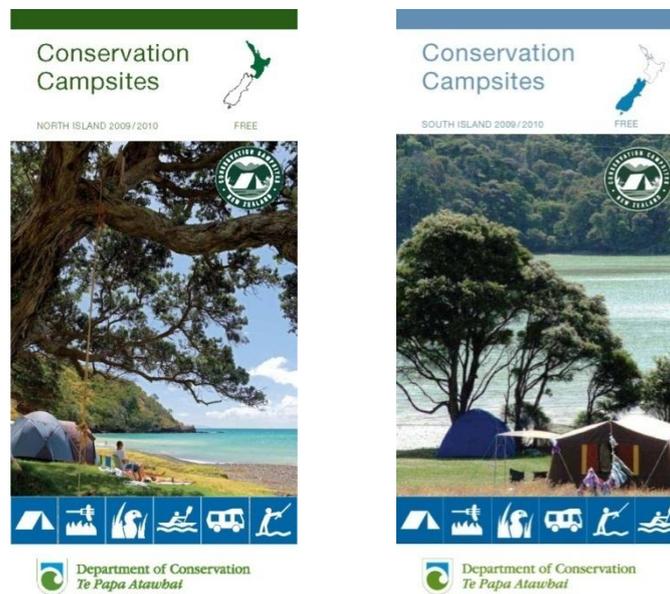


Figure 5: Department of Conservation 'Conservation Campsites' Brochures (front covers)

The interviews also revealed that DOC staff are aware that information availability is still an issue for participation, particularly for families, due to their inherent characteristics. Despite information being obtainable on DOC's website, for instance, "at the moment it is really hard work", as one of the interviewed staff said. In fact, recurrent comments from families reflect this manager's perception of access to information:

I think one of the other things sometimes is the useability of the information that is provided as well, and the quality of the maps. And then there is also a perception of the riskiness of the outdoors and the hazards that are out there and so some people like a lot of information and a really good map before they will go out, particularly with your kids, I suppose. You want to know what to expect and if the quality of the information, if the information doesn't give you that level of assurance then... It's not just a... it can be a lack of or it can be the quality of the material that is provided.

Another constraint identified by DOC, and corroborated by this study, as we will discuss later, is lack of time. At the moment, DOC is “*doing some planning work to say how can we, basically, how can we grow participation. So what we are doing is asking those questions and we aren't that far ahead.*” This is an important step forward, in that it demonstrates an awareness and willingness to work through the difficulties to overcome the problem. In order to surmount another barrier for participation, financial constraints, DOC has adopted a fees policy that dramatically reduces fees for under-18 children, in some instances exempting them from payment. This was particularly relevant in the case of Great Walks hut fees, which are now free for under-18s.

In terms of cultural awareness, DOC has not attended to this issue, apart from some isolated initiatives in specific conservancies, such as getting the Chinese community involved with volunteer conservation work. According to some of our participants, “*the short answer is we're not doing much about it but there is a bit more understanding needed about what they [families] actually consider is their recreation need and we haven't got that well sorted.*” Gaining insights into such recreation needs is one of the objectives of the present study.

4.2 Wellington

Wellington region is blessed with excellent natural environments and public recreation areas such as regional parks and beaches that are accessible to, and inviting for, different groups of residents. Both the Regional and the City Councils have noticed this important asset and work to promote it to diverse sections of the population. The Wellington Regional Council, in particular, works closely with the Department of Conservation at a National Office level, exchanging knowledge, information and ideas to constantly promote outdoor recreation to Wellingtonians. As a Regional Council, they also cooperate strategically with City Councils throughout the region.

Wellington Regional Council manages several regional parks, forests and recreation areas. Individual brochures for each area are produced and freely distributed throughout the region, with information that includes maps, access, main features, activities, tracks, safety and history (see Figure 6 below). Many brochures contain family-relevant information and images that invite family participation. The Regional Council also provides general outdoor recreation brochures, such as the ‘Walking in the Regional Parks’, ‘Mountain Biking in the Regional Parks’ and ‘Regional Parks’ brochures (see Figure 7 below).

The overarching document guiding the regional council approach to outdoor recreation is the Parks Network Strategy, which states as one of their main objective: “[to] provide a range of outdoor recreation opportunities within the network that cater for varying age, ability and experience” (Wellington Regional Council 2009:3). In order to achieve that the Regional Council provides useful information that is accessible and that transmits a sense of safety to encourage broad participation, including by families.

In the brochures, in particular, [we identify activities or areas that are more suitable for families], where you would say that there are places here that are suitable for picnics, camping, group activities, easy walks, easy bike rides and that type of thing. So people have the option of saying, ok, I want a walk or to go picnicking in a place that is close to a car park or close to public transport or whatever they need to do and they would make the choice based on that. So, it's really up to the individual because you know that family circumstances vary markedly but we know for example that they will need things like toilets, they will need, probably picnic tables and reasonable vehicle access. And reasonably easy recreational opportunities in close proximity to all those things. That's the sort of stuff that is going to make it attractive to families. And you also need a perception of safety and so people don't get lost and they want to make sure the kids don't fall over a cliff or something like that. So all that sort of stuff is going to enhance the opportunity for family recreation.



Figure 6: Wellington Regional Council Pakuratahi Forest Brochure (front)

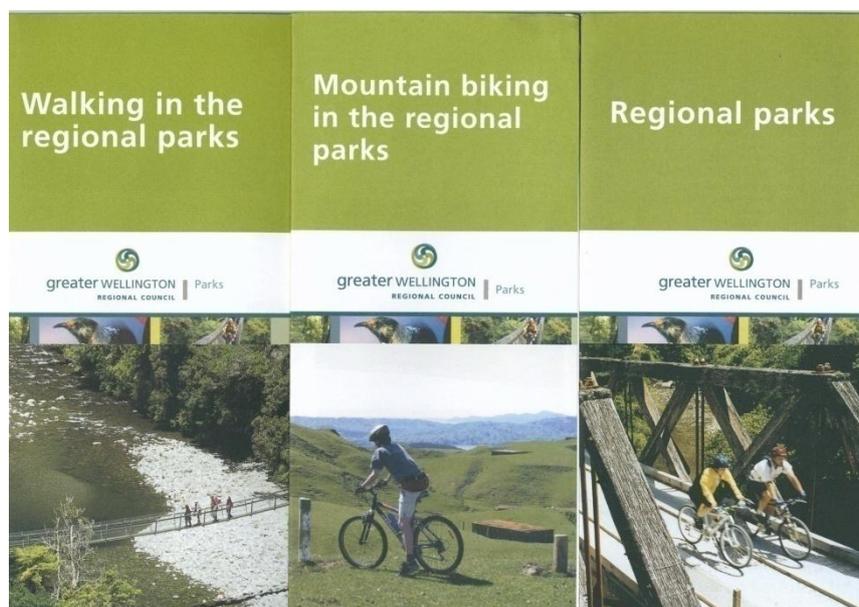


Figure 7: Wellington Regional Council Park Brochures (front covers)

Another important initiative from the Regional Council is the organisation and promotion of the summer programme. The programme has been running since 2000 and offers more than 60 activities throughout summer to encourage the population to use and have fun in the outdoors. The main aim of the programme is to introduce people to the regional parks.

[the summer programme] is geared up to encourage a wide, again, you talk about a wide range of people, so we have got things like, there was a park open day here and this is an event called "Keep the Kiwi" which is basically focussed on getting families with small children out and going for a short walk and that type of thing. This is a tramp [showing a picture of past year's summer programme] that we went on in Kaitaki Regional Park.



Figure 8: Wellington Regional Council Great Outdoors Summer Programme (front cover)

You know in the summer, I know our neighbours really used the activities, the Wellington Regional Council summer activities. Like, they booked, you have to book in. We did a fly fishing morning at Otaki, fly fishing instruction that they got the local fly fishing club to run. It was very good. And they were doing that around the place and [son] also booked into a four wheel drive convoy, which went over into Hutt Valley, and so the Four Wheel Drive Club got through. (W7 Father)

The success of the event, which is advertised through the delivery of pamphlets to every household in the region, reinforces the appeal of the outdoors to the general population, even in a highly urbanised region of the country. Programmes such as this provide the encouragement and trigger necessary for different groups of society to engage with New Zealand's natural environment. Not only families are an important target but also different ethnic groups. In that respect, the Regional Council uses information from their yearly surveys to better understand their market and receive feedback from the services that are being provided.

we do have quite a few Pacific Island families who are very, we know that they are very focussed on family and very focussed on the church and so they particularly, we have noticed, they particularly prefer parks, like Queen Elizabeth Park, which has wide open spaces, that are good for group picnics

and that type of thing. Not particularly oriented towards a lot of walking. You know out there, walking, they sort of regard parks as a setting for their social activities, so they can strengthen their ties within their community and so that is a particular trait of Pacific communities. We have talked about having things like Umu facilities in parks but we haven't done anything about that. We have got, what we call, concrete fire pads, so we have bonfires and things like that at Battle Hill, you can go in there and have a group bonfire which is really popular with scouts and guides and that type of thing but in terms of a big family group and setting up an umu, we just haven't really got that facility yet.

Another source of information is park rangers. All parks have rangers, including some resident rangers in selected parks (e.g. Queen Elizabeth Park) who are available seven days a week and work closely with the community to inform managers of current demands, suggestions and improvements to the provision of facilities and activities.

The City Council plays a smaller role in the context of outdoor recreation in Wellington, due to the significantly smaller area of natural landscape under their management compared to the Regional Council. However, through their 'Feeling Great' programme, several half-day and full-day activities are encouraged in the waterfront, reserves, Town Belt and Botanic Garden. A monthly brochure is distributed throughout the city with activities that range from events to walks, festivals and sports. Also, the City Council has a selection of widely distributed brochures showing different walks and tracks.

In terms of constraints to family participation, lack of skills and knowledge were raised as concerns, but similarly to the interviews with DOC management staff, lack of time was perceived by managers as the most important barrier to participation. Other constraints mentioned were lack of transport and financial barriers.

The biggest thing that people always say stops them from going to the regional parks is lack of time. So families are really busy and especially if you have got two working parents or two parents who work outside the home. Actually, getting everything organised so that they can go into the outdoors or they have a place near them that provides the right facilities, you know, provides, what they perceive as safe and entertaining to a certain, it doesn't have to be lights and shows and all that type of thing. But it's got to be safe and it's got to be appealing and so having that is really important for families generally. As I said, it depends on the age of the families but in Wellington, particularly, it's limited or constrained by the terrain and so we have lots of hills as you can see but we don't have a lot, and we have a reasonable amount of completely flat land, but we don't have a lot of rolling terrain and that's really useful if you want to bring, have a gradual progression from really basic stuff to more advanced levels of fitness and things like that. So that means that you have to spend a bit of time, in fact, quite a lot of time and resources on creating facilities that are specifically designed around families. So things like, intermediate walking tracks, beginner mountain biking, because mountain biking is becoming really, really popular and a lot of families are doing it. So, creating facilities specifically for recreation or unstructured recreation that are close to urban centres, easily accessible by public transport, that's another thing sometimes, people say is stopping them going somewhere, lack of transport. And, I mean there will be some people who are constrained because of lack of income, but essentially we are quite lucky in that there are green spaces not far away, so it's really educating and saying to people, this is out there and not just assuming that you build it and they will come because the other thing is that there is, families are, families are very much more spread out.

4.3 Dunedin

Although Dunedin and its environs are extremely well-served with natural landscapes and recreational opportunities, most of the region's publicly accessible natural areas are currently managed by the Department of Conservation. The tracks and walks on the Otago Peninsula and in the Silver Peaks Scenic Reserve are important assets for outdoor recreation in the city and are managed mostly by the Otago Conservancy. Further afield, the Otago Central Rail Trail is another significant space for family outdoor recreation experiences that is managed by the Department of Conservation. There are, however, several parks and gardens, including the Town Belt, and the beaches along the northern and southern coastlines that provide infinite opportunities for recreation in the outdoors.

In contrast to Wellington, Dunedin seems to offer fewer organised and promoted events and activities that take advantage of the city's natural environment. Unlike those offered in the Wellington region, such outdoor recreation opportunities being offered by the Councils, or even DOC's Conservancy, are limited. The interviews showed a strong focus, where families were concerned, on playground maintenance, indoor facilities (such as Moana Pool), and the Botanical Garden. Although these are indeed popular places for family recreation, there was an apparent lack of initiatives in the form of events and programmes to stimulate family participation in outdoor recreation. Nevertheless, the strong council support for urban-based, sport-oriented activities and events are also beneficial as they do provide healthy, family-oriented, fun activities for city dwellers.

The provision of outdoor opportunities, however, through facilities is broad: well maintained walking tracks³, mountain biking tracks, parks and reserves with picnic tables and barbeques, and open sports grounds (see Figures 9 and 10 below). The beaches are some of the most popular spaces in the city for outdoor recreation that includes surfing, sea kayaking, lifesaving, fishing and swimming. The Ravensbourne Cycleway – a cycling track along the west harbour which on completion will move cyclists from the inner city to Port Chalmers – is another important asset, particularly as it introduces young children and adults alike to safe cycling along the water front. It seems, therefore, that the City Council focuses on providing the facilities and choices for people to enjoy the city's environment, rather than combining facilities with the active promotion of activities and events to get people 'outdoors' (unlike the various events promoted over the Wellington summer).

An example of less event-oriented promotion and more facility-focused initiatives is the 2010 Autumn Holiday Guide (see Figure 11 below). There, families and individuals can find a list of providers and facilities, with some indoor activities taking place in city council managed venues, but no outdoor recreation promotion or events/courses/workshops taking place in any of the public outdoor recreation areas of the city. According to the city council's website, they "no longer administer a specific fund for sport and recreation projects, [but they] are more than happy to offer advice if you are seeking funding in this area." (DCC 2010:n/p). The initiative needs to come from the population and the council provides guidance when necessary. Therefore, there is a lack of active encouragement coming from the city council, which may translate in less participation from the population, a question we did not aim to answer in this research, but certainly is worth pursuing in future studies.

³ The City Council's website list them in the following categories: Bush Walks, Heritage Walks, Peninsula Tracks, Port Chalmers Walks, Rough Tracks, Silverstream, Skyline, Walking with Wheels and Harbour Cone Tracks



Figure 9: Dunedin City Council Walking Tracks Brochures (front covers)

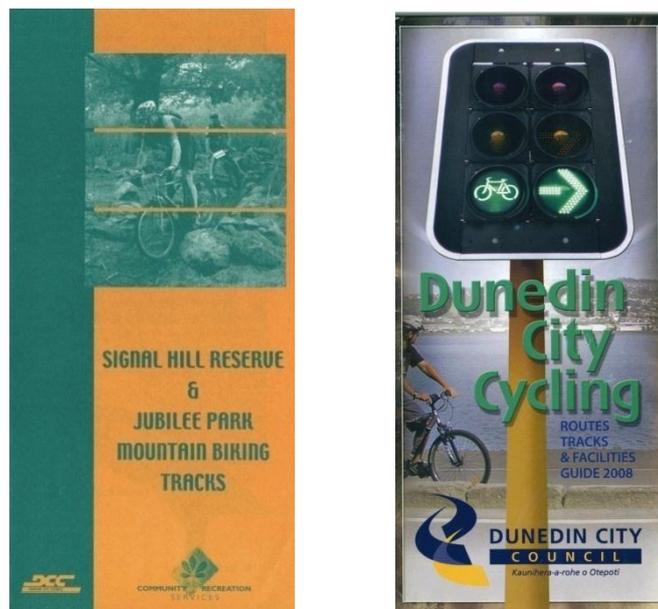


Figure 10: Dunedin City Council Mountain Biking and City Cycling Brochures (front covers)

According to Dunedin City Council interview participants, in terms of provision to the culturally diverse community, there is strong Māori consultation as well as consultation with other ethnicities in the general policy processes, but these are not necessarily linked with obvious outcomes in parks and recreation strategies and management at the moment.

School Holiday Guide



AUTUMN HOLIDAY 2010

Swimsation™

swim school

Intensive Learn to Swim

Monday 12 April to Friday 16 April

A week long swimming course to give your child extra confidence & a boost in swimming ability.

Benefits include:
Increased retention of swimming skills
Faster learning than once a week lessons

Pre-school and school age children
1 lesson per day for the whole week (Lessons time varies from 20-40 minutes)
\$55.00

MOANA POOL

Book Now on 471 9659



Otago Museum

Discovery Squad

Are your kids looking for a holiday full of fun and excitement? Then sign them up for Discovery Squad at the Otago Museum! Jam-packed with awesome themed activities, Discovery Squad is designed to activate and stimulate bright young minds!

WEEKDAYS during the school holidays from Tuesday 6 April
 Whole day sessions: 8.30am - 5.30pm
 \$49 per child per whole day session
 Morning sessions: 8.30am - 1pm
 Afternoon sessions: 1pm - 5.30pm
 \$27 per child per half day session
 Ages 5 - 12, fully supervised
 Dress for mess! Bring a packed lunch and drink bottle
 Bookings essential - tickets available at the Information Desk, ph 474 7474

Fish and Ships Trail

Search the Otago Museum for clues, guided by fishy facts and nautical tales, to guide Squid! the sea turtle to safety! A great detective trail for young and old, exploring the ecology, conservation, history and culture of the sea.
DAILY during the school holidays
 Collect your trail at the Search Centre Desk
FREE!

Cretaceous Create-us Activities

Roll up your reptilian sleeves and sink your teeth into a creative children's activity exploring the world of the dinosaurs. Create your own mezzozoic era landscape featuring an active erupting volcano!

Saturdays and Sundays and daily during the school holidays, 11:30am
 Special Exhibition Gallery, Level 1
FREE with your Dinosaur Eggs and Babies admission!

Discovery World Shows

THE SURVIVAL FACTOR SCIENCE SHOW!
 Our body is a terrific thing! It does thousands of amazing actions every day to keep us alive without us even knowing! Discover some of your body's amazing survival factors in a series of heart pounding and stomach churning experiments designed to investigate how everything - from sweaty palms to sleep is essential to your survival.

DAILY during the school holidays, 11am and 3pm during the school holidays.
FREE with your Discovery World Tropical Forest admission.

THE FUTURE OF SCIENCE
 Transform yourself into the ultimate scientist! There are oodles of 'ologists'... find out what type you are, based on your favourite science topic. Then create

Dunedin Public Art Gallery

April 3-April 18 10am-5pm School Holiday project: **MY UTOPIAN DREAMLAND.** Be inspired by Cao Fei, whose art you can see in the Gallery, and create your own dream city or dream world with the materials provided on the activities table. Go to the draw for a fabulous and fun prize. Free. Bookings not required and suitable for all ages. Cao Fei Utopia is a joint project by ARTSPACE Auckland and the Institute of Modern Art, Brisbane.

April 3-April 18 10am-4.30pm **Detail Detective:** Bring all your detective skills to the exhibition *Beloved*. Works from the Dunedin Public Art Gallery and find the details from the paintings, prints or sculptures on the activity sheet. There will be clues to help you. Young children will need to be accompanied by an adult.

April 18 **Saturday 2-4pm** An illustration workshop - includes collage - for ages 10 and over in association with the exhibition *Cao Fei Utopia*. Tutor to be confirmed. Booking essential. Ph: 4742419. Limited numbers. \$15. Materials provided. Cao Fei Utopia is a joint project by ARTSPACE Auckland and the Institute of Modern Art, Brisbane.

Dunedin Public Libraries

April means Easter! Not only that, it's the 101st birthday of our Bookbuses, so get down to your Library, take part in our Bookbus competition and have some great fun!

Bookbus Colour & Create Competition

Colour in your very own Bookbus, and then cut it out to make it 3D! Enter your creation into your Library and be in to win a special prize! Entries close 15 April.

1 April - 15 April
 All Libraries
 Free

Easter Book Hunt

Are you a brilliant Book Hunter? Ask your Librarian to choose a title, use your book hunting skills to track it down and get a chocolate reward!

1 April, 3.30pm - 5.30pm
 All Libraries
 Free

Magic Holiday Programmes



Office: 4250772 (Dunedin local landline)
 Email: bookings@magicchildcare.co.nz
 Web: www.magicchildcare.co.nz

Pay as little as **\$13.50/day*** for the whole family!

About Us

Magic Holiday Programmes aim to provide children with a fun and nurturing environment in which to explore new activities and meet new people. Their happiness and safety are our priority, and we pride ourselves on creating a positive, comfortable space where children can have fun, grow and learn. We give children plenty of activity options and our wide range of things on offer ensure that everyone can find something they love to do.

We also offer separate senior activities on some days.

For the April Holiday Activities see our Website
www.magicchildcare.co.nz




Heaps of Fun, * Subsidies Available, Prizes
 Come Join the FUN at a Magic Holiday Programme

Easter at the Aquarium

2-18 April 2010

SHARKS OF OTAGO

This Easter School Holiday the Aquarium is sharing its shark-infested water with you!

Shark Challenge

How well do you know your sharks? Participate in our Otago Shark Challenge every day of the holiday and receive a Cadbury chocolate reward (while supplies last).

Big Shark Dissection

Have you ever seen a shark? Was it up close and personal? Come visit us on Sunday 11 April and see a large 2 metre 7 gill shark dissection (Aquarium entry fee applies). If you can't make it that day, but still want to check out the big shark, come along on Friday 9 April or Saturday 10 April when you can see and touch the shark as it defrosts.

Multi-Shark Dissection

For those who want an in-depth comparative look at several sharks from the inside-out, there will be a second dissection on Tuesday 13 April from 5.30-7.30pm. (Places for this are limited. Bookings required, \$15.00 per person.)

Shark Feeding

Ever wondered what it would be like to feed a shark by hand? Come watch a diver feeding the sharks and other fish on Wednesday 7 April and Wednesday 14 April at 2pm.

Expert Shark Talks

We are lucky to have two scientists come and share their knowledge about sharks with us. There is no charge for these talks, which take place at the KZ Marine Studies Centre.

- Shark Parasites** - Saturday 10 April, 4-5pm - Are sharks really at the top of the food chain? Learn about shark parasites and what the Aquarium is doing to help some of their sharks. Dr Haseeb Randhawa shares insights into his research on Carpet shark parasites.
- Shark Navigation** - Thursday 15 April, 5.30-6.30pm - Join Dr Mike Paulin who explains how sharks navigate the oceans and hunt at night.

More Sharky Stuff!

Try some sharky colouring and crafts; make a shark mask to scare your friends; enjoy a shark film, or attend one of our exciting shark encounters everyday of the holidays. See you there!

Further information can be found at www.marine.ac.nz.

University of Otago's NZ Marine Studies Centre & Westpac Aquarium
 Hatchery Road, Portobello, Dunedin

Phone 03 479 5286 Email marine-studies@otago.ac.nz

Open 10am-4.30pm Adult: \$12, Child: \$6, Family: \$24

Guided Tour at 10.30am Adult: \$21, Child: \$11, Family: \$48

Figure 11: Dunedin City Council Autumn 2010 Holiday Guide (front cover and inside samples)

4.4 Twizel

As explained previously, Twizel's role in this research is minor, serving only as a counter-point to the urban-based context to which this research is limited. The aim of this project was to analyse urban families participation in outdoor recreation and the inclusion of three rural families from Twizel is considered an 'add-on' to contrast with and verify some of the findings. Twizel policies for outdoor recreation were not, therefore, included in this research and only a basic context will be presented here.

Twizel is situated at the footsteps of Aoraki/Mount Cook and the Tasman Glacier in the South Island of New Zealand. It is the closest town to Aoraki Mount Cook National Park and is surrounded by several lakes, including Lake Ruataniwha, Lake Pukaki, Lake Ohau, Lake Benmore, Lake Tekapo, Lake Aviemore and Lake Waitaki. Two Conservation Parks are situated on the outskirts of Twizel, and several fishing rivers and canals,

including the Ahuriri and the Tekapo Rivers, are also within easy access to this small town in the Mackenzie Basin (permanent population of 1,200). The town is surrounded by mountain ranges and recreational opportunities abound. Fishing, boating, mountain biking, four-wheel-driving, tramping, skiing, mountaineering are only a few of the many activities easily accessible from Twizel.

SECTION 5: FAMILY RECREATION IN NEW ZEALAND – STUDY RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The presentation of the findings from the present study will follow three key themes identified as most relevant to the objectives of this research. Our aim here is to provide useful insights about family experiences of the outdoors which may assist recreation managers with developing and encouraging visitation to New Zealand's natural areas, including national and regional parks, recreation and scenic reserves, beaches and rivers.

Our interviewees ranged from families with individuals who were active participants in outdoor recreation to those who had limited outdoor recreation experiences (as a result or not of lifestyle changes), although the level of commitment varied widely. The family interviews were characterised by family participants who represented often more than one cultural background, and this mixed cultural identity is actually an important aspect of our findings as will be explained in the following discussion.

5.1 Family Life-Stages

As highlighted by previous research in the field (Orthner, Barnett-Morris, and Mancini 1994; Claxton and Perry-Jenkins 2008), family life-stages play a crucial role in leisure and recreation participation. Not only did all families report a rapid decrease in participation in the first years of child bearing, but also the activities pursued are often of a completely different nature or difficulty level. Another significant finding relates to parental roles, a result similar to that of Bialeschki and Michener (1994).

Parents interviewed reported a significant decrease in participation and a change of orientation in their outdoor recreation patterns. Before having children, several parents who were active in the outdoors would engage in more demanding activities, such as multi-pitch rock climbing, high peaks mountaineering, multi-day tramping, cross-country skiing and freedom camping in natural areas. Some parents reflected on their past experiences and current realities:

Well, we couldn't tramp when the children were younger, I mean they couldn't carry a pack, it's just an excuse really, but you know, they'd whine and moan and fall over, and you'd have to carry all their stuff as well as your own so it would be too hard to do tramping like we used to do. (D2, Mother)

We did quite a lot of tramping before we settled and had kids, but prior to the kids we did travel all around the South Island in a Combi van just hanging out and stopping at different places and exploring, which is quite cool, waiting for the next payday holiday. (D7, Father)

After having children, activities changed dramatically, particularly for mothers who, in most cases, completely stopped their individual pursuits, while fathers maintained a certain level of engagement on their own or with friends when opportunities arose.

Father: My habits probably haven't changed, probably increased, haven't changed much from having the kids. You are the one that has stopped a lot of outdoor stuff, didn't you [...] My habits probably haven't changed, probably increased more but...

Mother: yeah... But when [child] was a baby I used to do a lot of walking when she was in the pram. We used to walk for miles but now I guess I work more now and... (D13)

Yeah, I've had to take lots of breaks [laughter], just being pregnant and everything. Surfing for me has really gone on the back burner in particular cos I was kind of a learner to start with, you know, I was only learning like a few years before I had [child]. Climbing, we've kind of had a break cos it's a bit more [demanding] (D8, Mother)

I had the biggest change because its [husband]'s work, he's probably maintained a relatively regular tramping world whereas in the past we would have gone away probably at least for a trip probably every three weeks on a weekend. [...] Definitely every month but now of course we never do. I think that I have done, only two trips since I have had children and that is in eight years, with two independent trips of decent nature. [...] So yeah, the big change for me would be short, family trips that the children can go on and not very often, just in summer, no winter trips. So the sorts of exercise, not exercise, outdoor recreation, it's termed for me to be something I try and fit in in other ways and so I am not doing it at the moment but I was biking to work, do you count that as outdoor recreation? [...] so it's become trying to, knowing I get no time without the children except in the effort of getting to work, so that was the one time to be able to do something exercise-based. So my outdoor recreation is very diminished, just shopping centres... (W8, Mother)

Father: It's very one-sided at the moment.

Mother: [Husband] goes riding every Tuesday night, mountain biking and stay at home with the kids. And he also goes tramping every Easter for a week and I stay at home with the kids.

Father: Yeah, it's all very one-sided unfortunately at the moment. I keep trying to encourage her out because I am happy to look after the kids but it's very hard... (W2)

This finding is consistent with previous research that attests the unbalanced gender roles still prevalent in Western societies, where mothers are expected to be the main providers of care and nurture for the children and accumulate functions when going (back) into the workforce (Brown et al. 2001). More importantly, as discussed by Shaw (1992), the social representation of motherhood is so entrenched in our societies that even when fathers are encouraging their wives to engage independently in recreation there is a tendency of inactivity. The social pressure on mothers has implications for managers and planners. This issue is a significant barrier for female participation in outdoor recreation. Recreation providers could perhaps be creative and explore new ways of providing opportunities and incentives for greater female participation, particularly at the early stages of motherhood.

Family life-stages also provide opportunities for parents to try new experiences. Some families reported 'discovering' camping, bushwalking, and boulder-hopping at beach after having children. The enjoyment of the landscape is renewed because a new lens is used to see and experience the natural world around you. When parents discussed the benefits of engaging as a family in outdoor recreation several commented on the change

of perception that occurs after having children as they try to experience the outdoors through their children's eyes.

I think having children gives you a different perspective on it. There's a loss in terms of how much time that you spend, and definitely a loss of being able to do things as a couple, but you appreciate things differently because you are seeing things afresh through their eyes. They are not interested in the big mountain. It doesn't hold any appeal for them, but a little stick insect or something interesting on the ground they are drawn to. Their world is so much smaller and so you just tend to notice, through them, you notice a whole lot more than you would otherwise and.... (W8, Father)

It's a downscaling of our world. Where in the past we would have planned an overnight trip and packed a big trip into a really short amount of days, we now will plan to go and do a walk that will take 2 hours in an afternoon and that will be just a completely different emphasis. (W8, Mother)

And it's family bonding time too. You are getting out there and looking at things and "hey, look at this crab or look at this stick or this ant" or whatever it is [...] Using their imagination and seeing things. I would like to continue that. (D13 Father)

Here it is interesting to note that government and other agencies can better explore this aspect of family outdoor recreation by emphasising the novel experiences and discoveries that can be derived from the engagement with the outdoors in the company of young children. The 'imaginary world' created by the children, if emphasised and enjoyed by the parents, will not only make it an enjoyable (and formative) family time for the child, but for parents alike.

It's a real buzz, isn't it? And the pleasure doesn't just become your own, the pleasure is watching them have fun, I love that. Watching the kids get really excited about something. Remember that time in Hawaii and we went up to that waterfall, we played this game on them and we collected something and one of the kids threw it quite nastily and we said there was a fairy in it and it was magical, so we took it and hid it and threw it back, and your (husband) niece was really scared and flipping out! It was kind of like a real game. Sounds confusing but funny at the time. [...] Or recognising different birds and then they'll see it somewhere else and they'll say oh that's a whatever, that's really cool. Tobias is into fossils and thinks he finds magic diamonds and crystals and fossils – 4 foot tall. (D1 Mother)

My daughter loves to go looking for different shapes in stones and she finds love heart-shaped stones, - she's the master of finding love heart stones and that's what I like about it, when they try really hard to find things and understand why is this here and not there. (D2 Mother)

Not only do perceptions change but activity choices as well. A common pattern we identified from our results is that families with young children, particularly preschoolers, tend to stay and recreate locally, using playgrounds, the beach, the Town Belt, Botanic Gardens, and local short walks, and slightly moving 'up the ladder' as they increase their confidence, to engage in longer walks, overnight trips, camping, fishing, etc.

We just went [on] day trips, like we wouldn't do a 3 or 4 day tramp yet with these guys – they are too little. We hope to build them up to it so in summer we'll do a good 3 or 4 hour walk, like the Flagstaff takes us forever and the Pineapple [track] . . . (D1 Mother)

We are introducing them into camping. We have done a couple of camps already this year. We are going to start wild camping, you know, not campgrounds. Maybe this summer we will take him camping and then next summer we will take everyone camping, wild camping, you know, road ends and stuff. Yeah and we are going to introduce him to skiing this year, if there is snow this year. We are just sort of gradually getting the family into outdoors. (W2 Father)

The drive to distant places is considered tiresome to children, and parents, particularly when they have their first child, tend to avoid engaging in activities that are based at far distances from home. The practicalities of raising young children with different levels of mobility thus impact on family recreation. Whilst the first baby of a family can be carried in a backpack, front pack or buggy complications arise with the arrival of 2nd or 3rd children or as preschoolers who cannot be carried dictate choice of recreation. In that respect, Twizel families differed dramatically from Dunedin and Wellington families, as their exposure to easy access activities and places is to a greater degree than it is for city dwellers.

We have moved back to Twizel. I lived here early on and as the two boys have really summed up quite well, it is outdoor isolation we have. We are off the beaten track, particularly places we go and as two kiwi boys growing up they can at least enjoy that sense of remoteness that I think the South Island in New Zealand still holds, particularly where we live here. (T1 Mother)

Mother: For our family, going into the outdoors is such a normal thing to do that for them it is not special if we go fishing and hunting or to a hut because we do it all the time.

Father: On a weekly basis. We probably average a day a week. Say a weekend day or an afternoon or an evening, particularly in the summer we spend, I would say a lot of time either out in our boat. [...] I think as a family we spend a lot of time in the region and to quantify that as a period, we would probably average in a working week, once or twice that we are somewhere where we will plan a day to do it but for us as a family it is nothing to go down to the ponds here with the kids in the back of the truck with the dog. We run our dog down there every day. So it's hard to quantify what the outdoors is compared to what we think the outdoors is. (T2)

For this reason the provision of support from local authorities, such as information as to which areas provide family-friendly (and different family-phase) activities, is crucial for continued engagement with outdoor recreation. More urbanised areas will have fewer easy access outdoor recreation opportunities compared to urban-based entertainments, such as restaurants, shopping and movies. Nevertheless, city parks and pools provide significant 'bridging' experiences that can assist with developing skills useful for outdoor participation in future. Therefore, it is worthy of consideration that the provision of opportunities be not only promoted, but facilitated through easy accessibility and encouragement, such as organised events, courses, guided walks, etc.

As children grow older, the 'challenges' are different. On the one hand, they will be more apt to cope with longer journeys and more challenging activities; on the other hand, other entertainment, such as shopping malls, peer-

influenced activities and sedentary forms of entertainment (movies and internet, including social networking sites) are all factors that can divert families from shared activities in the outdoors.

When you have got teenagers, they are not always that keen to leave town. So when you have got that wide range of ages, you find like now, for example, [child] has turned 13, she really enjoys being in town with her friends and her cell phone and stuff, so it kind of impacts on you all going away. And we had that with [older child] for quite a while. He was a teenager that to get him... like he was at that age where he only wanted to be with his friends and you can't... (D9 Mother)

Our participants varied in this respect: families with strong links to the outdoors (particularly enthusiastic parents) were more likely to have their older, teenager children still enjoying and actively participating in outdoor recreation than families that engaged in outdoor recreation more infrequently. Similarly, parents who had been significantly exposed to outdoor recreation during their childhood were more likely to be outdoor enthusiasts, a finding that also confirms previous studies in the field (Kyle and Chick 2004).

Because their parents didn't do it, they live in a community or in a society in an area where it's not done. Lots of families don't take their families into the bush because they don't feel comfortable in the bush themselves. They don't know what to do and I think it becomes a generational thing. Because your parents don't do it, you don't do it and you don't get exposed to it at an early age. So I suppose it comes back to that question of, if you do it to them when they are young, will they benefit from it? If they never go back to it, at least they still know what it is and the people that hate it, will hate it because they are into other things but they have still experienced it so at least they have made a decent or a proper decision of what they like and don't like. If you don't give them the opportunity, they never get there and I think that is why a lot of... a lot of people I work with, some of them never go into the bush. They have never been in the bush, they have never been for a walk. (W2 Father)

So when I was here and Joseph was growing up as a youngster I took him on adventures, specifically all around here. We would just around the corner, disappear into the bush and just go off track and go jungle country, tiger country and that's where I took Joseph and his mates. So we would go off on a Saturday morning and just disappear into the green belt and get completely lost, as far as they thought, and cooked up noodles and stuff. So over a period of years from when he was 4, 5, we were skimming up bits of hillside and cliff and stuff that was making my hair stand on end once or twice and really getting him used to it, so to me that's been a very big influence on Joseph's ability to enjoy and relate to the outdoors. Now I compare that to some other parents some of the boys that would come with us, they would come with us and sometimes on the first or second time, they were absolutely over the moon. They never experienced this and when I asked them, and when I checked with their parents, the parents had never done anything like it. They would live, say in Hataitai, which is right next to town but they would look at it out of their kitchen window and they had never been there and would never go there because they don't know it, they don't like it, there is no reason to whereas that's where I naturally go. (W6 Father)

An important consequence of, or a factor that is linked to, previous outdoor recreation exposure is that of skills. As the quote above suggests, families that have not been previously exposed to outdoor recreation may feel intimidated due to the perceived risks associated with outdoor recreation activities, particularly in New Zealand,

and the South Island, due to sometimes inclement weather patterns. As we will discuss later in the final section of this report, government agencies may consider providing or subsidising courses, open seminars, workshops, or recreation advisers in order to attend to this barrier to participation, a subject with which we will deal next.

5.2 Barriers and Constraints to Participation

Although lack of skills was frequently mentioned by parents as a potential barrier to family participation in the outdoors, most of our interviewees did not feel this was their main constraint. For them, lack of time and the lack of energy that derives from being constantly 'on the move' (working, looking after the children, taking care of the house, etc) were the major obstacles for increased participation.

I think one of the constraints actually is being tired. I am not sure if it's just because we are aging or sleepless or whatever, but sometimes things we might have done before, like something that we might have been a bit adventurous, I mean it's just not because of the kids, it's actually because you are a bit tired to deal with all the challenges of being in the outdoors sometimes. So you might... like the fact that we haven't done an overnight in the bush with the kids. We might have done that if we had a bit more energy for it. It's not that we are afraid of doing it or that they don't walk... (W3 Mother)

Time is a big factor and energy. Because if you are working full time, just keeping the house and doing the real basics can be quite tiring. So trying to get out and doing anything extra is sometimes, it just seems a bit hard. (W9 Mother)

This finding also corroborates with previous research in the field. However, contrary to some studies that indicate that urban families are more time-constrained, our rural participants also felt that time was a major barrier for their more frequent participation. Nevertheless, Twizel families still were reportedly more active in the outdoors than Dunedin and Wellington families.

Well as a family I guess the biggest constraint is time. It's just a time management thing really, as a family. I mean, if the phone goes it's usually got something to do with them and in the grand scheme of things and it's usually school related or club related or an activity related thing that we have got to try to fit into the week to try to build aside so that we can actually go and do things as a family and you are trying to squeeze everything. So it's really a time management thing and it's ultimately trying to get through everything else that you are committed to. (T1 Father)

Mother: Lack of time is the big one really, because it's not really expensive for us to do things in the Mackenzie because it's all right here.

Father: Less than an hour's drive to most places we like going.

Mother: And we have got the gear that we need to get out there but it is mostly time isn't it and fitting it in with, because we have got a blended family and the children are often with their Dad and I am on call one weekend a month and volunteer work. So it's time really. You always wish you could do more. (T3)

Well it's just different [the constraints between urban and rural settings]. The constraints are different and I guess you choose to live where you live so that you can... ultimately you can't manage it all, really. You can't, you try to sort of, you are just juggling this sort of time line of activity and the constraints really is time. I mean obviously money could be an issue based on what you do, but I think around here you don't have to spend a lot of money to be out enjoying yourself at all. I mean it's just a case of being motivated to go to do it. You don't really have to spend a lot of money. (T1 Father)

As we can see from the quotes above from Twizel families, money did not seem to be a barrier for rural dwellers, probably because of ease of access and a variety of opportunities available in close proximity to their homes. However, for our urban families cost involved with outdoor recreation were considered very high and sometimes prohibitive. Even families with two incomes who already possessed the equipment necessary to pursue outdoor experiences reported cost being a factor that they had to consider when planning trips away.

Yeah, well that all cost money. You have got to buy a gun if you want to go hunting. [...] Even mountain biking costs money. You have got to buy the bike and you have got to buy the gear to go with the bike. (D13 Father)

Mother: One thing I would say about DOC is that I think cost is an issue as well and it's really good that they have just made it free for kids in huts. Too late for us.

Father: Too late for us but that was an issue.

Mother: To pay for a whole family. We thought, oh, we would like to do the Routeburn Track, let's do one of these iconic New Zealand tracks that all the tourists do that we have both done but to take our family on one of those tracks, is just a horrendous price. So I kind of think, maybe some concession for New Zealanders, kiwi families. Cost wise would be helpful. (D3)

Mother: Time. That's the major [barrier]. And money.

Father: The outdoor things we do now are a bit more cost effective. It's cheaper to go for a walk or go for a bike than buy a boat and go fishing. Or trips away.

Interviewer: You tend not to go too far?

Father: Yeah. Just staying local, more day trips that we can do here and that's good for the kids or the kids that we have with us at the time. (W9)

You have to be resourceful; I mean, we are still paying off them going skiing three years ago. (D6 Mother)

In that respect, there are a few points that can be raised in regards to what can be done to facilitate family access to outdoor recreation. Firstly, from the results of the families' and of the managers' interviews, it does not seem that government agencies are mindful, or taking into consideration, that family outdoor recreation experiences are inherently more expensive than individual pursuits. Although this is an obvious statement, it seems that this issue has not featured sufficiently in the agenda of recreation planners. There are a few initiatives that can effectively support family outdoor recreation pursuits, such as the recent Great Walks fees policy implemented by the Department of Conservation, and they need to be carefully considered by all levels of government. Secondly, there are indeed outdoor activities that are low in costs, particularly if undertaken within the city boundaries or close to home. What seems to be lacking is family awareness of these activities or how to

engage in some activities in a more cost-effective way. Information to that effect could be provided by public agencies in the form of brochures, workshops, recreation advisers, etc., as well as more events, such as the ones the Wellington Regional Council is currently organising, to introduce families to nearby natural areas and low cost activities. This issue leads to another point constantly raised by families, particularly Dunedin-based families: information. Most families interviewed rely mainly on their local knowledge and word-of-mouth information. Internet is another important source of information, but the Department of Conservation website was considered difficult to navigate and the Dunedin City Council's lacking information for outdoor recreation. Apart from their own network of knowledge, families rely on newspaper/magazine articles and guide books to find good information about the publicly available spaces and activities that can be accessed somewhat easily.

We have got a few places that we have been because of articles we have read in the newspaper. Like Sutton Salt Lake was one of those, wasn't it. (D3, Mother)

I think the information is there if you want to find it but it's not jumping out at you. If you don't know where to look or where to find information then you will never hear about a lot of the walks. A lot of the trails, you get to the start and there will be a map and a sign that tells you where to go and what you can do. But if you don't get to the start of the track, then you don't see that sign. So if you don't know that track even exists, I don't know how you find it. (W2 Mother)

Mother: With us we just kind of stick to where we know or where people suggest rather than...

Father: Yeah because I suppose all of us look out in the morning, look at the weather to a certain extent and say "oh it looks nice, ok we will go and do this". I think it's a lot more spur of the moment days out than planning. (W9)

Mother: But we are quite spontaneous as well; we will decide on the day that we'll go for a walk.

Father: You have to be cos all of a sudden the weather will clear up and you say "let's go" or...

Mother: Dunedin weather is so changeable so that's a big reason.

Father: So you have to make the moment or it's gone! (D2)

Taking into consideration that outdoor recreation may be a 'spur of the moment' pursuit for families, it is important that information is indeed easily and constantly available so people are reminded of opportunities and possibilities when the weather is nice and they are available to engage in outdoor activities. In fact, weather was considered an important impediment for families to recreate in natural, open areas, particularly in Dunedin where weather patterns are more unpredictable and colder than Wellington. Also, families with younger children were generally more concerned with weather conditions than families with teenagers.

But also the weather can sometimes be quite a major obstacle. If you have got really windy, wet nasty weather that can really put people off going out and doing things. (W9)

Well, we have had heaps of planned trips but they all fell through due to weather and cost and timing and whatever. (D3 Teenager Son talking about Youth Groups trips that were frequently cancelled due to Dunedin bad weather conditions)

Mother: That's the other problem though. The Great Walks, you have to book so far in advance that you can't pick the weather and if you are going to be taking your children, you don't really want them to suffer.

Adult Daughter: Be out in the rain for 5 days.

Mother: And put them right off because they, you know, had to walk it in such dreadful weather. I mean, I don't know what the way around that is but we struggled with that. Do we really want to spend all that money, booking the Milford Track say and then having weather like we had last week. So we don't tend to do those walks. We haven't done those walks. (D3)

Father: Plus you just can't camp in Dunedin. The South Island weather is not that good for camping. So we tend to stay in motels.

Mother: The weather puts you off a bit actually, down here. (D9)

It is interesting to note here that although weather is not something the government agencies can work on, there are important consequences to family engagement in the outdoors, and some measures can be taken that consider this issue when planning for the development of outdoor recreation in New Zealand.

The final recurrent theme in family interviews that related to barriers to participation was the increased institutional concern with Health & Safety regulations. According to several of our participants, institutions that used to play a major role in promoting outdoor recreation and the initiation and skills necessary for enduring participation are nowadays constrained by Health & Safety rules and regulations. Schools, youth groups, clubs, and others, are overly concerned with the consequences of even minor accidents as they may turn into major judicial battles or the institutions may be fined.

Father: She [mother] went as doctor to the last school camp in Marlborough Sounds, I think. However, the systems now involved in health and safety mean that schools will not take kids... they won't go in the bush because it's too dangerous.

Mother: Well we went on a bush walk. It's not just like letting them just play. Like when I was a kid. (W6)

Father: I think one of the things that deters them a bit is all of this occupational health and safety. You know, people are afraid now. Even youth groups or families or, you know, if something goes wrong, somebody is going to get blamed. So even the youth groups now are really concerned about taking a van load of people away. You know, like because when we were young you just did it. You all went out and you did it. I mean it's not saying it was good but everybody just got out, took the risk, enjoyed it. Whereas now if you plan something like that, you have got to have risk management plan, if something goes wrong, you are going to be blamed. That puts a lot of groups, even schools are a lot more less likely to take on that responsibility now. And I think that has quite major impact on the outdoors actually.

Mother: Yeah, we would get nervous about even taking some of our kids' friends in the outdoors now. If something went wrong there is that whole got to blame someone culture. So I think that has had quite an impact. I think it has compared to, because we did youth group for a long time, we ran a youth group and we used to just pile the van up and take them camping or tramping, and now if [father] wants to do something for the hall, he has got to have risk management plans in place, every

step of the way planned and it's just a lot more stressful to organise, so therefore it's almost going to come back on to the families to do it. Whereas before they kind of got exposed to it more in schools, like schools had a lot of outdoor education classes, like bigger schools and stuff. Youth groups. A lot of kids went to youth groups and they all did that sort of thing. You've got scouts, you used to go to all those things that was a real part of their life and a lot of people don't go to any more. People are just scared that the clubs are doing too much. So I wonder sometimes, what sort of trouble will they get into if they are not getting exposed in those areas and their families don't take them, then they won't even understand or enjoy it. (D11)

Although there is a recognition that safety is of major importance when recreating in the outdoors, particularly when this is part of an institutional programme that involves children, such as school curriculum or youth group outings, there was a consensus among our participants that this concern has reached levels that are unjustified and that hinder the maintenance of New Zealand's outdoor recreation culture. Moreover, changes in government policy, particularly the reduction of funding for Enviroschools, was mentioned by two families as creating a barrier for future participation in the outdoors:

I just want to say that Enviroschools has done a whole, across New Zealand has done a whole thing to like education young people, especially primary school aged people and to like being really, really excited about the environment, getting their parents to go out into the outdoors like just a whole lot more and I think it sucks that the government has cut the funding. (D7 Father)

5.3 Cultural Influences

As briefly mentioned in the literature review section, few studies have focused on the impacts cultural background have on families and outdoor recreation participation. From the outset, we had very limited response to our call for participants from families with Māori and Pacific Island backgrounds, and we suspected that 'outdoor recreation' was not the most appropriate term to prompt participation from these groups. As discussed in our methods section, we had the opposite reaction from Pākehā families, having to turn down families due to overrepresentation of this particular group. From the interviews it became clear that social contingencies associated with being Māori and Pacific Island in New Zealand, as well as cultural heritage influences were major determinants of the level of engagement with outdoor recreation of this population. 'Outdoor recreation' itself is a term that seems culturally loaded. When Pacific Island and Māori families were asked in interviews about their outdoor recreation activities they reported socially-focussed experiences rather than activities which involved 'risk' or 'adventure'. The results of this study indicate that ethnicity, or more precisely, values that are significant for particular cultures play an important role in influencing the opportunities or types of activities individuals pursue and their motivations to engage with the natural environment in their leisure time. Our findings indicate that Māori and Pacific Island families view the outdoors and outdoor recreation through a different perspective than Pākehā families, not only due to their social standing in modern New Zealand society, but possibly because of their cultural heritage.

From a Māori perspective the awareness of the cultural significance of places when participating in the outdoors was reported. Intimate knowledge of areas where families had long-term links and revisited generation after generation were reported, visits to the place being as significant as the activities being undertaken there.

'Nohoanga' or campsites resulting from Treaty settlements were a unique setting for Māori to participate in family based activities in the outdoors whilst connecting with their whanau and cultural heritage

A Nohoanga site is a land set aside specifically for camping purpose for members of the iwi. So there is one at Lake Hawea that often gets used by Kai Tahu for camping. There is 15 or so throughout the South Island and then like for my whanau we have still got out land Parirua, it's called and you go across the river 15 times to get there and a lot of my cousins have horses and stuff and one of my uncles has actually built a house up there that is quite well sorted so there are a lot of people that go back to those sorts of places I think. (D4 Mother)

One interviewee was especially conscious that outdoor recreation activities might be taking place at sacred or 'tapu' sites where cultural protocol might not be respected. Similarly, another respondent would not visit an area because of 'tapu' considerations. At the same time, visiting such sites appropriately was reported by another participant as one way Māori pay respect to, and connect with ancestors – a motivator for going 'outdoors'.

They get connected, they still do, they get walked around, they get given karakea, there is guardians in all these places and then, I mean on the way to Wanaka there is those rock cliffs and climbers go there and climb, I mean I did that up on lake Taupo, you go and climb but meanwhile at another level, they are places of Tapu. There is bones in them, there are people buried in them. That's where you've got the two worlds, just have this like – don't cross, don't mix! (D6 Mother)

In general terms, an obvious preference for Pacific Island families was to engage frequently with urban-based, close to home activities, which were easily accessible and, therefore, a determinant condition for their participation. Moreover, coastal activities tend to be preferred, with fishing, walks along the beach and beach sports being the major examples. In fact, sports, and the socialisation that comes with it, seem to be the major active recreation Pacific Island families engage in.

I think they [Pacific Island families] enjoy the social aspect of it. So for them it was like, there is a whole group of friends all going somewhere together, that's the purpose. But you never find them like, one or two just going for a tramp. For them it's the socialness of it all. You know drinking before they went tramping, drinking while they were tramping. [...] Pacific Islanders get into is mainly sports. They play a lot of volleyball, a lot of rugby, a lot of cricket, a lot of netball and again it's the social aspect of it. It's just not one Samoan going to join one team, it will be a group of them going together to play together in that social context. (D9 Father)

More importantly, it does not seem that 'outdoor recreation' in alpine or inland areas is favoured because such places are not part of Pacific Island culture, particularly the idea of using the natural environment as a source of pleasure and leisure. The rationale behind this cultural perspective was contemplated by the researchers, but not specifically explore in-depth as it became clear from our interviews and contacts with Pacific Island representatives in different institutions that these Western labels of 'outdoor recreation', 'the great outdoors', and others, are not significant for Pacific Island cultures. Although there were many activities that our participants engage in that would be regarded as outdoor recreation in common Western definitions, participants did not recognise them as such (e.g. fishing, spending free time at the beach, having a barbeque at

the regional park with the church community). There are, however, others that do not seem to be extremely popular among Pacific Island families, such as tramping, camping and winter activities.

Father: In our Samoan way or custom or everyday life, if you go say, for camping, it makes funny for the other people. {...} I don't know, because um, I don't know, for me, if I see other family going away for camping, it makes fun. I don't know.

Friend: Yeah because traditionally, being a Samoan person, you know, being grow up in a Samoan traditional family, all they do is weave for the ladies, go food for the man, go to the plantation, go fishing and that's their everyday routine so they hardly have this time which we call now leisure time and if they do they just hang around the family, the place and play cards especially with men and boy and their own activities but the trend now with some families is they do go outdoors, yeah. (D5)

I don't think it's in the Pacific Island psyche going from one, going for a long walk in the bushes isn't really something that they have ever done in their culture, I don't think. There is really no point. [...] I think it is a bit of a waste of time from the Pacific Islander's point of view. Unless there is a specific need that is met, like if you said to them, you want to come hunting, they will say yes. You want to come tramping, what for? This is beautiful. I am sure over there will be just as beautiful. (D9 Father)

Several of the Māori and Pacific Island families interviewed travelled far afield with their children to meet with extended family members as a means of 'catching up' with each other during holiday periods. As with Pākehā families, they expressed similar concerns about the investment of time and finances in travelling to outdoor settings, often participating in activities close to home when children were young, although in a lesser degree. For some a short trip to a beach (for instance from Porirua to Paekakariki Beach) was a major undertaking for their children, and an 'adventure'. Only one Pacific Island family from Dunedin reported visiting National Parks when they had undertaken a summer holiday tour of the North and South Island visiting parks and taking short walks of under an hour in duration, for instance Fox Glacier lookout point (Westland National Park, Dawson Falls track (Egmont National Park) or the sand dunes of the Hokianga Harbour.

Māori families interviewed in our study presented activities aligned to those of Pacific Island families. Firstly, there were reportedly strong links with water-based activities. Being close to the sea seems to be an important factor for those families with Māori backgrounds when participation in leisure time activities.

Quite a lot of our stuff involves the beach in one way or another, doesn't it? (D7 Mother)

Father (Māori): We had buckets full of cockles and pauas and mussels and fish. I grew up like that. And when we went to those beaches, that's what we lived on. We caught all those types of fish but I don't see the need to do that anymore because I don't really....

Mother (Pākehā): Your sister would though.

Father (Māori): They do. That is what I was saying. When they go away they still do that type of thing. I suppose because I don't particularly enjoy eating the food. And when the kids are a bit bigger, yeah, we will go down and get them, but they are just not the right age. We used to catch the crabs and we would cook them up and I wouldn't eat them because I am allergic to them but that's great fun. So we had crayfish races down the hallways. We had pots of crayfish, I was brought up like that. (D13)

Mother: [daughter] loves fishing, don't you? Loves fishing. Not so fussed on eating fish but quite happy to knock them over and gut them. So my brother takes her to do that because that is not really my cup of tea. I don't mind collecting in ankle deep water but I am not into going to get mussels and stuff because I am not too good at swimming but yeah, and that is probably quite strong through my family really that collecting. [...] My mother lives right in Whakatane, right on the water so there is a lot of kayaking and that sort of activity that we do when we are up there. So [daughter] gets out in the kayak and they set the nets in the harbour and she...

Teenage Daughter: Scored a seahorse with a butterfly net. (D4)

When we pull up at Warrington Beach there is always a whole lot of Island/Polynesian/Māori people digging for cockles and pipis. (D13 Mother)

Secondly, there is a sense of purposefulness attached to nature-based recreation, for instance harvesting mahinga kai or moana kai, that is strongly linked with their cultural heritage. Whereas Pākehā families may find the purpose of outdoor recreation to be walking for health reasons or cycling for fitness, Māori (and Pacific Islanders for that matter) tend to associate outdoor recreation with harvesting and knowledge of the land.

Mother (Pākehā): I was just saying coming back from getting cockles yesterday, I think going there and collecting kai moana, seafood, that is a strong cultural thing that I think more people with Māori background are more likely to do perhaps that Pākehā. I mean Pākehā people would still go and do it but I think it's more likely for Māori people for that to be a family activity.

Father (Māori): Going eeling as well, not that we've taken the kids eeling yet but I will. I used to go eeling when I was a kid with my dad and so I think on the food side of it, I guess that's a relationship with the outdoors on the Māori side of it. (D8)

Something that strikes me, was part of my growing up was from Māori side of the family where you were in the hills so you were getting kai, you were getting eels and going up – whatever – that element of harvesting, being sort of wound into it and making bread in the hills or doing basically at that level of starting from very basic and just living in the hills and doing stuff and that was something we would go and do in Summer or in the holidays, go and just “be” in the hills – that Māori influence. And with the kids down here, we go out to the marae and there is time for a... like when you were little we used to go out and harvest and we would go and get the cockles... That is another aspect of being in the outdoors that is very hard down here – I have never taken my kids to collect eels and no one would know about eels and their life cycles now and how much they have impacted – I wouldn't probably and yet that is a whole other being in the outdoors, it's about going right back to that level of what you eat and we don't really go fishing, just a little bit but again that is like, for us the outdoors is about bringing the kids – like when we'd go harvesting it was always about getting enough, not going out in a great big boat and trying to take the biggest and I feel that that is an aspect that we haven't really done – learning to cook with the most basic things and eat. (D7 Mother)

A notable aspect of Māori and Pacific Island participation in outdoor recreation are preferences for communal activities that enable them to partake in activities with extended family members. As mentioned previously 'nohoanga' is culturally unique to Māori; however, camping is also a European tradition, so one must be aware that there are overlaps between cultures – commonalities that are shared by families from diverse cultural

backgrounds. Nevertheless, the interviews noted a separation between cultural groups in some settings, for various reasons, be they financial or cultural.

Mother: I think it might influence where they choose to go and like whether that is a cultural factor or a socio-economic factor could be interesting. I don't know if there would be, well I guess when we are up at the gondolas and we are lugeing you don't see a high proportion of Māori up there, do you?

Father: Neither when you go camping, but when you go to the beach you generally like shellfish sort of thing.

Mother: Māori will be camping but they won't necessarily be camping in Pākehā camp grounds. They are more likely to do a freedom type camping thing. This is nice, I think I will just camp over here because it looks cool. Rather than paying a fee to camp in a ground. (D4)

My half brothers and sisters are Islanders. And they all do lots of fishing in the islands. They all go and my mother, when they go down to their crib, they all go down and stay there in the one crib. All the family are there and they get together and they go fishing and they do all those kinds of things, but the reason why they do that. It's not necessarily wanting to go there as a family but more as a financial thing more than anything in that instance particularly. (D13 Father)

Although the statements made here are particular to the families interviewed in this study, it seems that these findings can be broadly generalised to the general population in light of government statistics from the Census findings over the years that note the higher rates of unemployment, lower levels of education and therefore lower incomes of many Māori and Pacific Islanders in New Zealand. Such socioeconomic circumstances understandably impact on the ability of Māori and Pacific Island families to invest time and finances in equipment and travel to pursue more diverse outdoor recreation activities. More importantly, the findings presented here might be considered as preliminary steps in further understanding culturally relevant issues associated with outdoor recreation in New Zealand, a topic that has only gained limited attention to this date.

SECTION 6: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The present study of family leisure in outdoor settings has the objective of providing a better understanding of activity choices, experiences, benefits and constraints for family outdoor recreation in natural areas, such as regional and conservation parks. The study comprised of 25 interviews with families from different cultural backgrounds from two major urban centres in New Zealand, namely Wellington and Dunedin, and one rural town in the South Island, Twizel. In addition, interviews with 10 government representatives from 6 different agencies helped inform the context of the family interviews and added to the analysis of the material collected from families.

This study has identified some issues involving family participation in outdoor recreation in New Zealand and three major themes were explored in the present report. Other findings will be briefly mentioned in this section, and further investigated in future publications due to time constraints and the limits of this report. Recommendations for policy and planning development in outdoor recreation will be presented as contributions from families and researchers to the promotion of outdoor recreation in the country.

Families commonly mentioned health/fitness, family bonding or spending time together as key reasons for participating in outdoor recreation as a family. Family life-stage was an important aspect of our findings that influences and sometimes dictates involvement with outdoor recreation. In general, mothers experience a more dramatic change in (outdoor) recreation patterns than fathers, who are usually able to maintain involvement levels through solo pursuits. Another aspect of family life-stages relates to preferred settings and activities. Camping, day-walks, cycling and the beach were repeatedly identified as preferred activities for families with younger children. Longer day walks/overnight tramps, sailing and mountain biking featured more prominently in families with teenagers and young adults still living at home. Family life-stages also provide opportunities for parents to try new experiences. Parents are able to enjoy the natural landscape in novel ways as children grow older and their attention and interest change focus. Although challenges are regarded still as important aspects of outdoor recreation activities, the challenges need to be adapted to family life-stages and slowly increased as higher ability levels are reached and confidence gained. Also of value are the offerings of urban parks, regional parks and DOC locations within or close to urban areas. These sites provide significant opportunities for introductory outdoor recreation activities, providing a stepping stone to more intense outdoor experiences, such as day walks or overnight tramps in national parks. Otaki Forks, Karori Reserve, Matiu/Somes Island and Butterfly Creek (Eastbourne) near Wellington and the Pineapple Track and Ross Creek (Dunedin) were provided by families as examples of 'outdoor' sites that enable families unfamiliar with the outdoors to get a taste of 'tramping' or other more demanding outdoor recreation activities.

The second aspect of our findings discussed in this report was 'Barriers or Constraints to Participation'. Lack of time and energy was considered the most important constraint for families, both from urban and rural settings. Cost was, however, regarded as a barrier for families in the urban environments of Dunedin and Wellington, but not in Twizel. Twizel families, on the other hand, reported less access to organised competitive sports and sporting facilities (often weekend sports in urban settings replaced or prevented participation in outdoor recreation). Health and safety regulations were considered by several parents as major constraints to furthering enduring involvement of the general population with outdoor recreation in comparison to their own childhood experiences. Such regulations were reported as serving as discouragements for different institutions, such as schools, church and clubs, to maintain outdoor recreation programmes, particularly impacting on increased

outdoor recreation participation and opportunities for children. Opportunities provided through schools and other organisations (e.g. Kiwi Conservation Club, Enviroschools, and Council/DOC Summer Holiday Programmes) were some of the 'facilitators' mentioned by families as motivating them to participate in a wider range of outdoor recreation activities and are affected by these concerns. Significantly, regional climate and weather conditions were considered a barrier to the outdoors for several families, particularly in Dunedin, where cold temperatures and southern weather conditions seem to be less conducive to outdoor activities, particularly in winter. Also, Dunedin families often mentioned the distance from National Parks as opposed to Wellington families, who were generally highly aware of their close proximity to the Tararuas and other tramping terrain.

Lastly, this report presented discussions about culturally significant aspects of outdoor recreation. From our results, it is likely that Pacific Islanders and Māori families do not imbue the same meanings to outdoor recreation as Pākehā communities. For Pacific Islanders and Māori families, recreation in natural areas are commonly associated with coastal beach activities, quite often involving fishing or shellfish gathering, and therefore significant for the purpose of not just being in the outdoors for health/exercise reasons. For Māori, recreating in the outdoors can fulfil cultural motivations, such as visiting whanau lands or ancestral sites, whereas for Pākehā there are other socio-cultural motivations, such as re-connecting with nature or health benefits. The sense of purpose, although arguably present in all three cultures, is quite distinct from one another. It became apparent that for Pacific Islanders, leisure time is social time and outdoor recreation will be considered only if engaged in with several members of the peer community (not as individuals, as would be the case for many Pākehā family members). Churches and schools, therefore, play an important role in promoting outdoor recreation for Pacific Island families, since it is one of their main gathering spaces. Pacific Island families constantly reported a preference for social sporting activities and the significance of such activities in promoting health, fitness and family bonding is acknowledged as being just as worthy as outdoor recreation – the fact that families are active together is admirable no matter where the setting. One Pacific Island family specifically mentioned the 'Push Play' promotion as encouraging them to spend more time in the outdoors together.

Finally, interviews with recreation managers from different government agencies also provided important insights into family recreation experiences. There is an overall lack of structured effort to promote outdoor activities for families, with an emphasis lying on the provision of facilities and resources and less on promoting those to particular segments of societies. Wellington Regional Council seems to be more aware of the necessity of tailoring information to reach certain audiences, or particularly the family audience that is our focus here. Although in most cases information for potential participants is available from various organisations, it does not seem that a collaborative effort is being made to raise awareness of such material amongst distinct groups, such as families. Participation in events, school camps, courses and workshops (offered by clubs, public institutions or government agencies) were mentioned by a number of families from all three cultural backgrounds as being popular, but are not recurrent and therefore families do lose momentum to participate. In general, probably due to these circumstances, families do not rely on such offerings, particularly in Dunedin, instead pursuing activities at their own time and pace. Nevertheless, provision of organised activities is welcomed by families and to some extent 'demystifies' the outdoors.

The literature review and the results of this study all indicate that family units play a decisive role in future leisure choices and enduring participation in leisure and recreation activities. Using the metaphor presented in the title of this report, family can 'plant the seed' of love for the outdoors, therefore encouraging long lasting

engagement in outdoor recreation. It is important therefore that policy makers and recreation planners become aware of the importance of the role families play in fostering outdoor recreation participation in New Zealand, by allocating resources to promote the planning and implementation of activities for families in natural areas. Staff might require specific training to increase awareness of relevant family opportunities. Publications (e.g. Moore 2006) are available through libraries and have value as a resource for this purpose. From the results presented in this report, some recommendations for future management of outdoor recreation in New Zealand can be made that generally require a collaborative effort between agencies where possible.

- Collaboration between relevant government agencies and local authorities that provide outdoor recreation opportunities to offer home-based recreation advice for families who desire further information on outdoor recreation pursuits suited for their family life-cycle.
- Community workshops to increase outdoor recreation participation through knowledge dissemination.
- Implementation of a local or regional 'outdoor recreation' passport, similar to the tourist passport that has been implemented by the Otago Central Rail Trail, for example.
- Promotion of outdoor recreation activities during school holidays and summer seasons tailored to families in their different life-stages (see Figure 12 below). An emphasis in women (mothers) participation would also benefit families in general.
- Development of a nation-wide initiative (perhaps collaboration between DOC Conservancies and SPARC) to promote activities within their local communities that encourages outdoor recreation participation, particularly focusing on families and children.
- Work with schools, churches and clubs to provide the skills and confidence necessary to organise activities that are safe, fun and that introduces families and young children to the outdoors (see Figure 13 below)
- Focus funding towards basic skills courses, workshops, equipment subsidies for clubs and schools rather than grand expeditions of individuals or groups that are already active participants in outdoor recreation (e.g. subsidising equipment pools, similar to 'toy libraries', which could help reduce the expense of outdoor gear for families as children grow).
- Prioritize effective communication of opportunities, using different means, such as newspaper/magazine feature articles, television campaigns, road ads and events, blogs, improved and user-friendly, customised internet searches, at local levels. Libraries and family oriented holiday activity magazines seemed particularly effective for disseminating such information to families.
- Review and possibly standardise (at Conservancy levels but with nationally recognised templates and keys), DOC guides to walks and other outdoor recreation opportunities. This includes scrutinising the production of brochures and web based information to ensure there is consistency between Conservancies about the communication of activities, walks information (e.g. distances, times, terrain).
- Recognise the importance of 'departure points' for families travelling into the outdoors. For instance, the provision of toileting facilities, accurate signage and security at road endings and car parks are not only an issue for families venturing into the outdoors, but increasingly tourists.

And there is other information, things they could probably do more of as well. Because you quite often notice that Paekakariki will only fill up with people after a few days of nice weather. And so you get the feeling that people build up to it. So because we live there, the weather turns fantastic and we can just get straight down on to the beach and it will be uncrowded, uncrowded, uncrowded and it's not until the third or fourth day that people start actually twigging that they should go to the beach. And particularly that's like that in the summer holidays. It can be really good in the summer holidays and it takes a while for people to catch on that's it's time to go to the beach. So if there was more kind of information, even on the radio, the local surf club giving some information about what they are doing at the beach or how it is, you would probably get people there much faster. You could accelerate that process by a couple of days. (W7 Father)

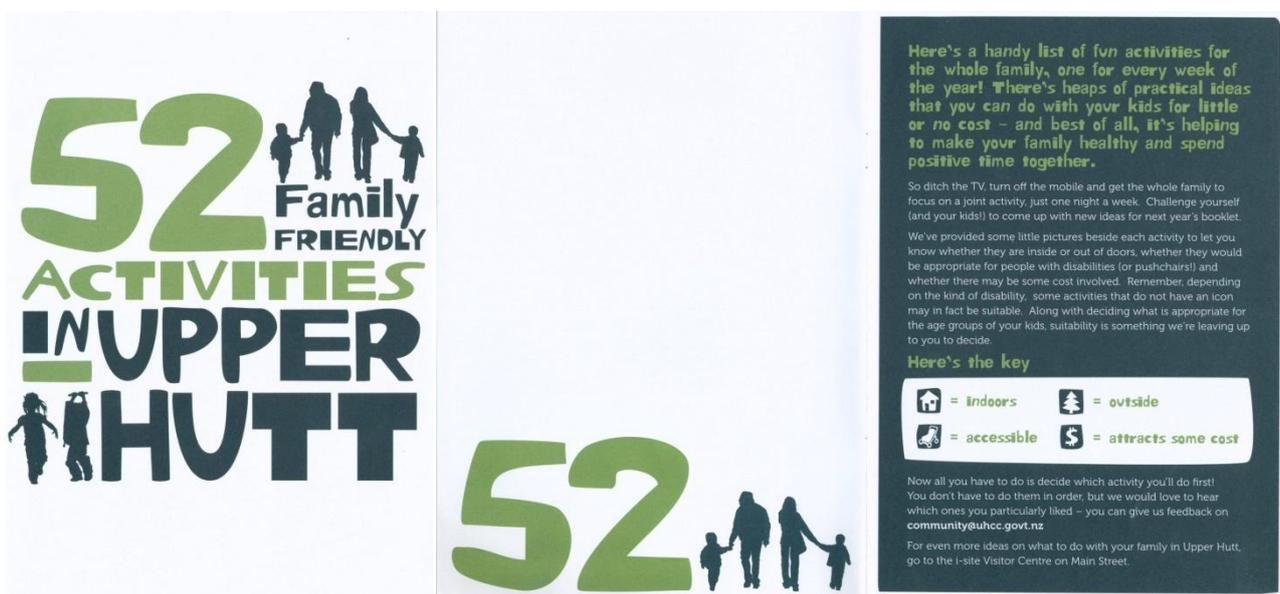


Figure 12: Example of Promotional Material from the Upper Hutt City Council (Brochure) Designed for Families (cover and first pages)



Figure 13: Children-focused Programme – Kiwi Conservation Club

Mother: I will tell you one of the best services that came out of that, that might have some, I wonder what you can do in Tourism for it. They were trying to get people to retrofit their houses to become eco houses. And that's people like us. What can we do to make this more economical and better for the environment and they have a guy that the council hired and you just put your name on a list and he came out and spent two hours with us. So you could have like a recreation person. You could hire
Father: Yeah. How to get your family outside.

Mum: To say, what do you like, what do you want to do and ok these are the five things that you should explore this year. And it would be amazing. I wouldn't mind. [...] It was amazing, they have vet service, they have the green plumber who is free. You call him up and he comes and fixes your drips. These are services that are free of charge that probably... [...] This is from the local council and they have this guy come out who is very experienced. We never met the, you know the sustainability thing. It's one thing to talk to him there but to have him actually look at your house and say, that's not the insulation for under your floor, you need to look at this and it's better for that. Two hours and we have got a plan. (W7)

This study has attempted to further inform current debate, theory and practice around unstructured outdoor recreation for families, and in particular as it refers to family life-stages, barriers to family participation and culturally significant aspects of nature-based recreation. Few studies have explored the experiences of families in outdoor recreation pursuits that are spontaneous and self-organised, and considered issues involving preferences, motivations, benefits, barriers and culture in this setting. Other topics that have emerged from this research, but that were not fully explored here included: the different roles played by members of the family unit (e.g. mothers, fathers, children, stepparents, etc.) in guiding outdoor recreation participation; the preferences of children and whether their motives are central to family leisure choices; and women's changing patterns of engagement with recreation due to family-related issues/commitments.

A number of future research themes have also arisen from this study. Firstly, there was an indication that socio-economic factors play an important role in outdoor recreation participation, especially for Māori and Pacific Islanders, but this research was not able to further explore this issue. Secondly, the authors recommend focus on single-parent and homosexual families and their experiences in the outdoors, as these families were regrettably not present in our sample. Thirdly, the researchers suspect there is worth in studying the impact from wider societal trends on outdoor recreation participation especially the impact of competing leisure activities (e.g. internet/social media, retail/shopping activities). Similarly, with reference to Pacific Island families, most of whom were recent migrants to New Zealand, the researchers are interested in whether the Pacific Island communities' participation in outdoor recreation will alter over time, especially as future generations participate in a range of activities outside their immediate family circles as families become integrated within New Zealand society. Finally, whilst the qualitative aspects of this study have provided rich insights into family experiences and participation in outdoor recreation, the authors recommend a quantitative survey to provide statistically significant findings that could also help inform the policy and planning of outdoor recreation opportunities for families.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Family Interview Questions

1. What is outdoor recreation for you?
2. Which outdoor recreation activities do you usually participate in with your family? Why?
3. Are there any other outdoor recreation activities that you commonly participate in that your family does not participate in as well?
 - a. Which ones?
 - b. Why?
 - c. Do you go (tramping/hunting/skiing/etc.) by yourself or with friends?
4. Why or why not do you enjoy going to the outdoors with your family?
5. What are the main motivations to go to the outdoors?
6. What are the benefits?
7. Did your outdoor recreation pattern change over time?
 - a. If yes, what were the main reasons for change?
 - b. Did family play an important part in this change?
 - c. Why? How?
8. Are there any constraints to your participation, as a family, in outdoor recreation activities?
 - a. Which ones?
 - b. Why?
9. How often do you participate in outdoor recreation activities?
 - a. With your family
 - b. With friends, or by yourself
10. When do you usually participate in outdoor recreation activities?
11. What are your favourite places to participate in outdoor recreation?
 - a. As a family
 - b. With friends or by yourself
 - c. What are the features that make this/these place/s so special?
12. What are the usual places that your family go to recreate in the outdoors? Why?
13. How do you learn about the places you choose to go?
 - a. DOC/city council/regional council websites?
 - b. Pamphlets?
 - c. Word of mouth?
 - d. Newspapers?
14. How do you usually get to these places?
15. When you go to an outdoor recreation area, what features do you look for?
 - a. Huts, tracks, picnic tables, barbeque, camping areas, wildlife, scenery, etc.
16. How important is that outdoor recreation areas are close to your place of residence to your participation in outdoor recreation?

17. Are there outdoor recreation activities that you participate in motivated by
 - a. your church/marae group?
 - b. Organised by your kids' school?
 - c. Organised by your community?
 - d. Open days?
18. Are there cultural activities linked to your outdoor recreation participation?
19. What do you think public agencies, such as DOC, city councils and regional councils, can do to improve the provision of outdoor recreation to families in your city/town/region/country?

Demographics:

1. How many people live in your household?
 - a. Children
 - b. Adults
 - c. Kinship
2. Occupation
3. Ethnicity
4. Nationality
 - a. If not New Zealander, how long in New Zealand
5. Level of Education
6. Employment status

APPENDIX 2: Government Representatives Interview Questions

1. Does the xxx have a specific plan/strategy for the provision of outdoor recreation opportunities for families?
 - a. How does the xxx identify outdoor recreation opportunities to families?
 - b. How does the xxx develop outdoor recreation opportunities to families?
 - c. How does the xxx promote outdoor recreation opportunities to families?
2. Do xxx documents define outdoor recreation.
3. From your experience in the xxx, which outdoor recreation activities are the most popular with families?
 - a. Why?
4. What do you see as main constraints to family participation in outdoor recreation activities? (physical, social, cultural, etc.)
 - a. Why?
5. Is the xxx working to reduce such constraints?
 - a. How?
6. Are there any specific outdoor recreation areas in Dunedin/Wellington that have been developed having families in mind?
7. Does the xxx attempt to provide outdoor recreation opportunities to families of different ethnic/cultural backgrounds?
 - a. How?
8. For instance - Are there facilities or services that have been designed for particular ethnic groups?
 - a. any examples?
9. How does the DCC staff become aware of ethnic-specific demands for outdoor recreation opportunities?
 - a. Does the Council have representatives from diverse ethnic groups to contribute thoughts to the development and promotion of outdoor recreation opportunities in general?
 - b. Is consultation sought
10. Does the DCC take into consideration cultural groups when planning for inclusive development of outdoor recreation?
11. Are there other people in the DCC who deal with issues related to the provision/promotion of outdoor recreation opportunities to families?

APPENDIX 3: Information Sheet for Participants

‘Planting the seed’ – Family Use of the Outdoors: Family Preferences, Experiences and Benefits Associated with Outdoor Recreation in Aotearoa/ New Zealand

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS and/or PARENTS / GUARDIANS

Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate we thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you of any kind and we thank you for considering our request.

What is the aim of the project?

The aim of this research is to investigate the activity choices, participation rates, preferred settings, experiences, and benefits of family leisure in New Zealand, focussing on outdoor nature-based recreation in regional and conservation parks.

What types of participants are being sought?

The study seeks family members from Wellington and Dunedin. Twelve to fifteen families will be invited to participate from each city. It is anticipated that comparisons between European/Pākehā, Māori and Pacific Island families will provide insight and information into cultural aspects of experiences and participation in outdoor recreation. Consequently the researchers are seeking participation from family members who identify with these cultural groups.

What will participants be asked to do?

Should you agree to take part in this project, you will be asked to participate in a focus group of up to 12 individuals or a family interview. The interview will take approximately one hour. The focus group will take approximately two hours.

Can participants change their mind and withdraw from the project?

You may withdraw from participation in the project at any time and without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

What data or information will be collected and what use will be made of it?

- Collective demographic details
- Current recreational use of the outdoors.
- Families or family members desired recreational use of the outdoors.
- Constraints to family/family members recreational use of the outdoors
- Participants' motivations behind seeking outdoor experiences
- Participants' preferences for outdoor sites/destinations

This project involves an open-questioning technique where the precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the focus groups or interviews develop. Consequently, although the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee is aware of the general areas to be explored in the interview, the Committee has not been able to review the precise questions to be used. In the unlikely event that the line of questioning does develop in such a way that you or another family member feel hesitant or uncomfortable you are reminded of your right to decline to answer any particular question(s) and also that you may withdraw from the project at any stage without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

Interviews and focus groups will be undertaken with the assistance of interpreters or facilitators, if needed, so that you can respond in the language of your choice, but transcripts will include a translation in English. The data and information collected will only be accessible to the researchers. Any data included will in no way be linked to any specific participant. Participant anonymity will be maintained. The research process involves taping the interview and then using a professional transcribing service to produce a written transcript of the interview. However, if participants are not comfortable with this procedure, notes will be taken instead of recording. Participants will be sent a copy of their transcribed interview for comment, upon request.

Participants will also be advised how to access any publications that may arise from this research. Any published material utilising quotes will not identify individuals or family members – pseudonyms will be used and no details will be provided that enable participants to be identified. The research will result in a report and academic publications that can be available to all participants via our research website (www.crr.otago.ac.nz) or mailed on request. The data collected will be securely stored in such a way that only the researchers will be able to gain access to it. At the end of the project any personal information will be destroyed immediately except that, as required by the University's research policy, any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which it will be destroyed.

You are most welcome to request a copy of the results of the project should you wish.

What if participants have any questions?

If you have any questions about our project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:

Dr Anna Thompson
Co-Director
Centre for Recreation Research
03-4798057
anna.thompson@otago.ac.nz

or

Arianne Carvalhedo Reis
Assistant Research Fellow
Centre for Recreation Research
03-4798187
arianne.reis@otago.ac.nz

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee.

APPENDIX 4: Consent Form – Families

‘Planting the seed’ – Family Use of the Outdoors: Family Preferences, Experiences and Benefits Associated with Outdoor Recreation in Aotearoa/ New Zealand

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS and PARENTS/GUARDIANS

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage. I agree to have my family interview recorded and transcribed for analysis purposes.

I know that:

1. The participation of my family in the project is entirely voluntary;
2. My family and I are free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;
3. Personal identifying information (audio-tapes and transcriptions) will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which they will be destroyed;

This project involves an open-questioning technique where the precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the focus group/interview develops and that in the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable I may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage of any kind.

4. I understand that I, or my child/children, do not have to answer a question if we feel at risk or uncomfortable.
5. The results of the project may be published and will be available in the library but every attempt will be made to preserve my anonymity.
6. I can request a copy of the final project report and/or summary sheets.
7. I understand that reasonable precautions have been taken to protect data transmitted by email but that the security of the information cannot be guaranteed.

My family and I agree to take part in this project.

.....
(Signature of participant)

.....
(Date)

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee

APPENDIX 5: Consent Form – Government Representatives

‘Planting the seed’ – Family Use of the Outdoors: Family Preferences, Experiences and Benefits Associated with Outdoor Recreation in Aotearoa/ New Zealand

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information at any stage. I agree to have my interview recorded and transcribed for analysis purposes.

I know that:

1. My participation in the project is entirely voluntary;
2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time without any disadvantage;
3. Personal identifying information (audio-tapes and transcriptions) will be destroyed at the conclusion of the project but any raw data on which the results of the project depend will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which they will be destroyed;
This project involves an open-questioning technique where the precise nature of the questions which will be asked have not been determined in advance, but will depend on the way in which the focus group/interview develops and that in the event that the line of questioning develops in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable I may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project without any disadvantage of any kind.
4. The results of the project may be published and will be available in the library but every attempt will be made to preserve my anonymity.
5. I can request a copy of the final project report and/or summary sheets.
6. I understand that reasonable precautions have been taken to protect data transmitted by email but that the security of the information cannot be guaranteed.

I agree to take part in this project.

.....
(Signature of participant)

.....
(Date)

This project has been reviewed and approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee

APPENDIX 6: Dissemination, Consultation and Research Capability

1. Dissemination Plan and Consultation with Stakeholders:

- (i) Report provide to SPARC May 2010
- (ii) Presentation to SPARC and recreation stakeholders by Dr Anna Thompson and Arianne Reis, Friday 21st May 2pm (at SPARC Office, Wellington). Invitees include: Department of Conservation; Greater Wellington Regional Council; Wellington City Council; Lower Hutt City Council; Upper Hutt City Council; Porirua City Council; Mountain Safety Council; Outdoors New Zealand; New Zealand Recreation Association; migrant/ethnic associations.
- (iii) A complete report of the findings will be published as a University of Otago Centre for Recreation Research working paper, and will be hosted on the CRR website (in pdf format). Stakeholders will be notified by email.
- (iv) Academic publications that arise from this study will be forwarded to SPARC for listing on the SPARC website. On the CRR website, details and URLs will be provided for the relevant journals/articles arising from the study.
- (v) Copies of the complete report will be made available through public libraries in main centres and at university libraries in New Zealand.

2. Research Capability Development

- (i) Development of post-graduate research expertise in family recreation research: This project involved the employment of a PhD student as an assistant research fellow and a Pacific Island Master student as a research assistant. Key areas of development for the students were in literature review techniques, qualitative data collection methods and analysis and report writing.
- (ii) For the primary investigator and associate researchers, the project enhanced their research strengths in both the fields of family and recreation, and fostered a collaborative partnership addressing both fields.



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